

MAPPING A “SPIRITUAL” LANDSCAPE: REPRESENTATION OF TERRESTRIAL SPACE IN THE *SHANHAIJING*ⁱ

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Note by the author: For some reason the publisher decided to delete characters from the main body of papers, tables and figures (with an exception of one figure – N° 5 – in my case). You can find all the characters in the manuscript version of my paper.

In this paper I propose a working translation “list/lists” for the character *jing* 經, as it is used in the title of entire text (*Shan hai jing*), and also in the titles of its parts, chapters and their sub-divisions. When my paper has already been submitted, and no corrections were possible, I finally found a ‘juste’ translation – “itinerary/itineraries”. I use in my later papers. I was most encouraged to see that Richard Strassberg also felt that the usual “classic, book etc.” does not fit in this case, and translated the title of the *Shan hai jing* in a very similar way – “Guideways Through Mountains and Seas” (2002).

The *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (“List1s of Mountains and Seas”,ⁱⁱ hereafter the SHJ), compiled no later than the beginning of the first century B.C.E.,ⁱⁱⁱ occupies a special place among terrestrial descriptions surviving from ancient China. Being the most voluminous among these texts (ca. 30,000 characters), it is distinguished by the large scope of territories encompassed, the multiplicity of landmarks enumerated, and the many details related to these landmarks.^{iv}

This paper is concerned with the nature of the representation of terrestrial space according to the SHJ. The investigation of this question is preceded by a critical survey of relevant studies that helps to define the perspectives of the proposed research.

I. FORM AND CONTENT OF THE *SHANHAIJING* (GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS)

The core of the SHJ is its first and most comprehensive part (ca. 20,000 characters), the *Shanjing* 山經 (“Lists of Mountains”, hereafter the SJ), which is considered as comprising of the earliest material. This material is presented in a remarkably systematized form. It provides an account of 447 mountains arranged in twenty-six lists. The mountains are featured in a uniformly formulaic way -- according to recurrent characteristics. Major characteristics are the plants, animals and minerals found on a mountain, and the river(s) emanating from it.^v The location of each mountain^{vi} is given according to the principle of relative location, namely, with respect to the preceding one in the list, by indicating the cardinal direction in which the next mountain is to be found and its distance from the preceding mountain, e.g. “300 *li* 里 to the south-east [from mountain A] there is mountain called B”. Thus, each list features a sequence of mountains located one after the other.

The second part, the *Haijing* 海經 (“Lists of Seas”, hereafter the HJ), is less homogeneous in the landmarks enumerated -- the majority of them are “countries” (*guo* 國), less frequent are mountains and rivers^{vii}. Also the relative locations are less consistent, the precise distances between them are never stated, and the descriptions of landmarks are more varied. However, the descriptions are still in the form of orderly lists.^{viii}

In addition to their systematized form, both parts of the SHJ are similar in the “supernatural” nature of their content. Thus, a considerable number of beings and things found at the enumerated landmarks are so-called “anomalies”^{ix} (e.g., animals with five legs, people with two heads, etc.). Many of these beings and things have magical properties, such as being auspicious or evil signs or producing healing or poisoning effects, and many of

the creatures, such as spirits and mythical personages, possess much magical power.

II. WORKING OUT METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

To a researcher trained in the modern Western scientific tradition (analytical tradition) or considerably influenced by it the SHJ seems to have two completely different and sometimes contradictory facets: myth and magic, on the one hand, and “realistic” knowledge approaching “science”, on the other.^x This distinction still dominates the interpretative studies of the SHJ which are, as a rule, concerned with one or other of these facets.^{xi} The artificial character and misleading consequences of this distinction are especially manifest in the studies of the SHJ related to spatial issues.

Illusive topographical accuracy of the Shanhaijing

The majority of these studies attempt to reveal the “real” topographical background of the SHJ, and especially of the SJ. These attempts are primarily inspired by the precision of distances between the mountains listed in the SJ, which give an impression, or I would rather say, an illusion of topographical accuracy, supported by occurrences now and then of well-known toponyms and recognizable animals, plants and minerals.

Explorations into the topographical background of the SHJ are the mainstay of such studies that strive to derive its “realistic” substratum. This research direction occupies a prominent place in contemporary Chinese sinology, and is a result of an interesting interaction of two conceptually different research traditions.

First of all, this research direction is based on the Chinese tradition of commentaries and studies of the SHJ and other geographical texts, especially the “Yugong” 禹貢 (“Yu’s [System of] Tribute”, ca. fifth-fourth centuries B.C.E., included in the *Shangshu/Shujing* 尚書/書經.^{xii} Much attention in these commentaries and studies is given to identifying toponyms enumerated with real landmarks.^{xiii} Interest in determining the real locations of places mentioned in the SHJ can be traced to its earliest surviving commentary by Guo Pu 郭璞 (C.E. 276-324), but its peak occurred in Qing 清 (1644-1911) scholarship.^{xiv} The rise

of interest in the SHJ's topography among Chinese scholars during this particular period, while continuing the authentic commentarial tradition, was also stimulated by the diffusion of a "foreign" scholarly tradition -- modern Western science.^{xv}

A new impulse for evaluating the SHJ with respect to modern Western natural sciences must be attributed to Joseph Needham's "Science and Civilisation in China" project.^{xvi} Under its impact this text has been used as a "proof" of the ancient origins of "science" in China, in particular, the science of "geography". For example, Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 in his seminal article on the geographical areas covered by the SJ comes to the conclusion that "though mixed up with some elements of legend and mythology, it is primarily a geographical work that contains much realistic knowledge of the ancient times". He stresses evidence of the "realistic" characteristics of this geographical "knowledge" and tends to diminish discrepancies between data given in the SJ and topographical reality.^{xvii} A recent paper by Zhang Jian 張箭, in contrast, highlights "the natural geographical mistakes" across the entire SHJ, providing a list of its main geographical errors.^{xviii} However, despite being seemingly different in their conclusions, both works rest on the assumption that the SHJ was aimed at conveying topographical reality and differ only in their assessment of how well this aim was achieved.^{xix}

The assumption that the SHJ refers to real topography has serious methodological drawbacks. It implies that one should accept ancient Chinese representations of terrestrial space as a more or less advanced step in the evolution from "imprecise and incomplete" geographical knowledge towards the "perfection" of modern Western geography and cartography. Quite apart from the simplistic nature of such an understanding of both ancient terrestrial representations and modern geography and cartography,^{xx} this leads to the evaluation of an ancient Chinese tradition of representing terrestrial space from the standpoint of a geographical and cartographic tradition developed within a different culture and a different historical setting.^{xxi}

Moreover, were one still to suppose that the SHJ is aimed at conveying topographical reality, the very studies of its

topographical background designed to support this view provide a strong argument against it, as their general result is rather puzzling. Thus, the scope of territories described in the SJ can be approximated rather clearly. The major indicators here are descriptions of rivers emanating from mountains, as in each of these cases the cardinally-oriented direction of the riverflow and its destination are given, e.g. “the river N emanates from it (that is, the mountain described), flows to the south, falls into the river M/sea”.^{xxii} These indicators allow one to locate a sequence of mountains enumerated in a list in the following way: if its rivers flow to the south and fall into the Yellow River, it is located at the northern bank of the Yellow River; if its rivers flowing to the north fall into the Yellow River and those to the south into the Luo River, it is located between the Yellow and Luo Rivers. Thus located sequences of mountains are concentrated around the basins of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. In other words, they mostly relate to the territories occupied by ancient Chinese civilization.

The puzzles begin as soon as one tries to locate individual mountains and other landmarks in these “well-known” territories, even if these landmarks bear the names of “well-known” places. The locations provided in the text appear strikingly inaccurate. One of the main difficulties here is the given distances. They result in many sequences of mountains covering surprisingly long distances, which considerably exceed the basins of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. Another difficulty are toponyms which occur only in the SJ. As a result, there are different and often contradictory points of view on their identification with real features of the landscape.^{xxiii} Yet, no matter which of these identifications are preferred, each produces a similar effect with respect to the given locations of mountains -- namely, these locations fail to match with real topography. This failure can be clearly seen from the following two attempts to represent mountains enumerated in the text as maps.

For example, the map by Wang Chengzu 王成組 is derived from locating the sequences of mountains with respect to rivers, as just described, and according to the given cardinally-oriented directions and distances between mountains.^{xxiv} The mountain ranges do not exist in the real landscape of the basins of the

Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. Moreover, the given distances covered by these ranges are much greater than those of the mapped region, and, in order to incorporate them into the real locations of the rivers taken as a frame of reference, the directions given in the sequences had to be slightly changed. This map of a nonexistent landscape allows one, however, to draw a highly important conclusion -- that the given locations exhibit attributes of a system.

The map by Liu Siyuan 劉思源 is done with an opposite intention in mind.^{xxv} Here the sequences of mountains are adjusted to the modern physical map of China. The given directions within the sequences, and even the references to the rivers, as found in the text are outweighed here by the preferences of the author in identifying the listed mountains with real mountains. As a result, the given directions are considerably altered and the continuity of many of the sequences is broken up, or, conversely, discontinuous sequences are in some cases put together.^{xxvi}

Consequently, the locations of the mountains given in the SJ and the real topography of those regions of China referred to are not compatible unless the cohesion of these locations is broken up (as found in the map by Liu Siyuan) or real topography is considerably distorted (as found in the map by Wang Chengzu). In other words, we are not dealing here with minor or partial discrepancies between the given locations and topographical reality, as could have resulted from some deficiencies in topographical knowledge or corruption of the text. On the contrary, there is an almost total mismatch, which results from the resistance of the locations as a system to attempts to make them fit real topography. This allows one to suppose that the locations given in the SHJ are built on principles other than the requirement of topographical accuracy.

Orderly maps and spatial schemes: typological similarities

This hypothesis is consistent with conclusions drawn in explorations of Chinese maps produced before the diffusion of modern Western cartography, especially “global” maps focused on the basins of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. Representing the

same territories as described in the SJ, these maps provide interesting comparative material.

The earliest surviving “global” maps were engraved during the Southern Song dynasty (C.E. 1127--1279). These maps are, as a rule, associated with the legendary Emperor Yu’s ordering of terrestrial space as concisely accounted in the “Yugong”.^{xxvii} With the establishment of imperial historiography, the “Yugong” became acknowledged as the most authoritative terrestrial description, serving as the foundation stone for the official conception of “terrestrial organization” (*dili* 地理). The SHJ, in contrast, was considered in early official historiography as a source of extravagant and unreliable content.^{xxviii} Having then become associated with the conception of “terrestrial organization” after the collapse of the first empires, it was again divorced from this conception during the Song dynasty, in the wake of the efforts to restore the original meaning of ancient texts by Song scholars.^{xxix} The latter may explain the absence of maps related to the SHJ among the Song maps. The SHJ is, nevertheless, also associated with the ordering of terrestrial space by the Emperor Yu,^{xxx} with the difference that this version of Yu’s deeds is marginal in comparison with that in the “Yugong”. Therefore, the “global” maps representing the same territories as those described in the SJ, and being products of the same continuous, if variant and considerably later tradition, provide important material for comparing locations given in the SHJ, which is much more appropriate in this case than modern Western cartography.

Similar to the locations of mountains given in the SJ, those found in the great majority of the surviving “global” maps are distinguished by a striking lack of topographical accuracy.^{xxxi} The inaccuracy of these maps can hardly be explained by a deficiency of topographical knowledge or undeveloped cartographical techniques. Long before the Song maps, Pei Xiu 裴秀 (C.E. 223--271) formulated six technical principles of accurate cartography,^{xxxii} and the many inaccurate maps coexisted with occasional highly accurate mapping. An excellent example of such coexistence is the pair of maps engraved on two faces of a single stone in 1136, the *Yujitu* 禹跡圖 (“Map of Yu’s footprints”) and the *Huayitu* 華夷圖 (“Map of Chinese and barbarian

[territories]”).^{xxxiii} The *Yujitu* is a prime example of the high degree of topographical accuracy, which could be achieved by Chinese cartographers, especially impressive in its precision in delineating the coastline and rivers, and applying a consistent scale grid.^{xxxiv} It is, however, something of an exception when compared to the mainstream of “global” maps.^{xxxv} The *Huayitu* is, in contrast, a typical example of the latter distinguished by roughly delineated coastline and river systems, and sometimes also borderlines between districts and the Great Wall, such as one can observe in a series of such maps, the *Liujiangtu* 六經圖 (“Maps related to the Six Classics”) engraved in 1229.^{xxxvi}

What is most important here is that, having been engraved on a single stone in the same year, both maps are thus recognized as “true” by the cultural tradition,^{xxxvii} something inconceivable in Western cartography, beginning from the Renaissance, where a more accurate map would automatically outdate a less accurate one. Moreover, as comparison of the *Yujitu* with the later *Liujiangtu* series and many other cases shows, there is no step-by-step evolution towards topographical accuracy in traditional Chinese cartography. One can, therefore, draw the conclusion that topographical accuracy, a basic requirement in modern Western cartography, simply did not play such an important role in traditional Chinese mapmaking.^{xxxviii} Instead, the configuration of maps and given locations of landmarks could be underdetermined by other factors. Among such factors the researchers of Chinese cartography name political, religious and aesthetic interests;^{xxxix} the intention to transmit certain spatial ideas or viewpoints more than geographical facts;^{xl} efforts to combine cartography and correlative cosmology or attain a more favorable geomantic structure.^{xli}

All these concerns are expressed through more or less considerable distortions of real topography, such as relocating and shifting landmarks with respect to their real locations, adding nonexistent landmarks, distortions in the configuration of the coastline, riverflows and borderlines. Since the concerns of mapmaking could be different in specific cases, they resulted in rather different-looking, but equally recognized representations of the same territory, e.g., the *Liujiangtu* series.^{xlii} Still, all these

topographically inaccurate maps are similar in their more or less clearly expressed quest for spatial regularity, and the more regular the resulting view, the less accurate is the map.

Such maps are typologically similar to the orderly terrestrial schemes which occupy a prominent place in the ancient Chinese tradition of representing terrestrial space, primarily the “Nine Provinces” (*Jiuzhou* 九州) and the “Five Zones” (*Wufu* 五服).^{xliii} Since these schemes represent either the “entire terrestrial space” (“Five Zones”), or the “civilised terrestrial space” (“Nine Provinces”), I propose to define them as “global” schemes or *cosmograms*.

It is necessary to point out here that no ancient graphical representations of these cosmograms have survived, and their acknowledged outlines -- the “Nine Provinces” as a 3x3 grid, and the “Five Zones” as a nest of concentric squares (see Fig.1.1-2) -- are derived from their descriptions in texts, the earliest being the “Yugong”.

These textual descriptions are presented in the form of lists of the constituent elements of the cosmograms, e.g., “provinces” and “zones”. The description of each constituent element begins by defining its spatial “position”. For example, a “zone” in the “Yugong” is delineated through giving the distance to its outer boundary from the outer boundary of the preceding “zone”, each of these distances (= the width of the “zone”) being 500 *li* in length.

In contrast to this purely schematic delineation of “zones”, explicit indicators of the schematic configuration of the “Nine Provinces” appear gradually. In the “Yugong” a “province” is located with respect to prominent landmarks (rivers, mountains and the sea, e.g., “between rivers A and B”, “between river C and mountain D”). In a series of later sources composed in the third-second centuries B.C.E.^{xliv} cardinally-oriented locations of “provinces” appear (e.g., “to the south of river A”, or “in the southeast”). Locating a “province” simply at a cardinally-oriented point is an attribute of a 3x3 square grid, its nine checks corresponding to the eight cardinal directions and the center.^{xlv}

The cosmograms, as derived from the ancient texts, are products of an application of a system of cosmological patterns

and principles, which impose strong constraints on the conventional tailoring of space.^{xlvi} Structures generated through these constraints necessarily have regular form and are organized as a set of hierarchically interrelated “positions”.^{xlvi} The form of the cosmograms serves, first of all, to symbolize the primary aim of statecraft, as conceived of in ancient China, that is, maintaining hierarchical order, balance and harmony in the world. It is for this reason that cosmograms are so systematically imprinted on the architectural symbols of power (capital cities, palaces, state temples and royal tombs) in China,^{xlvi} which are then visualized (but “silent”) survey images of the world.^{xlvi} These imprints of cosmograms served as a *mise-en-scène* of “world-making” rituals effectuated through putting parts of terrestrial space in their proper places.¹

In sum, cosmograms are instruments for conveying conceptions of space dominated by closely interrelated political and religious meanings. In order to match these meanings, real topography could be, and, in effect, should be “corrected” or even considerably transformed, as one finds on the majority of “global” maps.

It is especially noteworthy that many of these maps are directly related to the most important cosmogram, the “Nine Provinces”. Seen from this perspective, cosmograms seem to play the role of a “basic theory” or ideal model for the “global” maps.^{li} Indeed, in many “global” maps an attempt is made to present the entire mapped territory and its parts in a square-like shape. For this purpose, the coastline and borders between districts (if any) tend to be depicted as close to straight lines. There are often attempts to achieve symmetry in the mapped territory (e.g., to trace borderlines in the west and north matching the coastline in the east and south). The central part of the map representing the Chinese empire is thus demarcated from the peripheral surroundings, as in, for instance, the *Yugong jiuzhou qiangjie tu* 禹貢九州疆界圖 (“The Map of Boundaries of the Nine Provinces [according to] the ‘Yugong’”) from the *Liuqing tu* series.^{lii} Furthermore, in the rare examples of topographically accurate maps with an explicit scale (e.g., the *Yujitu*), only a square grid is applied. This grid, while being a technical means of

accurate mapping, still seems to maintain a correspondance to the symbolic quadrature of the Earth.^{liii}

The similarity of maps and cosmograms is expressed on the terminological level. They are not demarcated clearly in the Chinese tradition of representing space, being either not distinguished from all the other “graphical representations” (*tu* 圖),^{liv} or both designated as “terrestrial graphical representations” (*ditu* 地圖).^{lv} In this respect, it differs markedly from modern Western geography which is focused on topographically accurate maps, and excludes inaccurate by definition schemes from its study. In the Chinese tradition, in contrast, topographically accurate maps are more the exception than the rule, while cosmograms possess the highest conceptual status, and it is under their conceptual domination that in the majority of “global” maps real topography is sacrificed for cosmological harmony.^{lvi}

A “global” scheme behind the textual structure of the Shanhaijing

It seems highly plausible that the topographical inaccuracy of the SHJ has similar origins. Firstly, the map by Wang Chengzu showing the mountain ranges, as derived from the given locations of mountains, has evident attributes of orderly mapping, and from this point of view is typologically similar to the majority of “global” maps. Secondly, the titles of chapters (*juan* 卷 in the extant version) of the SHJ is a typical list of “positions” in a cosmogram which maps the entire terrestrial space (see Table 1). According to these titles, the cosmogram consists of four parts: “Mountains”, “Outside the Seas” (*Haiwai* 海外), “Inside the Seas” (*Hainei* 海內) and “The Great Wilderness” (*Dahuang* 大荒), each oriented with respect to the cardinal points.

The most widespread representation of this “global” scheme is a nest of concentric squares, where the “Mountains” are placed in the Center and encompassed respectively by “Inside the Seas”, “Outside the Seas”, and “The Great Wilderness” (see Fig. 2.1).^{lvii} This placement is found in the so-called “wheel maps” dating from about 1760 which are found in China and Korea.^{lviii} These are the only surviving maps directly related to the SHJ, and are a curious mixture of East Asian and Western traditions of cartography. Thus, the concentric zones have a circular shape in order to give the map a “Western look”, and on one of the copies

the nest of zones has fake meridians and parallels superimposed on it. It is noteworthy that the two peripheral “zones” (“Outside the Seas” and “The Great Wilderness”) are not demarcated from each other on these maps, recognition that the territories described in these parts often overlap.^{lix} This and a number of other indicators allow one to advance a hypothesis of parallel complementary mapping, “Mountains” and “Inside the Seas” both representing the central part of the terrestrial space, and “Outside the Seas” and “The Great Wilderness” representing its periphery (see Fig. 2.2).^{lx} It should also be noted that the zones can be equally represented in a cruciform shape.^{lxi} But no matter which configuration is preferred, each has all the attributes of a cosmogram.

Major shortcomings found in the studies of the Shanhaijing

Although studies of the “global” scheme of the SHJ and explorations of its topographical background are dealing, in effect, with two facets of the same subject -- representation of terrestrial space -- they are usually completely divorced from each other.

Explorations of the topographical background of the SHJ avoid the “global” scheme, as not matching with “realistic/scientific geographical knowledge”. The “global” scheme, however, is discussed either in studies of Chinese cosmology^{lxii} or mythology,^{lxiii} which do not regard accounts of specific landmarks as issues of much importance.

In the majority of studies of Chinese cosmology representation of terrestrial space is understood as a development from “naturalistic” (interpreted as realistic) description towards “geometrical/schematic cosmography”.^{lxiv} This “geometrical/schematic cosmography”, being the main subject of these studies, is associated with explicit indicators of regular mapping, which often refer to rather abstract regions, and from this point of view, are similar to general patterns applicable to any area, as, for example, the “Nine Provinces” in the “Dixingxun” 墜形訓 (“Treatise on Terrestrial Shape”).^{lxv} References to specific and “well-known” landmarks, especially those not accompanied by explicit indicators of spatial regularity, imply, according to the cosmological studies, a naturally irregular

landscape,^{lxvi} and for this reason relationships between these landmarks are not given much attention. From this point of view the SHJ with its orderly “global” scheme and general names of terrestrial zones, on the one hand, and the large number of specific landmarks enumerated, on the other, is an inconvenient case,^{lxvii} to be avoided if possible.^{lxviii} Such a restrictive understanding of cosmograms results from a failure to recognize that specific and “well-known” landmarks can sometimes simply serve as “markers” for a purely schematic construction,^{lxix} and that a schematic structure can be provided implicitly.^{lxx}

A step in this direction has been made in a recent study of ancient Chinese cosmology, which among many other issues explores the spatial structures of “The Great Wilderness” and “Outside the Seas”.^{lxxi} In particular, an attempt is made to reconstruct the arrangement of landmarks enumerated in these sections within their general cardinally-oriented structures. It is, however, not accidental that the author focuses on these two sections of the SHJ, and does not discuss either “Inside the Seas” with its more complex general structure, or the SJ which refers to “well-known” territories. Indeed, most of landmarks found in “Outside the Seas” and “The Great Wilderness”, even if, according to the author, real and identifiable at one time,^{lxxii} are, according to the surviving version of the text, in the majority of cases, apparently fantastic items serving as symbols of “far-away” zones. Therefore, he, in effect, still maintains the restrictive understanding of cosmograms.

Studies of the SHJ’s mythology -- remarkably numerous and international since all the studies of Chinese mythology to date rely on this text as a basic source -- do not generally focus on topographical details. They treat the mythical issues found in the SHJ separately from its system of locations. They, therefore, fail to recognize that each mythical entity, being associated with a specific landmark, is, first and foremost, characterized by its “precise” place(s) defined with respect to other landmarks. As a rule, only a cardinally-oriented section of a terrestrial zone where an entity is found has been taken into account,^{lxxiii} at best, a single sequence of landmarks (mountains) which contains the landmark where the entity “resides” has been pointed out.^{lxxiv} If mythologically important landmarks are studied, such as the

mountains Kunlun 崑崙 and Buzhou 不周, they are not viewed in the context of the entire system of mountains of the SHJ.^{lxxv} Instead, under the influence of studies of classical mythology which have a much longer history and a strong theoretical basis, the mythological issues of the SHJ are considered as constituent elements of mythological narrative(s), and many studies, in effect, seek only to trace such narrative(s).^{lxxvi}

Studies which search for the attributes of “realistic” knowledge in the SHJ, in their turn, ignore the magical or sacred value of the landmarks enumerated, because the latter questions the “reality” of these landmarks.

In sum, the SHJ is a product of a distinctive and elaborate tradition of representing terrestrial space that is markedly different from modern Western geography. This text should, therefore, be evaluated in terms of its proper tradition, avoiding modernistic value judgments and distinctions, or those characteristic of other cultural traditions, unless the latter are typologically similar to the representation of terrestrial space in ancient China.

Applying inadequate value judgments and distinctions is, however, as one can see from the above analysis, the main methodological shortcoming of both explorations of the “realistic” background of the SHJ and studies of its mythological issues. Despite their considerable difference in subject and approach, both use interpretative frameworks “external” to the Chinese tradition of representing space.

Another shortcoming that is characteristic of most studies of the SHJ is that the text is regarded only from one angle, while its other facets are ignored (such as attempting to derive its “realistic” knowledge while ignoring the sacred and magical attributes of the provided description; focusing on mythological issues while ignoring their spatial context; examining its “global” scheme separately from its detailed topographical filling, and vice versa, etc.). These restrictive approaches are at odds with the remarkably systematized presentation of data in the SHJ, wherein “myth” and “reality”, numerous specific landmarks and a general schematic frame, and all the other elements of the provided description seem to constitute a single entity.

The effect of these inadequate and restrictive approaches is to obscure and fragment the representation of terrestrial space in the SHJ, resulting in a mosaic of incoherent, often contradictory, and sometimes wholly misleading insights into what is represented in this text.

Perspectives of the proposed study

I argue that the representation of terrestrial space found in the SHJ can only be reconstructed and comprehended in an adequate and coherent way if seen from “holistic” and “internal” perspectives, that is:

First, the systematized account of landmarks found in this text should be considered as a whole. This means that the given locations of landmarks should be explored a) as a system; and b) in the context of all the other elements of their description.^{lxxvii}

Second, the derived data should be evaluated with respect to the patterns and principles of ancient Chinese cosmology and other ancient Chinese representations of space, in other words, within a large framework of concepts and cultural presuppositions that could underdetermine given locations.^{lxxviii}

To comprehend a representation of terrestrial space means to determine, (1) how it is structured (what are its form and constituent elements), (2) what meanings it conveys, and (3) what functions it serves in thought and practice.

III. TERRESTRIAL SPACE AS A SYSTEM OF ITINERARIES

The structure of the representation of terrestrial space in the SHJ I have discussed in more detail elsewhere.^{lxxix} The main principle I have applied in its reconstruction is to ignore, as far as possible, the modern physical map of China, and, instead, to explore how the territories are presented in the text. The core material for this study is found in the SJ, which contains the majority of enumerated landmarks and is distinguished by detailed descriptions of their locations. Here I shall point out the results of this investigation necessary for further discussion.

As mentioned above, the division of the SJ into chapters emulates a division of terrestrial space into the four cardinaly-oriented directions and the center (see **Fig. 3**), and the listed mountains are arranged into sequences.

This presentation of mountains arranged in sequences implies routes marked by mountains. Each route has a definite starting and finishing point, and a “one way” direction. Rather surprisingly this attribute of the lists of mountains in the SJ has been almost totally overlooked so far (for example, it is nowhere in evidence in the maps by Wang Chengzu and Liu Siyuan). It should be noted here that routes (*dao* 導) marked by mountains paved by the Emperor Yu are mentioned in the “Yugong” (nine routes, twenty-seven mountains).^{lxxx} No other details, apart from mountains’ names, are found in the “Yugong”. The SJ contains more routes (twenty-six), considerably more mountains (447),^{lxxxi} and much greater detail about each mountain, and is, in effect, an extended version of this particular aspect of Yu’s ordering of terrestrial space.

Let us take a closer look at the system of routes in the SJ. Each route has a title which gives the cardinal orientation of the chapter it belongs to, and, beginning from the second list in each chapter, its ordinal number in the chapter (see **Table 1**). The titles then give clear indications to how the routes are distributed within the quinary frame. As one can see from **Fig. 3**, their distribution is remarkably balanced, corresponds to the acknowledged symbolic meanings of figures, but is not in proportion to the distribution of individual mountains.

The arrangement of the routes can be derived from the following indicators:

First, the provision of the cardinaly-oriented direction and precise distance from one mountain to the next in the list allow one to determine the definitive direction, configuration and length of each route.

Second, cardinaly-oriented directions and destinations of the rivers emanating from mountains allow one to situate the routes with respect to each other, as mentioned above.

The indicators that relate to rivers are less consistent and permit much less precision. The highest degree of precision that can be achieved here is “route A is located to the north of river N, and route B to the south of river N, therefore, river A is to the north of river B”. Rivers also present a danger of imposing their real locations on the reconstructed system of routes (as occurs in the map by Wang Chengzu). It is necessary to consider when using rivers as spatial indicators that if a route goes to the north and its rivers flow to the west and into the Yellow River, this only means that, according to the SJ, the Yellow River at the level of this route is placed in a South-North direction.

The enumerated indicators allow one to reveal the following interesting characteristics of the routes:

- the routes never cross each other;
- the routes are always located between rivers;
- each route has a dominant direction.

According to these characteristics, the routes delineate neighboring (never overlapping) regions. This is done through tracing the central axis of the region and not through defining its borders. The borders are implied by the rivers and the sea, but are not explicitly articulated.

Fig. 4 presents a survey of the arrangement of routes in the SJ: their distribution within the quinary frame, dominant directions and relative placement. Even if the placement of routes can sometimes be open to discussion, there is no doubt that we are dealing here with a complex, yet orderly system. It has, however, two interesting “imperfections” if regarded from the principles and patterns of Chinese cosmology: asymmetry between the North and the West, on the one hand, and the South and the East, on the other, and the two-fold Center.

Asymmetry between the North and the West, and the South and the East

The routes of the North and the West contain a relatively large number of mountains and go from the center to the periphery. The routes of the South and the East are comprised of a much smaller number of mountains, and also move away from

the center to the periphery, but as lines parallel to the outside border of their terrestrial section.

This arrangement of routes and number of mountains seems to be influenced by the real topography of the represented territories, as does the deviation of the last eastern route tracing the Shandong Peninsula. Indeed, the “Southern” and the “Eastern Mountains” refer to the south and the east of China, territories that have clear natural boundaries -- the seas. The placement of routes of the “Southern” and “Eastern Mountains” reflects these boundaries, and the relatively small number of mountains here corresponds to the naturally limited scope of the represented territories. The “Northern” and the “Western Mountains”, in contrast, refer to the north and the west of China. These regions do not have such obvious natural boundaries, and cover a larger potential area, so it is not surprising that they are “crowded” with mountains, with routes going far afield.

The arrangement of routes seems, however, to be more complicated than simply inspired by real topography when evaluated with respect to the vertical/lengthwise and horizontal/crosswise axes. Thus, the “Northern Mountains” belong to the northern branch of the vertical axis. Their routes are arrayed along this axis and point to the north. The same principle is characteristic of the “Western Mountains” -- they belong to the western branch of the horizontal axis, and the routes are arrayed along this axis and point to the west. This arrangement of routes in the North and the West can be regarded, then, as cosmologically “perfect”, while the placement of routes in the South and the East, which run contrary to the axes they belong to, as “imperfect”. These routes of the South and the East also have an interesting common destination -- they all come together in the south-east.

The asymmetry in the arrangement of routes and the “imperfection” in the South and the East brings to mind the conception of the deformed cosmos which resulted from a “global catastrophe” provoked by the mythical being Gong Gong 共工.^{lxxxii} While contesting with the mythical Emperor-to-be Zhuan Xu 顓頊 for power, Gong Gong butted Buzhou mountain, thereby breaking one of the eight “pillars” (*zhu* 柱) holding up Heaven, and tearing up one of the four “nodes” (*wei* 維) holding together

the corners of the square earth.^{lxxxiii} Heaven then tilted to the Northwest, explaining the shift of the heavenly bodies in this direction. Earth, in its turn, became deficient in the Southeast, accounting for the southeasterly direction of the flow of rivers and dust. This conception is an attempt to explain some natural “imperfections”,^{lxxxiv} but the explanation is delivered in the form of a cosmic scheme aimed at finding balance even in “imperfections”.

A strong argument in favor of seeing the influence of this conception in the arrangement of routes in the SJ is that the latter appeared at roughly the same time as the compilation of the SHJ. Moreover, references to this conception are found in texts with many mythological issues similar to the SHJ. Thus, the earliest allusions to it are found among the “questions” posed in the “Tianwen” 天問 (“Questions to Heaven”) chapter (ca. fourth century B.C.) of the *Chuci* 楚辭.^{lxxxv} Its earliest detailed description is found at the beginning of the “Tianxiangxun” 天象訓 (“Treatise on Heavenly Symbols”) chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (compiled by 139 B.C.E.).^{lxxxvi}

The two-fold Center

The routes of the “Central Mountains” refer to two different geographical regions: those from the first to seventh cover the Yellow River basin, while those from the eighth to twelfth relate to the Yangzi basin. These two geographical groups are clearly demarcated by the alternation of the order of the routes.

The routes of the Yellow River basin alternate in a remarkably orderly way: those with odd ordinal numbers (C1, C3, C5, C7) go to the east; those with even ordinal numbers (C2, C4, C6) go to the west. Eventually, these routes form an especially regular and compact structure with attributes of symmetry (see Fig. 4, the lower part of the Center). These routes are relatively short, and due to the frequency of references to rivers, they can be determined with a high degree of precision. As one can see in the map by Wang Chengzu, these routes are located around the Yellow and Luo Rivers, forming a dense and prominent set. The singling out of this region is not accidental. Exactly at its center, at the northern bank of the Luo River, Chengzhou/Luoyi 成周/洛邑, one of the capitals of the Zhou dynasty (1046/45/40^{lxxxvii} --256

B.C.E.) was located. From the beginning of the Eastern Zhou period (770 B.C.E.) it was the only capital. It is firmly associated with the Center of the world in all the available descriptions of the Zhou dynasty in ancient texts.^{lxxxviii}

The alternation order changes markedly in the routes covering the Yangzi basin (C8 goes to the northeast, C9 and C11 to the east, C10 to the west, and C12 to the southeast). It is noteworthy that the two groups of routes of the “Central Mountains” are not differentiated in their titles. This masked two-foldness of the Center is a highly interesting ideological characteristic of the representation of terrestrial space in the SJ, not least because the basins of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers differed considerably in cultural and political traditions, the Yangzi basin being the area of Chu culture.^{lxxxix}

The marginal status of the Yangzi basin from a Zhou cultural perspective can be clearly seen in the geographical distribution of routes marked by mountains in the “Yugong”. The inequality of the Yellow and Yangzi River basins is expressed here quantitatively: among a total of nine routes, six marked by twenty mountains are in the Yellow River basin, while only three routes marked by seven mountains are in the Yangzi basin.^{xc}

According to the SJ, in contrast, the Yangzi River basin is incorporated into the Center almost on equal terms with the Yellow River basin (a slight inequality in the number of routes -- five and seven, respectively, is compensated for by the number of mountains -- 111 and 86, respectively). This seems to reflect the considerable political and cultural changes that came with the foundation of the imperial order in China, when former Chu territories became part of the unified empire. However, as shown in the reconstructed scheme, the attempt to integrate the Yangzi basin into the Center did not wholly succeed in overcoming the deep differences between the two regions.

Routes are also found in the “Outside the Seas” section (one in each of its four cardinaly-oriented chapters), but they are mostly marked by countries, and precise distances between the landmarks are not given. These four routes, as one can see from Fig. 4, make a sort of frame around those of the SJ.

In sum, single mountains enumerated in the SJ are arranged into routes, routes into orderly cardinaly-oriented sets, and these sets constitute an orderly “global” scheme. Therefore, the individual mountains here are constituent elements of a cosmogram conveying an ideal organization of terrestrial space. This organization is, of course, inspired by some characteristics of real topography (real mountains, natural irregularities of landscape), as one can see from the uneven distribution of mountains and the “imperfections” in the arrangement of routes. These real characteristics, however, were “processed” through a strong filter of cosmological patterns and principles. As a result, real mountains became markers of “positions” in an ideal terrestrial space, and, like the majority of “global” maps, were possibly combined with fantastic landmarks. Natural irregularities were also given a more balanced form. The system of routes is then a compromise between elements of real topography and cosmology, with the conceptual framework of the latter dominating.

A strong argument in favor of the reconstructed arrangement of routes and its interpretation is that it is typologically similar to the earliest surviving representation of mountains mentioned in the “Yugong” as markers of routes paved by Yu, the *Yu dao shanchuan zhi tu* 禹導山川之圖 (“Map of Yu’s paving mountains and rivers”) from the *Liujingtu* series.^{xci} Although the latter is much less elaborate, mountains here are inscribed with certain regularity into a schematically delineated “Nine Provinces”.^{xcii}

IV. A LANDSCAPE UNDER-DETERMINED BY SPIRITS

The formal aspects of the arrangement of routes already give us much information about the character of mapping in the SJ (building a cosmogram). In order to determine what specific kind of terrestrial space is mapped through this regular frame, an evaluation of its content is necessary.

The constituent elements of the derived cosmogram are sets of uniform features of the landscape -- mountains arranged into an orderly system of routes. Therefore, we are dealing here with a representation of a landscape. The key to the nature of this landscape is provided by the “summaries” appended to the

description of each route. The “summaries” specify the appearance of guardian spirits (*shen* 神) associated with the mountains of a route, and detail sacrifices to be performed to these local spirits. This allows one to suppose that the routes outline a sacred space.

Let us examine the system of routes from the point of view of how the appearance of their guardian spirits is described (see Fig. 5). The appearance of the spirits is a convenient characteristic for analysis, as it is given in the majority of cases (it is missing in seven routes out of a total of twenty six) and in a uniform way. The guardian spirits are described as hybrids of different animals, or an animal and a human being, for example, “bird’s body – dragon’s head” (*niaoshen longshou* 鳥身龍首) “dragon’s body -- human face” (*longshen renmian* 龍身人面) in the first and the third routes of the “Southern Mountains” (S1 and S2), respectively.^{xciii}

Despite being incomplete in a few places, the received scheme allows us to see clearly that certain kinds of appearance have “preferred” areas (see also Table 2). For example, guardian spirits with a snake’s body or, in one case, a snake’s tail, are found only in the North, those with a human head only in the Center, and those with a human body only in the East. The East is also distinguished by an emphasis on horns. In contrast, a human face is in evidence in each of the five sections, being especially frequent in the Northern part of the Center. The areas for the dragon are the South, the Southern part of the Center and the East, the areas of the bird are the South and the Center, and for swine (type 1 and 2, see classification of beings below) are the North and the Center.

Yet, in contrast to the arrangement of routes within their sections which constitute distinctive sets, this does not occur with the appearance of spirits. Apart from the snake in the North, human body with horns in the East, and human head in the Center, none of the types of appearances is reserved for a specific section. Instead, an overlapping of the types of appearances takes place. For example, the bird is found in the South and both parts of the Center, and swine in both parts of the Center and the North. Thus, the bird and swine overlap in the

Center. The Southern part of the Center is characterized by the largest variety of types of appearances.

As shown in **Table 2**, judging from the parts of the beings that are used for describing the appearances of the local guardian spirits, these beings form three classes:

I. "Upper class"

The human being whose face, head and body are used. The human face is the most frequently mentioned part (fourteen times) and it is found everywhere, whereas the head and body are relatively rare (both occur twice) and are regional characteristics.

II. "Middle class"

Two particular animals -- dragon and bird -- are conspicuous. Both their heads and bodies are used. The bird's head occurs only once compared to four references to its body, while the dragon's head is mentioned more often than its body (four and three times, respectively). From this point of view, the dragon resembles the human being (which shows clearly its peculiar status among animals),^{xciv} while the bird is closer to the next class of animals.

III. "Lower class"

Other animals (snake, swine1 (*zhi* 豕) and swine2 (*shi* 豕),^{xcv} horse, sheep, bovine, beast). Mostly their bodies or such parts as horns and tail are used, but never the heads.

In the majority of cases the body is mentioned first and the head or face next. This order can be inverted only when the human face is mentioned, another indication that the status of the human being is the highest.^{xcvi}

There are three cases when the local guardian spirits are alike with the difference being that in two of these cases the order in which the body and the face are mentioned are inverted: the first and second route of the "Northern Mountains" (N1: "human face – snake's body" *renmian sheshen* 人面蛇身, N2: "snake's body -- human face"), the second and the eighth routes

of the “Central Mountains” (C2: “human face – bird’s body” *renmian niaoshen* 人面鳥身, C8: “bird’s body -- human face”), and the first route of the “Southern Mountains” and the twelfth route of the “Central Mountains” (S1, C12: “dragon’s head – bird’s body” *longshou niaoshen* 龍首鳥身). It is noteworthy that in each of these cases the similarity between guardian spirits occurs in neighboring routes.

These cases of “spirit duplication” provide a strong argument in favor of the proposed reconstruction of the spatial arrangement of the routes. Thus, the first and the second routes of the “Northern Mountains” are enumerated in the text one after the other, so that their neighboring location and the similarity of their spirits can be easily seen from their sequence in the text. The second and eighth routes of the “Central Mountains”, and the first route of the “Southern Mountains” and the twelfth route of the “Central Mountains”, on the contrary are not sequential in the enumeration of the routes, and their neighboring location emerges only in their spatial arrangement, thus serving as a confirmation that this arrangement is “assembled” in the correct way.

This spatial arrangement of routes also allows one to see a certain “regionality” in the consistency of describing the local guardian spirits. By “consistency” here, I mean the appearance being given for every route, the single type of spirits in a route, and the description being limited to the “body -- head/face” formula (or vice versa) without many other details.

The descriptions are remarkably consistent in the South, the East (ignoring the fourth route, for which the description of spirits is lost) and the southern part of the Center. The North, the West and the northern part of the Center are, in contrast, rather inconsistent. Thus, the appearances are missing in the first and fourth routes of the “Western Mountains” (W1, W4) and in the first, third, fifth and sixth routes of the northern part of the Center (C1, C3, C5, C6), though the sacrifices to be performed to these spirits are provided. Different-looking spirits within a single route are found in the second route of the “Western Mountains” (W2: a) ten spirits have “human face – horse’s body” *renmian mashen* 人面馬身, b) seven spirits have “human face –

bovine's body, four legs and one arm, rely on a stick for walking, are spirits of flying beasts" *renmian niushen, sizu yibi, cao zhang yi xing, shi wei feishou zhi shen* 人面牛身，四足一臂，操杖以行，是為飛獸之神); and in the third route of the "Northern Mountains" (N3: a) twenty spirits have "horse's body -- human face" *mashen renmian*; b) fourteen spirits have "swine1's body, wear jade" *zhishen zaiyu* 彘身·載玉; c) ten spirits have "swine1's body, eight legs and snake's tail" *zhishen bazu shewei* 彘身·八足蛇尾), whereas two preceding routes of the "Northern Mountains", as mentioned above, have, in contrast, similar-looking spirits. The just mentioned routes with different-looking spirits are distinguished by many "non-standard" details in the description of their appearances. At the same time, two groups of spirits in the third route of the "Northern Mountains" (N3b,c) do not have such basic characteristics as a head or a face. At the same time, in all the cases where this characteristic is given in the North, the northern part of the Center and the West, it is always a "human face", whereas in the South, the southern part of the Center and the East heads of animals are also found.

A somewhat similar case with different-looking spirits is also found in the seventh route of the Northern part of the Center (C7), where three singled out mountains (Nos 4, 9 and 10) have spirits with "human face -- three heads", while the other sixteen spirits have "swine2's body -- human face" *shishen renmian* 豕身人面). In this case and in the second route of the "Western Mountains", the given number of spirits corresponds to the total number of mountains. The context of the seventh route of the "Central Mountains", as well as the descriptions of sacrifices, show clearly that, according to the SHJ, one mountain should have one spirit. The only discrepancy, found in the third route of the "Northern Mountains" (forty-four spirits -- forty-seven mountains actually listed, forty-six given as the total), apparently results from a corruption of the text.^{xcvii} In the C7 route spirits seem to be mixed, whereas in the W2 and N3 routes it seems more likely that there are parts of routes with differing spirits.

From the point of view of consistency in describing the appearances of spirits, there is a clear opposition between the North, the northern part of the Center and the West, on the one hand, and the South, the southern part of the Center and the

East, on the other, which correlates somewhat with the asymmetry in the arrangement of routes discussed above. However, in the case of the spirits' distribution, it is the South and the East which have a "perfect" look, and the North and the West "imperfect". One of the possible explanations for this inversion is that structural "imperfectness" in this part of terrestrial space (a way to convey the natural imperfection of landscape) is compensated for by "perfectness" in the arrangement of its spirits.

To summarize, the appearances of local spirits correspond to the routes as follows:

First, in the majority of cases, a route is comprised of mountains that have spirits of the same appearance and similar sacrifices.

Second, spirits of the same appearance can occur in neighboring routes when these routes cannot be represented as a single line with a dominant direction, but sacrifices in these cases are different, indicating that the spirits are not completely identical.

Third, a route can include different-looking spirits when certain mountains have peculiar spirits (C7), or when a route contains sections with different spirits (W2, N3). In other words, different-looking spirits can form a group under the condition that the mountains they refer to form a line going in the same direction.

The system of "local" guardian spirits of the SJ is complemented by four guardian spirits of the cardinal directions described in the "summaries" of the corresponding cardinally-oriented chapters of "Outside the Seas". The descriptions are similar to those of the spirits in the SJ, except that sacrifices are never in evidence, each of these spirits has a name, and each uses a certain vehicle (see **Table 3**).^{xcviii}

V. CONCLUSIONS

The derived cosmogram maps a dispersion of sacred powers over terrestrial space. A region submitting to a specific sacred power (group of spirits) is outlined by the delineation of its core

by a route. A route, in its turn, is marked by a sequence of mountains. In this context it seems especially significant that the descriptions of the mountains focus on their supernatural attributes -- strange-looking beings and things there possessing magical properties. Seen from the perspective of the sacred nature of the system of routes, mountains are points in terrestrial space that have sacred importance. It then becomes clear why, according to the “résumé” to the SJ, only 447 mountains out of the total of 5,370 mountains of the world are enumerated. The listed mountains are a selection of sacred points. Since the spirits are defined with respect to the features of landscape, I propose to define the reconstructed representation of terrestrial space as a cosmogram of a *spiritual landscape*. This cosmogram is the core of the representation of terrestrial space in the SHJ.

It is necessary to stress here that the proposed definition only highlights the major attributes of this representation of space and is far from being exhaustive. Indeed, the representation of terrestrial space, as derived from the SHJ, belongs to “totalistic” conceptions (as defined by S.J.Tambiah following M.Mauss).^{xcix} Such conceptions simultaneously embrace cosmological, religious, political, topographical, economic and other dimensions which cannot be disaggregated, as being part of a single complexly interrelated whole.^c These dimensions are, however, differentiated rather sharply by Western analytical tradition. For this reason providing a comprehensive and adequate translation of them into analytical terms, as a researcher trained in this tradition is obliged to do, is extremely difficult.

VI. HYPOTHESES FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

A test for the derived scheme is whether it resembles any surviving schemes dating from about the same period of time. In this respect there is an excellent argument in favor of the proposed reconstruction.

It should be noted here that the SHJ is considered to have originated from the images (*xiang* 象) of beings and things (*wu* 物), primarily spirits, found on the Nine Tripods (*Jiuding* 九鼎), as described in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (“Zuo Narrative”, fourth century

B.C.E.?).^{ci} The images, according to this text, were made after graphical representations (*tu* 圖) of beings and things. Pictures accompanying the SHJ existed at the time of Guo Pu and are found in its later editions.^{cii} If we now imagine pictures of spirits behind the descriptions of their appearance, the derived scheme immediately reminds us of the famous Chu Silk Manuscript (*Chuboshu* 楚帛書, ca. fourth century B.C.E.).^{ciii}

The manuscript contains pictures of twelve spirits. The pictures, accompanied by short textual passages elucidating on the depicted spirits, are placed at the borders of the manuscript. The spirits, being arranged into groups of three, form a square frame. The spirit to the left on each side is in charge of one of the four seasons. Since the seasons correlate with the cardinal points, the arrangement of spirits is then implicitly cardinally-oriented. The center of the manuscript is occupied by two relatively long textual passages placed upside down with respect to each other.

The manuscript is laid out in such a way that observing the pictures and reading the textual passages requires rotating the manuscript (clockwise) or a circular movement by its user. In this respect, as well as in the regular cardinally-oriented structure marked by the pictures of spirits the manuscript strongly resembles a rotating astronomical/astrological instrument known from the Former Han dynasty -- the so-called cosmograph (*shi* 式).^{civ} The cosmograph was an instrument for delineating cosmological patterns. The cosmograph-like form of the manuscript perfectly corresponds to its content dealing with matters of astronomy and astrology, but the most interesting thing is that it literally shows the instrumental function of the manuscript -- as being a tool for ideal tailoring of space.

The typological similarity between the reconstructed scheme and the Chu Silk Manuscript allows one to advance two hypotheses:

First, the reconstructed scheme could have served as an instrument for determining the configuration of a spiritual landscape, used, for instance, for certain “space-ordering” practices. Several possibilities and their interrelationship should

be explored here, such as shamanistic rituals^{cv} and spirit quests,^{cvi} official “world-making” practices “revived” with the foundation of the empire,^{cvi} and the origins of geomancy.^{cvi}

Second, the SHJ could have originally existed as a similar spatial layout combining into a single whole graphical and textual elements, rather than being a text accompanied by pictures, as found in certain surviving editions, or by maps now lost, as suggested by some researchers.^{cix} Indeed, according to the “résumé” to the SJ, the total of its characters is 15,503, that is, about 5,500 less than in the extant version, which may have been the result of replacing pictures by text.^{cx} Moreover, in the titles of the chapters of the HJ cardinal orientation refers to the textual parts rather than to terrestrial sections (see **Table 1**). In this respect it would be especially interesting to explore the designation of each textual part in the SHJ by the term *jing* (經 literally “warp”, in this paper tentatively translated as “list”), in particular, its implications of an orderly structure both with respect to the textual body and the represented space. Testing these hypotheses would be the next step towards comprehending the representation of terrestrial space in the SHJ.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AM</i>	<i>Asia Major</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient</i>
<i>BMFEA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early China</i>
<i>EO--EO</i>	<i>Extrême-Orient -- Extrême-Occident</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
<i>SBBY</i>	<i>Sibu beiyao</i> 四部備要
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i>

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TABLE 1. Titles of chapters (*juan* 卷) of the *Shan hai jing*

N° of <i>juan</i>	TITLE OF <i>JUAN</i> (CHAPTER)
Part I. "Lists of Mountains" <i>Shan jing</i> 山經	
1	"Lists of Southern Mountains" <i>Nan shan jing</i> 南山經 1 "[First] List of Southern Mountains" <i>Nan shan jing</i> 南山經 2 "Second List of Southern [Mountains]" <i>Nan ci er jing</i> 南次二經 3 "Third List of Southern [Mountains]" <i>Nan ci san jing</i> 南次三經
2	"Lists of Western Mountains" <i>Xi shan jing</i> 西山經 1 "[First] List of Western Mountains" <i>Xi shan jing</i> 西山經 2 "Second List of Western Mountains" <i>Xi ci er jing</i> 西次二經 3 "Third List of Western Mountains" <i>Xi ci san jing</i> 西次三經 4 "Fourth List of Western Mountains" <i>Xi ci si jing</i> 西次四經
3	"Lists of Northern Mountains" <i>Bei shan jing</i> 北山經 1 "[First] List of Northern Mountains" <i>Bei shan jing</i> 北山經 2 "Second List of Northern [Mountains]" <i>Bei ci er jing</i> 北次二經 3 "Third List of North [Mountains]" <i>Bei ci san jing</i> 北次三經
4	"Lists of Eastern Mountains" <i>Dong shan jing</i> 東山經 1 "[First] List of Eastern Mountains" <i>Dong shan jing</i> 東山經 2 "Second List of Eastern [Mountains]" <i>Dong ci er jing</i> 東次二經 3 "Third List of Eastern [Mountains]" <i>Dong ci san jing</i> 東次三經 4 "Forth List of Eastern [Mountains]" <i>Dong ci si jing</i> 東次四經
5	"Lists of Central Mountains" <i>Zhong shan jing</i> 中山經 1 "[First] List of Central Mountains" <i>Zhong shan jing</i> 中山經 2 "Second List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci er jing</i> 中次二經 3 "Third List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci san jing</i> 中次三經 4 "Fourth List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci si jing</i> 中次四經 5 "Fifth List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci wu jing</i> 中次五經 6 "Sixth List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci liu jing</i> 中次六經 7 "Seventh List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci qi jing</i> 中次七經 8 "Eighth List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci ba jing</i> 中次八經 9 "Ninth List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci jiu jing</i> 中次九經 10 "Tenth List of Central [Mountains]" <i>Zhong ci shi jing</i> 中次十經 11 "Eleventh List of Central [Mountians]" <i>Zhong ci shi yi jing</i> 中次十一經 12 "Twelfth List of Central [Mountians]" <i>Zhong ci shi er jing</i> 中次十二經
Part II. "Lists of Seas" <i>Hai jing</i> 海經	
"Outside the Seas" <i>Hai wai</i> 海外	
6	"Southern List of Outside the Seas" <i>Hai wai nan jing</i> 海外南經
7	"Western List of Outside the Seas" <i>Hai wai xi jing</i> 海外西經
8	"Northern List of Outside the Seas" <i>Hai wai bei jing</i> 海外北經
9	"Eastern List of Outside the Seas" <i>Hai wai dong jing</i> 海外東經
"Inside the Seas" <i>Hai nei</i> 海內	
10	"Southern List of Inside the Seas" <i>Hai nei nan jing</i> 海內南經
11	"Western List of Inside the Seas" <i>Hai nei xi jing</i> 海內西經
12	"Northern List of Inside the Seas" <i>Hai nei bei jing</i> 海內北經
13	"Eastern List of Inside the Seas" <i>Hai nei dong jing</i> 海內東經
"Great Wilderness" <i>Da huang</i> 大荒	

14	“Eastern List of the Great Wilderness” <i>Da huang dong jing</i> 大荒東經
15	“Southern List of the Great Wilderness” <i>Da huang nan jing</i> 大荒南經
16	“Western List of the Great Wilderness” <i>Da huang xi jing</i> 大荒西經
17	“Northern List of the Great Wilderness” <i>Da huang bei jing</i> 大荒北經
“Inside the Seas” <i>Hai nei</i> 海內 – addition	
18	“[Central] List of Inside the Seas” <i>Hai nei jing</i> 海內經

TABLE 2. Appearances of Local Spirits in the *Shan jing*

appearance	East	South	Center		North	West
			south north			
I. HUMAN BEING: both face/head and body are used in the description						
human face <i>ren mian</i> 人面 14	1 (E2, note: with deer's horns <i>ge</i> 骼)	1 (S3)	2 (S8;S10)	4 (C2; C4; C7, 2x)	3 (N1; N2; N3)	3 (W2, 2x; W3)
human head <i>ren shou</i> 人首 1+?			1 (C11)	? (C7: 3-head spirits with human face)		
human body <i>ren shen</i> 人身 2	2 (E1; E3)					
II. ANIMALS whose both head (<i>shou</i> 首) and body (<i>shen</i> 身) are used in the description						
dragon 7 <i>long</i> 龍 body head		2 (S2; S3) 1 (S1)	1 (C10) 2(C9;C12)			
bird 5 <i>niao</i> 鳥 body head		1 (S1) 1 (S2)	2(C8;C12)	1 (C2)		
III. ANIMALS whose body and sometimes peripheral parts (horns, tails) are used						
snake 3 <i>she</i> 蛇					2 (N1; N2) body 1 (N3b) tail <i>wei</i> 尾	
swine1 3 <i>zhi</i> 彘 (body)			1 (C11)		2 (N3b jade; N3c - 8 legs <i>zu</i> 足and snake's tail	
swine2 1 <i>shi</i> 豕 (body)				1 (C7)		
horse 3 <i>ma</i> 馬 (body)			1 (C9)		1 (N3a)	1 (W2a)
sheep 2 <i>yang</i> 羊	1 (E3) horns <i>jia</i> 角					1 (W3) - body
bovine 1 <i>niu</i> 牛						1 (W2b - has 4 legs.

(body)						one arm <i>bi</i> 臂, walks with a stick, can fly)
beast 2 <i>shou</i> 獸 (body)	1 (E2)		1 (C4)			

Table 3.
Spirits of the Cardinal Directions in the "Outside the Seas"

	East	South	North	West
	Gou mang 句芒	Zhu rong 祝融	Yu qiang 禺彊	Ru shou 禺收
Appearance				
human face <i>ren mian</i> 人面	+	+	+	
bird's body <i>niao shen</i> 鳥身	+		+	
beast's body <i>shou shen</i> 獸身		+		
snakes in the ears (worn as earrings)			bears like earrings a pair of green/black/blue snakes <i>er liang qing she</i> 珥兩青蛇	in the left ear has a snake <i>zuo er you she</i> 左耳有蛇
Vehicle				
stands on a pair of green/black/blue snakes <i>jian liang qing she</i> 踐兩青蛇			+	
rides on a chariot with a pair of dragons <i>cheng liang long</i> 乘兩龍	+	+		+

FIGURE 1.1. 3x3 square grid

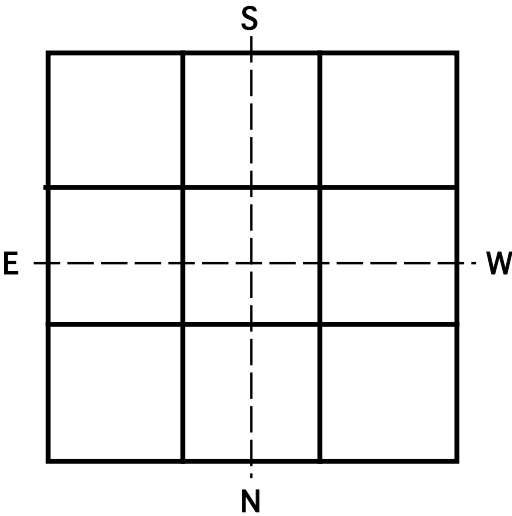


FIGURE 1.2. Nest of concentric squares

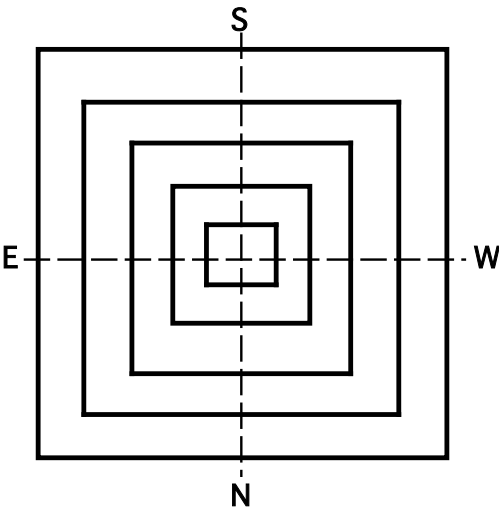


FIGURE 1.3. Quinary cross and its transformation into a 3x3 grid and a nest of concentric squares

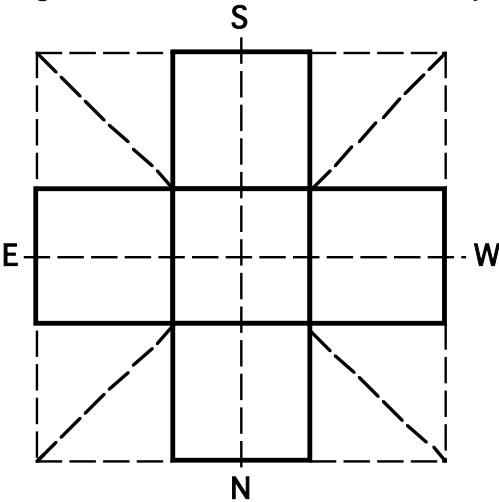


FIGURE 2.1.
"Global" scheme of the "Lists of Mountains and Seas"
as a nest of concentric zones

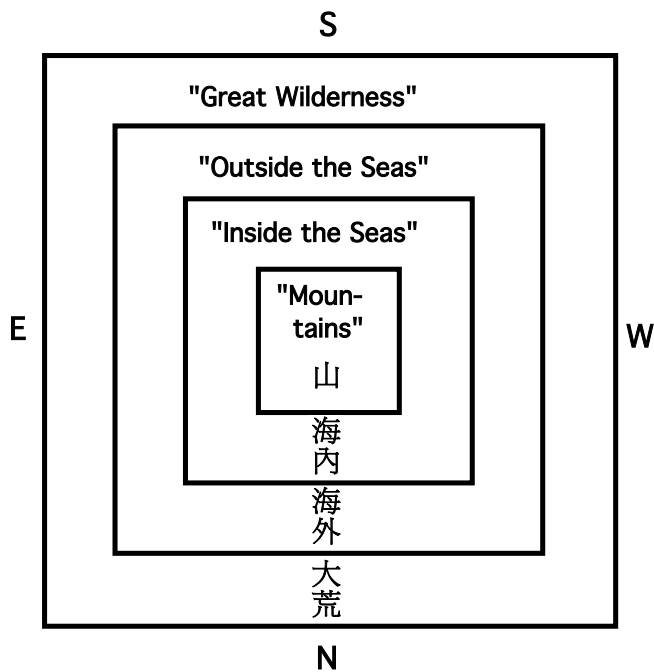


FIGURE 2.2.
"Global" scheme of the "Lists of Mountains and Seas"
as a system of parallel zones

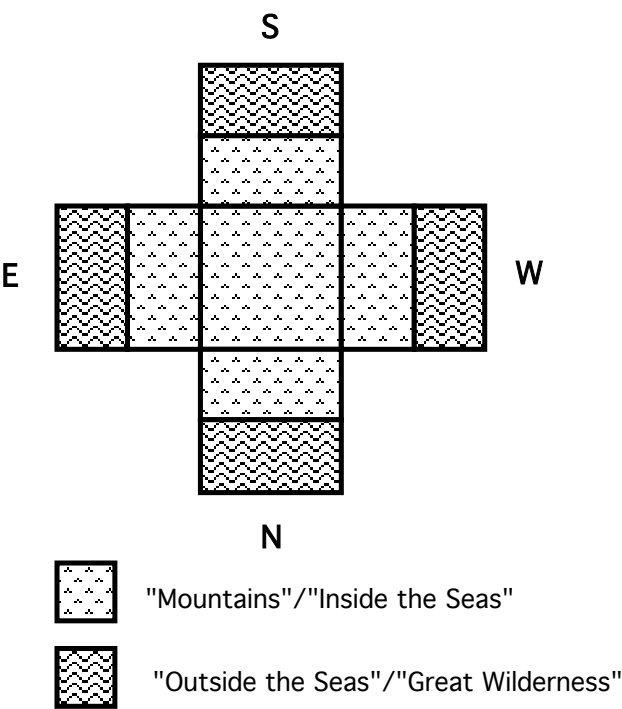
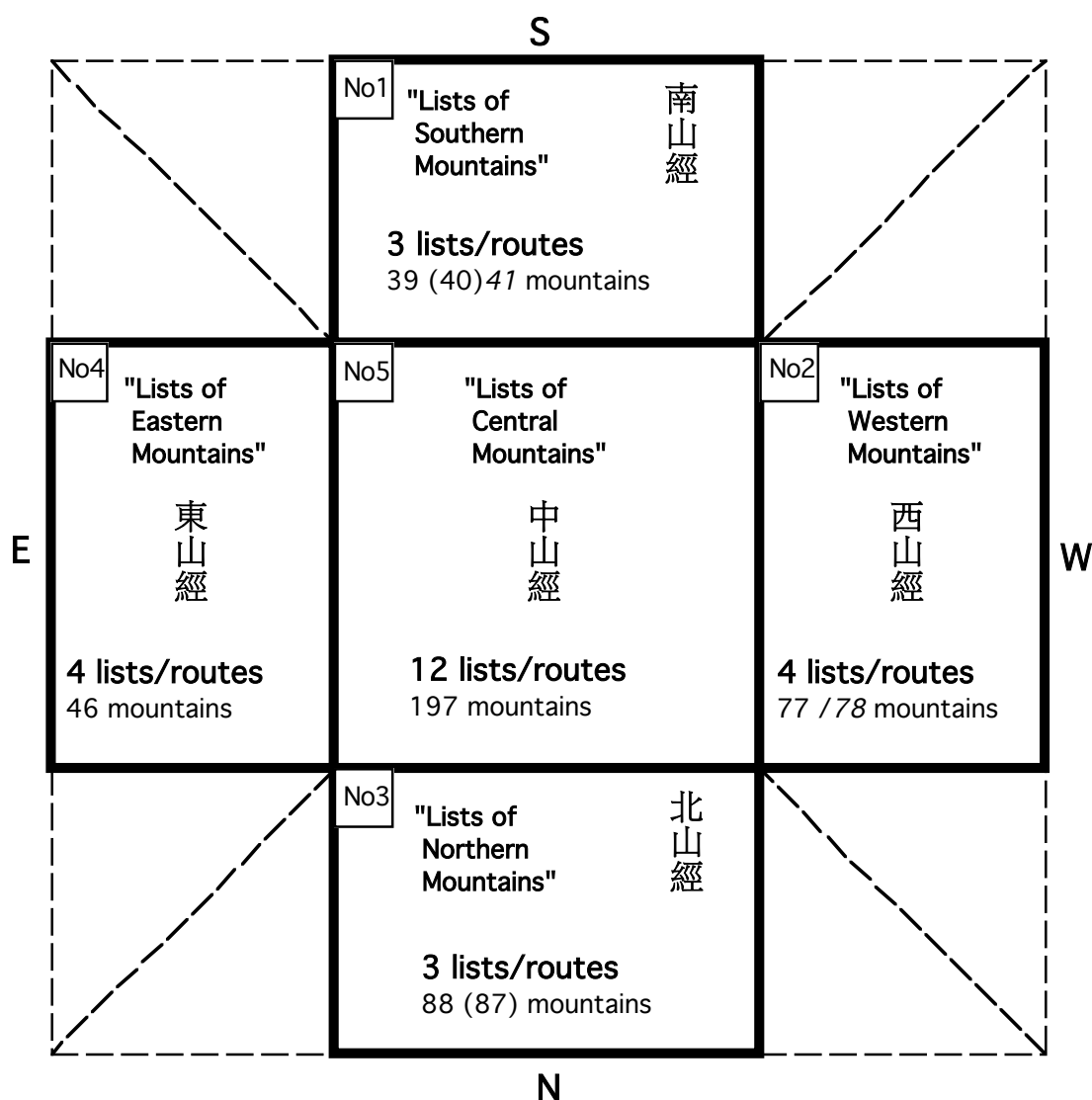


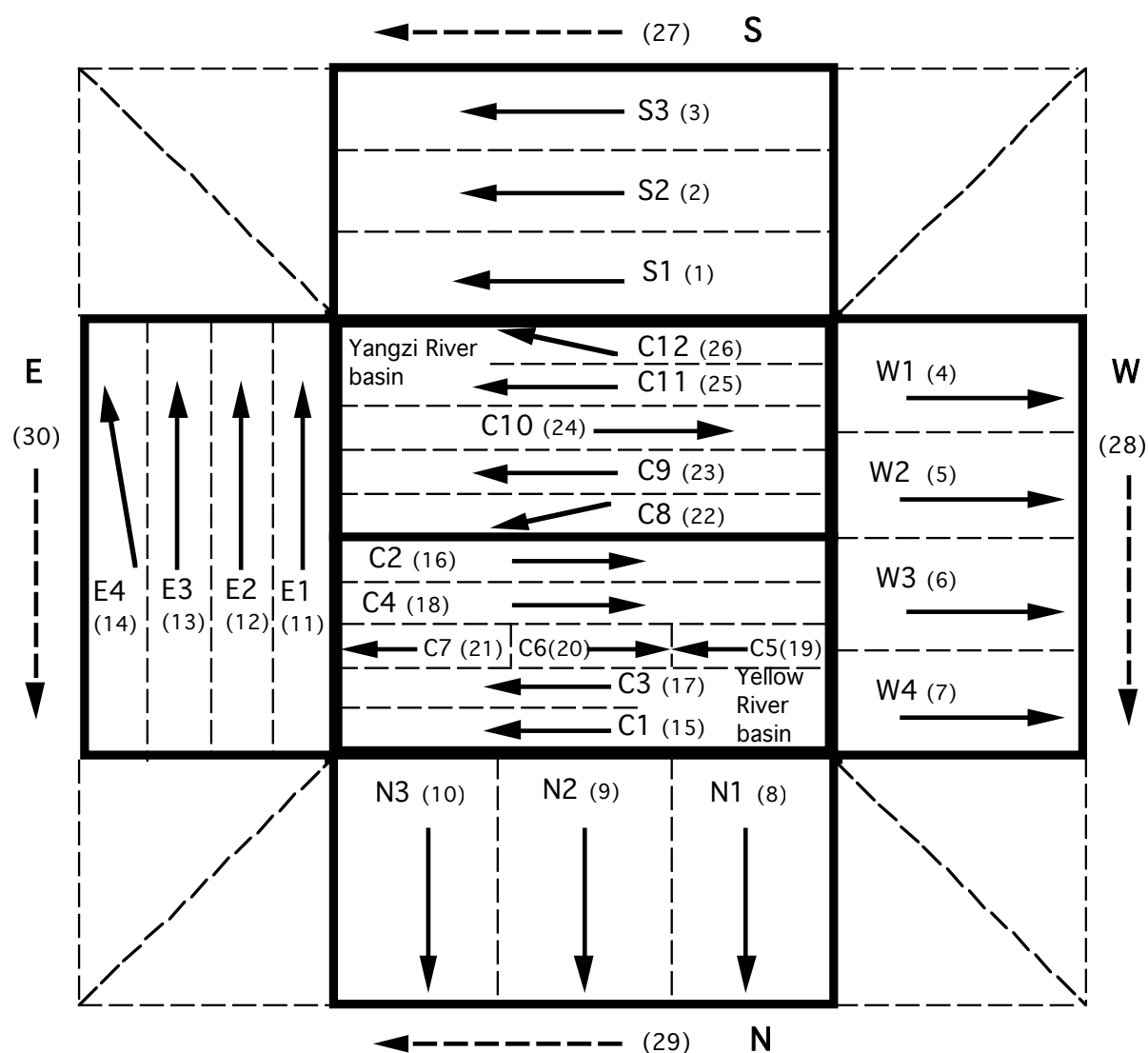
FIGURE 3. Survey structure of the "Lists of Mountains"



Numbers of routes in the peripheral sections conforms to the following correspondance: South-North (vertical/lengthwise) axis -- Heaven -- odd numbers (3 routes per section); East-West (horizontal/crosswise) axis -- Earth -- even numbers (4 routes per section). For the correspondance of Heaven to odd numbers and Earth to even, see the *Xi ci zhuan* 繫辭傳, part I, §10; for the axes, see S.Field [1992, p. 99-100]. If 3 and 4 routes here are quantitative characteristics of the peripheral sections, the number of routes in the Center (12), the product of these numbers, can be regarded as a symbolic sum of periphery.

In some cases, numbers of mountains actually listed in the current version of the text differ by one mountain from their totals given at the end of each list and each chapter, sometimes also from the revision of this data by Hao Yixing 郝懿行. In (parentheses) are the given totals of mountains, in *italic* revised totals by Hao Yixing, if other than the actually listed numbers of mountains. For numbers of mountains in each route, see V.V.Dorofeeva-Lichtmann [1995, Table 1].

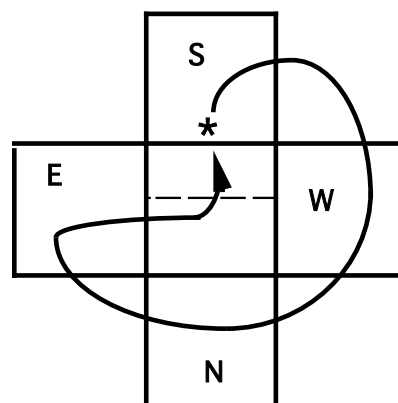
FIGURE 4. System of routes



* Inside the quinary frame:
 routes of the "Lists of Mountains"
 Outside the quinary frame:
 routes of the "Outside the Seas"

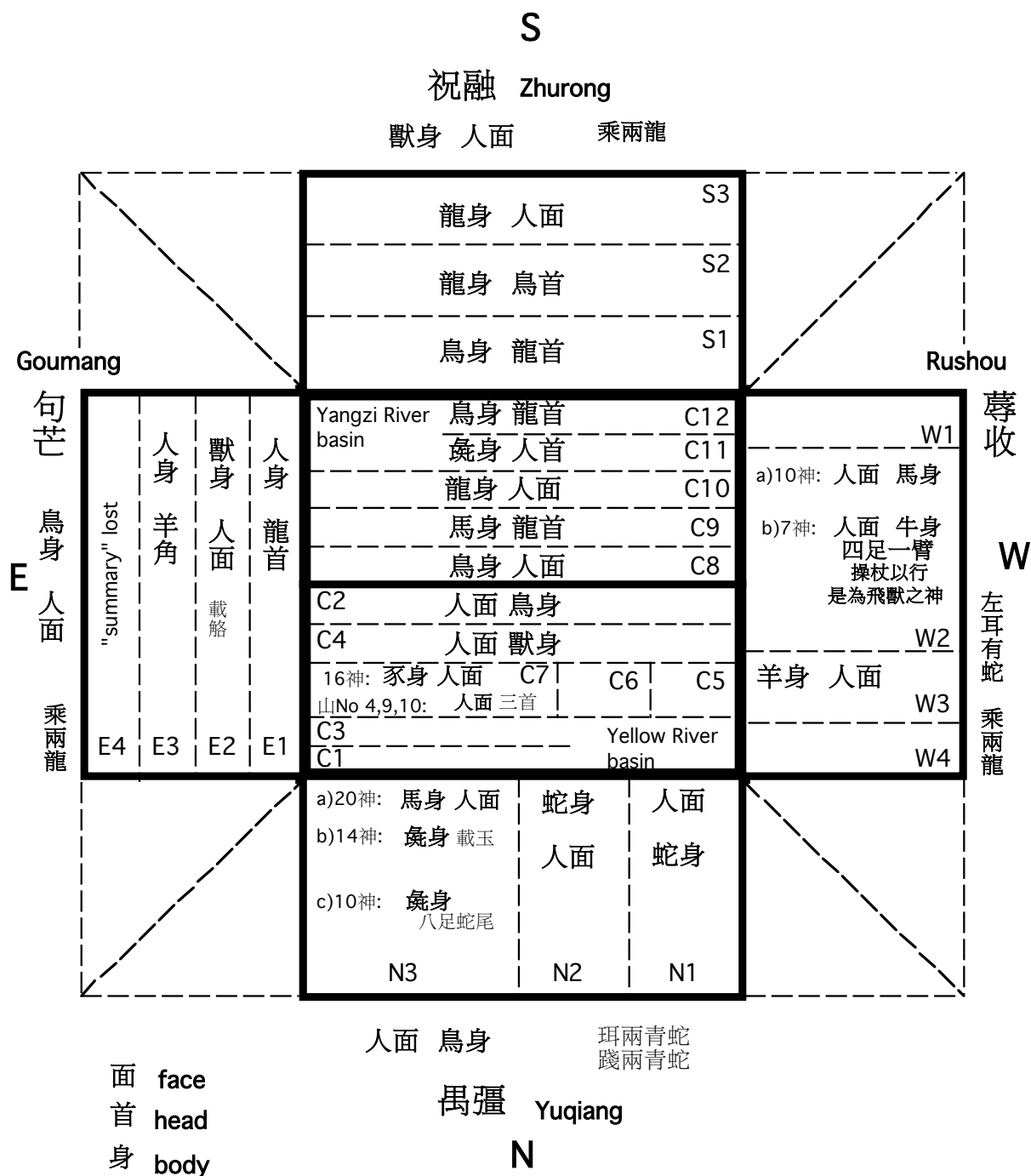
Number with a symbol of a cardinal direction/the center:
 ordinal number of a route within the corresponding
 section of "Mountains" (e.g., N2 -- the 2nd route of the
 "Northern Mountains")

Number in parentheses:
 order of the route's appearance in the text



General sequence of the routes

FIGURE 5. Local guardian spirits



ⁱ I am truly indebted to John Moffett for corrections of my English. Any mistakes found in this paper are my own responsibility.

ⁱⁱ Some grounds for the proposed translation will be provided below.

ⁱⁱⁱ The SHJ is first mentioned in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Beijing, 1972), p. 3179, by Sima Qian 司馬遷(145?–86? B.C.E.). It apparently underwent extensive editorial work by Liu Xin (Xiu) (劉歆(秀), ca. 46 B.C.E.– C.E.23), who, according to his preface to the text (Hao Yixing 郝懿行, *Shanhaijing jianshu* 山海經箋疏, SBBY ed., “Xu lu” 敘錄, 1a-3b; Ernst J.Eitel, “Prolegomena to the *Shan Hai King*”, *China Review*, 17 (1888), pp. 330-48), produced a definitive version of eighteen chapters (*pian* 篇) out of one of thirty two. The text we have today comprises eighteen chapters (*juan* 卷). The extant version is supposed to be based on an edition by Guo Pu (郭璞 AD 276-324). For textual history of the SHJ, see Suh Kyung Ho, *A study of “Shan-hai-ching”: Ancient Worldviews under Transformation* (Diss., Harvard Univ., 1993), pp. 17-40. For basic information on the SHJ, see Riccardo Fracasso, “*Shan hai ching* 山海經”, in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 357-67.

^{iv} It is little wonder that the SHJ has attracted considerable scholarly attention since the beginnings of sinology. For a classified list of related sinological literature, see complementary bibliographies of the SHJ compiled by Riccardo Fracasso, “Teratoscopy or Divination by Monsters, Being a Study on the Wutsang Shan-ching” (*Han hsüeh yen chiu* 漢學研究, 1:2 (Dec. 1983)), 695-700, and “The Shanhai jing: a bibliography by subject” (*Cina*, 23 (1991)); for a survey of the literature, see Suh, *A study of “Shan-hai-ching”*, pp. 53-95. A good index of scholarly interest in a text is the number of its translations. The SHJ has several full translations into European languages: Elektra M.Yanshina, *Katalog gor i morei (Shan hai tszin)*, (Moscow, 1977); Rémi Mathieu, *Etude sur la mythologie et l’ethnologie de la Chine Ancienne* (Paris, 1983; supplied with valuable indices); Cheng Hsiao-Chieh 鄭小桀 et al., *Shan Hai Ching: Legendary Geography and Wonders of Ancient China* (Taipei, 1985); Riccardo Fracasso, *Libro dei monti et dei mari (Shanhai jing): Cosmografia e mitologia nella Cina Antica* (Venezia, 1996); Anne Birrell, *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (London, 1999). There is also a number of partial translations: Emile Burnouf, *Le Chan-hai-king. Livre des Montagnes et des Mers. Livre II: Montagnes de l’Ouest* (Paris, 1875); Léon de Rosny, *Chan-hai-king: antique géographie chinoise* (Paris, 1891); Otto Männen-Helfen, “The Later Books of the Shan-hai-king (With a Translation of Books VI-IX)”, *AM*, 1 (1924), 550-86; *Index du Chan hai king* (Beijing, 1948); Käte Finsterbusch, *Das Verhältnis des Schan-hai-djing zur bildenden Kunst* (Berlin, 1952) and “Shan-hai-ching, Buch 13: Das Buch vom osten innerhalb des Meeres” in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, ed. Johannes Schubert and Ulrich Schneider (Leipzig: 1954); John Wm.Schiffeler, *The Legendary Creatures of the Shan Hai Ching* (Taipei, 1978, repr. of 1977). It has also been translated several times into Japanese and into *baihua* (see Fracasso, “The Shanhai jing: a bibliography”, pp. 82-5), the last *baihua* version by Ren Fuxian 任孚先 and Yu Youfa 于友發, *Baihua chatu Shanhaijing* 白話插圖山海經 (Jinan, 1997).

^v See Véra Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization in the *Shan hai jing*", *BEFEO*, 82 (1995), p. 59, footnote 8, Table 1.

^{vi} With the exception of the initial mountain in the list.

^{vii} The rivers here are independent landmarks, in contrast to the SJ, where they are mentioned only in relation to mountains.

^{viii} Each lists of landmarks in the SJ and the HJ is entitled *jing* (經literally "warp"), so are chapters of the SJ, being sets of lists (see **Table 1**). The most common meaning of *jing* in texts' titles – "classic", "canon", "book" -- does not fit well in this case. The proposed working translation of *jing* as "list/lists" in the titles of all textual sections of the SHJ and in its general title is aimed at highlighting the peculiarity of its textual structure. It is somewhat similar to the "Catalogue of Mountains and Seas" by E.M. Yanshina (*Katalog gor i morei*), the "Records of Mountains and Seas" by Suh Kyung Ho (*A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*), and the "Kompendium der Berge und Seen" by Manfred W.Frühau, *Die Königliche Mutter des Westens: Xiwangmu in alten Dokumenten Chinas* (Bochum, 1999).

^{ix} Following the interpretation of Robert F.Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (Albany, 1996).

^x A good example of such a view of the SHJ can be found in a survey of it by J.Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 503-6. Having pointed to its relation to "an ancient tradition, perhaps magical and ritualistic rather than geographical", they then state that "it often mentions the existence of quite reasonable minerals, plants and animals". Further they refer to the point of view of the historian of Chinese geography, Wang Yong 王庸, that "many of the topographical features mentioned in this book can be approximately identified", and then criticize "naturalistic identifications" of peoples of far-away lands by G.Schlegel. A quite recent example of such an approach to the SHJ can be found in the translation of the SHJ by Anne Birrell referred to above, as pointed out in its review by Robert F.Campany, see the *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 28 (2000), 185-6.

^{xi} Fracasso ("The Shanhai jing: a bibliography") distinguishes the following rubrics in interpretative studies of the SHJ: "Geography and Ethnology", "Religion, Mythology and Divination" and "Natural Sciences and Medicine". These rubrics have a clear stamp of the just mentioned distinction and, at the same time, immediately show its artificial character. Thus, it is not accidental that the author placed "Natural Sciences and Medicine" after "Religion, Mythology and Divination", and not after "Geography and Ethnology" (although geography is one of natural sciences). The reason is that many of the so-called "scientific and medical" issues have, as one can see from the listed titles, attributes of magical practices. Similar interpretative trends of the SHJ (geographical, shamanistic and ethnological) are distinguished by Suh, *A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*, pp. 81-90.

^{xii} We shall return to the "Yugong" below. Here it is sufficient to quote J.Needham and Wang Ling (*Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, p. 503), "all Chinese geographers ... tried unceasingly to reconstruct the topography which it contained".

^{xiii} For a survey of commentaries and traditional studies of the SHJ, see Suh, A *study of "Shan-hai-ching"*, pp. 40-52.

^{xiv} Especially significant in this respect are the commentaries to the SHJ by Bi Yuan 畢沅 (*Shanhaijing xinjiaozheng* 山海金新校正) and Lü Tiaoyang 呂調陽 (*Wuzang Shanjing zhuan* 五藏山經傳 and *Haineijing fuzhuan* 海內經附傳), and the study by Wu Chengzhi 吳承志 (*Shanhaijing dili jinshi* 山海經地理今釋). These Qing studies of the SHJ served as the basis for its discussion in the first history of Chinese geography by Wang Yong, *Zhongguo dilixue shi* 中國地理學史 (Shanghai, 1998, repr. of 1938), pp. 1-21.

^{xv} It is hardly accidental that the only "geographical" studies of the SHJ in Western sinology -- a series of papers by G.Schlegel in *TP*, 3 (1892), 4 (1893), 5 (1894), 6 (1895) who tried to identify the peoples enumerated in the HJ, and the only purely "geographical" interpretative title of the SHJ among its translations ("antique géographie" by de Rosny) appeared at the end of the nineteenth century when the diffusion of modern Western science in China became especially active.

^{xvi} See a recent series of studies in the history of Chinese science focused on the SHJ. E.g., Meng Fangping 孟方平 ("Nanshanjing qiqin yishou shijie" 南山經奇禽異獸試, *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu* 自然科學史研究, 12:2 (1993), 174-84) finds real prototypes for its "queer birds and beasts". A similar aspiration is found in the part on the SHJ in the monograph on "ancient Chinese zoology" by Guo Fu 郭鄂 (*Zhongguo gudai dongwu xueshi* 中國古代動物學史, Beijing, 1999, pp. 37-79). Chen Guosheng 陳國生 and Yi Zefeng 易澤丰 ("Wuzang Shanjing jizai de dongwu dilixue zhishi" 五藏山經記載的物地理學, *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 中國科技史料, 19:1 (1998), 75 - 88) derive from the SHJ "zoogeography", Ding Yonghui 丁永輝 ("Shanhaijing yu gudai zhiwu fanlei" 山海經與古代植物分類, *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu*, 12:3 (1993), 268-76) "systematic botany" of a "high level", and Chen Guosheng and Yang Xiaoxia 楊曉霞 ("Wuzang Shanjing zhong kuangwu mingcheng kaoshi ji qi dili fenbu yanjiu" 五藏山經中礦物名稱考釋及其地理分布研究, *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu*, 16:4 (1997), 368-83) "ancient China's knowledge of mineralogy" representing an early stage in the "development of Chinese geology".

^{xvii} See Tan Qixiang, "Lun Wuzang Shanjing de diyu fanwei" 論五藏山經的地域範圍 in *Explorations in the History of Science and Technology in China*, ed. Guohao et al., (Shanghai, 1982), pp. 299-300.

^{xviii} See Zhang Jian, "Cong ziran dilixue bian Shanhaijing de diyu fanwei" 從自然地理學辨山海經的地域範圍, *Da ziran tansuo* 大自然探索, 15, Sum no. 57 (1996, no. 3), p. 127.

^{xix} A classic example of such study is *Shanijing dili tukao* 山經地理圖考 by Wei Tingsheng 衛挺生 and Hsu (Xu) Shengmo 徐聖謨 (Taipei, 1974). For more examples, see Fracasso, "The Shanhai jing: a bibliography", pp. 80-92; Fu Yongfa 扶永發, *Shenzhou de fa xian: Shanhaijing dili kao* 神州的發現·山海經地理考 (Kunming, 1992); parts on the SHJ in some recent survey studies in the history of Chinese geography: Ju Jiwei 鞠繼武, *Zhongguo dilixue fazhan shi* 中國地理發展史 (Yangzhou, 1987), pp. 47-54; Yu Xixian 于希賢, *Zhongguo gudai*

dilixue shilüe 中國古代地理學史略(Shijiazhuang, 1990), pp. 41-52 (compare with a more careful approach by Wang Chengzu 王成組, *Zhongguo dilixueshi: Xian Qin zhi Ming dai* 中國地理學史·先秦至明代(Peking, 1988), pp. 16-26.

^{xx} See, e.g., John B.Harley, “Deconstructing the Map”, in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S.Duncan (London -- New York, 1992), pp. 231-47.

^{xxi} It is sufficient to say that the Chinese term *dili* 地理 accepted as an equivalent of “geography” in the wake of the diffusion of modern Western science literally means “earth pattern” (Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, p. 500), “structure of the Earth” (B.J.Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han: Their Author, Sources, Contents and Place in Chinese Historiography*, Leiden -- New York -- København -- Köln, 1990, p. 177) or “terrestrial organization”, as proposed by myself, and not the “description of the earth”. The conception of “terrestrial organization” has considerably different implications from that of modern geography, being “an orderly administrative territorial division established by the ruler and aimed to symbolize world order” (see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “I testi geografici ufficiali dalla dinastia Han alla dinastia Tang”, in *Storia della scienza*, Vol. II, A. *La scienza in Cina*, ed. Karine Chemla et al. (Rome, 2001), pp. 190-7; *idem*, “Official Geographical Texts from Han through Tang Dynasties”, in *History of Science*, Vol. II, A. *Science in China*, ed. Karine Chemla et al. (Rome, forthcoming).

^{xxii} For the rivers referred to in the SHJ, see Zhu Zhaoxin 朱兆新, “Shanhaijing zhong de shuiming babiao” 山海經中的水名拔表, *Zhongguo wenxue jikan* 中國文學季刊, 1:1 (1929); Tan Qixiang, “Shanijing Heshui xialiu ji qi zhiliu kao” 山經河水下流及其支流考, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢, 7 (1978), 173-92; Li Xianling 李賢凌, “Shanhaijing yu Huanghe” 山海經與黃河 and Wang Congyuan 汪從元, “Shanhaijing yu Changjiang” 山海經與長江, in *Shanhaijing yu zhonghua wenhua* 山海經與中華文化, ed. Wang Shancai 王善才(Wuhan, 1999), pp. 198-204 and 205-16, respectively.

^{xxiii} Possible identifications are enumerated in the notes to the translation of the SHJ by Yanshina (*Katalog gor i morei*) and Mathieu (*Etude sur la mythologie*).

^{xxiv} See Wang Chengzu, *Zhongguo dilixueshi*, map on p. 19; reproduced in Yu Xixian, *Zhongguo gudai dilixue shilüe*, p. 48 (Map 3); Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Conception of Terrestrial Organization”, p. 95 (Map 1).

^{xxv} See Tan Qixiang, “Lun Wuzang Shanijing de diyu fanwei”, map on p. 294.

^{xxvi} The same approach with the same result is found in detailed maps by Wei and Hsu (Xu), *Shanijing dili tukao*, reproduced in Mathieu, *Etude sur la mythologie*.

^{xxvii} James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III.1 (Hongkong -- London, 1865), pp. 52-67; Bernhard Karlgren, “The Book of Documents”, *BMFEA*, 22 (1950), 12-8, and “Glosses on the Book of Documents”, *BMFEA*, 20 (1948), glosses 1352-96. Opinions on its date range from the fifth century B.C.E. to the beginning of Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.--C.E. 8), see Qu Wanli 屈萬里, “Lun Yugong zhucheng de shidai” 論禹貢著成的時代, *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究所季刊, 35 (1964), 53-86.

^{xxviii} See Suh, *A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*, pp. 18-27.

^{xxix} For the status of the SHJ with respect to the official conception of "terrestrial organisation", see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Il Classico dei monti e dei mari (*Shanhai jing*) e la concezione dell' "organizzazione terrestre" in *Storia della scienza*, Vol. II, A. *La scienza in Cina*, ed. Karine Chemla et al. (Rome, 2001), pp. 197-8; *idem*, "The 'Classic of Mountains and Seas' (*Shanhai jing*) and the official geography", in *History of Science*, Vol. II, A. *Science in China*, ed. Karine Chemla et al. (Rome: forthcoming).

^{xxx} For the association of the SHJ with Yu, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization", pp. 59-61.

^{xxxi} See Cordell D.K.Yee, "Cartography in China", in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. John B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago -- London, 1994), pp. 53-65, 228; Richard J. Smith, *Chinese Maps: Images of "All Under Heaven"* (Hongkong -- London, 1996), pp. 35-41, 77-8; Florian C. Reiter, "Some Remarks on the Chinese Word T'u 'Chart, Plan, Design'", *Oriens*, 32 (1990), 310-1. These authors also discuss the inaccuracy of local maps in pre-modern China. Especially important is the criticism of the overestimation of the accuracy and "modern" look of Qin and Han maps in early studies of them, and of overestimating the usage of uniform scale in Chinese cartography (see Yee, "Cartography in China", pp. 53-70) by the majority of Chinese historians of cartography and in the survey of Chinese cartography by Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, pp. 525-90, especially pp. 533-56.

^{xxxii} See Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, pp. 538-43; C.D.K.Yee, "Cartography in China", pp. 110-3.

INDEX ^{xxxiii} For the analysis of these maps in Western languages, see the still seminal study by Edouard Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie chinoise", *BEFEO*, 3 (1903), 214-47, (large-scale transcriptions of the maps are folded between pp. 18 and 19); see also Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, pp. 547-9 (here the transcriptions are reproduced with a considerable reduction, the *Huayitu* on p. 549 (Figure 225) and the *Yujitu* on plate 81 facing p. 549 (Figure 226)); Yee, "Cartography in China", pp. 46-8. The latter work provides photographs of the stone's faces accompanied by their rubbings (the *Huayitu* -- p. 47, Fig. 3.13; the *Yujitu* -- p. 48, Fig. 3.14); the rubbing of a later (1142 AD) slightly different version of the *Yujitu* is shown on p. 49, Fig. 3.15. Copies of rubbings of these maps are found in the majority of survey studies in the history of Chinese geography and cartography by Chinese scholars, see, e.g., Cao Wanru et al. 曹婉如, *Zhongguo gudai dituji* 中國古代地圖集 (Beijing, 1999, repr. 1990), the *Yujitu* -- plates 54-6 (photograph of the stone, rubbing, and transcription, respectively), the 1142 AD version of the map -- plates 57-9, the *Huayitu* -- plates 60-2; Chen Feiya 陳菲亞 (ed.), *Zhongguo gudai dilixue shi* 中國古代地理學史 (Beijing, 1984, large-scale copies of rubbings folded between pp.310-1); Wang Yong, *Zhongguo dilixue shi* (folded copies of rubbings at the beginning of the book); Wang Chengzu, *Zhongguo dilixue shi* (folded copies of rubbings inserted between pages 84-85, Map 7 -- the *Huayitu*, Map 8 -- the *Yujitu*); Chen Zhengxiang (Chen

Cheng-siang) 陳正祥, *Zhongguo ditushi* 中國地圖史 (Hongkong, 1979), map 2 and 3 at the end of the book - rubbings of the *Yujitu* and the *Huajitu*, respectively; Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps* (London, 1998), rubbings of the *Yujitu* (p. 49), the *Huayitu* (p. 51), and the 1142 AD version of the *Yujitu* (p. 53) with its transcription (p. 52).

^{xxxiv} See Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. 3, p. 547; Yee, "Cartography in China", pp. 47-8.

^{xxxv} See Yee, "Cartography in China", p. 57.

^{xxxvi} See Cao Wanru et al., *Zhongguo gudai ditu*, the rubbings of the maps are shown on plates 89-92, the stele on plate 93; for a study of these maps, see Wang Qianjin 汪前進, "Shike 'Liujiangtu' zongkao" 石刻六經圖綜考, *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu*, 12:1 (1993), 83-90, the copies of rubbings from the atlas by Cao Wanru et al, are reproduced on p. 88.

^{xxxvii} Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens", p. 2, explains the differences between these two maps by their having originated from different authors, Needham and Wang Ling (*Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, p. 547) by differing cartographic traditions. Neither explanation seems satisfactory. I regard it as a manifestation of the principle of complementarity of representations characterizing the Chinese tradition of representing terrestrial space, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization", pp. 63-9.

^{xxxviii} See Yee, "Cartography in China", p. 57.

^{xxxix} See Yee, "Cartography in China", p. 228.

^{xl} See Hsu Mei-ling, paper presented at the *5th International Conferences on the History of Science in China* (San Diego, USA, 1988).

^{xli} See Smith, *Chinese Maps*, pp. 36-9, 41.

^{xlii} Wang Qianjin ("Shike 'Liujiangtu'", pp. 89-90), similarly to E.Chavannes, explains the differences between these maps by their having originated from different authors.

^{xliii} A useful survey of these cosmograms is found in John S.Major, "The Five Phases, Magic Squares and Schematic Cosmography", in *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology*, ed. Henry Rosemont (Chico, 1984), pp. 133-66.

^{xliv} The "Youshilan" 有始覽chapter (section I) of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (compiled by 239 B.C.E.), the "Zhifangshi" 職方氏chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮, and the "Shidi" 釋地chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅. These sources differ slightly in the names of "provinces" both from the "Yugong" and each other.

^{xlv} Cardinaly-oriented locations of "provinces" are applied consistently in the "Dixingxun" 墜形訓chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子(compiled before 139 B.C.E.). Names of the "provinces" here differ markedly from those found in the group of texts just mentioned. In the "Dixingxun", and also, dating from about the same time, the "Wangzhi" 王制chapter of the *Liji* 禮記the measurements of a 3x3 square grid (a side of each check is 1000 *li* in length) are given. Representation of terrestrial space in the "Dixingxun" is discussed by John S.Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Chinese Thought* (Albany, 1993), pp. 141-7. Cardinaly-oriented "positions" of the "provinces" from the "Yugong" are

enumerated, e.g., in the *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義 (“Great Principle of the Five Elements”, sixth century C.E.), see Marc Kalinowski, *Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine Ancienne* (Paris, 1991), p. 192 and 196.

^{xlvi} Two key patterns, a square 3x3 grid and a nest of concentric squares, seem to originate from the most simple cruciform pattern symbolizing the “Four cardinal directions” (*Sifang* 四方) plus the “Center” (*Zhong* 中), see Fig.1.3. All these patterns are characterized by the following structural principles: 1) the tailoring of terrestrial units according to the concept of symbolic quadrature of the terrestrial surface; 2) a cardinally-oriented reference frame of two core axes: vertical/lengthwise (South-North) and horizontal/crosswise (East-West); 3) symmetry and equilibrium of constituent elements with respect to one or both core axes; 4) completeness of structure; 5) primary prominence given to the Center; and 6) demarcation of the Center and peripheral layers (see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Conception of Terrestrial Organization”, pp. 63-9; “Political Concept behind an Interplay of Spatial ‘Positions’”, *EO--EO*, 18 (1996), pp. 10-12; “Topographical Accuracy or Conceptual Organization of Space?”, in *Current Perspectives in the History of Science in East Asia*, ed. Kim Yung-Sik and Francesca Bray (Seoul, 1999), pp. 168-72.

^{xlvi} E.g., the central “position” has a higher “value” than a peripheral one, the southern “position” has a higher “value” than the northern (see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Political Concept”, especially pp. 11-2).

^{xlvi} For the city planning, see the study by Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu, 1999, repr. 1990) supplied with a comprehensive bibliography on this subject. For an overview of the late Shang tombs and a discussion of their regular structure, see Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany, 1991), pp. 74-111.

^{xlvi} A complete cosmogram consists of terrestrial level and its celestial counterpart, see John B.Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York, 1984) and “Chinese Cosmographical Thought: The High Intellectual Tradition”, in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. John B.Harley and David Woodward, (Chicago -- London, 1994). Discussion of the celestial level of the world and correspondences between Heaven and Earth, are, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

ⁱ A classic example of such a ritual is the royal audience given in the Mingtang 明堂 (see Henri Maspero, “Le Ming-t’ang et la crise religieuse avant les Han”, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 9 (1948-1951), pp. 1-71; William E.Soothill, *The Hall of Light: A Study of Early Chinese Kingship* (London, 1951), pp. 84-96; Henderson, *The Development and Decline*, pp. 59-87; *idem*, “Chinese Cosmographical Thought”, pp. 212-6; Hwang Ming-Chorng, *Ming-Tang: Cosmology, Political Order and Monuments in Early China* (Diss., Harvard Univ.), 1996.

^{li} For “global” maps tailored with respect to correlative cosmology, see Smith, *Chinese Maps*, pp. 36-9; see also Henderson, “Chinese Cosmographical Thought”.

^{lii} See Cao Wanru et al., *Zhongguo gudai ditu*, map 90; Wang Qianjin, “Shike ‘Liujiangtu’”, p. 88, map 2. For more examples of maps, see Cao Wanru et al.,

Zhongguo gudai ditu series, see also a critical remark with respect to the emphasis on topographically accurate maps in this collection by Yee, "Cartography in China", p. 55; Chen Zhengxiang (Chen Cheng-siang); Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps*.

^{liii} It is also noteworthy that checks with a side of 100 *li* found on the *Yujitu* correspond to the administrative division into principalities, each having an area equal to the square of 100 *li*, attributed in the beginning of the *Dilizhi* 地理志 ("Treatise on Terrestrial Organization") of the *Hanshu* 漢書 by Ban Gu 班固 (C.E. 32-92) to the mythical emperor Huangdi 黃帝, see *Hanshu* (Beijing, 1975), p. 1523.

^{liv} *Tu* designates different types of graphical representations -- chart, scheme, diagram, map, table, design, sketch, picture. Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens", p. 236, defines *tu* as "toutes les représentations graphiques quelles qu'elles soient". For its implications, see Michael Lackner, "Die 'Verplanung' des Denkens am Beispiel der *t'u*", in *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung in frühneuzeitlichen China*, ed. Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 134-56; *Id.*, "Argumentation par diagrammes: une architecture à base de mots", *EO--EO*, 14 (1992), 131-68; *Id.*, "La position d'une expression dans un texte: explorations diagrammatiques de la signification", *EO--EO*, 18 (1996), 35-49; *idem*, "Was Millionen Wörter nicht sagen können: Diagramme zur Visualisierung klassischer Texte im China des 13. bis 14. Jahrhunderts". *Semiotik* 22.2 (2000), 209-37; Reiter, "Some Remarks".

^{lv} The earliest occurrences of the term *ditu* are found in late Warring States -- Early Han texts: the *Zhanguo* 戰國 (SBBY ed., 19/2b (§218); 31/5b & 6a (§440), the *Guanzi* 管子 which contains a special chapter (No 27) concerned with this term (SBBY ed., 10/7a-8a), and the *Zhouli* (for a commented list of its multiple occurrences here, see Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, p. 534. As can be seen clearly from comparison with the other occurrences of the character *tu* in these texts, *di* is quite often omitted in similar constructions, and, therefore, facultative. At least, some of these early usages of *ditu* imply a cosmogram rather than refer to a map (see, e.g., citations from the *Zhouli* by E. Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens", p. 237). Needham and Wang Ling, however, interpret all these early occurrences as "geographical maps".

^{lvi} Chinese maps and cosmograms are, however, more often than not analyzed separately and their relationship is rarely discussed. For instance, in the fundamental survey in the history of Chinese cartography edited by Harley and Woodward (*Cartography in the Traditional East*) the chapter on cosmograms is placed as a sort of Appendix loosely related to the main body of the survey, and this chapter and the survey are written by different authors (J.B.Henderson and C.D.K.Yee, respectively), although J.B.Henderson points to certain similarities between maps and schemes.

^{lvii} See, Fracasso, "Teratotomy", scheme facing p. 660. Similar placement is provided by John Wm.Schiffeler, "Chinese Folk Medicine: A Study of the Shan-hai Ching", *Aisan Folklore Studies*, 39-2 (1980), pp. 43-4, with the difference that he represents the Center (apparently "Mountains") as a square and all the

other zones as a nest of concentric circles around it. John S. Major, *Topography and Cosmology in Early Han Thought: Chapter Four of Huai-nan-tzu* (Diss., Harvard Univ., 1973), pp. 99-100, following the sequence of the zones in the text places "Outside the Seas" closer to the center than "Inside the Seas".

^{lviii} For examples of "wheel maps", see John B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies* (Chicago – London, 1994), colour plate 16; p. 257 (Fig. 10.10), p. 258 (Fig. 10.11), the latter map is superimposed by a network of "meridians" and "parallels"; the two latter maps are reproduced with a considerable reduction in Smith, *Chinese Maps*, p. 30 (Fig. 3.4).

^{lix} For indications of overlapping between "Outside the Seas" and "The Great Wilderness" (occurrences of the same landmarks), see Hwang, *Ming-Tang*, pp. 635-7, especially footnote 346.

^{lx} For instance, in all the ancient Chinese sources prior to or contemporary with the SHJ "Inside the Seas" designates the central part of the world encompassed by the cardinally-oriented seas associated with the basins of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers, the respective arrangement of zones does not have a place for the additional chapter of "Inside the Seas" (the eighteenth *juan*). For more arguments see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization", pp. 81-6. I advanced this hypothesis independently from Suh, *A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*, pp. 304-9, who came to the same conclusion, strengthening its plausibility.

^{lxi} A cruciform representation of "Mountains" is discussed by Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp. 74-111, in the context of other similar representations of space in ancient China. She considers the quinary cardinally-oriented cross as an image of the Earth originating from the Shang dynasty (ca. sixteenth-eleventh centuries B.C.E.). For possible configuration of the "global" scheme, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization", Fig. 3-7.

^{lxii} E.g., Major, *Topography and Cosmology*, pp. 99-100; Suh, *A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*, pp. 302-9.

^{lxiii} E.g., Fracasso "Teratoscopy", facing p. 660, and Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp. 74-111.

^{lxiv} The former term is used by Henderson (*The Development and Decline, "Chinese Cosmographical Thought"*), the latter by Major ("The Five Phases").

^{lxv} See Major, "The Five Phases", p. 140.

^{lxvi} Henderson (*The Development and Decline*, pp. 66-8) and Major ("The Five Phases", pp. 137-40) following Needham and Wang Ling (*Science and Civilisation*, Vol. 3, pp. 500-3) take the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the "Yugong" as an example.

^{lxvii} Suh in his exploration of the worldview transmitted through the SHJ (*A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*) focuses on the "global" scheme (especially pp. 285-343), which he defines as a "conception of cosmological history". At the same time, as Appendices, he provides an account of all the individual landmarks enumerated in the text, but does not raise the question of how these landmarks relate to the global scheme.

^{lxviii} Henderson in his fundamental study of Chinese cosmology (*The Development and Decline*) does not mention the SHJ at all.

^{lxix} E.g., the five major mountains of China are used as “markers” for the four cardinal directions and the Center, whereas the real relative locations of the mountains correspond to the regular cruciform pattern in a rather loose way.

^{lxx} I argue that this is the case of the “provinces” in the “Yugong”, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Conception of Terrestrial Organization”, pp. 63-6.

^{lxxi} Hwang, *Ming-Tang*, pp. 494-509 and 537-657, respectively. “The Great Wilderness”, “Outside the Seas” and the other two sections of the SHJ (“Classic of Mountains” and “Inside the Seas”) are considered by the author to be separate and independent textual layers.

^{lxxii} Hwang, *Ming-Tang*, pp. 505-6.

^{lxxiii} See a study of references to Xiwangmu 西王母 in ancient Chinese texts by Riccardo Fracasso, “Holy Mothers of Ancient China (A New Approach to the Hsi-wang-mu Problem)”, *TP*, 74 (1988), 1-46, for her occurrences in the SHJ, see pp. 8-19; for localizations, according to this text, see p. 12.

^{lxxiv} See the recent study of references to Xiwangmu in ancient Chinese texts by Manfred W.Frühau, *Die Königliche Mutter des Westens*, for her occurrences in the SHJ, see pp. 22-47, her localization within a particular sequence of mountains is mentioned on pp. 24-5.

^{lxxv} See Deborah Porter, “The Literary Function of K’un-Lun Mountain in the *Mu T’ien-tzu Chuan*”, *EC*, 18 (1993), 73-106, Manfred W.Frühau, “Der Kunlun im alten China. Versuch einer Positionsbestimmung zwischen Geographie und Mythologie”, *minima sinica - Zeitschrift zum chinesischen Geist*, 2000, No. 1, pp. 41-67; 2000 No. 2, pp. 55-94. It should be noted here that these studies, although often referring to the SHJ, are not focused on this text, and the reconstruction of the system of mountains of the SJ are not among the authors’ goals.

^{lxxvi} E.g., Yuan Ke 袁珂, *Zhongguo gudai shenhua* 中國古代神話 (Shanghai, 1951); Yanshina, *Formirovanie i razvitie drevnekitaiskoy mifologii*, (Moscow, 1984); Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology: an Introduction* (Baltimore – London, 1993) and *Chinese Myths* (Austin, 2000). It is noteworthy that each of these authors has made a translation of the SHJ. The deficiency of this approach is pointed out in the recent review of Anne Birrell’s translation of the SHJ by Robert F.Campy in the *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 28 (2000), pp. 185-6. According to R.F.Campy, “for Anne Birrell, ‘mythology’ is a thing unto itself”.

^{lxxvii} This methodological principle develops insights into the SHJ found in a short, but groundbreaking paper by Dega V.Deopik, “O sisteme prostranstvennykh predstavlenii drevnikh kitaitsev (Po dannym Shan hai tszin)”, 9 Nautchnaya Konferentsiya “Obshchestvo i Gosudarstvo v Kitaie”, Abstracts of Papers, Vol. 1 (Moscow, 1978), pp. 100-4.

^{lxxviii} Some elements of this approach can be traced in the study of some crucial landmarks, Kunlun mountain in particular, listed in the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (“Narrative of the Son of Heaven, Mu”) by D.Porter (“The Literary Function of K’un-Lun Mountain”, especially pp. 73-9).

^{lxxix} See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Conception of Terrestrial Organization”, pp. 71-88.

^{lxxx} The nine land routes are mentioned along with the nine river routes. Their account is appended to the description of the “Nine Provinces”.

^{lxxxi} In the “Yugong” a route is marked by two to four mountains, while in the SJ this number varies from five to forty eight (see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann “Conception of Terrestrial Organization”, Table 2).

^{lxxxii} For Gong Gong, see William G.Boltz, “Kung Kung and the Flood: Reverse Euhemerism in the Yao Tien”, *TP*, 67:3-5 (1981), 141-53; Anne Birrell, “The Four Flood Myth Traditions of Classical China”, *TP*, 83:1-3 (1997), pp. 229-35.

^{lxxxiii} For the “pillars” and “nodes”, see Stephen Field, “Cosmos, Cosmograph, and the Inquiring Poet: New Answers to the ‘Heaven Questions’”, *EC*, 17 (1992), 105 and 100 respectively.

^{lxxxiv} See, e.g. David Pankenier, *Early Chinese Astronomy and Cosmography: The ‘Mandate of Heaven’ As Epiphany* (Diss. Stanford Univ., 1983) p. 8-9.

^{lxxxv} Here the gap among the eight “pillars” in the Southeast, the tilt of the Earth to the Southeast (caused by Kang Hui 康回, interpreted by the commentarial tradition as another name for Gong Gong), and the closing and opening of Heaven in the north-west are all mentioned in the *Chuci*, SBBY ed., 3/2b-3a; 3/5b-6a and 3/6b-7a respectively).

^{lxxxvi} *Huainanzi* (SBBY ed., 3/1a-b, trans. by John S.Major, “Myth, Cosmology and the Origins of Chinese Science”, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 5 (1978), 1-20; *Heaven and Earth*, p.62]), this passage with minor changes is reproduced in the *Liezi* 列子 (SBBY ed., 5/3b, trans. by Angus C.Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (New York, 1960), p. 96), and developed in *Lunheng* 論衡 (SBBY ed., 11/1a-2b). For analysis of this passage, see Allan, “The Shape of the Turtle”, pp. 68 and 105, and Field, “Cosmos, cosmograph”, p. 105; Porter, “The Literary Function”, pp. 82-5.

^{lxxxvii} For the beginning of Zhou Dynasty, see David S.Nivison, “Response” in the *Forum Astronomical Evidence for the ‘Bamboo Annals’ Chronicle of Early Xia*, *EC*, 15 (1990), 155-160.

^{lxxxviii} For the foundation of Chengzhou/Luoyi as the new (or restored) Center as described in the “Shaogao” 召誥 and “Luogao” 洛誥 chapters of the *Shangshu/Shu jing*, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III.1, pp. 420-452; Karlgren, “The Book of Documents”, pp. 47-57. Both chapters are traditionally attributed to the reign of King Cheng 成 (1042/35--1006 B.C.E.). Even if dating from a considerably later time, they still seem to be the earliest references to this event found in classical texts. In its simplified version in the “Zhoubenji” 周本紀 chapter of the *Shiji* (Shiji (Beijing, 1972), p. 133; Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts’ien*, Vol. I (Paris, 1895), p. 247; Rudolf V.Vyatkin and Vsevolod S.Taskin, *Syma Tsyen’ -- Istoricheskie Zapiski* (“*Shi tsi’*”), Vol. I (Moscow, 1972), p. 190-1) Chengzhou/Luoyi is defined as the “Center of Underheaven” (*Tianxia zhi zhong* 天下之中). In the *Guoyu* 國語, in the opening section of the “Zhengyu” 鄭語 chapter (not earlier than 314 B.C.E.), an account of Western Zhou principalities is provided (SBBY ed., 16/1a;

Vsevolod S.Taskin, *Go yu (Rechi tsarstv)*, Moscow, 1987, pp. 238-243 (§ 209)) which surround Chengzhou/Luoyi as the Center.

^{lxxxix} See T.Lawton (ed.), *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period* (Washington, 1991); Constance Cook and John S.Major (eds.) *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China* (Honolulu, 1999).

^{xc} See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization", pp. 77-8, Fig. 10. The notion of North-South inequality is clearly seen from the names of principalities in the "Guofeng" 國風 (eighth-sixth centuries B.C.E.) section of the *Shijing* 詩經, see Véra V.Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Les 'Vents des royaumes' (Guo feng): un schéma géographique", *EO--EO*, 13 (1991), 58-92.

^{xc i} See Cao Wanru et al., *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji*, map 89; Wang Qianjin, "Shike 'Liujingtu'", p. 88, map 1.

^{xc ii} The derived arrangement of the routes is also typologically similar to the above mentioned reconstructions of the arrangement of landmarks in the "The Great Wilderness" and "Outside the Seas" by Hwang, *Ming-Tang*, p. 797 (Fig. 6.13), and p. 798 (Fig. 6.14), respectively.

^{xc iii} My analysis of the appearance of spirits is strictly limited to the SJ. For studies of beasts in ancient Chinese culture, see Michael Loewe, "Man and Beast: The hybrid in Early Chinese art and literature", *Numen*, 25:2 (1978), 97-117; Roel Sterckx, "'Transcending Habitats': Authority, Territory and the Animal Realm in Warring States and Early Imperial China", *Bulletin of the British Association of Chinese Studies* 1996, 9-19; "Transforming the Beasts: Animals and Music on Early China". *TP*, 86 (2000), 1-46; "Debating the Strange: Records of Animal Anomalies in Early China", *Working Papers in Chinese Studies/Xueshu lunwen* 學術論文1 (November 1998); *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (Albany, 2002).

^{xc iv} For the place of dragon in Chinese culture, see Jean-Pierre Diény, *Le symbolisme du dragon dans la Chine Antique* (Paris, 1987).

^{xc v} For differing designations of swine in ancient China, see Eduard Erckes, "Das Schwein im alten China", *MS*, 7 (1942), 68-84.

^{xc vi} There is one "non-standard" case when human face is on the first position, and the head, apparently human, is on the second ("human face -- three heads" *renmian sanshou* 人面三首, the seventh route of the "Central Mountains", C7).

^{xc vii} This point of view is expressed by Hao Yixing, see *Shanhajing jianshu*, SBBY ed., 3/22a.

^{xc viii} A certain complementarity between the SJ and "Outside the Seas" and their correspondance as, respectively, the Center and periphery is pointed out by Meng Wentong 蒙文通, "Lüelun Shanhajing de xiezuo niandai ji qi chansheng diyu" 略論山海經的寫作年代及其產生地域, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 1 (1962), 43-70; and supported by Suh, *A study of "Shan-hai-ching"*, pp. 99 and 302-9. The reconstructed system of routes and guardian spirits provides further evidence in favor of this hypothesis.

^{xc ix} See Stanley J.Tambiah, *Culture, Thought and Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, M.A. -- London, 1985), pp. 252-9.

^c The “totalistic” character of conceiving of terrestrial space is especially manifest in late Shang culture, see David N.Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape: time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca 1200-1045 BC)* (Berkeley, 2000).

^{ci} The 3rd year of Earl Xuan 宣(605 B.C.E.), see Séraphin Couvreur, *La Chronique de la principauté de Lou* (Paris: Cathasia, 1951, repr. of 1914), pp. 574-7; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. V.1, pp. 292-3; Burton Watson, *The Tso Chuan. Selections from China's Oldest Narrative History* (New York, 1989), pp. 81-83. For its analysis, see Chavannes, “Les deux plus anciens spécimens”, pp. 236-7; Kiang Chao-yuan, *Le voyage dans la Chine Ancienne* (Shanghai, 1937), pp. 130-4; Wang Yong, *Zhongguo dilixue shi*, pp. 16-21; Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation*, Vol. III, p. 503-4; Anna Seidel, “Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments”, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddiques*, 21 (1983), 320-1; Donald J. Harper, “A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Dec. 1985), 45/2, 479; Riccardo Fracasso, “The Illustrations of the *Shan hai jing* (1). From Yu's Tripods to Qing Blockprints”, *Cina*, 21 (1988), 93-4; *idem.*, “The Nine Tripods of Empress Wu”, in: Forte, Antonio (ed.), *Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century* (Kyoto: Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale (Vol. 1), 1988), 93; Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art*. (Stanford, 1992, repr. of 1989), pp. 92-6; Sterckx, “‘Transcending Habitats’”, p. 18 ; Hwang, *Ming-Tang*, pp. 496-502; Campany, *Strange Writing*, pp. 102-4. The SHJ is not mentioned in this passage, or elsewhere in the *Zuozhuan*. The earliest the link between the two texts is found in the *Wenxuan* 文選, SBBY ed., 5/6b) by Zuo Si 左思(ca 3rd third century C.E.).

^{cii} See Fracasso, “The Illustrations of the *Shan hai jing*”, pp. 94-104.

^{ciii} See Noel Barnard, *The Ch'u Silk Manuscript*: (Canberra, 1972-1973); Jao Tsung-i (Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 and Zeng Xiantong 曾憲通, *Chuboshu* 楚帛書 (Hongkong, 1985); Li Ling 李零, *Changsha Zitanku Chuboshu yanjiu* 長沙子彈庫楚帛書研究(Peking, 1985); For the trends in the studies of the Chu Silk Manuscript, see Lawton (ed.), *New Perspectives*, pp. 176 - 83; Li Xueqin 李學勤, *Jianbo yiji yu xueshu shi* 簡帛佚籍與學術考(Taipei, 1994), pp. 37 - 91, Li Ling, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考(Peking, 2000, rev. of 1993), pp. 178-96. For the new translation of the Chu Silk Manuscript, see Li Ling and C.A.Cook, “Translation of the Chu Silk Manuscript”, in *Defining Chu*, ed. Cook and Major, pp. 171-6.

^{civ} For the cosmograph, see Donald J.Harper, “The Han Cosmic Board (Shi)”, *EC*, 4 (1978), 1 - 10; Christopher Cullen, “Some Further Points on the Shih”, *EC*, 6 (1980-1981), 31-46; Field, “Cosmos, Cosmograph”, Li Ling *Zhongguo fangshu kao* , pp 89 - 176; Major, *Heaven and Earth*, pp. 39-43; John S.Major, “Characteristics of Late Chu Religion”, in *Defining Chu*, ed. Cook and Major, pp. 141-2; Li Ling and Cook, “Translation of the Chu Silk Manuscript”, p. 172. Similarity of the layout of the Chu Silk Manuscript to the cosmograph design (*shitu* 式圖) has been pointed out by Li Ling who, not without elegance, calls the manuscript a “pictorial cosmograph” (*tushi* 圖式). See Li Ling, “Chuboshu yu

‘shitu’” 楚帛書與式圖, *Jiang Han kaogu* 江漢考古 1991, no.1, pp. 59-62; *idem*, *Zhongguo fangshu kao*), scheme of the “pictorial cosmograph” on p. 180 and list of similarities between the Chu Silk Manuscript and the cosmograph on pp. 190-1.

^{cv} Yuan Ke, “Shanhaijing ‘gai gu zhi wushu’ shi tan” 山海經蓋古之巫試探 in *Shanhaijing xintan* 山海經新探, ed. Xu Nanzhou 徐南州 et al. (Chengdu, 1986), pp. 231-40.

^{cvi} Harper, “A Chinese Demonography”, 479.

^{cvi} See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Conception of Terrestrial Organisation”, p. 88.

^{cvi} In the bibliographical chapter of the *Hanshu* which relies on the lost bibliography *Qilüe* 七略 compiled by Liu Xin, the editor of the SHJ, the latter is classified under the “Xingfa” 形法 (“Methods of forms”) section which seems to deal, first of all, with geomantic practices, see *Han shu* (Beijing, 1975), p. 1774-5.

^{cix} The existence of maps originally appended to the SHJ has become almost taken for granted since first supposed by Bi Yuan in 1781, see Wang Yong, *Zhongguo dilixue shi*, pp. 17-21, most likely in the wake of the diffusion of Western natural sciences. M.Lackner (“Die ‘Verplanung’ des Denkens”, p. 139) further suggests that these maps may have been not simply of a purely geographical nature, but could also possess philosophical features in the sense of the attribution of corresponding “meanings” to certain “positions”, a characteristic of *tu* he focuses on in his paper.

^{cx} Some relevant reflections on formation process of the SHJ, especially “Outside the Seas” and “The Great Wilderness”, are found in Hwang, *Ming-Tang*, pp. 506-9.