

The Geographical Thought of the Chinese People: with Special Reference to Ideas of Terrestrial Features

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In Oriental countries where Chinese characters are used, such as China, Japan, and Korea, the Chinese term *ti-li* 地理 (Japanese *chiri*) is employed to correspond to the English *geography*, the French *géographie*, and the German *Geographie*. Needless to say, however, this word *ti-li* was not invented as a translation of the European idea. Instances of its usage are very old; in the Chinese classic *I-ching* 易經 (*The Book of Change*), *Hsi-tz'u shang-chuan* 繫辭上傳, thought to have been completed in the second century B.C., we find this passage:¹⁾

“I 易 (divination) was made in the image of Heaven and Earth. Therefore it includes the basic principles of Heaven and Earth without exception. The learned men look up and contemplate the phenomena of Heaven (*t'ien-wên* 天文); they look down and observe the patterns of the land (*ti-li* 地理). This is how they can know both the profound reason and the revealed phenomena at the same time.” 易與天地準。故能彌綸天地之道。仰以觀於天文，俯以察於地理。是故知幽明之故。

Here we find *ti-li* used as a concept in contraposition to *t'ien-wên*. Taking into account the content of the *I-ching*, we may easily imagine that *t'ien-wên* and *ti-li* as used here have a deep connection with divinatory activities. Indeed, there is no elucidation of the concrete meaning of *ti-li* in this instance; but we may deduce from later usages of the word that a strong possibility exists of a connection with the so-called *k'an-yü* 堪輿 (heaven and earth) or *fêng-shui* 風水 (wind and water), geomancy techniques concerned with the standards of choosing locations for houses, tombs, villages, castles, etc. Actually, the word *ti-li* was used throughout history as a synonym for *k'an-yü* and *fêng-shui*. Many Chinese classics having *ti-li* as their themes are concerned primarily with geomancy, and do not expound the idea of “geography” in its Western sense. These works are filled with difficult terminology, lapsing into empty formalism; from a scientific point of view, they may be disregarded as superstitions not worthy of serious consideration. But originally these works were the product of sincere efforts on the part of the Chinese people, whether

singly or in groups, to seek locations of well-being on the land, both during life and after death, and as such cannot be regarded as completely baseless. The urge to establish a standard of judgement for selection of suitable land, according to various conditions such as direction, soil, land forms, water currents, etc., was actually a locational orientation and a concept of environmental assessment. Granted this, we might almost say that a "geographical viewpoint" in the modern sense was latent in these ideas of *ti-li*.

1. The Double Sense of *Ti-li* 地理

It has been concluded that *ti-li* appears in a geomantic connection in the *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u shang-chuan*; but this does not mean that the idea was invariably the subject of divinatory practices in Chinese society. This may be seen from the fact that in the official history *Han-shu* 漢書 (*History of the Han Dynasty*), compiled by Pan Ku 班固 in the first century A.D., *Ti-li chih* 地理志 is the title given to the section dealing with expository material of *Yü-kung* 禹貢 (*Tribute of Yü*), administrative divisions of the Han dynasty, and the unique Chinese teaching of *fên-yeh* 分野, which forms the basis for the idea of the correspondence of heaven and earth. In this work the conditions of the realm, which are important source materials for the understanding of the history of the Han Empire, are described, and a divinatory element is all but nonexistent. What kinds of meanings, then, did this single term *ti-li* convey? As the characters show, it obviously refers to features of the land, indeed of the Earth, and is thought to have indicated the various conditions, in fact the true state of things, on the Earth. But let us seek the meaning of the word from its actual usage in ancient literature. Mere mention of the word, as in the case of the *I-ching*, is not useful as a reference; if we look for examples of usage from which a concrete meaning may be deduced, the first work that comes to mind is the *Sui-shu* 隋書 (*History of the Sui Dynasty*), *Ching-chi chih* 經籍志 (Bibliographical Section) (656 A.D.). In the chapter 2, works belonging under the heading of "History" are listed; among them, a total of 139 books and 1432 chapters concerning topography and travel, including such works as *Shan-hai ching* 山海經 (*Classic of the Mountains and Rivers*), *Shui-ching* 水經 (*Waterways Classic*), and *Fo-kuo chi* 佛國記 (*Records of Buddhist Countries*) are collected in a separate area. A number of groups listed as belonging to certain sections are, as a general rule, given a title of "—Section"; in contrast, no section name has been given to the listing of topography and travel, the following explanation alone being provided:

"In the Ch'i 齊 period (479–502 A.D.), Lu Ch'êng 陸澄 gathered the opinions of 160 learned men and dividing them into groups according to time and place, edited the *Ti-li shu* 地理書 (Book of Geography). Jên

Fang 任昉 added the views of a further 84 wise men to this work, and called his expanded version *Ti-chi* 地記 (Records of Farth). In the Ch'en 陳 period (557-589 A.D.), Ku Yeh-wang 顧野王 made the work *Yü-ti chih* 輿地志 by a selective compilation of the words of many experts At present, of the records of Jên and Lu, some have expanded into separate works; we have inserted the names of these works at the each front. Other works have been cited back these. In this way we have considered to be helpful to readers in understanding this bibliography under geographical headings." 齊時，陸澄聚一百六十家之說，依其前後遠近，編而爲部，謂之地理書。任昉又增陸澄之書八十四家，謂之地記。陳時顧野王抄撰衆家之言，作輿地志。(中略) 今任·陸二家所記之內而又別行者，各錄在其書之上。自餘次之於下，以備地理之記焉。

Reading this passage, we may guess that in the mid-7th century, the convention had not yet been fixed to refer to works of the topographical or travel genre as *ti-li* (geography) books. However, the fact that the term "bibliography under geographical headings" (*ti-li chih chi* 地理之記) is used following the introduction of past names suggests that usage of the term *ti-li* was gradually becoming dominant.

Further, within the *Han-shu* 漢書 (*History of the Han Dynasty*), *I-wên chih* 藝文志 (Bibliographical Section) (ca. 82 A.D.), which is the oldest publication list extant today, the previously mentioned *Shan-hai ching* is placed within the category of *Hsing-fa* 形法 (Divination according to form) in the section on *Shu-shu lüeh* 數術略 (Calculation), including the *Kung-chê ti-hsing*, 20 chapters 宮宅地形二十卷 along with four other works. Works which seemingly are of a topographical or travelogue character are not listed even in other sections. It is possible that works of this type were still few in number. Under the heading of *Wu-hsing* 五行 (The Five Elements) in the section on Calculation, we may see the title of *K'an-yü chin-k'uei*, 14 chapters 堪輿金匱十四卷; from the notation made therein by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (581-645) of T'ang, to wit: "Hsü Shen states that *k'an* is the basic principle of Heaven and that *yü* is the basic principle of Earth" 許慎云，堪天道，輿地道也， it is not difficult to imagine that this work was connected with geomancy. The aforementioned *Kung-chê ti-hsing* also may be taken for a work of geomancy, judging by its title; its not being entered within the Five Elements heading possibly indicates that the concept of the Five Elements was still in an incomplete state.

The publication list in the Bibliographical Section of the *Sui-shu* was later transferred to the *T'ang-shu* 唐書 (*History of the T'ang Dynasty*), *Ching-chih chih* 經籍志 (Bibliographical Section) (945 A.D.). Here the works connected with topography and travel are placed under the *Ti-li léi* 地理類 (Geography Category) of *Shih-lu* 史錄 (the Section on History); the categorical placement has been made clearer. On the other hand, works concerning geomancy

were grouped under the *Wu-hsing léi* 五行類 (Five Elements Category) within the *Tzŭ-lu* 子錄, a heading for books dealing with all kinds of thought systems; within this category, close to ten different types of works on grave placement are recognized, including the *Ch'ing-wu-tzŭ* 青烏子, *Tsang-ching* 葬經, *Tsang-shu ti-mo ching* 葬書地脈經, etc. In the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 (*New History of the T'ang Dynasty*), *I-wén chih* 藝文志, compiled by Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽脩 of Sung (1060), are added many works of the T'ang period which had failed to appear in the *T'ang-shu*, *Ching-chi chih*. Here also, in the Five Elements Category, some works of *fêng-shui* 風水 incorporating the word *ti-li* in their titles are recorded, including *Ta-t'ang ti-li ching* 大唐地理經, *Wu-yin ti-li ching* 五音地理經, etc. From this evidence it seems that the use of *ti-li* in titles of *fêng-shui* works began in the T'ang period, and furthermore that this trend strengthened and became common from the beginning of the Sung period. In the Five Elements Category of the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (*History of the Sung Dynasty*), *I-wén chih* 藝文志 (1345), the word *ti-li* is used in the titles of a total of twenty-two kinds of works, including *Ti-li san-pao ching* 地理三寶經, *Ti-li chêng-ching* 地理正經, *Ti-li k'ou-chüeh* 地理口訣, etc. However, as before, the heading of topography and travel are called *Ti-li léi* (*Geography Category*). Here we may see works in which *ti-li* appears in the title, for example the *San-tai Ti-li chih* 三代地理志 and *Ti-li lun* 地理論 by Chia Tan 賈耽 of T'ang, the *Ching-té Ch'ao-ling ti-li chi* 景德朝陵地理記 by Hsing Ping 邢昺, the *Ti-li wu-lung pi-fa* 地理五龍秘法 by Mao Chien 毛漸, the *Ti-li tsung-kao* 地理叢考 by Hsüeh Chang-chou 薛常州, etc. The work of Mao Chien may clearly be considered as a type of *fêng-shui* writing, judging from the title; it may have been mistakenly put into this category, but the other works cannot be regarded as connected with divination. These facts seem to indicate that topographical works having objective description as their aim, and *fêng-shui* works of a divinatory content, were in coexistence. Indeed it is usually possible to guess from the full titles of the works which of the two categories they fell into, so probably not much confusion arose in actuality. However, we cannot easily pass over the fact that the same word *ti-li* came to be used in category headings for works of different content.

As mentioned earlier, *ti-li* as a term means none other than true state of things on earth; but which aspect of the true state of things will be perceived is a question to be decided by the orientation of the interests of the term's user. When Pan Ku or Chia Tan used the word *Ti-li chih*, they undoubtedly had in mind a description of the land to be utilized as material for political and military operations; whereas for the geomancer, there is no question but that *ti-li* was the very appearance of the land, as a means of deciding the sites of houses or graves. Tu Yu 杜佑 of T'ang states in the introduction to *Tung-tien* 通典, Chapter 171, *Chou-chün* 州郡:

"Many are the works of literature telling about *ti-li*. The meaning of *ti-li*

is to distinguish between the various regions, to clarify their history, to recognize important areas from a military stand-point, and to observe the *fêng-t'u* (wind and land)." 凡言地理者多矣。在辨區域，徵因革，知要害，察風土。

Here, he considers *ti-li* as being knowledge of importance in politics and military affairs; but in the last phrase, "observe the wind and land", it is possible that he may be implying a geomantic meaning.²⁾

In any event, it must be concluded that the concept of *ti-li* in Chinese popular society was ambiguous and vague, and that the meaning of the word was different in its administrative and popular usages. To be sure, the earth which formed the object of geomancers' divinations, fulfilling the needs of the people, was not merely a fanciful realm in which reality was ignored. In exactly what way, then, was the earth perceived through the technique of *fêng-shui*?

2. The Earth as "Dragon"

As mentioned at first, the terminology relating to *fêng-shui* is difficult to understand, and the content of these works, with their ever-ambiguous explanations, far surpasses my poor understanding.³⁾ Therefore, I wish to set aside the question of divinatory technique itself, and to focus on the "dragon" which is prominent in such technical terms are *lung-shên* 龍身, *lung-hsüeh* 龍穴, *lung-sha* 龍沙, and *lung-shui* 龍水。

The content of general works on *fêng-shui* from ancient times has been substantially identical. In the *Ti-li chêng-tsung* 地理正宗, Chapter 11, *Shan-lung yü-lêi* 山龍語類, written in 1814 by Chiang Kuo 蔣國, we find:

"The *kan-lung* 幹龍 (main or trunk dragon) is the major vein of the dragon. From the dragon trunk the dividing of the branches is just the same as the dividing of branches on a tree. The *chih-lung* 枝龍 (subsidiary or branch dragon) is the divided veins of the dragon. There are distinctions of great and small among the *chih-lung*." 幹龍者，龍之正脈也。龍分枝幹，猶木之分枝幹。枝龍者，龍之分脈也。枝龍亦有大小之辨。

This indicates that there was a systematic order in the undulations of the earth which they had likened to a dragon. This is a fundamental idea in *fêng-shui* technique; the fact that the mental association with a dragon did not arise merely from an external view of meandering mountain ranges, but that the existence of underground watercourses was also in their minds, is clearly attested by the following words recorded by Chiang Kuo:

"The joining points of the *shan-lung* 山龍 (dragon as mountainous land)

are situated in the mountains and have no direct connection with waterways. However, the waterways are as the blood vessels of the mountain, and flow and stop in accordance with the dragon.” 山龍結作在山，與水無與。然水乃山之血脈，隨龍行止。

When the land relief, including subterranean conditions, is likened to a dragon, the entire area of the country becomes a series of small or large reclining dragons, that is, of *chih-lung* (subsidiary dragons) or *kan-lung* (main dragons). Leaving the subsidiary dragons temporarily aside, how did they visualize the location of the main dragons? According to an entry in the *Han-lung ching* 撼龍經, *T'ung-lun p'ien* 統論篇, by Yang I 楊益 of T'ang, often quoted in *fêng-shui* texts:

“Mt. K'un-lun 崑崙 is the backbone of Heaven and Earth, and is a huge thing which corresponds the center of Heaven. It is like the backbone and the neck bone of a man. The four limbs coming out therefrom are the dragons and are sharply protruding. These four limbs are divided into the four realms, and stretch out in the four directions of east, west, south and north. The northwest direction begins with Mt. K'ung-t'ung 崆峒 far in the distance; to the east, where Korea is reached, there is a borderland with a vague and shadowy region. The dragon which stretches to the south is divided into several parts after entering China. The bends of the Yellow River 黃河 correspond to the large intestine of a human being; the bends of the Yantzekiang 揚子江 correspond to the bladder.”⁴⁾
崑崙山是天地骨，中鎮天心為巨物，如人背脊與項梁。生出四肢龍突兀，四肢分出四世界，南北東西為四派。西北崆峒數萬程，東入三韓，隔杳冥。惟有南龍入中國，分宗孕祖來奇特。黃河九曲為大腸，川江屈曲為膀胱。

It is thought that of the veins of earth stretching away from Mt. K'un-lun in the four directions, the one which stretches into China subsequently divides into many subsidiary ranges. An explanation with concrete place names is provided in the chapter entitled *P'o-chün-chin* 破軍金; but as it would be a troublesome matter to quote this passage as it stands, I will cite the note of Chiang Kuo in *Ti-li chêng-tsung*, Chapter 3, which gives a summarized explanation. It reads as follows:

“The body of the dragon of China is a single vein travelling south from Mt. K'un-lun. It then divides into three *kan-lun* (main dragons); between them are the Yellow River and the Yangtzekiang which provide their boundaries.” 中國龍身，自崑崙南枝一脈，又分三大幹龍，中以河江二大水為界。

In other words, the single vein beginning at Mt. K'un-lun divides into three *kan-lun* within the country of China; and the rivers responsible for this division are the two great rivers, the Yellow River and the Yangtzekiang. I

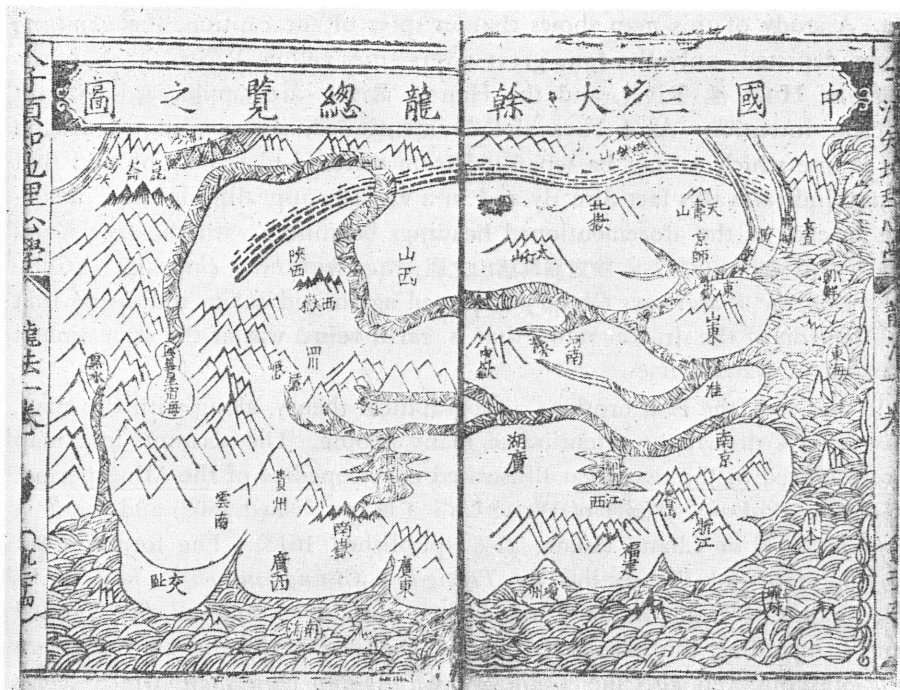


Fig. 1. *Chung-kuo san-ta kan-lung tsung-lan chih t'u* in the *Jên-tzŭ hsü-chih ti-li hsin-hsüeh* (Edition of 1584).

mentioned before that "dragons" in the *fêng-shui* are categorized by their connection with water; it may be noted that the courses of the great rivers are consulted for validation of the arrangement and direction of the "dragons".

The text which most zealously advances the theory of *san-ta kan-lung* 三大幹龍 (three great main dragons), which is in effect a rough theory of topography, is the *Jên-tzŭ hsü-chih ti-li hsin-hsüeh* 人子須知地理心學, written by the brothers Hsü Shan-chi 徐善繼 and Hsü Shan-shu 徐善述 of the Ming period (published 1566).⁵⁾ In the Chapter 1, not only statements from ancient *fêng-shui* texts, but also the opinions of the priest I-hsing 一行 of T'ang, Chu Hsi 朱熹 of Sung, etc., are quoted and discussed in detail, under headings such as *Lun K'un-lun wéi chu-shan chih tsu* 論崑崙爲諸山之祖 (Argument that Mt. K'un-lun is the Parent of All Mountains), *Tsung-lun Chung-kuo chih shan* 總論中國之山 (Resumé of the Mountains of China), *Lun shan-ho liang-chieh* 論山河兩戒, *Lun san-ta kan-lung* 論三大幹龍, *Lun nan-t'iao kan-lung mo-lo* 論南條幹龍脈絡, *Lun chung-t'iao kan-lung mo-lo* 論中條幹龍脈絡, *Lun pei-t'iao kan-lung mo-lo* 論北條幹龍脈絡, etc. I feel that the work of contrasting the argument with the actual topography and judging the merits or otherwise of various opinions is not of particular importance; therefore I will mention the *Chung-kuo san-ta kan-lung tsung-lan chih t'u* 中國三大幹龍總覽之圖 (A Conceptual Scheme of the Three Dragon Systems of China), which appears in the same book and may be regarded as the conclusion of the Hsü brothers' argu-

ment. A study of this map shows that in spite of the caption, the *kan-lung* are not depicted; only the four great rivers (the Yellow River, the Yangtze-kiang, the Huai 淮 River, and the Han 漢 River) are emphasized without any clear intention. As I have already mentioned, the concept of dragon veins is one which cannot be separated from water, and it may be said that the map indicates this fact directly and in a visually appealing form. Furthermore, in each of the aforementioned headings beginning with the *Lun K'un-lun wéi chu-shan chih tsu* 論崑崙爲諸山之祖, the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 (*Commentary on the Waterways Classic*) is quoted again and again, indicating that the discussion of the dragon veins (that is, earth veins) was at the same time a discussion of watercourses.

In any case, the Hsü brothers' topographical theory, along with this map, seems to have drawn the attention of many people. The accounts and map are reproduced in the two great illustrated encyclopediae of the Ming period, the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* 三才圖會 of Wang Ch'i 王圻 (published 1609) and the *T'u-shu pien* 圖書編 of Chang Huang 章潢 (published 1613). The former work cites the map and the section on *Tsung-lun Chung-kuo chih shan* in its *Ti-li*, Chapter 16; the latter (Chapter 30) contains a total of five related chapters, including the map and the four chapters beginning with the *Lun san-ta kan-lung*, and also the *Tsung-lun Chung-kuo chih shan*, which seems to be directly quoted from the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*.

As is also quoted in the topographical theory of the Hsü brothers, a general grasp of Chinese topography was attempted by the priest-astronomer I-hsing of T'ang (lay name Chang Sui 張遂, 683-727) and by the inventor of the so-called Chu Hsi Theory, Chu Hsi (1130-1200) of Sung. *Fêng-shui* ideas are very conspicuous in the case of Chu Hsi; but as the theory of I-hsing has a somewhat different aspect, I shall examine it here.

3. The Earth and *Ching-lo* 經絡

I would like to quote here a portion of Priest I-hsing's *Shan-ho liang-chieh* 山河兩戒 theory as published in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 (*New History of the T'ang Dynasty*), *T'ien-wén chih* 天文志 (Astronomical Section):

"I-hsing regards the circumstances of the mountains and rivers of the earth as being comprised of two systems (*chieh* 戒).⁶⁾ One of these takes in the *yin* 陰 of *ti-lo* 地絡 of Mt. Chung-nan 終南 beginning with Mt. San-wéi 三危 and Mt. Chi-shih 積石, reaching to Mt. T'ai-hua 太華 in the east; it crosses the Yellow River, and stretches north to the mountains of Lèi-shou 雷首, Chih-chu 底柱, Wang-wu 王屋, and T'ai-hsing 太行, reaching the west of Mt. Ch'ang 常 and then turning east here and following the Great Wall before going on to Hui-mo 纘緇 and Korea. This system is

called Pei-chi 北紀, and is considered the southern limit of the barbarian tribes of the North. The southern system begins at Mt. Min 岷 and Mt. Po-mêng 蟠冢, and takes in the yang 陽 of *ti-lo* facing toward the east and reaching to Mt. T'ai-hua; it links together the mountains Shang 商, Hsiung-êrh 熊耳, Wai-fang 外方, T'ung-po 桐栢, etc. From Mt. Shang-lo 上洛 it curves south and crosses the Yangtzekiang and the Han River; passes through Mts. Wu-tang 武當 and Ching 荆 to reach the south of Mt. Hêng and then curving to the east and flanking the mountain frontier before reaching to East Ou 東甌 and Middle Min 閩中. This system is known as Nan-chi 南紀 and is regarded as the northern limit of the barbarian tribes of the South." 而一行以爲, 天下山河之象存乎兩戒. 北戒自三危·積石, 負終南地絡之陰, 東及太華, 逾河, 並雷首·底柱·王屋·太行, 北抵常山之右, 乃東循塞垣, 至濊貊·朝鮮. 是謂北紀. 所以限戎狄也. 南戒自岷山·蟠冢, 負地絡之陽, 東及太華, 連商山·熊耳·外方·桐栢, 自上洛南, 逾江·漢, 携武當·荆山, 至于衡陽, 乃東循嶺徼, 達東甌·閩中·是謂南紀. 所以限蠻夷也.

The two mountains San-wei 三危 and Chi-shih 積石 were thought to be mountains originally of the Yellow River source region. Thus it is said that there are two mountain ranges: one beginning in that area and proceeding east, crossing the Yellow River on its way and following the T'ai-hsing 太行 range to the north, paralleling the Great Wall before reaching Manchuria and Korea; the other proceeding east from the region of Mt. Min 岷 in the northwest part of Ssü-ch'uan 四川 Province and turning south at Mt. Shang-lo 上洛, crossing the Han River 漢水 and Yangtzekiang 揚子江 before continuing on to Fuchien 福建 Province. After this description, it is explained that the source of the Yellow River is in the starting point of Pei-chi 北紀 and that of the Yangtzekiang in that of Nan-chi 南紀; from this it is probable that I-hsing took the suggestion that the originating points of the two ranges are determined by the source points of the two great rivers of China. There is no reference made here to Mt. K'un-lun, nor is there any use of terms incorporating the word "dragon". However, from the term *ti-lo* 地絡 (earth fiber) it seems that this theory is not simply an external view of visible mountain features, but that subterranean conditions are also being considered. What should be noted above all is the fact that the Three Great Main Dragons common in *fêng-shui* are not mentioned here; rather the Northern and Southern Ranges are made to cross the Yellow River and the Yangtzekiang. It cannot be directly concluded from this evidence, however, that I-hsing's *liang-chieh* theory is completely unconnected with *fêng-shui*; because various works of I-hsing of a clearly divinatory character, such as *Ti-li ching*, 15 chapters 地理經十五卷, and *Hu-lung ching*, 1 chapter 呼龍經一卷, are entered in the aforementioned *Sung-shih* 宋史 (*History of the Sung Dynasty*), Bibliographical Section, Five Elements Category.⁷⁾

It is not clear whether the depicting of *ti-lo* on maps was practiced during



Fig. 2. *Tang I-hsing shan-ho liang-chieh t'u* in the *Li-tai ti-li chih-chang t'u* (Edition of ca. 1140, Tōyō Bunko Library).

the T'ang dynasty, but we can see an example in the Sung dynasty. It is the *T'ang I-hsing shan-ho liang-chieh t'u* 唐一行山河兩戒圖, appearing in the *Li-tai ti-li chih-chang t'u* 歷代地理指掌圖 by Shui An-li 稅安禮 of the Northern Sung dynasty;⁸⁾ here the mountains are depicted as joining together into northern and southern ranges (*Pei-chi* and *Nan-chi*). (See Fig. 2.) The map used as the basis for the drawing is none other than that appearing in other historical maps in the same work, and is also used in its entirety in a related article in the *Hsing T'ang-shu*; thus it is not difficult to imagine that the original was revised by Shui An-li.

What is the original meaning of *lo* 絡 in the term *ti-lo*? Literally, the character *lo* is "vein" or "line". Why this term and concept should have come to mind in the systematization of the country's topography, is the problem which concerns us here; in this connection we must remember that *lo* is a technical term prominent in the field of medicine. According to old texts of Chinese medicine, namely the *Huang-ti nei-ching*, *Su wên* and *Ling-*

TABLE 1. Contrast of *Ching-mo* 經脈 and *Ching-shui* 經水

Main Vessels (經脈)	Main Rivers (經水)	Viscera & Bowels	Remarks
Foot Great Yang (足太陽)	Ch'ing-shui (清水)	Bladder	this river is a tributary of the Han acc. to <i>Shan-hai ching</i> 山海經 Ch. 2. name of river is in <i>Yü-kung</i> 禹貢.
Foot Lesser Yang (足少陽)	Wèi-shui (渭水)	Gall Bladder	
Foot "Sunlight" (足陽明)	Hai-shui (海水)	Stomach	
Foot Great Yin (足太陰)	Hu-shui (湖水)	Spleen	this river is a tributary of Yellow R. acc. to <i>Shan-hai ching</i> 山海經 Ch. 5. Ju-shui entered in <i>Shan-hai ching</i> .
Foot Lesser Yin (足少陰)	Ju-shui (汝水)	Kidneys	
Foot Absolute Yin (足厥陰)	Mien-shui (沔水)	Liver	name of river is in <i>Yü-kung</i> .
Hand Great Yang (手太陽)	Huai-shui (淮水)	Small Intestine	"
Hand Lesser Yang (手少陽)	T'a-shui (漯水)	Three Burning Spaces (三焦)	"
Hand "Sunlight" (手陽明)	Chiang-shui (江水)	Large Intestine	"
Hand Great Yin (手太陰)	Ho-shui (河水)	Lungs	"
Hand Lesser Yin (手少陰)	Chi-shui (濟水)	Heart	"
Hand <i>Hsin-chu</i> (手心主)	Chang-shui (漳水)	Pericardium (心包)	this river is a tributary of Yellow R. acc. to <i>Shan-hai ching</i> 山海經 Ch. 3.

shu 黃帝內經素問·靈樞 and *Chên-chiu chia-i ching* 鍼灸甲乙經, there are twelve *ching-mo* 經脈 (main vessels) running through the human body; the subsidiary vessels are called *lo-mo* 絡脈, and both types together are called *ching-lo* 經絡.⁹⁾ These terms seem in different contexts to signify nerves, blood vessels, lymph vessels, and occasionally muscles. It is possible that I-hsing hypothesized these *ching-lo* as existing in the structure of the earth as well. From ancient times, the Chinese people were convinced of the relation in basic principle and function among heaven, earth, and man, and concern for astronomy and geography was emphasized in medicine; this fact is clearly borne out by the following passage from the *Huang-ti nei-ching*, *Su-wên*, Chapter 20, *Ch'i-chiao pien-ta lun* 氣交變大論:

"It is written in books of long ago that the original *tao* (basic principle) endures for a long time when we look up and know the *t'ien-wên* (phenomena of heaven), look down and know the *ti-li* (patterns of the land), and know also the conditions of the human world between the two. This is verily the case. The Yellow Emperor 黃帝 asked, What does this mean? Ch'i Po 岐伯 answered: Originally the *ch'i* 氣 (breath) is located in specific places. When it is located in the heavens, it is the *t'ien-wên*; when it is located on the earth, it is *ti-li*. The pervading changes in human *ch'i* are

the world of human beings.” 上經曰，夫道者，上知天文，下知地理，中知人事，可以長久。此之謂也。帝曰，何謂也，岐伯曰，本氣位也。位天者天文也。位地者地理也。通於人氣之變化者人事也。

Knowledge of the rhythms of the universe and of the vicissitudes of natural features were considered indispensable prerequisites for the understanding of human physiology and the curing of illness.¹⁰⁾ Similarly, in the opposite case, anatomical knowledge of the human body would have provided some clues to the understanding of the earth's structure; we know this by the fact that an idea of equivalence was prevalent between the twelve vessels of the human body and the rivers of the land. In the aforementioned medical works (excepting the *Su-wên*) and in the *Huang-ti nei-ching*, *T'ai-su* 黃帝內經太素, Chapter 5, *Shih-érh shui* 十二水 thought to be from the same sources as the other works, we find:

“The twelve main vessels (of the body) correspond to the twelve *ching-shui* (important rivers) of the outer world. Also they belong respectively to the five ‘viscera’ and the six ‘bowels.’” 經脈十二者外合於十二經水，至內屬於五藏六府。

The names of the great rivers corresponding to the twelve vessels (six each in arms and legs) are given as shown in Table 1. *Hai-shui* 海水 as used in this instance is explained by Yang Shang-shan 楊上善 as *ssü-hai* 四海, i.e. the ocean.¹¹⁾ However, in the same chapter of the *T'ai-su*, *Ssü-hai-ho* 四海合, we read:

“In the human body also, there are four seas and twelve *ching-shui* (main rivers), and these twelve main rivers all flow into the seas.” 人亦有四海十二經水。十二經水者，皆注於海。

Yang Shang-shan himself notes, “The twelve *ching-shui* all flow into the Eastern Sea.” 十二經水者，皆注東海。 Thus there is a distinct possibility that *Hai-shui* was actually the name of a river.¹²⁾ Moreover, it should not be necessary to state that the character *shui* 水, when used in proper names of localities, does not refer to the liquid element “water” but to a river. It is difficult to understand, given the concept of “vessels”, why the *Yang-ming mo* 陽明脈 (“Sunlight” vessel) of the foot is alone in corresponding not to a river but to *ssü-hai* “ocean”. Among the rivers chosen to correspond to the twelve vessels, there are those of which we cannot say which rivers they presently are. However, there is probably no need to spend effort in this identification, the reason being that there have probably been errors in copying, and that names of rivers may differ according to period; also that we must consider the possibility of different rivers having the same name. In effect, it is sufficient to under-

stand that the twelve rivers mentioned correspond to *ching-mo* (main vessels) and not to *lo-mo* (subsidiary vessels), and thus were the main rivers of China known at that time when the literature was compiled. In the aforementioned medical works, a theory of geomancy based on Five Elements thought is also advanced; however, I will not touch on it here, as it is but distantly related to the main discussion.

Conclusion

The land relief of any particular village or district is something anyone can observe in actuality; but to visualize the topography of China in its entirety, maps with details of watercourses are necessary above all. In fact, ever since the *I-lung ching* 疑龍經, written by Yang I 楊益 of T'ang, reference to *yü-t'u* 輿圖 (maps) has been described in works of *fêng-shui*,¹³⁾ and we have no reason to believe that any exceptions have existed among geomancers. That maps with accurate watercourses, and also with emphasis on the continuity of mountain ranges, already existed in the second century B.C., is eloquently indicated by the maps discovered at Ma-wang Tai 馬王堆.¹⁴⁾ It is possible that the idea of "vessels" in the land may have been brought to mind by this kind of map; or on the other hand, as we have already seen, this idea may have been a projection onto the land of the system of "vessels" in the human body. In regard to these points, another field remains to be investigated: this is the conformity of the representation and concept between the geomantic term *hsüeh* (*lung-hsüeh* 龍穴, "hole") and the term of *hsüeh* 穴 (hole) used in the medical sciences of acupuncture and moxibustion. Unfortunately there is no room to do more than point this out before bringing my article to a close.

(This article contains the essentials of an oral presentation given at the I.G.C. Colloquium on the History of Geographical Thought, Kyoto, 1980.)

Notes

- 1) The original text and readings are according to the Iwanami Bunko edition (1969).
- 2) Chang Ching 張經, in his introduction to 1550 edition of the *Yü-sui chên-ching* 玉髓真經 by Chang Tung-hsüan 張洞玄 of Sung, states:

"Commonly, the purpose of studying *ti-li* is to participate in the fundamental principles of politics, and to contribute to education, and it is effective at times when we assist, or help to bring to fruition. That is to say, it is a field in which wise men first put their efforts; and is the first step of Confucius in investigating the truth." 是地理之學，固關治道，翊風化，而裁成輔相咸有所資。乃聖人之所先務亦儒者窮理之大端也。

This makes clear the view that *ti-li* was first and foremost an important branch of knowledge connected with politics and morals.

- 3) The following are the most recent publications dealing with *fêng-shui*:
 Kuan Fêng-hsiang 關鳳翔: *K'an-yü-hsüeh yüan-li* 堪輿學原理, Pao-p'u-chai's 抱璞齋 private publication, 1971.
 Bennett, S. J.: Patterns of the Sky and Earth: A Chinese Science of Applied Cosmology, in: *Chinese Science*, Vol. 3, 1978, pp. 1-26.
- 4) Because the meaning is hard to follow and there are many calligraphic errors in any *fêng-shui* work by Yang I, I have followed the text included in the *Chêng-chüeh-lou ts'ung-k'o* 正覺樓叢刻 (1883), which is regarded as being relatively free of errors.
- 5) I have not looked the edition of Chia-ching 嘉靖 45 (1566), however, according to the preface by Hsü Shan-chi, published by Chün-mên Chao-yeh 軍門趙翁 in Wan-li 萬曆 12 (1584) (the Naikaku Bunko Library 內閣文庫, National Archives, Tokyo), the year of first publication is definitely 1566. Other edition held in the Naikaku Bunko is enlarged. The titles vary according to the circumstances of publication; however, owing to lack of space, I must reluctantly omit further bibliographical details.
- 6) The character *chieh* 戒 (translated as "system", also meaning "admonition"), present in the term "northern and southern *chieh*", probably includes the idea that these areas should be vigilant against the northern and southern barbarian tribes, as mentioned in the succeeding passage. As a Buddhist priest, I-hsing probably also had in mind the Five Precepts (*wu-chieh* 五戒) of Buddhism.
- 7) Aside from these two works, over ten more kinds are listed in the Five Elements Category bearing the name of Priest I-hsing, including some unrelated to geomancy. Along with I-hsing, the famous astronomer Li Ch'un-fêng 李淳風 of T'ang has many works entered under this heading. Clearly both men were deeply involved in divination as well as in their own fields. Indeed, this is probably to be expected; as the sciences of astronomy, meteorology and geography doubtless would not have existed apart from divination at that time.
- 8) For the formation and bibliography of publication of the *Li-tai ti-li chih-chang t'u* itself, readers are referred to my article, Chügoku ni okeru Rekishi-Chizu no Hensen 中國における歴史地圖の變遷 (A History of the Historical Cartography in China) in the *Tō-Sō Jidai no Gyōsei-Keizai Chizu no Sakusei Kenkyū Seika Hōkokusho* 唐宋時代の行政經濟地圖の作製研究成果報告書 (*Historico-Cartographical Studies on the Administration and the Economy of China in the T'ang and Sung Dynasties*), edited by Chōfū Nunome 布目潮瀆, 1981, pp. 1-38.
- 9) Regarding the *Huang-ti nei-ching*, the following works are cited as a reference:
 Veith, I.: *Huang-ti nei-ching, Su-wên: The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*, New Edition, 1966.
 Yamada, K.: The Formation of the *Huang-ti nei-ching*, in: *Acta Asiatica*, 36, 1979, pp. 67-89.
- 10) The Greek Hippokrates also mentioned the need for any true study of medicine to take into account the seasons, wind, water, location, etc. (See *Hipokratesu Zenshū* ヒポクラテス全集, Japanese trans. by Yutaka Kon 今裕 1931, p. 291) However, his emphasis was always on the influence of the natural environment on the human condition and on illness; this was not the same as the correlation between heaven, earth and man which formed the basis for *yin/yang* thought. (This note is to serve as a belated answer to the question put at my oral presentation during the I.G.C. Colloquium on the History of Geographical Thought, Kyoto, 1980, by Professor Anne Buttmer, Clark University, U.S.A., regarding the relationship with Hippocratic medicine.)
- 11) *Huang-ti nei-ching*, *T'ai-su*, Chapter 5, *Shih-êrh-shui*, Yang Shang-shan's note.
- 12) An identical article appears in the *Ling-shu*, Chapter 6, *Hai-lun* 海論: here we find "The main rivers all flow into the sea" 經水者, 皆注於海.
- 13) For example, it is written in the *I-lung ching*, Chapter 1, "Mainly we think of the courses of rivers according to the maps" 先就輿圖觀水源, "A detailed exposition is necessary

above the maps" 輿圖之上要細論, and other similar passages. Also, the *Jên-tsü hsü-chih ti-li hsün-hsüeh*, Chapter 1, has "Now, as we ponder while looking at the maps. . . ." 今以輿圖攷之 in two different places.

- 14) See my article, Chizugaku-teki Kenchi yori suru Maōtai Shutsudo Chizu no Kentō 地圖學的見地よりする馬王堆出土地圖の検討 (The Two Han Maps Discovered at Ma-wang Tui: A Cartographical Study), in: *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 (*Journal of Oriental Studies*), Kyoto, No. 51, 1979, pp. 59-82.