An Analysis of Literary and Philosophical Aspects of the Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake (1587-1641)

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ABSTRACT

Xu Xiake, China's best-known travel writer, spent a lifetime visiting and writing about the country's famous beauty spots. At the age of fifty, he embarked on a three year journey to the southwest of the country, an area, inhabited largely by minority peoples, which had only recently come back under Chinese imperial control.

The general view of Xu's extensive travel diaries is that he brought a new sober, analytical approach to a genre previously the domain of the dilettante. On the basis of his exploration of the rivers, mountains and karst caves of southwest China, he has been considered as a pioneer of active field research.

After an introduction to the history of the development of the travel diary in China, from its origins in the fantastic exploits of China's mythological kings and emperors to its emergence as an independent literary genre in the Tang dynasty, there will follow a short biography of Xu Xiake and a consideration of certain aspects of his personality. The main body of the thesis is then taken up with a close examination of a greatly expanded edition of his diary of his expedition to southwest China, discovered in the 1970s, with particular attention being paid to his attitudes firstly towards the region's non-Han peoples and secondly to its startling mountainous scenery. Finally, there will be a discussion of Xu's poetry and a recently discovered colophon which he wrote for an edition of Chinese poetry produced by the indigenous ruler of a part of Yunnan province.

In spite of his zealous exploratory endeavour, Xu's scientific methods were primitive and many of his supposed discoveries have since been shown to be either erroneous or not original. Xu's diaries and his miscellanea, however, reveal a remarkable individual, perfectly in tune with the tastes of his age. His writing, full of references to the great lyrical writers of earlier generations, is sparkling and worthy of a place in the tradition of the classical Chinese travel diary. Imbued with a deep love of Nature and a desire to find freedom from worldly concerns, Xu was a man obsessed with seeing and describing the landscape.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dr Bill Dolby has been a source of enormous inspiration from the start of this project, giving unstinting assistance. I owe a huge debt to his skills and enthusiasm.
I would like to thank others who have contributed to the completion of this thesis. Dr Tommy McClellan's advice and comments have been much appreciated. Dr Paul Bailey, Stephan Bumbacher and Dr Anders Hansson have also all been involved at different stages of the project and I have benefited greatly from their expertise. The Edinburgh/Durham Seminar group, initiated by Professor Bonnie McDougall, provided a useful, supportive forum for academic debate.
I would also like to thank Professor Gregor Benton of the University of Leeds for his encouragement.
David Ellis, my fellow post-graduate, has provided much moral support and valuable criticism of early drafts. I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the ever-courteous help of Margaret Gall.
I was fortunate in attaining a three year grant for my research from the Scottish Education Department, who also furnished me, at short notice, with funds to attend two conferences in China on Xu Xiake, the first, which took place in Guilin in 1991, being particularly beneficial. I was able to gather much useful material and also establish contact with a number of scholars working in the field.
Parts of chapter five appeared in a different form as a paper entitled "From the Central Plains to the Source of the Yangtse: Xu Xiake's visit to Yunnan" presented at the Seventh International Conference of the British Comparative Literature Association in July 1995.
Parts of chapter six appeared in a different form as a paper entitled *Cave Paradises and Talismans: Voyages through China's Sacred Mountains* (Leeds East Asia Papers no. 29) published by the University of Leeds, 1995.
The final version of the text incorporates the helpful corrections and suggestions of my examiners. Dr Andrew Lo, in particular, went to a lot of trouble to help improve my work on Xu Xiake's Colophon for Mu Zeng (see pp. 205-7 and 224-6).

Above all I would like to thank my family, Dee, David and Greg for five years of love and support and I dedicate this work to them.

I hereby declare this thesis to be my own work.

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Introductory information.

The romanisation of Chinese characters is according to the Pinyin system.
For references to the text of Xu's travel diaries, I have, unless otherwise indicated, used the first edition to incorporate the version of Xu's diaries discovered in the 1970s. This was first published by Shanghai Guji in 1983. Further editions in 1987 and 1993 included several additional pieces. For this reason, there are slight variations in pagination in the latter stage of the 1987 edition, on which this thesis is based. For the earlier edition of the diaries I used *Guoji Jiben Congshu Sibaizhong* series, vol. 350, edited by Wang Yunwu. In chapter three the newly discovered text of the diaries will be referred to as JML while the earlier text will be referred to as *Tongxingben* or WYW.
I also consulted the edition edited by Ding Wenjiang *Xu Xiake Youji Ding Wenjiang Biaodian Qianyin Ben* (Ding Wenjiang's Punctuated Typographic Edition of the Xu Xiake Travel Diaries). Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1928.

Regularly used acronyms:
DMB L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds. *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644.* 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
ECCP Arthur Hummel, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912).* 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: 1943.
GDYJX Ni Qixin et al, eds. *Zhongguo Gudai Youji Xuan.* (Anthology of Classical Chinese Travel Diaries) Beijing: Zhongguo Lüyou, 1985.
JYWXS Li Boqi, ed., *Zhongguo Gudai Jiyou Wenxue Shi* (A History of Ancient Chinese Travel Literature) Jinan: Shandong Youyi Shushe, 1989.
QTS *Quan Tang Shi* (Complete Poems of the Tang Dynasty) 3 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1989.
SBBY *Sibu beiyao* Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965.
SHJ *Shanhai Jing* (The Mountain and Seas Classic) SBBY. Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965.
SKQS *Siku quanshu* Shanghai: Guji, 1987.
SSWH Zheng Zu'an and Jiang Minghong, eds., *Xu Xiake yu Shanshui Wenxue,* (Xu Xiake and Nature Literature), Shanghai: Wenhua, 1994.
XXKYJ *Xu Xiake Youji* (The Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake), edited by Chu Shaotang and Wu Yingtao. Two vols. Shanghai: Guji, 1987.
ZHR *Xu Xiake Youji Jiaozhu* (Annotated Edition of The Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake) edited and annotated by Zhu Huirong. Kunming: Yunnan Renmin, 1985.

Introduction

The writing of travel diaries (*youji*) in China emerged as a literary genre in its own right during the Tang dynasty. By the end of the Ming dynasty, *youji* were no longer a mere sideline, but an important form of literature, a vehicle for the expression of the quest for personal enlightenment and of a growing wish for accurate geographical information. Xu Xiake has long been considered the greatest of all Ming dynasty Chinese travel writers, acknowledged by many of the great literary figures of his age as a remarkable man.

Since then, however, the acclaim bestowed on Xu has seemed half-hearted and meretricious, as if somehow praise had been awarded solely on the basis of the huge distances he covered. Indeed, many have criticised Xu's methods and literary style. The Qing writer, Li Ciming (1830-1894), wrote:

> In writing about Nature, the material should be fit for engraving, for the joy of travel is most valuable in inspiring emotion. In his desire to experience in person the unfathomable, [Xu] Xiake scaled the precipitous and clambered up into the void, merely in order to satiate his taste for the strange and certainly not out of a desire to convey either a profound aesthetic appreciation or the true love of the ancients for clouds and mists. Moreover, his intentions are muddled, his narrative a mess, to the extent that the mystique of marvellous sites is lost, and the allure of beautiful regions obscured, with the result that compilers of travellers' guides cannot find the true path within his writing, and those interested in famous sites are left dissatisfied. Furthermore, his interests lie in the orientations of ridges, theories akin to those of the geomancer, which are quite without foundation. He has certainly not carried out his investigations on the basis of either ancient or modern geography, totally ignoring the names and places of past glories. Accordingly since the end of the Ming dynasty, scholars have not read his work. I cannot imagine why it should be studied. [1]

Amongst recent critics, there has also been a muted response. Liang Xiuhong, for example, felt that large parts of Xu's diaries were dull and trivial, writing, "Almost nowhere do we get a real impression of him being influenced by contemporary literary trends."[2]

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[1] Li Ciming, *Yuemantang du shu ji.* 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 472-3.

[2] Liang Xiuhong, *Xu Xiake Ji Qi Youji zhi Wenxue Yanjiu* (A Literary Study of Xu Xiake and his Travel Diaries) PhD thesis. (Taibei: Zhengzhi Daxue, 1986), pp. 157 and 2. For three typical comments in recent western scholarly works, see Chou Chih-ping who described Xu's motivation as "more utilitarian than sensual or aesthetic." Chou Chih-ping, *Yuan Hung-tao and the Kung-an School.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 112 and Ganza who wrote: "One searches in vain through the pages of his many travel diaries for the type of thoughtful reveries or brooding

Yet from the very first line of his first extant travelogue, where he wrote that, "human intentions and the light in the mountains had an appearance of delight" (XXKYJ 1), Xu's diaries resound with a love of, and empathy for, the landscape. This thesis will show the great literary merit of Xu's diaries and will also refute the charge that Xu's account of his journey to southwest China has much less literary value than those of his early trips to mountains. [3] In fact the sensuality of Xu's early diaries, far from being absent in his later works, remains powerfully present. This work will concentrate on Xu's later diaries, partly because much attention has already been paid to his early visits to the mountains of eastern China and also because of the discovery in the 1970s of an edition of his journey to southwest China, containing substantial amounts of new information.

Chapter one will give a history of travel writing in China from the earliest times when fact and fiction existed side by side, paying particular attention to mythological precursors of the genre of travel writing, before the "travel diary" (*youji*) emerged as a distinct literary form during the Tang dynasty. Richard Strassberg has recently given an excellent survey of the history of *youji* as far as the Song dynasty. For this reason and because of the proliferation of interest in the recording of accurate geographical material, this chapter will conclude with a lengthy section on the Ming dynasty, incorporating other developments in society which give an understanding to the way in which Xu Xiake's thought and methods evolved. Two major *youji* writers of the late-Ming, Wang Shixing and Yuan Hongdao, will be introduced, in order to show how their work influenced Xu's writing.

Chapter two will give an outline of the events of Xu's life, including details of his ancestors and parents. This will be followed by a consideration of certain aspects of Xu's character as well as his putative achievements in the field of geographical research.

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allusions that characterise the travel writing of earlier authors." Kenneth Stanley Ganza, *The Artist as Traveller: The Origin and Development of Travel in China as a Theme in Chinese Landscape Painting of the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries.* Ph.D. thesis. (Ann Arbor: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 159 and Leo Ou-fan Lee, who also stressed Xu's "objective" style, before going on to say that his ambition, "was merely to traverse the geographical landscape of China and to surpass his predecessors in the detail and accuracy of his findings." in "The Solitary Traveller: Images of Self in Modern Chinese Literature" in Robert Hegel, ed. *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 282-307. As will be revealed below, other scholars, such as Joseph Needham, have perhaps over-exaggerated Xu's claims to greatness in the field of geographical investigation.

[3] See for example, the comments of Jacques Dars in Xu Xiake *Randonnées aux Sites Sublimes.* Translated by Jacques Dars. (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), Introduction, pp. XXIV-XXV.

Chapter three gives the background to the history of the publication of Xu's diaries. The information found within the edition of Xu's diaries discovered in the 1970s will then be examined to show how Xu's reputation as a mere pen-pusher, and in particular the criticism levelled at him by Li Ciming of producing a "muddled" diary, is unwarranted. This chapter will end with an examination of Xu's methodology and literary style. At this point, the thesis will in general revert to a discussion of Xu's diaries as a whole with regular references to particular passages edited out of the old text.

Chapter four will continue this examination with a close study of Xu's language, above all his language of aesthetic appraisal, which is firmly rooted in the works of the great Nature-loving aesthetes of ancient China, while also reflecting the concerns of the literati of the late-Ming period.

Chapter five is concerned with the time Xu spent in southwest China and his attitude to the ethnic peoples of the region, placed in the context of contemporary thinking. Xu's visit to Mu Zeng, the powerful leader of an ethnic group in northwest Yunnan, reveals much about Xu's ideology and his stay with Mu is in many ways the climax of Xu's travels.

Chapter six deals with Xu's interest in mountains and caves. He spent years visiting remote scenery and investigating caves. The chapter concludes with the translation of a recently discovered essay about mountains written for Mu Zeng in which Xu revealed the true motivation for his travels.

Underlying the whole thesis is the desire to reflect accurately Xu's position as a figure of his age whose concerns were those of the late-Ming literatus. The thesis will give a picture of Xu Xiake as a compulsive traveller, a peripatetic recluse. More attention will be paid to his later diaries of his journey to southwest China as these have received comparatively less attention than his earlier diaries which are closer in style to the standard travel diary.

Some attention will be paid to western scholarship on the art of travel writing, particularly when looking at the idea of encounters with the "Other", though such most works are notably eurocentric, dealing largely with the attitudes of western colonial explorers of the last few hundred years. [4] More attention will be given to the place of Xu Xiake in the history of Chinese travel writing and his position as an important figure of the late-Ming world.

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[4] The most useful of these works was Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism.* (New York: Basic Books, 1991). Typical of the eurocentric attitudes expressed in much western discussion of travel writing is a comment in a recent article about the modern British writer, Norman Lewis, "He tends to be considered as the guru of that peculiarly English genre, travel writing." in Julian Evans "The Happy Wanderer." *Guardian Weekend*, May 11 1996, 29-32.

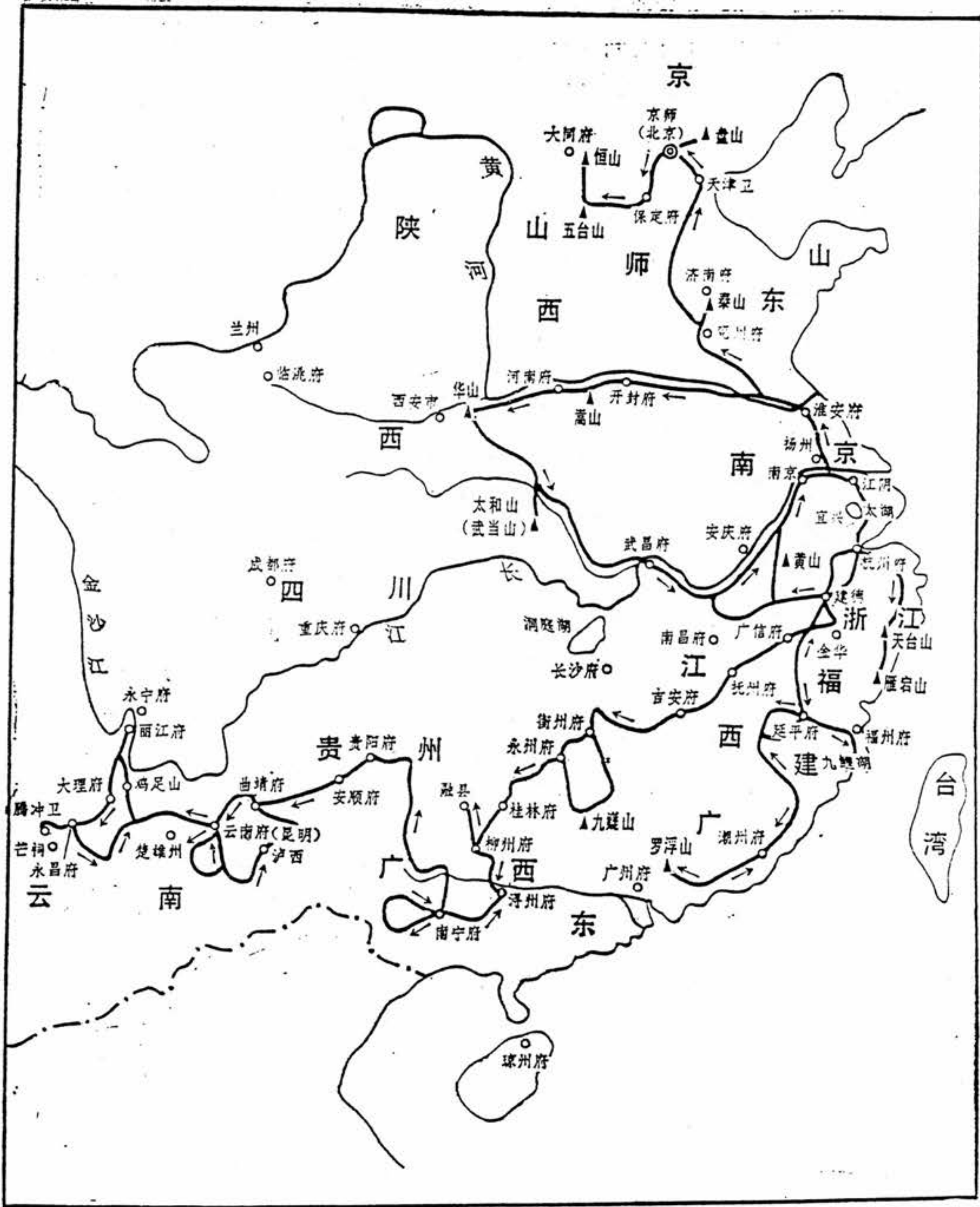
At the core of this thesis is a discussion of the relative balance in Xu Xiake's writing between the accurate recording of observations and Xu's application of traditional and contemporary Chinese poetic language to express an emotional response to the landscape through which he passed. The two sides of the argument are encapsulated in an early foreword to Xu's diaries, written by Shi Xialong, which underlines Xu Xiake's interest in both subjective and objective concerns:

> When he arrived at a famous spot, he had to unravel the remarkable and pluck out the mysterious: when he arrived at a river he had to find its source, when he arrived at a mountain he had to seek out its vein. (XXKYJ 1266)

It is the aim of this thesis to shed new light on the importance of the subjective in Xu Xiake's works.

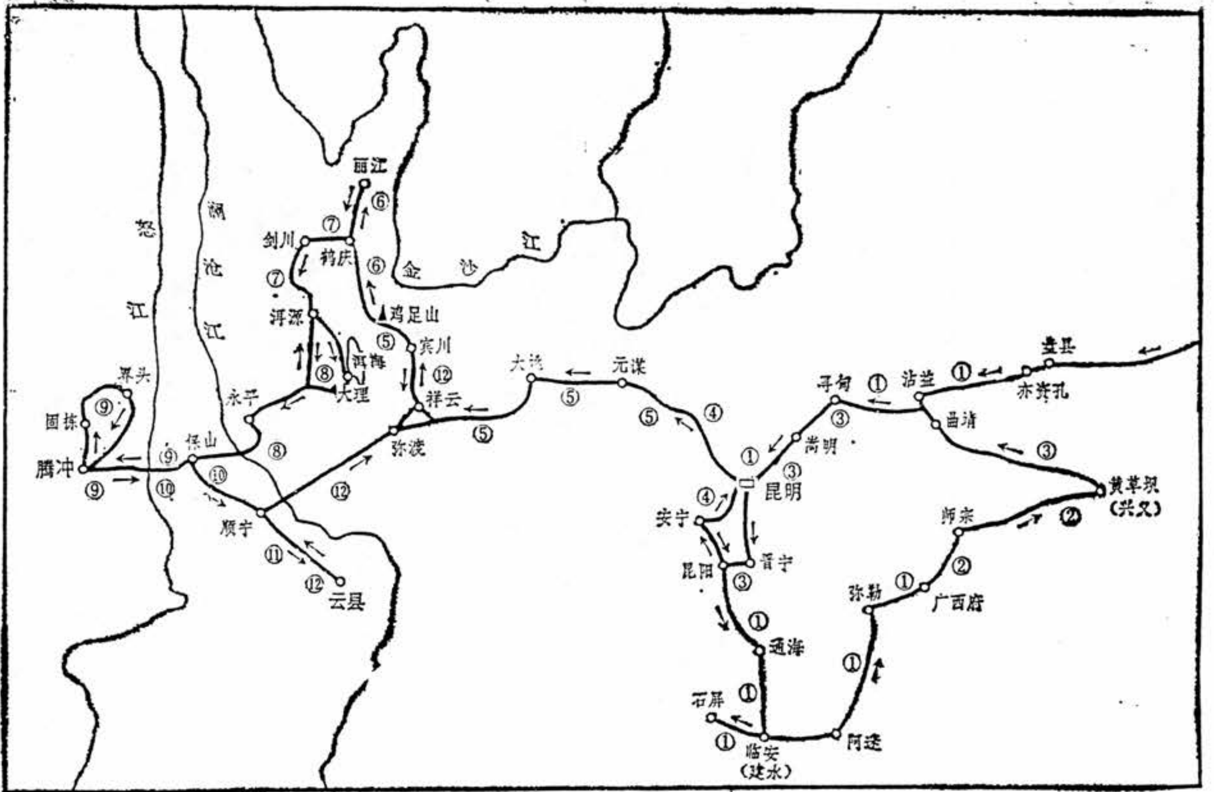
Portrait of Xu Xiake 1852

(Frontispiece from XXKYJ)



Map of Xu Xiake's travels

Wang Chengzu, *Zhonguo dili xueshi*, p. 127.



Xu Xiake's travels in Yunnan

Wang Chengzu, p. 132.

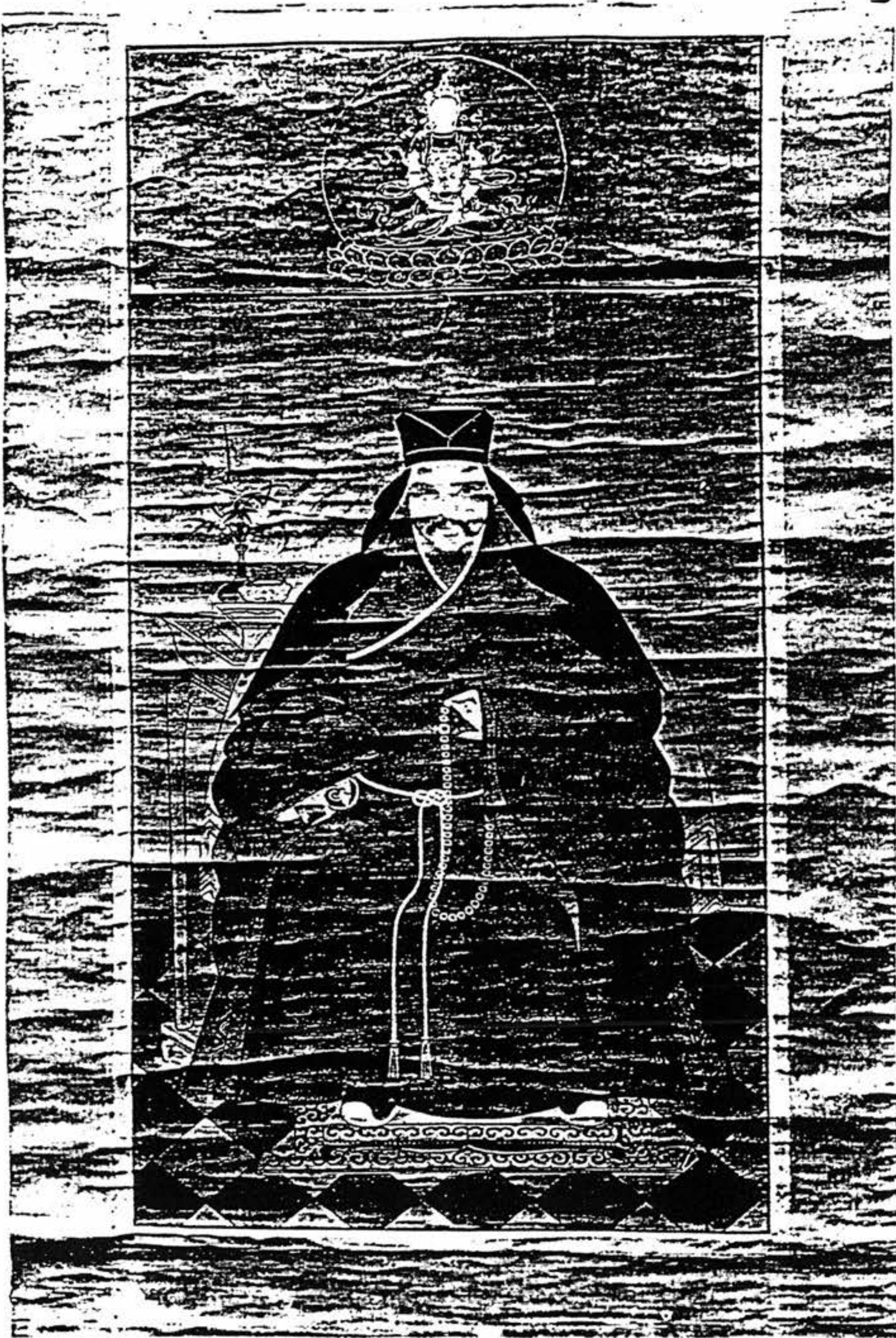


PLATE 44. — MU TSENG AS A BUDDHIST MONK

木增（生白）着僧服之容

Mu Tseng was a devout Buddhist who welcomed the Karma-pa sect of Lamaism to the Li-chiang district. The scroll illustrated here is beautifully painted in sombre tones: it shows Mu Tseng with a rosary in his hands and above his head the image of Amitabha. This large scroll is in the possession of the Mu family of Li-chiang. Mu Tseng was an excellent calligraphist, besides being a poet and author.

Joseph Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China.* Plate 44.

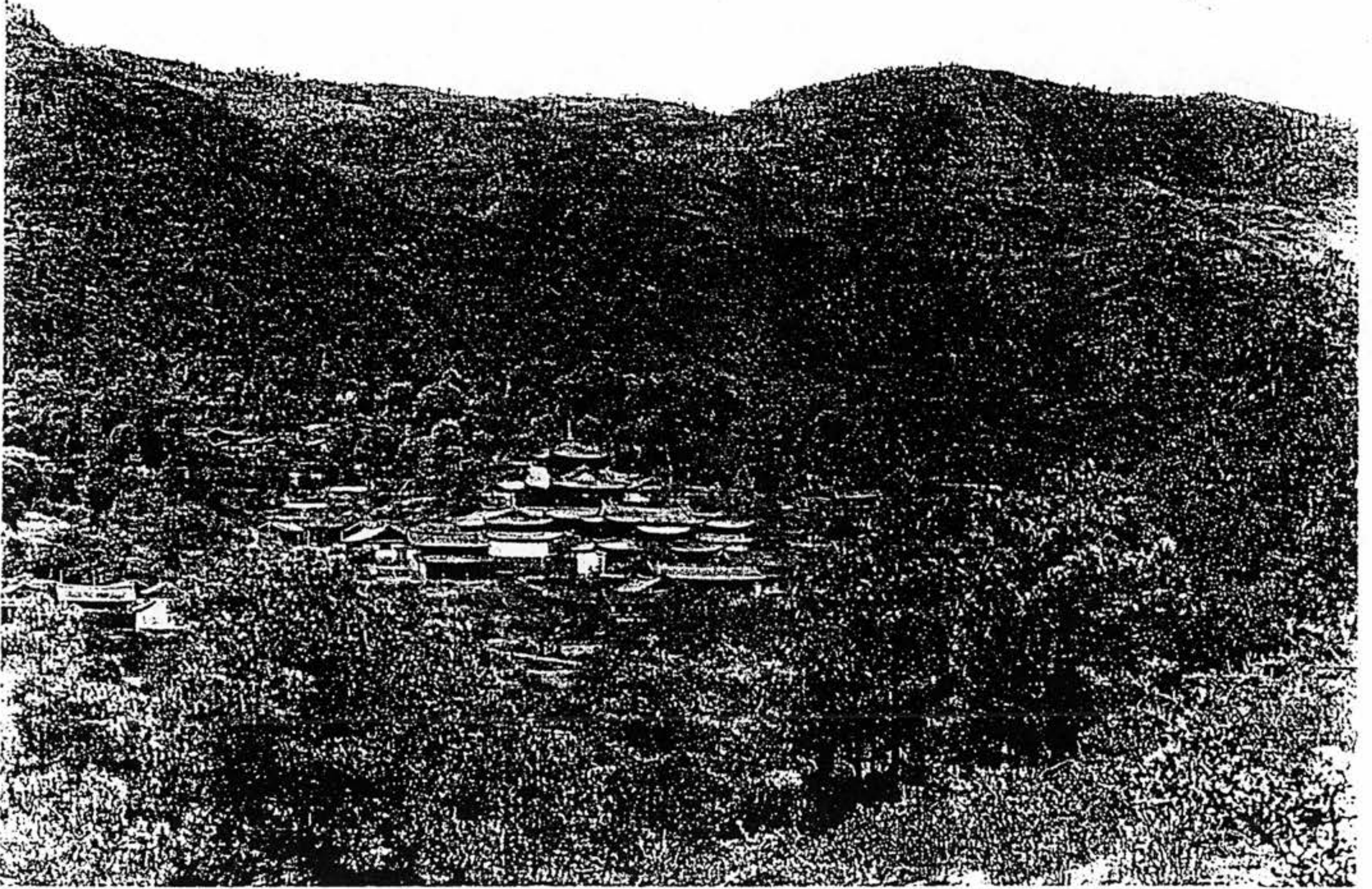


PLATE 64. — THE CHIEH-T'O-LIN LAMASERY

解脫林喇嘛寺，或福國寺

The lamasery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan the Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu of the Na-khi. The trees in foreground are mainly *Pinus yünnanensis*.

Joseph Rock. Plate 64.

Chapter One

The History of Chinese Travel Writing

From ancient times, nature in China has been the basis of numerous myths and legends: these mythologies coalesced to create what Yi-fu Tuan has called "a vast spatiotemporal edifice, imbued with moral/aesthetic overtones." [1] This chapter will show how from the earliest times, travel writing in China has combined the concrete and the imaginary, fantastical elements existing alongside the driest prose. It will provide a chronological outline of the history of the Chinese travel diary, a genre covering a wide variety of works: the necessarily large number of names included will serve as essential background to subsequent chapters.

While the chapter will give a comprehensive outline of the history of Chinese travel writing, greater attention will be paid to the Ming dynasty. Factors affecting society in the late-Ming period will be considered in order to show the wide range of influences on Xu Xiake. It is necessary to look not only at geographical and literary writings, but also at the political and social factors which have influenced the development of the travel diary, in order to give the background to the work of Xu Xiake. These factors assume greatest importance, and change with a greater speed, towards the end of the Ming dynasty.

The travel diary in China arose as a genre in its own right during the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) but its origins can be traced back several hundred years earlier. It drew on earlier geographical and pseudo-geographical works: the strong fantastical elements contained in these works had a considerable influence on the writing of travel diaries. It was acceptable for the author to turn from sober analysis of a scene to the recital of a litany of fantastic figures and places. Travel writing also drew on and fed off developments in Chinese poetry, especially the notion of climbing on high in order to achieve a view into a distance of both temporal and spatial significance. By the start of the Tang dynasty, there was already a well-established tradition of poetry relating specifically to landscape, the best exponents of which were Xie Lingyun (385-433) and Tao Yuanming (465-527).

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[1] Yi-fu Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature and Culture.* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993), p. 174. The importance of Nature in Chinese thought will be discussed in further detail in chapter six, which will examine Xu Xiake's obsession with the exploration and investigation of mountains and caves.

Most of the works looked at in this chapter concern travel within China. There are early long accounts by Buddhist monks of travel to India in search of the genuine sutras, while in the Ming dynasty there are lengthy accounts of sea voyages to the west but, most Chinese travel diaries have related to internal journeys. China's vastness and the variety of its landscape, coupled with regularly changing national boundaries ensured that the lure of the other, different exotic peoples and beautiful scenery, remained a constant.

For some writers, the journey itself was everything: Xu Xiake's account of his journey to southwest China concentrates on detailing the minutiae of his progress through the landscape, with such matters as food, accommodation and human encounters given considerably less attention. Xu's diaries, the journeys of the Buddhist pilgrims and the diaries of the Song writers Lu You (1125-1210) and Fan Chengda (1126-1193) are all examples of this type of travel diary.

Some of the best known travel diaries, however, have a minimal element of travel and are concerned instead with place. Liu Zongyuan's celebrated essays *Yongzhou baji* (Eight Pieces from Yongzhou) do not involve a journey but are concerned with the description of scenery and the suggestion of an intense nostalgia for the writer's home town. In this category can also be placed Yang Xuanzhi's (fl. ca. 528-547) *Luoyang Qielan Ji* (The Temples of Luoyang), which combined factual and fictional sources to present a comprehensive picture of a large imperial city. The difference between these two kinds of travel writing has been described as the difference between the expression of place consciousness and travel consciousness. [2]

Other critics have looked at the genre from a different angle. James Hargett considered matters of linguistic style, and also outlined different categories of travel diaries, ranging from short pieces dealing generally with day-long excursions to well-

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[2] Ganza, p.15. For a history of Chinese travel diaries, see two works by James M. Hargett, "Yu-chi Wen-hsüeh" in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature,* ed. William H. Nienhauser Jr., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 936-939, and *On the Road in Twelfth-century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193).* Münchener Ostasiastiche Studien 52. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989). The most recent work in English is Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), Introduction, pp. 1-56. His introduction stops at the Song dynasty. For a more general approach to Chinese views on nature, see Yi-fu Tuan, *Passing Strange,* pp. 127-135 and Li Chi, "The Chinese Love of Nature' in *The Travel Diaries of Hsü Hsia-k'o.* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University, 1974), pp. 1-11.
There are several Chinese works, the most useful of which are Wang Chengzu, *Zhongguo Dilixue Shi* (A History of Chinese Geography) (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1988), Ni Qixin et al, eds. *Zhongguo Gudai Youji Xuan.* (Anthology of Classical Chinese Travel Diaries) (Beijing: Zhongguo Lüyou, 1985) (hereafter GDYJX); and Li Boqi, ed., *Zhongguo Gudai Jiyou Wenxue Shi* (A History of Ancient Chinese Travel Literature) (Jinan: Shandong Youyi Shushe, 1989), (hereafter JYWXS).
Also of use was Cheng Kuei-sheng's thesis, "Chinese Great Explorers: Their Effect Upon Chinese Geographical Knowledge Prior to 1600." Ph.D. Diss. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1955)

known beauty spots, in which the author usually travelled in the company of a select group of friends, to longer pieces dealing with diplomatic missions or internal journeys by officials, [3] while other critics have looked at the combination of fact and authorial opinion. Yu Kwang-chung has written articles on the relative balance in different travel diaries between opinion and fact. In "The Intellectual Art of the Chinese Landscape Journal", Yu gives two aspects of the intellectual side of the landscape journal; firstly, the accurate recording of geographical changes and historical development and, secondly, the feelings and impressions engendered by the journey. Yu suggests that, in order to be distinguished from a gazetteer, the travel diary must go beyond the mere reporting of accurate information to contain the opinions and emotions of the writer. [4] Elsewhere, this has been described as the distinction between subjective and objective writing, Chou Chih-ping stating that Xu's essays "are objective-descriptive while Yuan's (ie Yuan Hongdao 1568-1610) are subjective-personal." [5] This is too clear-cut a distinction to be applicable to the work of Xu Xiake: this study will show how he succeeded in utilising the two qualities, to create a form of travel diary that contained both subjective and objective elements.

Unlike the west, where most travel writing is anthropocentric, in China, it is concerned with place, with Nature. The individual went not in search of amusing encounters with exotic locals, but rather for a chance to commune with nature. The idea of retreating into nature was present in China from very early times. While Confucius held that an honourable citizen should serve an enlightened ruler, he nevertheless allowed that it was shameful to serve a bad ruler. He praised the early recluses Bo Yi and Shu Qi as "excellent men of old." [6]

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[3] Hargett, *On the Road*, pp. 9-61. See below for his discussion of Song dynasty travel diaries.

[4] Yu Guangzhong, "Zhongguo Shanshui Youji de Zhixing" (The Intellectual Art of the Chinese Landscape Journal), *Mingpao Yuekan*, Vol. 17 No. 12 (Dec 1982): 69-72 and "The Sensuous Art of the Chinese Landscape Journal." Translated by Yang Qinghua. *Renditions* 19-20 (Spring-Autumn 1983): 23-40.

[5] Chou, p. 112.

[6] Confucius *Lunyu zhengyi* (Annotated Edition of the Analects) (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 8.7b. For a translation, see *The Analects.* Translated by D.C. Lau, (London: Penguin, 1979), p. 88. Bo Yi and Shu Qi also appear in *Mencius* alongside Confucius as "Sages of old". Mencius, *Mengzi Zhengyi* (Annotated Edition of Mencius) (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 6.24a-b. For a translation, see *Mencius* Translated by D.C. Lau. (London: Penguin, 1970), p. 79.
For a discussion of reclusion in China, see Li Chi, "The Changing Nature of the Recluse in Chinese Literature", *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 24 (1962-3): 234-247. Li Chi also points out that fifteen of the twenty-four dynastic histories have sections of recluses in the biographies. For more on reclusion in Chinese society, see Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Reclusion in Early and Early Medieval China: A Study of the Formulation of the Practice of Reclusion in China and its Portrayal.* (Ph.D. Thesis. University of Washington, 1989).

The Early history of Chinese geographical works

A recent work on cartography in East Asia shows how, since the time of the *Zhouli* (Zhou Book of Rites), thought to have been written in the Warring States period (475-221 BC), geography has been of paramount importance in China, while, from the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) on, China's rulers have striven to collect precise geographical information on the territories under, or adjacent to, their control. [7]

Jiang Shaoyuan traced the earliest days of Chinese travel, when, he claimed, Chinese people, fearful of encountering anything unusual, were wary of travelling to remote parts of the country. [8] Such fear was also displayed in a poem by Liu An (180-122 BC), the author of the *Huainanzi* (Book of the Master of Huainan), "Zhao Yinshi" (Summons for a Gentleman who Became a Recluse), in which he wrote:

> Wildly uneven,
> The bends of the mountain:
> The heart stands still
> With awe aghast. [9]

Between 500 BC and 500 AD, Chinese geographical writing shows a marked progression from the earliest fear-laden works to the later period when fear had been replaced by a respectful awe. During the pre-imperial period, there were a number of works of proto-geography, of which the most important are the "Yu Gong" (Tribute of Yu), part of the *Shu Jing* (Book of Documents) and the *Shanhai Jing* (The Mountains and Seas Classic, hereafter SHJ).

The "Yu Gong", written some time between 475 and 221 BC, divided China into nine regions, on the basis of different geographical characteristics. The "Yu Gong" was also of great ideological importance, establishing the idea of China as a series of squares extending outwards concentrically, passing from the central domain through the domain of the nobles to the lands of the barbarians, who were variously designated as *man, fan, rong* and *yi*, their degree of primitiveness defined by their distance from the centre. Michael Harbsmeier, commenting on this text, has noted that

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[7] Cordell D.K.Yee, "Chinese Maps in Political Culture", in J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds. *History of Cartography*. Volume 2 Book 2 *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Society*. (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 71-95. Yee notes that, in the early imperial period, maps were placed in the tombs of local officials to ease their path to the afterlife, p. 77.

[8] Jiang Shaoyuan, *Zhongguo Gudai Lüxing zhi Yanjiu* (A Study of Travel in Ancient China) (Shanghai: 1935. Shanghai: Shanghai Wenyi, 1989), p. 5.

[9] Translated by David Hawkes in Cyril Birch, ed., *Anthology of Chinese Literature*. (London: Penguin, 1967), pp. 104-5.

it was common for ancient societies to view outsiders as primitive. [10] The same point is made by Eric Leed, who notes that, historically, the ancient Greeks and Romans were indifferent or hostile to peripheries. However, and this is a crucial difference to the Chinese model, they considered civilisation had begun outside their own centre, in Egypt.[11]

In spite of the work's mythological framework, that of the regulation of the nation's waterways by the semi-mythological emperor, Yu, much of the information is accurate. The "Yu Gong" assumed canonical status and it was faithfully cited by later geographical works. [12] As a result, alongside the accurate information, the mistakes contained in the "Yu Gong" were also transmitted for a long time afterwards and were accorded an unwarranted degree of inviolability. These mistakes included the idea that the Yellow River flowed underground in its upper reaches, and that the Yangtse River originated in the Min mountains of Northern Sichuan. [13]

SHJ, the earliest parts of which are now considered to have been written around 300 BC, again combines facts and myth. SHJ goes a stage further than the information contained in the "Yu Gong" in describing the directions in which the mountains face and the distances between them. The mountains were divided into five groups representing the four points of the compass along with a central group, bounded on all sides by oceans. For each grouping the major mountains and streams are listed from the beginning of the range to the end. At the end of the description of the range, the presiding deities and the sacrifices offered to them are listed. The geographical descriptions for the known parts of China are reasonably accurate, but they become increasingly fictional in the far west of the country. The overall impression is of a civilised world, that is China, surrounded by seas and wildernesses populated by fantastical creatures. SHJ, of which there are reliable accounts of early illustrated editions, contains more of the fantastic than the "Yu Gong", including

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[10] Michael Harbsmeier, "On Travel Accounts and Cosmological Strategies: Some Models in Comparative Xenology" *Ethnos* 50 (1985): 273-312, especially 295. For a discussion of early Chinese geographical texts, see also Ruth I. Meserve, "The Inhospitable Land of the Barbarian", *Journal of Asian History,* vol. 16 (1982): 51-89.

[11] Leed, pp. 135-7. The Greeks began referring to foreigners as *barbaros* from the seventh to sixth centuries BC. James Duncan, "Sites of Representation: Place, Time and the Discourse of the Other" in James Duncan and David Ley, eds, *Place/Culture/Representation* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 39-56.

[12] Florian Reiter notes that the"Yu Gong", "usually was placed at the beginning of geographic entries in larger collections, thus helping to define the basic geographic framework." Florian C. Reiter, "Change and Continuity in Historical Geography: Chang Huang's (1527-1608) Reflections on the *Yu-Kung." Asia Major,* third series, Vol. 3 Pt 1. (1990): 129-141, here 130.

[13] Wang Chengzu, pp. 1-13. See also Cordell D.K. Yee "Chinese Maps" p. 76. For a translation of "The Tribute of Yu" see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics,* Vol. III. Pt. 1, (London: Trübner, 1865), pp. 92-151.

material on the mythological figure, the Queen Mother of the West (*Xiwangmu*), who is described as having a human face and the body of a leopard, as well as other creatures combining human and animal forms. [14]

The *Huainanzi* also divides China into nine regions, an island of civilisation surrounded firstly by lands populated by barbarians, then by various magical realms, such as the Kunlun mountains, located in the far west of China, which acted as an *axis mundi,* the pillar separating heaven and earth. [15] In all of these works, the boundaries between the mundane and the mystical, the concrete and the fantastic are blurred. The mythical Kunlun mountains, in particular, were to assume huge importance as a destination for spiritual travellers. [16]

Similar attributes apply to the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* (The Chronicle of Emperor Mu). Discovered in a grave in 281 AD, it is thought that the earliest parts were written around 400 BC. It has been put forward as the earliest extant travel narrative of any length. [17] There are doubts whether this work was intended as an historical chronicle or a fictional adventure. There is an account in the *Shiji* (Historical Records), written by Sima Qian (145-86? BC), of such a journey, in which King Mu, fifth ruler of the Zhou dynasty (ruled 1023-983 BC), was said to have travelled around one hundred *li* a day on his journey west from the city of Luoyang. [18] The *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* tells how King Mu visited the Queen Mother of the West who resided in the Western mountains. Miraculous powers are ascribed to both King Mu, who is reported as ascending the slopes of the Kunlun mountains in order to see the palace of the Yellow Emperor, and his entourage, his horse, for example, being capable of covering one thousand *li* per day. The work provided a basis for later travel diaries, in its combination of the real and the fantastic and the introduction of the idea of pilgrimage,

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[14] Wang Chengzu, pp.16-26, Kiyohiko Munakata, *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp. 5-7. The surviving text of SHJ was edited by Liu Xin (ca.50 BC-23AD) Michael Loewe has noted that there are references to a western Mother on oracle bones. She first appeared in literary texts during the Warring States period (475-221 BC) Michael Loewe, *Ways to paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality,* (London: George Allen And Unwin, 1979), pp. 86-126. For a full-length study of the Queen Mother of the West, see Suzanne E. Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[15] The *Huainanzi,* is thought to have been written in either 139 or 122 BC. See John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three Four and Five of the Huainanzi,* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 3-4. The Kunlun mountains which featured in many myths are distinct from the real Mount Kunlun located in the far west of China. Major points out that distinctions between the two are made in SHJ, the first work to refer to the Kunlun mountains. Major, pp. 155-6. See also Munakata, pp. 10-12.

[16] Major, p. 156. During the early Han dynasty, Mount Kunlun with the growth of the cult of the Queen Mother of the West, became an important part of funeral ceremonies. Munakata, p. 28.

[17] Strassberg, p. 13, Wang Chengzu, pp. 90-3.

[18] See Cheng, pp. 14-31. A *li* is around one third of a mile.

while the Kunlun mountains, a magical and beautiful mythical land distinct from the real Mount Kunlun, became a destination for the spiritual traveller seeking enlightenment and immortality. [19]

From the time of the Western Han, there was a great increase in geographical records. During the reign of Emperor Wu, Zhang Qian (?-114 BC) was sent on two diplomatic missions beyond the western edges of the empire, during which he was held captive by the Xiongnu, one of the tribal peoples existing outside China's boundaries, for ten years. Cheng Kuei-sheng suggests that the true importance of Zhang's missions lay in revealing for the first time the existence of civilised peoples beyond the rings of barbarians which surrounded the Chinese empire. [20] There is an account of Zhang's journeys in the *Shiji*. In the course of his research for this work, Sima Qian visited large areas of China and reported several historical expeditions, including the national tour of inspection of the first Qin emperor in 219 BC. The *Houhan Shu* (History of the Later Han Dynasty) contains the "Dili Zhi" (Geographical Records) organised into administrative areas. covering the geography, history and demography of various parts of the country and also, in the section dealing with sacrifices, Ma Dibo's (n.d.) account of the visit of Emperor Guangwu (r. 25-57) to Mount Tai in 56 AD. The Qing dynasty scholar Yu Yue (1821-1907) considered this to be the first account of a real journey written by the traveller himself, and thus to constitute the first extant travel account. [21]

From around the last years of the Later Han Dynasty, which ended in 220 AD, China entered a period of chaotic disunity, during which many people fled southwards. The failure of the centralised state and the perceived failure of Confucian ideology led to the rise of various heterodox groups, including many espousing Daoist views of nature as a place of recreation and honourable retreat. The period of division between 220 and 589 AD (also known as the Six Dynasties or the Northern and Southern Dynasties) was crucial in many ways for the development of the travel diary. The lush scenery encountered in southern China, very different from the harsh, dry terrain of the north, sparked off a huge interest in nature, reflected in an outpouring of poetry and prose about nature. The first great nature poet of this period was Ji Kang (224-263) who wrote poems rejoicing in nature and was a member of a sybaritic group known as the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove."

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[19] For more on *The Chronicle of Emperor Mu*, see Jeanette Mirsky, *The Great Chinese Travelers.* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), pp. 3-10. The *Huainanzi* also said the Western Kunlun mountains were the home of the Queen Mother of the West. Major, pp. 155-6.

[20] Cheng, p.64.

[21] Strassberg, pp. 23 and 57-62, Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 10.

Fear of the dangers of wilderness, apparent in the earliest geographical texts, changed into a love of distant mountains and isolated valleys. Such ideas were assisted by the art critic and Buddhist layman Zong Bing (375-443), who helped to establish the idea of mountains not as fearful zones inhabited by spirits, but as scenes of enlightenment. He considered painted landscapes as aids to meditation, which, at their best, should be capable of allowing the viewer to engage in a vicarious journey through the landscape in question. He wrote, "Landscapes display the beauty of the Tao in their forms and humane men delight in this." [22]

The spread of Buddhism brought along with it a new dimension to the notion of retreating from society: with the advent of Buddhist and Daoist retreats located in remote mountain settings, the act of withdrawing from active participation in life was given an added allure. [23] Rather than simply embodying vague feelings of disillusion with Confucianism, withdrawal into nature became an end in itself, involving the goal of seeking a transcendent experience, in order to gain peace and freedom. [24] Yi-fu Tuan has characterised these developments in the following way:

> the change was from a religious attitude in which awe was combined with aversion, to an aesthetic attitude that shifted from a sense of the sublime to a feeling for the picturesque. [25]

Tuan's insight here is to point out that the new dimension ushered in by the spread of Daoism and Buddhism brought development in the aesthetic sphere rather than any great sense of religious devotion.

Both Daoist and Buddhist myths contained further tales of journeys to remote paradises, similar to the various accounts of the legend of the Queen Mother of The West, involving increasingly fantastic distances. The influence of Daoism, for example, can be seen in an account of another visit to the Kunlun Mountains. *Han Wudi Neizhuan* (The Inner History of Emperor Wu of the Han), probably written during the sixth century AD, tells how, after a fantastic journey, the immortality-seeking Emperor was given peaches of longevity and assorted Daoist revelations and

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[22] Strassberg, p. 27. Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 15-6. Zong Bing quotation from Susan Bush and Shih Hsio-yen, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 36.

[23] Li Chi, "Recluse", p. 241.

[24] See Part 2, Chapter 2 of Wang Guoying, *Zhongguo Shanshui Shi Yanjiu.* (A Study of Chinese Landscape Poetry) (Taibei: Lianjing Chuban Shiye Gongsi 1986), especially p. 108.

[25] Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 71-2. In a more recent work, Tuan wrote, "By the third century AD landscape became essentially a beautiful-sublime concept and a world that the viewer would want to and could enter." Yi-fu Tuan, *Passing Strange*, p. 128.

talismans by the Queen Mother of the West. However, after proving himself to be incapable of following the precepts, they were taken away from him. [26]

Daoist ideas were reflected in a wide range of poems in this period. These include the "Tiantai Fu" by Sun Chuo (314-371), who was a follower of the metaphysical school *Xuanxue* (Dark Learning). Sun's poem has been described by Richard Mather as "a record of the poet's mystical experience of identity with the non-actual reality embodied in mountains and streams." [27] Xie Lingyun, one of the first great Chinese writers to be influenced by Buddhism, exemplified the poet who immersed himself in remote nature. Kang-i Sun Chang writes of a progression in Xie Lingyun's poems from narrative through description to expression, with an emphasis on visual perception and the strong emotions of the poet. This formed an important part of the way in which Xu Xiake described nature as will be shown in chapter four of this work.[28] Xie Lingyun wrote a collection, most of which is now lost, of brief geographical descriptions of mountains he had visited. [29]

The most famous poet of this era is Tao Yuanming. He wrote many poems about nature including a series of thirteen *shi* poems about SHJ, while his poem "Taohuayuan Ji" (Peach Blossom Source) created a potent myth of the discovery by a fisherman of an idyllic lost world. The poem and its prose introduction draw on both Daoist and Buddhist legends of justified retreat from society, while its own resonances have themselves endured, like the vocabulary used by Xie Lingyun, in creating a string of allusions used repeatedly by later writers of travel diaries. These poets of a divided country established nature as a setting for highly vivid personal experiences, using it as the subject of their poems rather than simply as background material. Although Kang-i Sun Chang's claim for Xie Lingyun to be the "originator of 'travel literature'", and the "first and most distinguished landscape poet" in China is perhaps something of an exaggeration, the contribution of Xie and Tao Yuanming to formulating an approach to writing about landscape is immense. [30]

In *Wenxin Diaolong* (The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons), Liu Xie (ca.465-ca.520) articulated this new way of looking at nature. In the opening passage

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[26] Kristofer Schipper. *L'Empereur Wou des Han dans La Légende Taoiste.* (Emperor Wu of the Han in Daoist Legend) (Paris: École Francaise d'Extrême Orient, 1965), p. 1. For Buddhist legends in this vein, see Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the search for happiness: Recurring themes in four thousand years of Chinese cultural history* (New York: Seaburg Press, 1976), pp. 178-9.

[27] Richard Mather, "The Mystical Ascent of the T'ien-t'ai Mountains: Sun Ch'o's *Yu-T'ien-t'ai-shan Fu*" *Monumenta Serica* 20 (1961): 226-245.

[28] Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p.73.

[29] Extant fragments of Xie's text have survived in encyclopaedias, notably Xu Jian's (659-729) *Chu xue ji* (Writings for Elementary Instruction). Strassberg, p. 30, Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 12-13.

[30] Kang-i Sun Chang, p. 49.

of the work, he wrote: "Mountains and rivers in their beauty display the pattern of earth. These are in fact the *wen* of *Tao* itself." Later in the work, Liu explains the changes which he saw as taking place during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420-581 AD):

> At the beginning of the Song (420-478 AD), some development in the literary trend was evident. Chuang and Lao (Zhuangzi and Laozi) had receded into the background and the theme of mountains and rivers began to flourish. [31]

The new landscape poetry did not, however, supersede the trend established by the *Shiji* and the "Dili Zhi" for factual geographic texts. By introducing the authorial voice, Li Daoyuan's (d. 527) *Shuijing Zhu* (Guide to Waterways with Commentaries) is one of the most important of the early geographical works, and a precursor to the Tang dynasty travel diary. The original *Shuijing*, thought to have been written by Sang Qin in either the Later Han or Three Kingdoms period (220-265 AD), has not survived, though Li drew heavily on it for his own work, while also adding both his own observations and material from a wide variety of factual and fictional sources. Li's work was important not just for his great accuracy but also for the inclusion of more subjective material via his descriptions of beautiful scenery. Like Xu Xiake more than one thousand years later, Li Daoyuan was motivated by a desire to fill in gaps and correct mistakes in classic texts, including the "Yu Gong", the "Dili Zhi", which he said was simple and incomplete, and the *Shuijing*. More than four hundred references were included in the *Shuijing Zhu,* many of them to works which have not survived, a fact which underlines the importance of the work. [32]

The Six Dynasties saw the development of travel writing in a number of different genres for, as Hargett notes, there was as yet no dominant tradition. [33] Poems and their prose introductions, letters and commentaries were all inspired by a new appreciation of Nature. This interest in Nature was based on personal observation and, while the earlier fantastic wanderings found in Daoist texts continued to provide a literary foundation, the new writings contained strong elements of realism. Further developments were to take place in the Tang dynasty, when the first great travel diaries were written. A bridge between the two historical periods can be traced in the writings of the Buddhist pilgrims.

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[31] Liu Xie, *Wenxin Diaolong* (The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons) Translated by Vincent Shih, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 8 and 37.

[32] For Li Daoyuan, see Strassberg, pp. 77-90, Cordell D.K. Yee "Chinese Maps" p. 93 and Wang Chengzu, pp. 136-157.

[33] Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 16-17.

It was during the Six Dynasties that the first Buddhist pilgrims travelled to India in search of the true sutras. Faxian (337-422) left Chang'an in 399, when he was already sixty years old, passing through Kucha, Kashgar, Kashmir, Kabul and cities on the Ganges. He returned on a ship from the Bay of Bengal stopping off at Ceylon and Sumatra before landing in Shandong in 414. He brought back many manuscripts which he translated in the city of Nanjing with an Indian monk. The appeal of Faxian's account of his journeys, *Foguo Ji* (Report on the Buddhist Kingdoms), lies partly in its many passages of accurate description, verified by later travellers, and also, as Cheng Kuei-sheng notes, in its use of the type of fantastic language that has sustained Chinese travel writing throughout its history. While crossing the Pamir mountains, for example, Faxian wrote of, "venomous dragons which, if provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, rain, snow, sand and stones". [34]

In the first century of the Tang there appeared the greatest of all the Buddhist pilgrims. Xuanzang (ca. 600-664) travelled for eighteen years from 627 to 645 covering around sixteen thousand miles, through present-day Kirghistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir and India. He brought back six hundred and fifty-seven texts and spent the rest of his life translating seventy-four of them. Xuanzang crossed deserts and mountains, mastered several languages, and won a debate on his personal interpretation of the Buddhist doctrines conducted in front of an audience of 6,000 kings, monks, Brahmans and clergy of other cults. Like Faxian, Xuanzang dryly recounted the dangers presented by dragons in the desert regions. [35]

Apart from Xuanzang's account of his journey, there is also a lengthy biography of him written by a shaman, Huili, in which the awesome dangers and immense achievements of the journey, barely mentioned in Xuanzang's own work are recounted. Xuanzang's own work, *Da Tang Xiyu Ji* (A Record of the Western Regions), concentrates instead on descriptions of the countries visited in a highly impersonal style, recording without comment climate and local products alongside legends and traditions.

The contrast between these two accounts has been examined by Wu Pei-yi: he suggests that the kind of reticence displayed by Xuanzang established a pattern for later travel writers, commenting that while the writers of local travel diaries are able, by virtue of staying within the realm of *belles lettres,* to concentrate on creating a mood, those who go abroad feel they have to maintain credibility and thus report not

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[34] Cheng, p. 110.

[35] Strassberg, pp. 100-102. Xuanzang is the only Chinese traveller mentioned in Leed's overwhelmingly Eurocentric work, see pp. 149-50.

personal experiences but solid information. [36] This may reflect the reason for the writing of the diaries: Xuanzang's account was destined to provide information for imperial officials, while later accounts were written for their own sake. Although in no way an official report, there are certainly echoes of this in Xu Xiake's diaries, in which personal feelings are rarely discussed. [37]

Faxian and Xuanzang both advanced Chinese knowledge of foreign countries. Faxian was the first Chinese known to have visited Northern India and Ceylon, while Xuanzang recorded extensive information on the countries through which he passed, from national history and boundaries to agricultural methods and mineral resources. Boulton claims the importance of the Buddhist travel diaries to be in this expansion of knowledge, and that they marked the beginning of the collection of accurate records which replaced the earlier mythological texts. [38] While there is some truth in this claim, it ignores the influence of the "Dili Zhi" and other early geographical records. The importance of the diaries of the Buddhist pilgrims lies rather in the immense scale of the journeys, the lack of concern for personal safety on the part of the authors and their use of language. It would be more accurate to see them as a transition towards and influence on the pioneers of the travel diary. In contrast to the views of Mirsky, who describes the tone of Xuanzang's work as "emotionally anonymous", Boulton claimed that the authors of the great Buddhist travel diaries had their own literary merit, combining simple writing and highly elaborate poetic prose.[39]

The Tang dynasty: Liu Zongyuan

It was during the Tang dynasty, following the reunification of the country in 581 AD and the short-lived Sui dynasty, that the travel diary emerged as a literary category in its own right, using primarily the form of the *ji* "record", the most important exponents being Yuan Jie (719-772) and the poet, Liu Zongyuan (773-819), who mark a transition from earlier more objective modes of writing as seen in *Shuijing Zhu*. Yuan Jie's best-known travel diary, "Youxi Ji" (The Right Hand Stream), is a short piece combining descriptive and expressive modes, the former through Yuan giving details of the location, the latter through his opinion of what should be done:

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[36] Wu Pei-yi, *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical writings in Traditional China.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 7-8. For Xuanzang, see also Mirsky, pp. 29-118, and Nancy E. Boulton, "Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre." (Ph.D. Diss., Georgetown University, 1982), pp. 80-128.

[37] Xu's biographers and friends do refer to his great bravery: this will be discussed in further detail later in this work.

[38] Boulton, p. 280.

[39] Ibid., pp. 381-3. Mirsky, p. 31.

> If this stream were located in a mountain wilderness, it would be a suitable spot for eremites and gentlemen out of office to visit. Were it located in a popular place, it would serve as a scenic spot (*shengjing*) in a city, with a pavilion in a grove for those seeking tranquillity. [40]

Yuan goes on to describe how he decides to create a scenic spot, a very important notion for later travel writers. More and more, scenic spots became closed linked to particular names: this was especially true of Liu Zongyuan, the great pioneer of the opening up of the newly acquired regions of the south. [41]

Liu Zongyuan, who was born in Chang'an, was a prominent official until his faction went out of favour and he was banished to the town of Yongzhou in Guangxi in southern China. He spent nine years in the town. In a series of essays on various sites in the vicinity of his adopted southern home, *Yongzhou baji*, Liu developed the formula of a combination of geographical and historical facts and authorial opinion to create a fusion of self and landscape, creating the lyrical travel diary. He was one of the first writers to give his essays the title of *youji* (Travel Account), the term which was to be the one most commonly used by subsequent writers. [42]

As Edward Schafer points out, Liu's importance lies not simply in his having created a style for the writing of travel diaries that was to endure and inspire for many centuries but in his having expanded those areas which could be written about to include vast regions previously deemed unworthy of discussion. Schafer quotes an essay by Liu about a kiosk built on a bare mountainside near Yongzhou:

> Now this pavilion lies out of the way between Min (Fukien) and the Passes, on an excellent frontier - but visitors are rare, or do not write of what they do here, so that the profuse evidence for this is shut up and out of circulation. [43]

Xu Xiake, who was greatly influenced by Liu Zongyuan's idea of finding emotions in Nature, was to spend much time travelling to and writing about such places. [44] The form of Liu's short diaries, with description followed by opinion and

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[40] Translation by Strassberg, p. 117. Xu Xiake makes many references to Yuan Jie during his journey through Hunan, see XXKYJ 211, 219, 220, 222, 223, 258, 259 and 265. For the original text see Yuan Jie *Yuan Cishan Ji* (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 9.5b.

[41] For more on the notion of "scene" (*jing*), see chaper four below.

[42] Hargett notes the earliest use of *youji* in a piece by Wang Xizhi (321-379) *You Sijun Ji* (Record of Travels to Four Commanderies). Hargett, *On the Road*, p. 36. n 51. For Liu Zongyuan's diaries see *Liu Hedong Ji* (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 29.2b-8a.

[43] Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 150. See *Liu Hedong Ji*, "Yongzhou Liu zhongcheng zuo Matui shan maoting ji", *juan* 27.3b-4b.

[44] See Chen Yangu, "Du 'Chuyou Riji' Tan Xu Xiake Lüyou Xinli Sixiang", (A Discussion of Xu Xiake's Intellectual Approach to Travel Based on a Reading of his 'Chu Travel Diary') in Huang Shi ed., *Qiangu Qiren Xu Xiake*, (The Great Xu Xiake) (Beijing: Kexue, 1991) pp. 81-86, here pp. 81-2.

conclusion, was to be seen with ever greater regularity in the Song and Ming dynasties. The major difference with Xu Xiake was that Liu Zongyuan's travel diaries all recorded short journeys which could be accomplished within one day. Moreover, unlike Xu, who thrived on solitude and the lengthy contemplation of nature, Liu was not interested in remaining alone for any period of time. Xi Youpu, in his preface to Xu Xiake's diaries, suggested that Liu Zongyuan's diaries looked at the small details of the scenery in order to depict his own frustrations, he was not a great traveller. [45]

Liu Zongyuan was the paradigm for the writing of travel diaries concerned with the consciousness of place. He was also effectively a writer in exile, whose essays contained a wistful yearning to return to the centre of the Chinese world. A melancholic subtext of a yearning for his home soil suffused much of Liu's writing. He tried to overcome this yearning by immersing himself in Nature, writing in "Gumutan Ji" (Flatiron Pond), one of the "Eight Records of Yongzhou", "What else but this pond could make me glad to dwell among barbarians and forget my longing for home?" [46] Wang Siren (1575-1646), one of Xu Xiake's biographers, in a preface to a contemporary collection of travelogues, described Liu Zongyuan as a pioneer of the travel diary, whose writing was "depressed and closed in as if he had been embittered by the mountains and rivers". [47]

Li Ao (772-841), a student of Han Yu (768-824), and part of the *guwen* (Ancient-style Prose) movement, which sought to reinstate the great prose masters of the Qin and Han dynasties, was the pioneer of a different type of travel diary. His "Lainan Lu" (Diary of My Coming to the South), is the earliest travel diary in diary form, having short dated entries and, at the end of the piece, details of the distance covered, along with descriptions of the weather. Li Ao's account, of a six-month journey of around two and a half thousand miles from Luoyang to Guangdong, *en route* to an official post, is written in a very concise style, most of the entries merely listing places he visited, with only occasional descriptions of the scenery. His diary entry marking the day of his arrival at the flourishing city of Suzhou, for example, is marked by just three characters: "reached Su county" (*zhi Suzhou*). Li Ao's piece, which is a good example of a travel diary reflecting travel consciousness, also helped to establish vocabulary for the description of movement through landscape, which was

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[45] Xi Youpu, *Xixu,* XXKYJ 1269-71.

[46] *Liu Hedong Ji, juan* 29 3a-b. Translation from Strassberg, p. 143.

[47] Wang Siren's preface, *Nanming Jiyou Xu* (Preface to Travels to Mount Nanming), can be found in Tang Gaocai et al, eds., *Lidai Xiaopin Daguan* (Survey of Historical Short Essays) (Shanghai: Sanlian Shudian, 1992), pp. 581-3. Parts of the essay have been translated by Marion Eggert in her paper *The Sorrow of the Traveller: Melancholy in Chinese Travel Narrative,* presented at a Conference at the University of Bonn entitled "Melancholy and Society in China", July 1-6, 1995.

to be used by later travel writers of long journeys, notably Lu You and Fan Chengda of the Song dynasty and Xu Xiake. [48]

The Sui (589-618) and Tang Dynasties also saw the continued development of the writing of general geographical texts. In 610 the emperor ordered all prefectural governments to collate local records: from the information gathered, three compendia, all of which have been lost, were compiled. The bibliographic section of the *Sui Shu* lists almost one hundred and forty such works: although these have not survived, it has been possible to glean some idea of their content from the brief descriptions. Wang Chengzu gives a few examples of the entries for these texts. One reads:

> During the Chen (557-589) dynasty, Gu Yewang transcribed the words of many writers to produce the *Yudi zhi* (Geographical Records) {Thirty *juan.*}

Wang suggests the texts covered a broad range of historical and cultural material and followed a similar style to Li Daoyuan's *Shuijing Zhu*. [49]

The major development in the Tang dynasty was the rise of the gazetteer. In 638, five imperial scholars compiled the *Kuodi Zhi* (Comprehensive Land Records), which discussed the administrative division of the country, along with its mountains, rivers and famous sites. Li Jifu (758-814) produced *Yuanhe Junxian Zhi* (Maps and Gazetteers of the Provinces and Districts of the Yuanhe Period [806-814]). The text covers distances between towns, the direction of the flow of rivers from their sources, as well as details of bridges, public granaries and water transportation. [50]

The Song dynasty: poets and diplomats

The scope of the gazetteer was taken a stage further early in the Song dynasty (960-1279), with the appearance of the *Taiping Huanyu Ji* (Gazetteer of the World in the Taiping Era {967-983}) completed around 979 by Yue Shi (930-1007). A work of two hundred *juan*, this contained information about territory both within and beyond the Chinese frontiers. By covering famous people, literary works and the many name changes which had taken place during the Five Dynasties (907-960), it helped to define the matrix for later gazetteers. Only around thirty Song gazetteers have

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[48] For Li Ao, see Strassberg, pp. 127-131, Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 25-30 and Ma Xianyi in JYWXS, pp. 156-7. Hargett points out that Li Ao's term for his account, *lu,* meaning a register, was still used by writers, including Fan Chengda, in the Song dynasty. Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 30. For the original text of "Lainan Lu", see SKQS, 1078. 189-90.

[49] Cited in Wang Chengzu, p. 51.

[50] During the Tang dynasty, the distribution and survival of these works was limited by the need for hand-copying of texts. Only a few of the more than five hundred *juan* of the *Kuodi Zhi,* and the maps of the *Yuanhe Junxian Zhi*, have survived. Wang Chengzu, pp. 52 -3, Cordell D.K.Yee, "Chinese Maps", p. 89.

survived: the subjects covered by these works include both the features of the landscape as well as social and political activities. [51] It was also during the Song dynasty that illustrated gazetteers first appeared. [52]

There was a significant increase in travel diary writing during the Song dynasty. James Hargett gives three reasons for this growth. Firstly, improvements in communication and transportation encouraged the authorities to send officials to the most remote regions of the kingdom. Secondly, Song poets were more inclined to record the sights and events of everyday life and, thirdly, an increased number of officials held a wide variety of bureaucratic posts, often very far away from the capital, thus providing greater opportunity for the keeping of journals on the way to new posts. This was particularly the case after the start of the southern Song period in 1127 and the establishment of the new capital of Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou) in 1138, when, as at the end of the Later Han dynasty, officials and literati moved from the north to the south. [53] Furthermore, there evolved a new unofficial transport system, largely for commercial purposes and thus distinct from the state system. [54]

James Hargett has also enumerated three distinct types of travel diaries that had emerged by the end of the Song dynasty, starting with short accounts, usually of day trips. The two most famous exponents of this style of diary were Wang Anshi (1021-1086) and Su Shi (1037-1101), both of whom used the format of the short travel diary to put forward "a specific philosophical or moral argument." [55] Su Shi advocated personal investigation, holding that it was not acceptable to hold opinions without some knowledge. He also included Buddhist and Daoist ideas of a transcendent self-realisation, an important development that would be taken even further in the syncretic atmosphere of the late-Ming. [56] At the same time, other short travel diaries of the Song remained concerned with pure enjoyment of Nature, a good example being Chao Buzhi's (1053-1110) "Xincheng you Beishan Ji" (Record of Travelling to the Northern Mount of Xincheng). [57]

Hargett's second category is the Embassy Account, reflecting the fragile political situation of the Southern Song period, when Chinese officials had to deal

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[51] Wang Chengzu, pp. 54-5. By the Song dynasty, well-known literati were already involved in the production of gazetteers, Fan Chengda compiling *Wujun Zhi* (Record of Wu Prefecture) about Suzhou.

[52] Ganza, pp. 154-5.

[53] Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 44.

[54] Timothy Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center of Chinese Studies, 1988), p. 14.

[55] For the three categories, see Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 45-48, the quotation here is from p. 45.

[56] Strassberg, p. 54.

[57] For a translation of this piece, see Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 49-50.

with the states on the northern borders. The official envoys of the Song emperors paid little attention to scenery, concentrating instead on providing information on both the frontier states and those areas which had formerly been part of China. Consequently, these accounts are at the objective end of the scale of travel writing.

Hargett's third category is river diaries, written by officials travelling to a new posting, and the most detailed and varied of all Song travel diaries. The best-known examples of this category are two trips along the Yangtse River, Lu You's *Ru Shu Ji,* (Journey to Shu), and Fan Chengda's *Wuchuan Lu* (Diary of a Boat Trip to Wu). [58]

In *Ru Shu Ji,* the longest travel diary before the seventeenth century, Lu You wrote about the condition and features of the places which he visited along with people, organisations and a wealth of historical information and classical allusions. For Strassberg, the accounts of Lu You and Fan Chengda were personal, subjective poetic responses to the landscape, a combination of historiographical and lyrical discourses describing a journey as an aggregate of fragmentary moments. [59] Yu Kwang-chung, however, dismisses Lu You's *Ru Shu Ji*, describing it as containing "a reflection every five paces, a story every ten paces", the implication being that Lu You worked on his text at a later date with a pile of reference books to provide the requisite allusions and classical borrowings, in contrast to Xu Xiake, who, Yu felt, avoided such overabundant and meretricious displays of literary acumen. [60]

The manner in which Xu Xiake travelled and wrote generally precluded such writing. On his journey to southwest China, he was covering vast distances, most often on foot, and for much of the time, through remote regions. Xu Xiake was certainly capable of writing learned and comprehensive accounts of historical matters in the manner of Lu You and Fan Chengda but, following a robbery in Hunan, his collection of reference books was severely depleted and he had to rely on what he could acquire or at least see in the larger towns through which he passed. In the early stages of his journey through Hunan, Xu wrote a lengthy passage on the legends surrounding the correct location of the death of the mythical emperor Shun, citing a number of works on the matter and expressing his own opinion.

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[58] Lu You's *Ru Shu Ji* has been translated by Chang Chun-shu and Joan Smythe, see *South China in the Twelfth Century, A Translation of Lu Yu's Travel Diaries, July 3 - December 6, 1170.* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981). James Hargett translates two lengthy diaries by Fan Chengda in *On the Road.* Fan Chengda also wrote a study of Guilin where he stayed for two years, *Guihai Yuheng Zhi* (Tractate of the Cogitator and Balancer of the Cinnamon Sea), *On the Road,* p. 81.

[59] Strassberg, pp. 49-50.

[60] Chang and Smythe acknowledge that Lu You probably worked on his diary after the event, see Chang and Smythe, p. 3. Yu, "Intellectual Art", 72.

> Li Zhongxi (Yuanyang) cited *Shan Hai Jing* which says that Shun refined cinnabar at the Purple Clouds of Dawn Cave, and that he ascended to the skies in broad skylight. The *Sandong Lu* (Record of the Three Caves) states that, following his abdication, Emperor Shun refined cinnabar here. Later Confucianists wanted nothing to do with this story, saying that Shun died in the wilds of (Mount) Cangwu, while Daoists said it happened on the central peak of (Mount) Jiuyi. In fact at the time Shun was alive, there was no such thing as the three teachings. [61]

It is evident from the mention of names such as Lu You and Fan Chengda that, by the end of the Song dynasty, the writing of travel diaries had moved into the forefront of literati life. Zhu Xi (1130-1200), the great synthesiser of Neo-Confucianist thought, showed interest in geographical matters: he sought to work out the exact location of the rivers described in the "Yu Gong" and wrote an account of a day trip. His "Baizhangshan Ji" (Trip to One Hundred Zhang Mountain) is full of the precise language used by Xu Xiake. Distances and directions are given, buildings are described in terms of the number of people they can hold and there is a profusion of four-character phrases often with ecstatic descriptions of physical beauty, similar to those found in Xu's diaries. [62]

Song travel diaries did reflect growing concern with the reporting of accurate information. However, the writers of this period do not match the resolve and obstinacy of the great explorer/writers of the Ming dynasty, Xu Xiake and Wang Shixing (1547-1598), who made a virtue of verifying facts whenever possible. In contrast, Lu You wrote: "Students of geomancy are of the opinion that the vein of this mountain comes from Jiang mountain, but there is no way of finding out." [63] Similarly, Fan Chengda wrote towards the end of "Canluan Lu" (Register of Mounting a Simurgh): "I no longer inquire about place names." [64] It is unthinkable that Xu would have written either of these sentences. One of the few occasions when he relied on the words of another, instead of conducting his own investigation, led to a mistaken conclusion: during his investigations in eastern Yunnan and western Guizhou into the source of the Pan River, he accepted the incorrect opinion of Gong Qiqian (XXKYJ 729).

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[61] XXKYJ 233. *Liandan*, "refining cinnabar" is a term meaning the seeking of immortality. The three caves are terms for the classic Daoist texts, first arranged in the fifth century by Lu Xujing (406-477). The extant Daoist canon was printed in 1445. See Livia Kohn, *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology.* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), p. 65.

[62] Strassberg, pp. 219-223. See below for an examination of the popularity of Neo-Confucianist ldeas in the late Ming, and how they were appropriated by travel writers, at the same time as Neo-Confucianists used the form of the travel diaries to record their own transcendent experiences. For Zhu Xi's interest in geography, see Reiter, 130.

[63] Chang and Smythe, p.69.

[64] Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 195.

By the late Song, then, there existed a growing canon of travel writing. The rise of printing led to much printing of these texts and the earliest anthology. *Youzhi* (Accounts of Travels), compiled by Chen Renyu and containing eighty-nine examples of the travel diary, appeared in 1243: unfortunately, it is not extant, although the contents and preface are contained in a collection by Tao Zongyi (1316-1403), *Youzhi Xubian* (Further Accounts of Travels), which contains pieces from the Tang dynasty to the early Ming.[65] Some scholars have detected, after the start of the Southern Song, an element of lamentation in the writing of travel diaries, with much attention being paid to the great historical relics, traces of the past.[66] While this can be applied to some of the Embassy Accounts, in comments made on places that had formerly been part of China, it requires too big a leap of imagination to read such expressions of patriotism in other forms of the travel diary.

Such intimations of a nostalgic patriotism can also be detected by a keen reader of travel diaries written during the Mongol Yuan dynasty, when, apart from Yelü Chucai's (1189-1243) account of his journey to Central Asia with Chinggis Khan *Xiyou Lu* (Record of a Journey to the West), there were few works of note. Yelü Chucai held important official positions and is traditionally praised for successfully restraining some of the more extreme schemes planned by the Mongols for the Chinese people. *Xiyou Lu* contains much accurate geographical information on the regions of Central Asia.[67] Only fragments of the *Da Yuan Yitong Zhi* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Yuan) remain, around thirty-five out of one thousand *juan*.

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[65] Strassberg, p. 427.
[66] GDYJX, p. 18.
[67] Xu Jinbang in JYWXS, pp. 260-2, Strassberg, pp. 225-33.

The Ming dynasty: literati and geographers

The Ming dynasty (1368-1644), in contrast, was, in Wang Zhaotong's words, "a glorious period of unprecedented development for the travel diary". [68] The Ming began as an era of great overseas exploration. Zheng He (1371-1435), a Yunnanese Muslim, and a court eunuch, made seven officially sponsored journeys between 1405 and 1433, reaching the eastern coast of Africa. The voyages, sponsored by the third Ming emperor, were on a massive scale, with fleets as strong as sixty-two vessels carrying 37,000 soldiers. However, the voyages were stopped partly as a result of Confucian distaste for trade but also due to court factionalism and the huge expenditure involved. Zheng He's own accounts of the journeys are lost, destroyed by a jealous eunuch later in the fifteenth century. The fragmentary extant accounts were written by various members of his staff.[69]

The Ming dynasty, however, and, in particular, the late-Ming period (roughly from 1550 to the end of the dynasty in 1644), saw a surge of interest in exploration and the accurate depiction of detail. Journeys outside China may have stopped, but within China, from the early sixteenth century, there was a greater number of journeys undertaken and a greater percentage of them went further afield than the famous sites of Eastern and Northern China. There was an increase in the number of explorer/writers who went to the furthest corners of the country and wrote at length about their experiences. Among visitors to the southwest of China were Yang Shen (1488-1559), Li Yuanyang (1497-1580), Tian Rucheng (*jinshi* 1526), Wang Shixing, Cao Xuequan (1574-1646) and Xie Zhaozhe (1567-1624), all of whose works, with the exception of Tian Rucheng's, were consulted by Xu Xiake during his travels.

Yang Shen is of particular interest to a study of Xu Xiake. A native of Sichuan, Yang was initially a successful official until, following his denunciation of newly appointed ministers in 1524, he was banished to Yongchang. He never regained favour and spent the next thirty years in Yunnan. His writings include *Yunnan Shanchuan zhi* (Gazetteer of the Mountains and Rivers of Yunnan), *Dian Zaiji* (Records of Dian [Yunnan]), and "Dian Chengji" (Diary of a Journey to Yunnan), his account of the journey from the capital southwards to Yunnan, following his dismissal from court. He also wrote a genealogy of the Mu family of Lijiang, tracing them back to the seventh century. [70]

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68 Wang Zhaotong, in JYWXS, p. 276.

69 In spite of the intrinsic interest of the voyages of Zheng He, the accounts of his expeditions have not generally been included in recent anthologies of Chinese travel diaries. For details of his journeys, see Mirsky, pp. 237-259.

70 Brook, *Sources*, p. 233. There is a biography of Yang Shen in L Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds. *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644.* 2 vols. (New York: Columbia

Yang's piece on Mount Diancang, by the town of Dali, was the first to give an overall description of the mountain. Written in 1530, Yang gave an account of thirty-nine days spent round the mountain and Lake Er. Following the style of Liu Zongyuan, Yang Shen combined his own feelings, successfully conveying the allure of the region to an outsider, with a basic level of description:

> Since my banishment, I have journeyed along over ten thousand *li*, through all the renowned scenery of the provinces of Qi, Lu, Chu and Yue. I had already crossed Lake Dongting, passed over Mounts Heng and Lu and left Yelang, before my route took me past Mount Biji (a mountain west of Kunming) and on to the west, and I had heard about and seen a surfeit of hills and streams. However, when I arrived in the region of Yeyu and could see (Mount) Diancang, my spirits soared almost without my being aware of any change. By the time I entered Longweiguan, every step was pleasurable: the mountain was a green dragon with folds of azure, the lake a crescent moon-shaped slice of deep blue, while, in between, lay the town, its towers and pavilions rising up above the smoky clouds, its roads filled with fragrant balmy breezes which assailed the passer-by. I felt as if I had roused myself from drunkenness or awoken from a dream, as if I had suddenly arisen after lying down a long time. It was only later I realised that formerly I had not appreciated scenery, only starting to do so from this day.

There are also passages of accurate description in the piece, at the end of which Yang recounted the hard lives of the fishermen on the lake: he and his companions were sufficiently moved to give them clothing and food. [71] In the same way that the sensibilities of Chinese writers of earlier generations had been stimulated by the scenery of the southeastern coast, Yang Shen and other Ming literati were aroused by the southwest. Yang Shen's reaction to the scenery of the southwest is typical of the response of the literati.

Similarly, Li Yuanyang, who wrote the *Dali Junzhi* (Records of Dali Prefecture) and compiled the *Yunnan Tongzhi* (Provincial records of Yunnan) in 1576, was an official who spent much time in the Dali region. In his old age, Li became interested in Buddhism: he was involved in the construction of the Zhuanyi Temple on Mount Chickenfoot (Jizu Shan) (XXKYJ 846 and 1145). Xu Xiake paid his respects at Li Yuanyang's tomb in Dali and, on his return to Mount Chickenfoot,

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University Press, 1976), pp. 1531-1535. (Hereafter DMB) There are a few references to Yang Shen in Xu's diaries, while Xu was passing through Yunnan. On one of these occasions, Xu praised Yang's calligraphy (XXKYJ 917). Édouard Chavannes, "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" *T'oung Pao* XIII (1912): 565-653, here 566. For more on Yang Shen's time in southwest China and his travel diaries, see Wang Zhaotong, JYWXS, pp. 306-9 and Claudine Lombard-Salmon, *Un Example d'Acculturation Chinoise: La Province de Guizhou au XVIIIe siècle.* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1972), pp. 57-8.

[71] Yang Shen, "You Diancang Shan Ji" (Account of a Trip to Mount Diancang) in *Gujin Tushi Jicheng* (Complete Collection of Books and Illustrations Past and Present) Chen Menglei et al. (Taibei: Wenxing Shudian, 1965) Vol. 24, pp. 897-8. Wang Zhaotong, JYWXS, pp. 306-7. Yeyu and Longweiguan are respectively north and south of Dali.

noted the existence of three sites associated with Li, a village named after him, an academy and a Buddhist shrine (XXKYJ 931 and 1104). [72] Tian Rucheng, from Zhejiang, held a series of official posts in Guangdong, Guangxi and Guizhou. His fourteen-*juan* work on the region, *Yanjiao Jiwen* (Notes on the Southern Frontiers), published in 1558, will be discussed below. [73]

From Zhejiang, Wang Shixing held a number of official positions in the capital and the provinces, including spells in Sichuan and Yunnan. It was on his journeys to remote parts of the country that he was able to enjoy the landscape. He visited the five sacred peaks and most of the renowned scenic spots in China. His collection of prose *Wuyue Youcao* (Drafts of Travels to the Five Sacred Mountains) was printed in 1593. In his own introduction to this work, Wang wrote:

> I have seen all of creation's transformations in Heaven and Earth, and have omitted from my accounts of my travels neither the upheavals of human circumstances and material principles, nor the joys and sorrows and ebbs and flows of fortunes. [74]

Wuyue Youcao is a work of twelve *juan,* covering visits to the Five Sacred Mountains, Mount Lu and many other parts of China, including lengthy accounts of his time in the southwest. It includes travel diaries of visits to many famous sites including Mounts Chickenfoot and Diancang in Yunnan as well as poems, which make up three *juan*. The latter of these accounts is largely taken up with a dialogue between Wang and a monk.

The last *juan* of *Wuyue Youcao* is known as "Guangyou Zhi" (Records of Broad Travels). Wang Shixing subsequently wrote "Guangzhi Yi" (Further Broad Travels). These two works of one *juan* and six *juan* respectively, are reflections on his travels. "Guangyou Zhi" has sections on the layout of the land, customs of both Han and indigenous peoples, beautiful scenery, caves, rocks and springs and local dialects while "Guangzhi Yi", after an introductory geographical overview, is divided into sections on the two capitals of the Ming, Nanjing and Beijing, and the different provinces Wang had visited, in which he recorded natural phenomena such as lunar

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[72] For Li Yuanyang, see Xie Zhaozhe *Dianlüe,* Siku Quanshu Zhenben Sanji, Vol. 155. ed Wang Yunwu. (Taibei: 1971), *juan* 6 p, 18 a-b, and ZHR 994.

[73] Norma Diamond, "Defining the Miao: Ming, Qing and Contemporary Views" in Stevan Harrell ed. *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 92-116, especially p. 100. For Tian Rucheng, see also Lombard-Salmon, pp. 59-60. For more on the southwest of China and the *tusi* system, see chapter five below.

[74] Wang Shixing *Wang Shixing Dilishu Sanzhong.* (Three Geographical Works by Wang Shixing) Edited by Zhou Zhenhe, (Shanghai: Shanghai, 1993). Preface to *Wuyue Youcao*, p. 29.

eclipses and local customs. [75] In Zhejiang, for example, he pointed out differences between people living in the eastern and western parts of the province. [76]

Wang Shixing wrote on a large scale, drawing on personal observation to provide summaries of different parts of the country, in terms of their respective "strengths" *(li)* and "shortcomings" *(bing)*. He also examined both social and economic geography including physical surroundings, human customs, local products and trade and looked at the way in which local environments affected people's lifestyles. His preoccupation with the earth's surface was both practical and aesthetic. He was a knowledgeable geographer who attempted, for example, to understand climate by considering the factors of both north and south and altitude, and considered China's layout and history according to the geomantic theory of the three great dragons. [77]

The importance of Wang was threefold: firstly, he emphasised human geography, that is the interaction of Man and Nature, rather than simply the description of scenery. In this, as Zhou Zhenhe points out, he was part of the move away from geographical works dealing with natural boundaries which had dominated since the end of the Han dynasty. [78] Secondly, he was a geographer who wrote lengthy works about his travels, not simply a literatus who wrote travel diaries as a form of style exercise. Thirdly, and most importantly, Wang wanted to visit everywhere himself and come to his own conclusions rather than relying on existing works. In his own preface to "Guangzhi Yi", Wang wrote: "My words are all based on what I have personally seen and heard: where this is not the case, I would rather leave out (the information)". [79]

Xie Zhaozhe and Cao Xuequan also wrote lengthy works. Xie, is best known for *Wu za zu* (Five Assorted Offerings), a work of sixteen *juan* covering Heaven, earth, man, things and events. He served as assistant vice commissioner in Yunnan, and subsequently wrote *Dianlüe* (Brief Account of the Province of Yunnan), a work of

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75 For lunar eclipses, see Wang Shixing, *Guangzhi Yi,* p. 383, The final *juan,* on barbarians, has not survived.

76 *Guangzhi Yi,* p. 323. Like Xu Xiake's diaries, *Guangzhi Yi* was not printed till the Kangxi period. Zhou Zhenhe, "Bianxiao Shuoming" (Editing Information) In *Wang Shixing,* p. 1.

77 For a description of the climate of Yunnan, see Wang Shixing *Guangzhi Yi,* pp. 393-4. For a biography of Wang Shixing see DMB 1405-6. Among Wang's works was a supplement to Fan Chengda's *Guihai Yuheng Zhi,* recounting his time in Guilin. Gu Yanwu (1613-1682) used the same terms as Wang in his work, *Tianxia Junguo Libing Shu* (The Strategic Advantages and Weaknesses of each Province in the Empire), in which he stressed the importance of topography as the basis of national defence. Benjamin A. Elman, "Geographical Research in the Ming-Ch'ing Period" *Monumenta Serica,* Vol XXXV (1981-1983): 1-18, here 10.

78 Zhou Zhenhe, "Foreword", in *Wang Shixing*, p. 3.

79 Wang Shixing, *Zixu,* p. 238.

10 *juan*, comprising distinct sections on the region, its mountains and rivers, local produce, customs, leaders of note, the province's contribution to national life, historical events, literature, aboriginal peoples and a section of miscellaneous information. Xie also compiled a gazetteer for a monastery, while he was at home mourning the death of his father and spent time in Guangxi, where he wrote *Baiyue Fengtu Ji* (Customs of the Southern Regions), which is concerned as much with geography as customs. [80]

Cao Xuequan, a scholar and official from Fujian, wrote extensively on places he visited and served in, including the provinces of Guangxi, Yunnan and Sichuan, the last of which was marked by his *Shuzhong Mingsheng Ji* (Famous Sites of Sichuan). His *Da Ming Yitong Mingsheng Zhi* (Comprehensive Accounts of Famous Geographical Sites of the Great Ming Dynasty), published in Fuzhou in 1631, was one of the books lost by Xu during the Hunan robbery (XXKYJ 204). Cao was one of those who wrote a poem for the eightieth birthday of Xu Xiake's mother (XXKYJ 1248). A Ming loyalist, he committed suicide in 1646. [81]

The Ming dynasty also saw a dramatic rise in the number of gazetteers. The national gazetteer *Da Ming Yitong Zhi* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Ming, hereafter DMYTZ), published in 1461 with a preface written by the emperor Yingzong (1457-64), drew much of its information from earlier works, notably Song dynasty gazetteers. [82] Wang Chengzu notes that, although wide-ranging in the amount of detail presented and clear on distances between towns, and on the larger mountains and rivers, the Gazetteer was sketchy on tributaries and branches in the more outlying parts of the country, some of which had been out of Chinese control for some time. [83] The provincial maps in DMYTZ were of an "exaggerated and highly stylised simplicity", with rivers straightened and mountains merely symbols. [84]

DMYTZ was the vade-mecum of Xu Xiake, who sought to rectify its many mistakes. While investigating the source of the Pan river, for example, he wrote: "all that was reported in the Records (ie. DMYTZ) was incorrect" (XXKYJ 730). In order to do this, he carried out personal investigation, made inquiries from local people and,

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[80] DMB 546-550, Brook, *Sources,* p. 61. Brook notes that the first monastic gazetteer, about a Daoist establishment in Hangzhou, was written in 1305. Ibid., p. 52.

[81] DMB 1299-1301.

[82] Benjamin A. Elman, 5.

[83] Wang Chengzu, p. 56. The new gazetteer did include information gathered by Zheng He in the course of his expeditions.

[84] Quotation on page 294 of Gari Ledyard "Cartography in Korea" in Harley and Woodward, eds., pp. 235-345. In the same book, Cordell D.K. Yee points out that the maps contained in DMYTZ were less detailed than maps made as far back as the Song dynasty, "Reinterpreting Traditional Chinese Geographical Maps", in Harley and Woodward, pp. 35-70, here, pp. 57-8.

whenever possible, consulted local gazetteers. The broad range of material, covering such matters as rebellions, food, famous locals and housing, contained in the diaries of his trip to the southwest reflects the influence of gazetteers on his writing. Ganza notes it was only from the sixteenth century that gazetteers had a separate section for travel diaries. [85]

Timothy Brook has examined the dramatic increase in the production of gazetteers, noting that the greatest number were written about places in the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. His listing gives two extant and nine lost institutional and topographical gazetteers for the whole of the fifteenth century. In the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, however, the equivalent figures for the two categories are forty-five and sixteen and for the following twenty years, thirty-three and twenty-two. Brook suggests this was due to the increased part played in local society by gentry: it was more common in the late Ming for literati to stay in their local area as a result of their lack of official positions. Brook goes on to point out that the greater gentry interest in Buddhism from the middle of the sixteenth century led to an increase in the writing of gazetteers about mountains or monasteries. Overall, around three thousand gazetteers were compiled during the Ming dynasty, of which about one third are extant. [86]

Among late-Ming literati writers of gazetteers were several of Xu Xiake's acquaintances. He Qiaoyuan (1558-1632), who wrote a poem for Xu's mother, compiled a gazetteer for the town of Quanzhou in Fujian published in 1612, and a gazetteer of the province of Fujian, published in 1619. [87] Chen Jiru (1558-1639) edited a gazetteer of Songjiang prefecture completed in 1631. [88] Feng Menglong (1574-1646) wrote a gazetteer for Shouning in Fujian, where he was an official from 1634-1638. [89] Yuan Hongdao, Xie Zhaozhe and Chen Renxi (1581-1636) all compiled monastery records. [90]

At the same time there was a large increase in domestic trade, which led, in turn, to the appearance, during the sixteenth century, of "route books". These works which gave the distance between towns and villages on a variety of routes, as well as

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85 Ganza, pp. 154 -7.

86 Brook, *Sources*, pp. 51-60. Timothy Brook has further examined the late-Ming Buddhist revival in *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China.* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series; 38. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), where he notes that (as well as Xie Zhaozhe mentioned above), Yuan Hongdao and Chen Renxi also compiled gazetteers about monasteries. p. 178.

87 DMB 507-509.

88 Arthur Hummel, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912).* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: 1943), vol. 1, p. 84. (Hereafter, ECCP)

89 DMB 450-3.

90 Brook, *Praying for Power,* p. 178.

information on inns and ferry schedules, were popular with both travellers and merchants. The earliest extant route book, written by Huang Bian, is *Yitong Lucheng Tuji* (The Comprehensive Illustrated Route Book), which was published in Suzhou in 1570. These were followed by Merchant Books which contained information aimed more directly at itinerant traders and merchants. The earliest surviving Merchant Book is *Shishang leiyao* (The Encyclopaedia for Gentry and Merchants), dated 1626.[91]

There was also a growing number of, and interest in, travel diaries. Wang Siren wrote several travel diaries, including *Tianxia Mingshan Jiyou* (Travels to Famous Mountains of the Empire), while the first collection of journeys to mountains, *Gujin You Mingshan Ji* (Ancient and Modern Journeys to Famous Mountains), a work of ten *juan* concentrating on the sixteenth century, was compiled by He Zhenqing. [92] Zhang Dai (ca. 1597-ca. 1679/1684?), a historian as well as a writer, wrote many diaries, including a famous description of a summer festival by the West Lake near Hangzhou. Known for his humour, his wealthy background enabled him to survive without the need to seek an official position.

The influence of some of the earlier models for travel diaries persisted. In 1625, while serving as an official, Li Rihua (1565-1635), a noted aesthete, wrote *Xizhao Lu* (Account of an Imperial Summons), detailing his travels for the preceeding year, Tian Rucheng produced *Guilin Xing* (Journey to Guilin) an account of his sixty-four-day trip from Hangzhou to Guilin, as well as a guidebook to the West Lake near Hangzhou, and Gong Yongqing (1500-63) wrote *Shi Chaoxian Lu,* an embassy dairy of his trip to Korea. [93]

In the late-Ming, there was also an increase in the number of illustrated gazetteers and woodcut-illustrated books of famous scenic spots. Several art critics have noted a greater emphasis on factual reporting and the accurate depiction of scenery in painting relating to these journeys. [94] These developments were predated

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[91] Brook, *Sources,* pp. 3-19. By way of comparison, Margaret Hodgson notes that the earliest equivalent to the route book to appear in Europe was published in 1587 by Albert Meier. See her *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 187. Norbert Ohler notes that pilgrim guides to Santiago de Compostella exist from the twelfth century. *The Medieval Traveller.* Translated by Caroline Hillier. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), p. 184.

[92] For Wang Siren, see DMB 1420-1425 and Wang Zhaotong, JYWXS, 375-380. For He Zhenqing see Wang Zhaotong, JYWXS, p. 280. In the *siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* there are entries concerning a number of other collections of mountain essays, several of them drawing on He's work. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 1553-6. In a letter to He Zhenqing, Wang Shixing wrote of how he had enjoyed reading a collection of travel diaries sent to him by He. Wang Shixing *"Zhi He Zhenqing"*, in Wang Shixing, pp. 588-9.

[93] DMB 762-5, 826-30 and 1286-8.

[94] See James Cahill's discussion of the painter Zhang Hong (1577- after 1652) who used such an approach, James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth- Century Chinese Painting.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 1-35. Also Ganza, pp. 148-154.

by the exploits of a physician Wang Lü (1332-1391), who visited Mount Hua in 1381. He recorded his visit in a painting, in which he attempted to convey the spirit of the mountain, and a travel account to record the details and poems to express his feelings: these functions overlapped, however, and he has been described as a precursor of the late-Ming thrust for empiricism, who single-handedly expanded "the parameters of travel painting." [95] In the same way that poets came to visit the sites about which they wrote, so the painters of the late-Ming showed greater interest than earlier generations in going to see the mountains they were painting. Ganza also records a growth in the number of topographically accurate paintings. Chen Jiru wrote of a painting by Song Xu (1525-1605):

> (I) take a vicarious journey within (it) and I feel my very bone marrow increase in freshness. [96]

By the late-Ming, the sphere of geographical knowledge had expanded sufficiently to ensure that most of the boundaries had been clearly ascertained. There was a growth in empirical geographical research and a move away from a concern with cosmological geometry. Closer attention was paid to the exact contours of the land [97] For the artist, travel was desirable as a means of achieving a greater communion with nature. Dong Qichang (1555-1636), for example, suggested that a painter could learn by walking huge distances:

> Let him read ten thousand volumes and walk ten thousand miles. All these will wash away the turgid matters of the mundane world and help form the hills and valleys within his bosom. Once he has made these preparations within himself, whatever he sketches and paints will be able to convey the spirit of the mountains and rivers. [98]

For a general survey of painting in the Ming dynasty, covering the great artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengming and Tang Yin, see Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 154-179.

[95] Kathlyn Maureen Liscomb, *Learning From Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician's Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 118.

[96] Ganza, pp. 205-6.

[97] John B Henderson, "Chinese Cosmographical Thought: The High Intellectual Tradition" in Harley and Woodward, eds., pp. 203-227, especially pp. 223-4.

[98] Dong Qichang quoted in Chu Tsungli "Artistic Theories of the Literati" in, *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period,* edited by Chu Tsungli and James C.Y. Watt. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), pp. 14-22, here, p. 17. These words are echoed by Li Rihua, quoted in the same piece, "In order to wash away muddy things, one must read more books and explore rare and distinctive mountains and rivers." Ibid, p. 21.

Dong Qichang was from a family which had produced no officeholders for four generations. However, he held various official posts, including tutor to the future emperor Guangzong. He began studying calligraphy at the age of eighteen His first painting was in 1577 and he also studied Chan Buddhism with Chen Jiru. He spent much of his adult life out of office and also ran into trouble. In 1616, one

James Cahill has looked at examples of how these changes affected the world of painting over a relatively short period of time. In the *Sancai tuhui* (Compendium of the Three Powers), a huge pictorial encyclopaedia, edited by Wang Qi (1565-1614), published in 1607, Mount Huang, in Anhui province, was shown as remote and uninhabited. By 1633, the depiction of the mountain in the series of paintings entitled *Mingshan Tu* (Pictures of Famous Mountains) marked paths and places to stay. Everything had been named and brought into the human sphere. By 1648, pictures of the mountain had been even more humanised. [99]

There was also a surge in the popularity of well-established tourist sites. Zhang Dai's account of a trip to Mount Tai shows how visits to such sites were organised in the late-Ming: visitors, of whom there were several thousand every day, were divided into three classes, escorted to the summit and, on the basis of the amount of money paid, entertained with food, and either an opera performance or a sole musician with a lute, on returning to the foot of the mountain. Zhang Dai stayed in an inn with twenty kitchens and around two hundred staff. [100] A contemporary suggested that in the 1620s, Mount Tai received as many as 800,000 visitors a year.[101]

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of his sons attempted to steal a young girl to serve as his father's concubine. This caused massive ill-feeling and Dong's estate was burnt down. He was out of favour for four years until his former protege became emperor and he was asked to go back to the capital. However, the emperor soon died and he remained out of politics during the heyday of Wei Zhongxian. See Nelson Wu, "Tung Ch'i-chang (1555-1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art" In *Confucian Personalities,* edited by Arthur Wright and Denis Twitchett. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 260-293 and James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty.* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1982), pp. 87-91.

[99] James Cahill, "Late Ming Landscape Albums and European Printed Books" in *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honour of Lessing J. Rosenwald* Sandra Hindman, ed. (Washington: Library of Congress 1982), pp. 150-171. See p. 165. The three powers were Heaven, Earth and Man. Mount Huang, now perhaps the most famous of all Chinese mountains, was relatively unvisited even into late imperial times, largely as a result of its remote location, away from a big city. It was only during the late-Ming that it became popular, after a Buddhist monk was able, thanks to imperial patronage, to build a number of monasteries and walkways in the 1590s, thus opening the area up to visitors who wished to stay overnight. The mountain was also visited by literati from nearby districts, including members of a Literary Society set up in 1542 for the writing of poetry. At the end of the Ming dynasty it served as a place of refuge for Ming loyalists, and became a potent symbol of the Chinese people. The development of Mount Huang in this manner is indicative of the greater opportunities available to the educated class as well as being a reflection of new social and economic factors. See Joseph P. McDermott, "The Making of a Chinese Mountain, Huangshan: Politics and Wealth in Chinese Art" *Journal of Asian Cultural Studies* 17, (1989): 145-176 and James Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Pictures" in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin, and Chün-fang Yü, (Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 246-292.

[100] Zhang Dai is thought to have visited Mount Tai in 1629. For a translation of his visit see Strassberg, pp. 339-341. See also Wu Pei-yi, "An Ambivalent Pilgrim to T'ai Shan in the Seventeenth Century", in Naquin and Yü, pp. 65-88.

[101] Glen Dudbridge, "A pilgrimage in seventeenth-century fiction: T'ai-shan and the *Hsing-shih Yin-yüan Chuan* " *T'oung Pao* LXXVII, 4-5, (1991): 226-252, here 226-7.

There are references to this popularity in Xu Xiake's work in both the well-known areas of eastern and central China and, perhaps more surprisingly, in the less accessible parts of the southwest. In the former category, Xu recorded seeing boatloads of tourists and evidence of work having been carried out to facilitate passage through the caves of Mount Wuyi in Fujian (XXKYJ 22), complained at the clamour and dirt of the tourists visiting caves near Hangzhou (XXKYJ 96) and wrote of a large number of guides, as well as people selling bundles of fire wood for use as torches, at the well-known Seven Stars Cave in Guilin (XXKYJ 348). Elsewhere, in his account of a visit to the Yan caves in southern Yunnan, Xu noted the presence of regular guided visits, commenting that the charging of fees to cross bridges built inside the caves was the cause of much resentment among local people (XXKYJ 684), in the far west of Yunnan, he mentioned travellers (*youzhe*) visiting a cave near the town of Yongchang (XXKYJ 1017), while, in the equally remote west of Guangxi, near the town of Xiangwu, whose sites were given little attention in DMYTZ, Xu's diary contains evidence of man-made assistance, such as ropes, for those visiting the caves (XXKYJ 502, DMYTZ 5242-4).

Travel was becoming more popular with different groups in society, especially in the prosperous Jiangnan region, the area south of the mouth of the Yangtse river whose centre was the important city of Suzhou. [102] A recent book on women in seventeenth century China, suggests there was a group of educated women with the time and leisure to go on the sort of excursion to beauty spots practised by men. Dorothy Ko lists three categories of travel for women: as companions for husbands en route to new official positions, for personal pleasure and, thirdly, as professionals, both as writers and courtesans. Ko mentions the female travel writer Wang Wei (ca.1600-1647) a courtesan from Yangzhou in Jiangnan as an example of someone symbolising the mobility of women, one for whom travel represented a fulfilment of her own individuality. Describing herself as "by nature addicted to mountains and water", Wang Wei wrote travelogues and poems of her journeys through Hunan province and is said to have edited a collection of travelogues. [103]

The increased interest shown in geographical matters reflected a number of important developments in Chinese society. Although the population had grown, and has been estimated to have reached around one hundred and fifty million by 1600, there had been no rise in the number of civil service posts to match the greater number

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[102] Robert E. Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth Century China.* (New York: Columbia Press, 1981), pp. 4-6. The geographer Hu Wei (1633-1714) later wrote that the rise of Jiangnan had made the ancient division of China into nine provinces redundant. Elman, 13.

[103] See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Sevententh-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 224 and, for Wang Wei, pp. 285-290.

of people passing the imperial exams. [104] Many members of the literati became disaffected, a process which had begun towards the end of the Yuan dynasty, and no longer devoted themselves solely to the pursuit of office, choosing instead to live on the fringes of official society. This was particularly the case in the Jiangnan area which provided more scholars than any other area during the Ming dynasty. [105]

These developments have led to suggestions that travellers of the late-Ming period were fleeing from the world of politics. [106] It is certainly rare for Xu Xiake's diaries to mention political matters directly, although he did declare that he did not wish to meet someone connected to the powerful eunuch, Wei Zhongxian (1568-1627) (XXKYJ 895). Xu also gave accounts of some of the rebellions which took place in southwest China in the early years of the seventeenth century, his reporting full of a Confucian fear of disorder and disapproval of any upsetting of the status quo. [107]

Ho Ping-ti has described the emergence of a large leisured class, including those of independent means as well as active and retired officials. This was possible thanks to a number of changes in society, which allowed for alternative means of employment. Local gentry were becoming wealthy on a larger scale, and had more disposable income for education and literacy, leading to a broadening in the scope of elite hobbies. [108] Apart from Xu Xiake, men such as Zhang Dai and Chen Jiru were able to eschew the pursuit of an official career. Dong Qichang, though best known as a literati painter, was also an official. Chen Jiru, after passing the *xiucai* exam, renounced ambition, by burning his student cap and gown and earned a living as a professional writer and scholar. [109]

By the start of the seventeenth century, enjoyment of the arts was an end in itself, particularly with politics having become merely a peripheral function for many educated people. With the increased leisure time came a growth of interest in the aesthetic appreciation of beautiful objects and scenery. The great figures of Song literature were revived by aesthetes such as Li Rihua, who said of Su Shi and Mi Fu (1051-1107), "They appreciated the spirit and beauty of mountains and rivers and the

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[104] Hegel, *The Novel*, pp. 14-5. Population figure from Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Imperial Success: Aspects of Social Mobility 1368-1911*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 224.
[105] Hegel, p. 5.
[106] See Marion Eggert, pp. 8-10.
[107] See chapter five of this work for details of these rebellions.
[108] Brook, *Praying for Power*, pp. 2-3.
[109] James Cahill, *Distant Mountains*, p. 89, and Nelson Wu, p. 277. For a life of Chen Jiru see ECCP 83-84.

marvellous quality of all things. [110] Li Rihua produced a ranking of antique objects, in which, as well as most important arts represented by the painting and calligraphy of Su Shi, Mi Fu and others, he also included "strange rocks of a rugged and picturesque type" and "old, elegant pines".[111] The new interest in collecting and connoisseurship can also be seen in works such as Gao Lian's (Fl. second half of sixteenth century) *Zunsheng ba jian* (Eight Discourses on the Art of Living), first published in 1591.[112]

These developments were matched by a big increase after 1500 in the number and influence of private academies, the most notable of which were Gongan, Donglin and Taizhou. The rise of these academies resulted in a proliferation of diverse philosophies, all of which influenced contemporary writing styles. Although academies were proscribed in 1537, 1579 and 1625, they remained highly influential and acted as centres of dissent. [113] During the Longqing reign period (1567-72), an average of ten academies were opening every year: in the Wanli period (1573-1620) the figure dropped to under five a year, following the suppression of 1579. [114] Wakeman suggests that by the late-Ming, the academies were not simply acting outside the main stream of scholarly education, but were part of the trend towards the search for enlightenment. [115]

This trend was exemplified by Gao Panlong (1562-1626), a leading member of the Donglin academy which, originally established in the twelfth century, was revived at the end of the sixteenth century. Based at Wuxi, its members included many of the most renowned late-Ming literati: several of these were friends of Xu Xiake, including Qian Qianyi (1582-1664), Miu Changqi (1562-1626), Wen Zhenmeng (1573-1636) Chen Renxi, and Cao Xuequan, many of them writing poems for his mother on the occasion of her eightieth birthday.

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[110] Quoted in Chu Tsungli, "The Artistic Theories of the Literati" in Chu and Watt, p. 15. In 1625, while serving as an official, Li Rihua wrote *Xichao lu* (Account of an Imperial Summons) detailing his travels for the preceeding year. DMB 826-30.

[111] Chu Tsungli, p. 15. The earliest and most famous of the books related to the connoisseurship of rocks is the Southern Song dynasty work "Stone catalogue of Cloudy Forest", which ranged from gem stones to cliffs. John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art.* (New York: China House Gallery, 1986), p. 25.

[112] Gao Lian's work, published three times between 1591 and 1620, contained two sections dealing with travel, "Equipment for Travelling" and "Remote Wanderings beyond the Mundane". Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 13. Similar ground is covered in Wai-Yee Li "The Collector, the Connoisseur and Late-Ming Sensibility" *T'oung Pao* Vol. LXXXI, FASC 4-5, (1995): 269-302.

[113] Ho Ping-ti, *Ladder,* p. 199. See also Hegel, p. 16.

[114] John Meskill, *Academies in Ming China: A Historical Essay.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), p. 139.

[115] Frederic Wakeman Jr., "The Price of Autonomy: Intellectuals in Ming and Ch'ing Politics." *Daedalus* (Spring 1972): 35-70, here 44.

Gao Panlong, a strict Confucian, nevertheless visited Buddhist monasteries in order to carry out *jingzuo* (quiet-sitting), an activity similar to Buddhist meditation. He believed that knowledge of one's own nature should be developed alongside a harmony with one's physical surroundings. De Bary describes Gao's approach as "nature mysticism", stressing the aesthetic aspect of Gao's search for truth and the influence of Daoist as well as Buddhist ideas. [116] Gao committed suicide by drowning in 1626, following imperial suppression of the Donglin academy by Wei Zhongxian.

Heinrich Busch quotes from Gao's writings in which he stressed the importance of the visual appreciation of landscape:

> The scenery was beautiful: I was alone with my servant and so everything was completely tranquil ... I had a sudden awakening.[117]

Similar passages of enlightenment in nature will be seen later in looking at Xu Xiake's diaries. This Neo-Confucian quest for enlightenment was linked to the long-established tradition of eremitism in China. According to James Watt, by the late-Ming, eremitism, "no longer simply an escape from the world, became a means of mentally transforming one's immediate surroundings." [118]

The increased opportunities for leisure allowed some literati to live in the city and indulge their interests on an occasional basis. There are many contemporary references to *shanren* (mountain dwellers), many of whom sought to live as recluses, while retaining an urban base. Chen Jiru listed eight virtues of living in the mountains, including the avoidance of banqueting, politics and any discussion of office-holding. Distinctions were even made between greater and lesser retirement, the former group living in retirement in the mountains while the latter stayed in town while seeking to maintain the spirit of the genuine recluse. Peterson described the

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[116] William de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and the Seventeenth Century Enlightenment" in de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 141-216. For the section on aesthetic enlightenment, see pp. 178-184. For Gao Panlong, see also Rodney Leon Taylor, *The Cultivation of Sagehood as a Religious Goal in Neo-Confucianism: A Study of Selected Writings of Kao P'an-lung 1562-1626.* American Academy of Religion, Dissertation Series, No. 22. (Montana: Scholars Press, 1978) For a history of the Donglin Academy, see Heinrich Busch, "The Tung-lin Shuyuan and its Political and Philosophical Significance." *Monumenta Serica* Vol. XIV (1949-1950): 1-163.

[117] Busch, pp. 128-130. The implication here is that the servant is effectively a non-person. This is similar to the attitude shown by Xu to his own servant, Gu Xing, his companion on the long journey to Southwest China.

[118] James Watt, "The Literati Environment" in Chu and Watt, pp. 1-13, this quotation is taken from page 4.

term as having "a sort of romanticized fashionableness as a label for a retired literatus". [119]

Throughout his diaries, Xu Xiake displayed a sympathetic attitude towards such seekers after peace and independence in the mountains, as long as they did not disturb Nature. The term he used for the building of a retreat (*jielu*), literally the weaving of a hut, implied much more than simply the building of a house, suggesting a quiet retreat suitable for contemplation, as it first appeared in a poem by Tao Yuanming, close to the world of men yet peaceful. [120] Others were not as well disposed. Li Zhi, for example, scornfully wrote, "They call themselves "Mountain-men' but their hearts of those of the merchants. Their lips are full of the Way and virtue but their ambition is to become "thieves of virtue". [121]

By the sixteenth century, the journey metaphor had become commonplace in Neo-Confucian discourse on *xue*, "learning", towards the goal of Confucian sagehood. While this was often no more than metaphor, during this period there was an increasing number of real journeys to remote regions, involving great physical danger and personal hardship. Wu Pei-yi lists a number of these travellers who wrote a spiritual biography, including Luo Hongxian (1504-1564) whose account combined description of scenery with discussion of the author's self-cultivation and Deng Huoqu (1498-1570), who spent many years travelling in western Yunnan. Deng's biography took the form of a travel diary, creating, in Wu's words, "a unique persona who is as free of restraint and as rambling as any traveller." Deng regularly used the image of going through a pass as a stage on the way to breakthrough and Neo-Confucian sagehood: his work regularly mixed Confucian formulaic schemes with Buddhist ideas. He was one of many late-Ming dynasty visitors to Mount Chickenfoot. [122]

Like the Donglin academy, the Taizhou school, established in 1528 by Wang Gen (1483-1541), on the death of his mentor Wang Yangming (1472-1528),

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[119] Willard Peterson, *Bitter Gourd: Fang I-chih and the Impetus for Intellectual Change.* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 128-133.

[120] XXKYJ 297, 772, 838, 1120, 1148 and elsewhere. Tao Yuanming, "Yinjiu" no. 5, *Tao Yuanming Ji Quanshi,* ed. Guo Weisen, (Guiyang: Guizhou Remnin, 1992), p. 148. Hightower has shown how in an earlier setting, the biography of Li Xun in *Houhan Shu,* the weaving of grass to make a hut (*jie cao wei lu*) already suggested a remote peaceful setting. James Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), p. 130.

[121] Li Zhi quoted in de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation", p. 205. See also A Ying, "Mingmo de fan shanren wenxue" (Anti Mountain Men Literature of the late-Ming), in *Yehang Ji.* (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1935), pp. 144-9. "Thieves of virtue" (*chuanyu*) is an expression from the *Lunyu, juan* 20.11a. The *shanren* phemomenon was of sufficient interest to warrant a whole chapter in a history of the Wanli period. See Wai-kam Ho, "Late Ming Literati: Their Social and Cultural Ambience", in Chu and Watt, p. 30.

[122] Wu Pei-yi, *Confucian's Progresss,* p. 101.

combined elements of Confucianism with other religions. [123] Wang Gen, who was from a humble background and never sought office, developed Wang Yangming's interest in the Chan idea of direct intuition. Wang Yangming believed in the notion of *liangzhi* (innate knowledge), and sought to free the individual, who had to recognise the signs of sagehood within himself. This did not, however, mean that the individual was free from social obligations: indeed, Wang stressed the importance of adhering to traditional Confucian values and expressed his own enlightenment with reference to some Confucian terms. [124]

Wang Gen developed Wang Yangming's ideas of man as sage, concentrating on *shen* (self) as the active centre of all things, rather than following Wang Yangming who emphasised *xin* (mind). The Daoist influence in Wang Gen's work is seen in the notion that the creative power of the Dao could appear in the individual. The success of the Taizhou school was assured by a variety of factors, notably the increasing economic strength of the lower Yangtse valley as expressed in the affluence of cities like Yangzhou and Suzhou. In the Taizhou school, according to de Bary, Confucianism, for the first time, became heavily involved in the sphere traditionally occupied by the popular religions. [125] Greater economic independence helped the rise of the individual and a shifting from the traditional social roles of a duty to serve the state to a desire to fulfil the self. [126]

Xu Xiake's friend, Chen Jiru, was a member of the Taizhou school: the letters of introduction given by Chen to Xu for his journey to southwest China indicate the strength of the connections between different regions of the country and, in particular, the importance of Yunnan. Both Tang Dalai and Mu Zeng, as well as the monks of

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[123] William de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in late Ming Thought" in de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 145-245. For the Taizhou School, see pp. 171-5. For Wang Ken's life, see DMB 1382-5.

[124] Wang Yangming was another Ming intellectual who spent time in southwest China, after being exiled to Guizhou in 1506. See chapter five below for details. Although attacked by Gu Yanwu (1613-1682), who held him responsible for the downfall of the Ming dynasty, Wang Yangming was highly regarded in the years following his death. In 1584, an imperial decree stated that sacrifices should be offered to him in Confucian temples. DMB 1408-16. For a discussion of Wang Yangming's attitude towards enlightenment, see also Liu Ts'un-yan, "Taoist Cultivation in Ming Thought", in de Bary, *Self and Society,* pp. 291-330, especially, pp. 314-5. Brook noted that Wang Yangming helped to open up Neo-Confucianism to Buddhist influence, leading to the growth of syncretism in the late-Ming, a phenomenon particularly prevalent in the Jiangnan region. Brook described Tu Long (1542-1605), Li Zhi and Yuan Hongdao as, "the most eloquent advocates of bridging the gap between Buddhism and Confucianism". Brook, *Praying for Power,* pp. 61-4. For Tu Long, see DMB 1324-7.

[125] de Bary, "Individualism", p. 174.

[126] Brook, *Praying for Power*, p. 55.

Mount Chickenfoot, Hongbian and Anren, with all of whom Xu spent time, were members, as was the great iconoclast, Li Zhi (1527-1602). [127]

The Taizhou school, like the Donglin Academy, reflected contemporary syncretic trends, which were also prominent in the life and work of Yuan Hongdao, one of the best-known literary figures and travel writers of the late Ming. The Gongan school, founded by his brother, Yuan Zongdao (1560-1600), which was at its most active between 1595 and 1600, was a reaction against the prevailing orthodoxy of the Archaist (*guwen*) school for whom the only true literature was the prose of the Qin and Han dynasties and the poetry of the Tang. For Yuan Hongdao, the landscape was seen as both the aesthetic object to be viewed by the individual and as an expression of that aesthetic interest.

Like his brother, Yuan Hongdao was opposed to the idea of imitating art and was keen rather to catch the spirit of the age. A writer should not be restrained by convention and form and should seek to strike a balance between "substance" (*zhi*) and" ornament" (*wen*). The term most associated with the Gongan school was *xingling* (innate sensibility), which, in Yuan's own words, meant to, "uniquely express [one's] personality and innate sensibility without being restrained by convention and form." [128]

Yuan Hongdao wrote a number of short travelogues, including visits to Mount Lu, Mount Song and Mount Hua. Imbued with an intense love of nature, he nevertheless wished to retain the comforts of city life and did not wish to live in Nature. Yuan was, however, more adventurous than many contemporary travel writers, seeking out places previously considered to be inaccessible, a process requiring great personal courage, that became routine for Xu Xiake. In the introduction to one of his poems on the sites of Mount Chickenfoot, Xu expressed admiration for a poem written by Yuan Hongdao, one of very few occasions in his diaries that he expressed direct admiration for any writer. [129] Yuan Hongdao and the Gongan school have been described as "opening up a broad new road for the travel diary." [130] Zhang Dai was a great admirer of Yuan, writing, "Ancient travel writers

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[127] Yu Xixian, *Mingdai Dili Xuejia Xu Xiake* (Xu Xiake, Ming Dynasty Geographer) (Beijing: Kexue Puji, 1987), pp. 47-53.

[128] Chou Chih-ping, p, 46. The quotation is taken from "Xu Xiaoxiu Shi" (A Preface to the Poems of Xiaoxiu), Xiaoxiu being Yuan Hongdao's younger brother, Yuan Zhongdao. *Yuan Zhonglang Quanji* (Anthology of Yuan Zhonglang) (Hong Kong: Guangzhi Shuju, n.d.) "xuwen", p. 5. See also Richard Shek, *Religion and Society in Late Ming: Sectarianism and Popular Thought in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century China.* (Ph.D. Diss. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 74.

[129] XXKYJ 1142. Yuan's poem was one of a series written about climbing Mount Hua. "Deng Hua Qisan" (Third Poem on the Ascent of Mount Hua) in *Yuan Zhonglang Quanji,* "Shiji", p. 181.

[130] GDYJX, introduction, p. 25.

first followed Li Daoyuan then Liu Zongyuan: in recent times they have followed Yuan Hongdao." [131]

Conclusion

From the start of the Ming dynasty and particularly from the sixteenth century, there was a proliferation of all sorts of geographical writing. By the seventeenth century, travel writers were at the forefront of literary and social developments. The travel diaries of writers such as Yuan Hongdao were typical of the late-Ming interest in the idea of self-discovery, which could apply a matrix using elements made of one or more of the three leading beliefs of the age: Buddhism, Daoism and Neo-Confucianism. [132] The popularity of travel diaries by the late-Ming is undeniable. Timothy Brook gives the example of the travel section of a private library catalogue of the early Qing which had twenty-two travel notes and gazetteers for the Song dynasty, sixty for the Yuan and five hundred and twenty-eight for the Ming. [133] More gazetteers were produced and they contained more information, including, for the first time, separate sections for travel diaries.

There was increased interest in accuracy and empiricism, and, above all, interest in the publication of large-scale works, such as Li Shizhen's (1518-1593) monumental work, *Bencao* (Pharmacopoeia), compiled over more than twenty years, Xu Guangqi's (1562-1633) translations into Chinese of European scientific works and Song Yingxing's (born ca. 1600) *Tiangong Kaiwu* (Exploitation of the Works of Nature), published in 1637. [134] These works are regularly cited as reflecting the same late-Ming *zeitgeist* as the work of Xu Xiake. [135] The vast scale of these works and the attention paid therein to accuracy are as important here as the more aesthetic influences of the late-Ming period cited earlier in this chapter.

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[131] Cited in *Yuan Zhonglang Yanjiu* (Research into Yuan Zhonglang) by Ren Fangqiu, (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1983), p. 86.

[132] This point is stressed by Liu Ts'un-yan who wrote that the intellectual scene of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "was dominated by scholars who had been influenced to a greater or lesser extent by Taoist and Buddhist ideas." Liu Ts'un-yan, p. 309.

[133] Timothy Brook, "Guides for Vexed Travelers: Route Books in the Ming and Qing" *Ch'ing-shi went'i.* Vol. IV no. 5. (June 1985): 32-76, here 41. It is worth acknowledging that this was due, at least in part, to developments in the world of printing, which allowed for the production of both new and old works, thus bringing previously rare works into circulation. See Ho Ping-ti, *Ladder,* pp. 212-5.

[134] Chang Chun-shu and Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang, *Crisis and Transformation in Seventeenth Century China: Society, Culture and Modernity in Li Yu's World,* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 285-6. The authors note that *Bencao* was reprinted five times between 1603 and 1640.

[135] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation* Volume 3. *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth,* p. 524. Li Chi, *Hsü Hsia-k'o,* pp. 26-7.

The Ming literati who travelled to remote regions of China were interested in the acquisition of knowledge. Prior to Xu Xiake, the figures mentioned above, and especially Wang Shixing, had developed the travel diary a long way beyond the leisurely accounts of journeys undertaken on the way to taking up a new official post, typified by Lu You and Fan Chengda of the Song dynasty. Travel had become a goal in itself. The increased interest in scientific accuracy matched similar developments in Europe at around the same time. Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) plea for adherence to the disciplines of observation and experimentation in order to re-establish the natural channel between the human mind and nature, was part of a trend towards the legitimization of curiosity as an amoral and heroic motive for travel. From the Renaissance on, the journey, "became a structured and highly elaborate method of appropriating the world as information" [136]

At the same time as there appeared a move towards the gathering of accurate information, other factors also assumed great importance. "Obsession" (*pi*), for example, was a popular term in late-Ming China. In Li Shizhen's *Bencao,* it was seen as a physical malady: "When a person fixates on something so that it becomes a *pi*, he will become ill: the knots in his bowels will solidify and form a stone." [137] In the early seventeenth century, there appeared *Pidian xiaoshi* (A Brief History of Obsession and Lunacy), large sections of which were lifted from the *Shishuo xinyu.* Yuan Hongdao wrote, "I have observed that in this world those whose words are insipid and whose appearance is detestable are all men without obsessions". [138] By the late-Ming, obsession had become a praiseworthy occupation, closely linked with ideas of individualism and self-expression. It was this notion of obsession that was to inspire the writing and travelling of Xu Xiake.

This chapter has shown the different strands of Chinese writing on geographical matters which, by the end of the Ming dynasty, had become an extremely eclectic fusion of fact and opinion. The writings of travel writers up to and including Xu Xiake combined both aspects. As will be seen later in this work, Xu used a language of the sublime established at an early stage by both literary and religious authors and developed over many centuries. The different formats of Chinese travel diaries have now been outlined: other, more universal, models of travel diaries will also be applied later in this thesis. These considerations will be placed alongside the specifically Chinese conditions outlined above.

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[136] Leed, pp. 178-88, quotation from p. 188.

[137] Judith A. Zeitlin, *Pu Songling's (1640-1715) "Liaozhai zhiyi" and the Chinese Discourse on the Strange.* Ph.D. Diss. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 57.

[138] Ibid., p. 67, where Zeitlin also quotes Zhang Dai, who wrote, "One cannot befriend a man without obsessions for he lacks deep emotion".

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This chapter has outlined the background to the travel diary up to the end of the Ming dynasty. Xu Xiake was able to bring his own concern for accuracy and his familiarity with the Chinese literary tradition to a form of writing based on the recounting of both the fantastic, derived from the "xiaoyao you" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* and the mundane, the facts, both accurate and erroneous, contained in gazetteers and other geographical works.

Chapter Two

The Life of Xu Xiake

This chapter outlines the main events of Xu Xiake's life before going on to examine his character from his own words and the assessment of others. In order to gain an understanding of Xu and what motivated him, his relationships with his parents, as well as with friends and travelling companions will be discussed. Xu's diaries will be examined in order to provide an assessment of his character. The attributes most often cited in the contemporary biographies of Xu Xiake, namely bravery and obsessiveness, will also be considered. A number of themes will be introduced that will be examined in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

There are a number of sources for constructing a biography of Xu Xiake. The most useful of these is the chronological biography (*nianpu*), written by Ding Wenjiang in 1928, as part of a new edition of the diaries. [1] Ding drew on a wealth of biographical material, including the Xu family genealogies. Although there are some errors in Ding's work, it has remained the most complete source. Recently, Chu Shaotang has produced a revised *nianpu* correcting mistakes in the light of new information. [2] There is a short biography in Li Chi's book on Xu Xiake, as well as an appendix by Chang Chun-shu summarising the main events of his life. [3] There are, in addition, a number of recent Chinese works, including a biography by Liu Guocheng.[4] There are, of course, also Xu's diaries and other writings. However, although these provide extensive coverage of the period from 1636 to 1640, when Xu Xiake travelled to south-western China, his earlier diaries on the famous mountains of north and east China, are short and contain little biographical information.

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[1] Ding Wenjiang was an accomplished geographer, educated partly at Glasgow University, who himself covered much of the terrain traversed by Xu during his long trip through south-western China. Ding's three volume edition contained two volumes of text and one of maps. *Xu Xiake Youji Ding Wenjiang Biaodian Qianyin Ben* (Ding Wenjiang's Punctuated Typographic Edition of the Xu Xiake Travel Diaries), (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1928). Chu Shaotang has compiled a new edition of maps of Xu's journeys, *Xu Xiake Lüxing Luxian Kaocha Tuji* (An Atlas of the Routes of Xu Xiake's Travels) (Shanghai: Zhongguo Ditu, 1988).

[2] Chu Shaotang, "Zengding Xu Xiake Nianpu" (A Revision and Enlargement of "A Chronological Biography of Xu Xiake") in Zheng Zu'an and Jiang Minghong, eds., *Xu Xiake yu Shanshui Wenxue,* (Xu Xiake and Nature Literature), (Shanghai: Wenhua, 1994), pp. 520-588. Hereafter, Chu's essay will be referred to as "Revision", and the book in which it appears as SSWH.

[3] Li Chi, *Hsü Hsia-k'o,* pp. 13-28, Chang Chun-shu's appendix is on pp. 223-231.

[4] Liu Guocheng, *Xu Xiake Pingzhuan* (A Critical Biography of Xu Xiake), (Harbin: Dongbei Linye Daxue, 1986). Large parts of Liu's work outline the events of Xu's journeys. Xu's stay in Yunnan is covered in detail by Lu Yongkang in *Xu Xiake zai Yunnan* (Xu Xiake in Yunnan), (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin, 1988).

Xu Xiake's ancestors

The earliest member of Xu's family whose name is known is Xu Gu, a prefectural governor who moved south from Bianliang (Kaifeng) to the new capital of Lin'an around the time of the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127). Members of the family lived in various locations around Lake Tai before a member of the family known only as Qianshiyi settled in the Jiangyin area, in the present-day province of Jiangsu at the start of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). There are no extant records of family members holding official posts during the Yuan dynasty, a period of non-participation sometimes taken as a sign of Chinese patriotism and disapproval of the rule of foreigners. In the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), however, the family was again occupying important positions. Xu Qi was given an honorary post in Sichuan by the first Ming emperor, while Xu Yi, whose tomb essay was written by Grand Secretary Li Dongyang (1447-1516), attained the rank of Secretariat Drafter. [5]

The famous late-Ming artist Dong Qichang wrote a joint tomb essay for Xu's parents, while the connoisseur and calligrapher Chen Jiru wrote their biography. There is also a short essay on Xu and his parents by Wang Siren, another well-known late-Ming literatus. The three pieces contain very similar information. [6]

It will be noted that Dong Qichang, in the title of his tomb essay, describes Xu Xiake's father, Xu Yu'an (1545-1604), the third son of Xu Yanfang, as a recluse (*yinjun*). Following the death of his father, Yu'an acquired the main hall of the family estate, by the drawing of lots. However, he handed it over to his brother, preferring to live in the eastern part of the estate, a wasteland full of strange rocks and mighty trees, where he and his wife had to clear away weeds and rubble before being able to build a home. Wang Siren noted that Yu'an loved trees and rocks and that he made the garden a place of refuge for himself (*hao mushi weiyuan yi ziyin*). [7] The family at this stage was no longer wealthy, though this was soon rectified by the hard work of Xiake's parents.

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[5] For this information, see Li Chi, *Hsü Hsia-k'o*, pp. 13-15. It is also contained in Chen Hanhui's tomb essay of Xu Xiake, "Xiake Xu Xiansheng Muzhi Ming" (Tomb Essay for Mister Xu Xiake), XXKYJ 1190-8. For the translation of Xu Yi's official position, see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 193-4. For Li Dongyang, see DMB 877-81.

[6] Dong Qichang, "Minggu Xu Yu'an Yinjun ji Pei Wang Ruren Hezang Muzhi Ming" (A Tomb Essay for the Joint Burial of Mister Xu Yu'an and his Wife Lady Wang, Deceased in the Ming), XXKYJ 1253-1255, Chen Jiru "Yu'an Xu Gong pei Wang Ruren Zhuan" (Biography of Mr Xu Yu'an and his Wife Lady Wang), XXKYJ 1256-8, Wang Siren "Xushi Sanke Zhuan" (A Record of Three Admirable Members of the Xu Clan), XXKYJ 1258-1260. In fact these essays say as much about Xu Xiake himself as their purported subject. Hucker, p. 273, translates *Ruren* as Child Nurturess, a title given to the wife of an official. During the Ming, the title was given to the wife of a Seventh grade mandarin: as Yu'an held no official positions, the title is honorific in this case.

[7] Wang Siren, XXKYJ 1258.

Dong declared Yu'an's nature to be "free and easy" (*xiaosan*), and even contemptuous of the trappings of office. [8] This was shown in an incident when he was visited by some important officials. Yu'an hid in his garden, saying:

> I would rather be of mean condition than achieve success: I would rather this be an unrequited visit for you two than achieve success.[9]

In spite of his lack of official position, Yu'an did not lead a penurious life. He liked to gather together a few servants and take a trip, either by boat or sedan chair, to the well-known beauty spots of Longjing in Hangzhou or Huqiu in Suzhou, where he would pick tea leaves which he would infuse with the fine spring water of the area. Yu'an suffered injuries when fleeing from robbers and died in 1604. A month before his death, he told his wife that when it came to dividing up his estate, she should only consider her own two sons and not worry about his third son, born to his concubine. She ignored his words, instead dividing the property equally. [10]

The surname of Xu Xiake's mother was Wang: she is usually referred to as Wang Ruren (1545-1625), her given names not being recorded. Apart from the various biographical pieces about her, there are also two series of poems commissioned by Xu Xiake; the first to celebrate her recovery from illness in 1620, when Xu built Clear Mountain Hall (Qingshan Tang) in his home town, the second in honour of her eightieth birthday in 1624, when Xu Xiake commissioned a painting, "Autumn Orchard, Morning Loom", from two local artists Zhang Lingshi and Chen Bofu. The authors of these two sets of poems are among the most famous literary figures of the late-Ming period. [11]

After the death of Xu's first wife, Wang Ruren brought up her grandson. Li Weizhen (1547-1626) described how Xu's mother survived after the death of his father:

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[8] Dong Qichang, XXKYJ 1253.

[9] According to Chen, this straightforwardness and lack of concern brought Yu'an enemies amongst the local officials. Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1256-7.

[10] Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1257, Ding Wenjiang, *nianpu*, p. 5.

[11] See Ding, *nianpu*, pp. 12-15. The poets included Wen Zhenmeng (1574-1636), Gao Panlong and He Qiaoyuan. For He Qiaoyuan and Gao Panlong, see p. 33 and p. 41 above respectively. I have found no information on either of the two artists.
Clear Mountain Hall now stands outside the village of Mazhen, south of Jiangyin. The inscribed poems have survived. Copies of the poems were amongst the belongings lost by Xu Xiake in the course of the robbery in Hunan (XXKYJ 204).

> She undertook all the household affairs, carrying out everything with utmost efficiency. There was nothing she did not do. She had a natural disposition for gardening and spinning. She had a property of ten *mu* and also five *mu* in the neighbourhood: she used a circular bamboo fence for growing beans, drawing out the branches to lead the tendrils and spreading out silk to make a net. Rising in the early dawn, she would place her spinning wheel underneath a bower: as the beans fell and the loom whirred decades passed in a day. [12]

Many of the poems on Xu's mother mention her weaving and her love of growing beans, producing a great harvest every autumn. Xu himself said to Chen Jiru that she had no interest other than farming and weaving (*mu wu tahao hao xitian fuzhi*). [13] Indeed, Wang Siren reports that, after the death of his mother, the sight of a plate of beans was enough to start Xiake crying (XXKYJ 1260). There may be a formulaic element in the universally praising accounts of Xu's mother: a recent article examining a wide range of late-Ming and Qing *nianpu* has shown the regularity with which mothers, and especially widows, in that period were depicted as fulfilling the dual role of nurturer and educator and thus embodying the most noble Confucian virtues of the family. [14]

When Xu Xiake was on Mount Hua in 1623, his heart suddenly started pounding. On his return he found his mother to be extremely ill, and did not leave her side again. In fact the following year she was well enough to accompany him on a trip to two caves in nearby Yixing. It was on this trip that Xu met Chen Jiru, a meeting recorded by Chen in his eightieth birthday tribute to Xu's mother. [15]

Chen Renxi wrote a tomb essay for Xu's mother. He summed up her character as frugal, diligent and of outstanding knowledge, sincere and pure, going on to stress the closeness of mother and son, noting that they would often spend all day together. Chen wrote of Xu and his mother:

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[12] Li Weizhen, "Qiupu Chenji Tu Yin" Introduction to the Painting 'Autumn Orchard Morning Loom'), in XXKYJ 1239-1240.

[13] Chen Jiru, "Shou Jiangyin Xu Taijun Pei Wang Ruren Bashi Xu" (Preface for the Eightieth Birthday Celebrations of the Mother of Xu Xiake, Lady Wang), in XXKYJ 1235-7.

[14] Hsiung Ping-chen. "Constructed Emotions: The Bond Between Mothers and Sons in Late Imperial China." *Late Imperial China.* Vol. 15. no. 1. (June 1994): 87-117.

[15] The incident on Mount Hua is mentioned by Dong Qichang, (XXKYJ 1254), Chen Jiru, (XXKYJ 1258), Chen Hanhui (XXKYJ 1193), and in Qian Qianyi's essay, "Xu Xiake Zhuan" (Biography of Xu Xiake) (XXKYJ 1199). There is no mention of this in Xu's account of his visit to Mount Hua, although his account of his visit is noticeably shorter and less comprehensive than customary. See XXKYJ 46-49. The incident is also referred to in one of the poems offered in Lady Wang's honour, written by Zheng Zhixuan, "Qiufu chenji wei Jiangshang Xu Xiakemu Ruren Fu" (Composed for the Painting 'Autumn Orchard Morning Loom' of the Mother of Xu Xiake of Jiangyin), in XXKYJ 1248. At the end of his Preface to the eightieth birthday celebrations, Chen Jiru added a note recording a dream of Xu Xiake at Nine Carp Lake in Fujian, in which he was told by the spirit of the lake that his mother would live to be over one hundred years old. See Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1235. See below for more on this meeting.

> Since ancient times, there have been many who have revered their parents, Xu is the first to revere landscape. I have heard of virtuous mothers in former times who were offered, yet did not accept, wealth: Xu's mother is the first both to revere, and experience, remarkable landscape.[16]

Xu Xiake had a particularly close relationship with his mother, all his biographies stressing his great filial piety. It was only after her active encouragement that Xu was prepared to forego his Confucian duty of staying close to his parents and set off on long journeys. Chen Jiru reported Xu's mother as saying:

> When you were young we hung the bow at the gate: when you grew up your ambition was to go off in all directions, that is a male's business. I will sort out your luggage, so you can go ... You should not worry. I exchange my cloth for food, I pick beans to go with my wine, while at my side my grandson recites his verse and reads books for my amusement. What more do the two of us need? [17]

Chen Jiru wrote that when he went off to visit the Sacred Mountains, Xu Xiake neither drank wine nor ate meat, "not so much for fear of provoking the mountain spirits, as out of a wish to remember his mother's thirty years of toil and eating of vegetables". [18]

It is tempting to read much into the lives of Xu Xiake's father and mother and their influence on his own predilections: Xu Yu'an's lack of interest in seeking office and his love of strange rocks and trees were reflected in similar attributes in his son, while the close relationship between mother and son, and her continuous encouragement of his travels were clearly of great importance. [19] The question is

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[16] Chen Renxi, "Wang Ruren Muzhi Ming" (Tomb Essay of Wang Ruren), XXKYJ 1263-5. Chen, with an appealing lack of modesty, goes on to say: "Of the many who have classified landscape, the two greatest are this mother and son: it is only with my account of Lady Wang's life that this has been recognised."

[17] Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1235-6. Confucius said: "While your parents are alive you should not go too far afield in your travels." *Lunyu, juan* 5.9b. The encouragement provided by Xu's mother in relation to the requirements of Confucius is also mentioned in Chen Hanhui's tomb essay, see XXKYJ 1191. There was an ancient custom of hanging a bow on the family gate to mark the birth of a son. *Li Ji,* "Jiao te sheng", (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 25.11a.

[18] Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1257. Similarly, Wang Siren said that when Xu Xiake went on his travels, he neither ate meat nor drank wine (XXKYJ 1260). In fact, Xu both drank and ate meat on many occasions. For his consumption of wine and dog meat, see XXKYJ 245-6. In Guangxi, however, he prepared vegetables for a trip into the mountains while in Yunnan, he did decline meat on one occasion, saying he did not wish to eat a living being (XXKYJ 293 and 1056).

[19] To give two such instances from his travel diaries of Xu Xiake's interest in trees and rocks: in Guilin, he bought three large and three small rocks in the market (XXKYJ 306), one of which was a "black peak, bearing the signs of repeated carving" (XXKYJ 311), while in Yunnan he carried around a curious lump he had cut from a tree, which he called a wooden bladder (*mudan*) (XXKYJ 984-5). Qian Qianyi wrote of Xu sending home the "strange trees and gnarled roots" he had gathered during his travels (XXKYJ 1200-1). As mentioned in the previous chapter, such collecting was fashionable in the late-Ming period. Wang Shixing mentioned Mi Fu's obsession with Rocks in the "Qishi"

whether these biographies were merely attributing interests and characteristics retrospectively to Xu's father and mother in order to explain the son's inclinations. Dong Qichang appears to have been in no doubt about the influence of Xu's parents:

> The reclusive gentleman (Xu Yu'an) did not like to consort with officials. It was his wife who formed *(cheng)* their second son into such an exceptional person. [20]

Chen Jiru, after comparing her with Mencius's mother, also noted that Xu's mother had helped to form him. [21]

The life of Xu Xiake

The main contemporary sources for Xu Xiake's own life are tomb essays by Wu Guohua (Jinshi 1616) and Chen Hanhui (1589-1646) and a biography by Qian Qianyi (1582-1664). There is a certain amount of duplication within these pieces and a number of errors, Qian Qianyi, for example, claiming that Xu visited Tibet. [22] As Xu Xiake did not lead the career of an official, the events of his life are marked by his travels and the diaries. The gaps are filled in by Xu's reported speech in his biographies, along with references in various of his own and his friends' poems and letters. There are also a number of places in the diaries where friends and acquaintances comment on Xu. His long journey to southwest China, in contrast, provides an abundance of narrative, detailing almost every day of his life for a period of over three years.

Xu Xiake was born on January 5th 1587, (27th day of the eleventh month of the fourteenth year of the Wanli reign period) in Nanyangqi near Jiangyin. He was the

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(Strange Rocks) section of "Guang Youzhi", before going on to say "I also have this obssession." Wang Shixing, p. 227.

[20] Dong compared Xu's mother favourably with two renowned women of virtue, the wives of the famous recluses Laolaizi and Liang Hong. See Dong Qichang, XXKYJ 1255.

[21] Chen used the same verb for to form (*cheng*) Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1258. Zhang Dafu, in discussing Xu's mother, also referred to Mencius's mother, XXKYJ 1238.

[22] The three biographies are all included in the edition of the diaries produced by Chu Shaotang and Wu Yingshou. For the details of Chen and Qian, see above. Wu Guohua, "Xu Xiake Kuangzhi Ming", (Tomb Inscription for Xu Xiake) in XXKYJ 1188-89. There are two further short biographies one from the Xu family records "Gaoshi Xiake Gong Zhuan" (Biography of the Great Man Mister Xiake), (XXKYJ 1202-3), the other, "Xu Xiake Zhuanlüe" (A Brief Biography of Xu Xiake), from "Jizu Shan Zhi" (The Records of Mount Chickenfoot) (XXKYJ 1203). Wu, who came from Yixing, was Xu Xiake's brother-in-law. His dates are not known; the information about his examination success comes from *Mingren Zhuanji Ziliao Suoyin* (Reference Index of Ming Biographies), ed. Jiang Fucong (Two volumes, Taibei: Guoli Zhongyang, 1965-6), here, vol. 1, p. 247. Wu notes that, on his return to Jiangyin in 1640, Xu asked him to write the tomb essay. He wrote it before Xu's death, in the tenth month of the thirteenth year of Chongzhen (XXKYJ 1189). The biographies by Chen Hanhui and Qian Qianyi were written in 1642. Chu, "Revision", p. 587.

second of his father's three sons, two of whom were born to Lady Wang, the third to a concubine. Xiake's proper name was Hongzu "to honour ancestors", his *hao* was Zhenzhi "to carry this (honour) on". However, he is best known by one of his two *biehao,* Xiake "guest of the sunset clouds" chosen for him by Chen Jiru. The other, chosen by Huang Daozhou (1585-1646), was Xiayi "untrammelled in the sunset clouds".

There are few details of Xu's early life, beyond the generalities contained in the tomb essays and Qian Qianyi's biography. Xu received a classical education, but from an early age, was more interested in works outside the main classical core texts. According to Chen Hanhui, Xu was particularly interested in Geographical Records, pictures of mountains and oceans and books on hermits and recluses, all of which he was obliged to read in secret. He also enjoyed a biography of Tao Yuanming (XXKYJ 1191). It is uncertain whether he ever took the exams necessary for a career in the civil service. Wu Guohua wrote, "when he was young he took the examinations but was unsuccessful." [23] None of his biographies contains any other reference to Xu Xiake taking any further examinations.

In his early years of travel, bound by the Confucian code of filial piety not to stray far from his ageing mother, Xu only visited the much-frequented, well-known beauty spots of nearby provinces. He did manage to visit parts of northern China, including Mount Tai and the birthplaces of Confucius and Mencius in 1609. In 1613, he went to the Buddhist island of Mount Putuo and two mountains in present-day Zhejiang province, Tiantai and Yandang. [24] In 1616, he visited Mount Baiyue and Mount Huang on the border of Zhejiang and Anhui, and Mount Wuyi in Fujian. In 1617, following the death of his first wife, Xu visited local caves at Yixing, with his mother. [25]

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[23] XXKYJ 1188. Chu Shaotang gives 1602 as a date for this examination. He gives no corroboration for this date. "Revision", p. 524.

[24] There is no account of Xu's trip to Mount Putuo. It is referred to by Chen Hanhui (XXKYJ 1192). Xu Xiake himself referred to Mount Putuo in passing while discussing the phenomenon of Buddha's Halo on Mount Chickenfoot (XXKYJ 1142-3).

[25] For the death of Xu's first wife see Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1257. Xu had married in 1607, having completed the required three year period of mourning for his father. His wife, whose surname was Xu, belonged to a well-known local family, though her given names are not recorded. Xu's first son, Qi (1615-1645), like the rest of his children born when he was at home, was given a name which includes the mountain radical. In 1618, Xu remarried a woman of the Luo family: again her given name is not known. She had one son called Xian, born in 1619. Xu's fourth son, Gou (1624-1678) was born to a concubine Jin. There is some dispute over the exact date of birth of Xu's third son, Li Ji, whose *zi* was Jieli. Ding Wenjiang gave it as 1628, while Chu Shaotang suggests 1619, *Nianpu,* pp. 19-20, "Revision", pp. 533-4. Li Ji who was born to a concubine whose surname is thought to have been Li, was brought up outside the Xu household. The trip to the caves is mentioned in Xu's words in Chen Hanhui's tomb esay, XXKYJ 1192.

In 1618, Xu climbed Mount Lu in present-day Jiangxi province and revisited Mount Huang. In 1620, he went to Nine Carp Lake in Fujian, while, in 1623, he again ventured north, to Mount Song, Mount Hua, and Mount Wudang. In 1624, he accompanied his eighty year-old mother on a trip to caves at Jingxi and Gouqu near Yixing. [26] She died the following year and Xu entered the official three year period of mourning. In 1628, he went to Mount Luofu in Guangdong, a visit for which there is no extant diary, and the following year, north to Beijing and Mount Pan. [27] There is also no diary of Xu's visit to Mount Pan, and at no point in his diaries is there a reference to his visit. However, Chen Renxi, in a colophon to a poem by Huang Daozhou, wrote, "Of all Xiake's remarkable journeys, none equalled the trip to Mount Pan." [28] Xu revisited Mount Tiantai and Mount Yandang in 1632, and, in 1633 again went to Peking before going to the great northern Buddhist mountain, Mount Wutai, and Mount Heng, one of the five sacred mountains, both in Shanxi.

Xu Xiake left for southwest China in 1636, accompanied by a Buddhist monk, Jingwen, (Peaceful Understanding), and two servants, Wang Er, who fled after a few days, and Gu Xing. Jingwen was carrying a copy of the Lotus Sutra *Fahua Jing*, written in his own blood, on pilgrimage to the great Buddhist retreat, Mount Chickenfoot in northwestern Yunnan. [29] Chen Hanhui records a short letter written to him by Xu prior to departure, "I will seek a route through the western regions, and do not know when I shall return to this region. Should I be lucky enough to fly aloft (*ru you Qihong zhi bian*), I will make a report on the exotic realms." [30] Xu took with him a number of letters of introduction from his literati friends for various officials and monks residing in the southwest. In a letter to Chen Jiru, Xu explained why he was so keen to have assistance:

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[26] Unfortunately, there is no account by Xu of this trip. It is referred to in an essay by Zhang Dafu (1554-1630): "Xu's mother was eighty that year. Zhenzhi was not going to ask her to travel again but of her own accord, she took pity on him, arranged a comfortable sedan and asked him to take her to Shanjuan and Tangguan caves. They returned after a month: she died the following year." See Zhang Dafu, "Qiupu Chenji Tu" (Autumn Orchard, Morning Loom) in *Meihua Caotang Bitan* (Jottings from the Plum Blossom Straw Hut), (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1986), volume three, *juan* 14, pp. 917-919. The text of this essay differs considerably from that presented in XXKYJ 1237-8.

[27] Xu's visit to Mount Luofu was recorded by Zheng Man in a note added to Huang Daozhou's "Qiyan Gu Yishou Zeng Xu Xiake" (An Ancient-style Seven Character Poem for Xu Xiake) (XXKYJ 1161-3). Zheng Man (1594-1639) was another member of the Donglin academy to suffer severe persecution. ECCP 113.

[28] Chen Renxi's colophon appears at the end of the same poem, XXKYJ 1162.

[29] "Jingwen Shilüe" (Brief Outline of Jingwen's Life), hereafter Brief Outline, taken from the "Xianshi zhuan" (Biographies of Immortal Buddhists) section of the *Fengzhi*, (Feng Records), XXKYJ 1154. This is a reference to the Jiangyin records edited by Feng Shiren, see XXKYJ 1126.

[30] XXKYJ 1194. Qihong was a mythical kingdom in the SHJ, which came to represent the act of flying. *Shanhai Jing* (The Mountain and Seas Classic) (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 7.1b.

> Should I be fortunate enough to be graced with the lustre of your greatness through a reply to this letter, I hope you will not spare me the benefit of your advice. If some other time I am once again on the move with my gourd and bamboo hat, and were to encounter difficulties, I could use your letter to extricate myself from trouble. [31]

Xu was away from home for more than three years, passing through the present-day provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Guangxi, Guizhou and Yunnan. [32] During his journey, he was robbed three times, ran out of money and finally his remaining servant deserted him. [33]

Early in 1637, Xu climbed Mount Heng, the only one of the Five Sacred Mountains he had not visited. Shortly afterwards, in the course of a robbery on a boat near Hengzhou in present-day Hunan province, Jingwen suffered severe injuries: he died of dysentery eight months later. Xu continued his journey, carrying Jingwen's remains in a casket for more than a year, before burying them in an auspicious location on Mount Chickenfoot. It was after this robbery that Xu began to suffer from financial problems. Some of the letters of introduction given to him at the start of this journey, by Chen Jiru and others, were lost during the robbery south of Hengzhou and he subsequently had to pass up on several possible visits. Later on in his journey in a different Hengzhou, in Guangxi, he wrote about the loss of two such letters:

> The governor of this prefecture, who came from my home town, was Zhu Chuyu (his *ming* was Shiqiao). I had a letter for him along with one for Gu Dongshi of You Lindao both of which I kept in my trunk, which was stolen when I passed through Hengzhou. As a result, on both occasions, formerly when I was in Yuzhou and now as I was passing through Hengzhou, I had to just lower my head and keep moving. It was as if creation had deliberately attained assistance from these robbers in order to ensure that I never achieved my aim of seeing these two, there was certainly no way I could be accused of acting like Yin Hongqiao. [34]

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31 "Zhi Chen Jiru shu" (Letter to Chen Jiru) XXKYJ 1147-8. Xu's letter to Chen and Chen's reply were discovered in the 1980s, one of several documents which first appeared in the 1987 reprint of Xu's diaries. On the basis of their contents, the letters have been dated to 1636, just prior to Xu's departure. See "Zaiban Shuoming" (Introduction to the New Edition), XXKYJ 26-29, and Chu, *Revision,* p. 554.

32 The titles of Xu Xiake's diaries use alternative names for these provinces. Thus Jiangxi is referred to as Jiangyou, Hunan as Chu, Guangxi as Yuexi, Guizhou as Qian and Yunnan as Dian.

33 On one occasion Xu was reduced to selling his clothes in order to raise money, XXKYJ 992. Following the first robbery, he regularly had to ask local literati for financial support.

34 XXKYJ 443-4. Yin Hongqiao (?-356AD) was an official of the Jin dynasty. A tale in the *Shishuo Xinyu* (New Collection of Worldly Sayings) records how, before heading off to a new post, he was given more than a hundred letters to deliver. He threw them all into a river saying "Some of them will float, others will sink, I cannot be a deliverer of letters" The term *fushen,* an allusion for undelivered letters, was used by Xu Xiake in the extract above about sending a letter home to his family (XXKYJ 1037). See *Shi shuo Xin yu* 'Rendan', *juan xia zhi shang,* 33a and Yin's biography in *Jin Shu,* vol. 4, *juan* 77, pp. 2043-9.

Xu spent almost two years in Yunnan, arriving some time in the fifth month of the year 1638, (due to lacunae in the diary, the exact date is not known). He passed through the east of the province and the provincial capital, before going to Mount Chickenfoot and Lijiang. Prevented, by the indigenous ruler of Lijiang, Mu Zeng, from heading northwards towards Tibet, Xu went to the far west of the province, investigating the upper reaches of the Mekong and Salween rivers, before returning some months later to Mount Chickenfoot. It was during this second visit, as he worked on the official gazetteer of the mountain, that his servant, Gu Xing, absconded.

The latter stages of Xu Xiake's account of his visit to southwest China contain many references to problems with both lack of money and ill-health, the latter featuring with increasing frequency after his visit to the malarial regions of the far west of Yunnan. On one occasion, having lost what little money he had while climbing up to examine a mountain cave, he was forced to sell his clothes. [35] Near Yongchang, he trudged through heavy rain, his head throbbing and his body aching (XXKYJ 1058), and, near the end of the diaries, just ten days prior to Gu Xing's disappearance, Xu took a bath and wrote:

> After spending a long period in a malarial region, my head and limbs were covered in spots which gathered up in piles in the folds of my skin, while my left ear and left foot from time to time twitched. Two weeks before, I had thought it was a parasite but in fact there was none. When I arrived here, I knew it was *feng* and that I was suffering from a lack of medicine. The water in this hot spring was deep and simmering with medicinal herbs, so I soaked and steamed myself for a long time. The sweat poured off me like rain. This was an excellent way of curing *feng*: Having had the good fortune to come across this hot spring so suddenly, I knew there was a good chance of clearing up my illness. [36]

More telling is a general lassitude and weariness with the whole process of travelling. Near the beginning of his visit to Yunnan he wrote of feeling, "weary of journeying (*juan yu xingyi*)" (XXKYJ 729) and, some three months later, of "suffering from this journey" (*ku yu xing*) (XXKYJ 811).[37]

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[35] After selling his clothes, Xu had some food then immediately went back to exploring another cave (XXKYJ 992).

[36] XXKYJ 1111-1112. As a medical term, *feng* means a syndrome manifested by dizziness, fainting, convulsions or numbness. *A Dictionary Of Traditional Chinese Medicine*. Xie Zhufan et al. (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1988), p. 41. For other references by Xu to his health, including several incidents of severe hunger, see XXKYJ 759, 853, 891, 908, 927 and 1060.

[37] Even today, the claims made on Xu's behalf can be excessive. Jacques Dars, for example, claimed that Xu never mentioned feeling tired. See Dars, Introduction, p. XXX. Even near the start of his long journey, Xu was writing of his fatigue. In Guilin, tired out by the oppressive summer heat and continuous rain, he was too weary to go into the mountains and bored with the idea of visiting the market in the town (XXKYJ 341).

The diaries end abruptly four days after Gu's disappearance. Two days before the last entry, there is a section describing a meeting Xu had with a man surnamed Shi, whose interest was in the deep mountains (*liuxin yuanyue*). The two men discussed the layout of the mountains over a very large area. Shi explained he had spent his life visiting mountains and, having become accustomed to being laughed at, was delighted to meet Xu. In turn, Xu was also happy to meet someone with the same interest, writing, "I had also spent forty years exploring our great mountain ranges, and had now reached the end of the line." [38] His words here echo two passages in the diaries dating from a few weeks earlier, firstly when after being given three reasons for not going to Jifei, namely malaria, a blocked road and the distance, he replied, "I have already found out the true course of mountains and rivers. I can pass up on one jaunt" (XXKYJ 1069). In the second passage, he wrote, "I reckon I have been away from home for three years: I have ascended the great ridge (of the southern dragon) crossing it from east to west, just as if I had been weaving" (XXKYJ 1100). These comments suggest that Xu had reached the end of his investigations and may not in fact have intended to write much more.

Chen Hanhui's biography states that Xu spent three months completing the mountain gazetteer and was then provided with a sedan chair by Mu Zeng to take him home. [39] There has been considerable speculation over Xu's route home to Jiangyin, and, to a lesser extent, the exact details of his itinerary in southwest China. The reasons for this controversy lie in some of the entries found in both Qian Qianyi's biography and Chen Hanhui's tomb essay, which state that Xu travelled through Sichuan, Tibet and as far west as Lake Xingxiu (in present-day Qinghai) and the Kunlun mountains. Xu was undoubtedly knowledgeable about, and interested in, Tibet: during his stay in Lijiang, he unsuccessfully sought permission to head north towards Tibet and wrote a short essay about the Dalai Lama "Fawang Yuanqi" (Origins of the Buddhist King) (XXKYJ 1137). Furthermore, his early diaries display a palpable desire to escape from the confines of eastern and central China to more remote parts of the kingdom. As early as 1620, and again in 1623, he expressed a desire to visit Mount Emei (XXKYJ 33 and 39). During his trip to southwest China, he again mentioned this ambition, in Guangxi in 1637 and again in Yunnan the following year (XXKYJ 452 and 792). The only time when he could have gone to Sichuan was in the undocumented gap of around nine months between the end of his

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[38] XXKYJ 1117-9. The first half of Shi's given name is Zhong, the second half is blank in the text. There is one occasion, during Xu's stay in Yunnan, when he reported being laughed at for his age. He did not mind the comments (XXKYJ 704).

[39] XXKYJ 1196.

diaries and his return to Jiangyin in July or August of 1640. However, Xu was in poor health and the time-scale alone would have made such a lengthy journey impossible: for these reasons, his visit has been discounted by most scholars. [40]

On his return to Jiangyin, according to Chen Hanhui, Xu showed little interest in family matters and was unable to receive visitors. He lay in bed stroking some of his strange rocks. He also asked Wu Guohua to write his tomb essay. Xu Xiake died aged fifty-three on March 8th 1641, some fifteen months after the final diary entry.[41]

Xu Xiake's personality and character

To give an idea of what Xu Xiake was like as a person, there are a number of descriptions of both his physical appearance and his character. There is no contemporary picture of him, though a portrait, dated 1852, did appear in an edition of the diaries published during the reign of the Xianfeng emperor (1851-1861). Fortunately, Chen Hanhui wrote a description of Xu's physique and demeanour:

> He was born with a large frame, gracious eyebrows, a prominent forehead and bright green eyes which shone day and night. All those who saw him already recognised a great ascetic. [42]

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[40] Qian Qianyi wrote of Xu, "reaching the foot of Mount Emei", the great Buddhist mountain in Sichuan (XXKYJ 1200-1). Some scholars still use this comment as the basis for stating that Xu Xiake did visit Sichuan. At the 1991 Conference held in Guilin to mark the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Xu's death, Hou Fangyue presented a paper "Xu Xiake wei daoguo Sichuan ma?" (Did Xu Xiake not make it to Sichuan?) in which he suggested that the missing sections of the diaries would indeed have covered Xu's journeys to Sichuan and beyond. However, in Chen Hanhui's Tomb Essay, Xu is reported as saying that he was unable to visit the mountain (XXKYJ 1192).
For further discussion of Xu's return journey, see Chu Shaotang, "Revision", pp. 581-586, Chang Chun-shu, pp. 229-230, Ding Wenjiang, *nianpu,* pp. 53-56, Liu Guocheng, pp. 167-172.
Pan Lei (1646-1708) was the first person to question some of Qian Qianyi's wilder assertions, "Because Qian had not seen the Travel Diaries, there are a number of inaccuracies in his work. Having looked out Xu's book, I know that the trips beyond the Yumen pass, up the Kunlun Mountains and investigating fully Lake Xingsu never took place: in fact, Xu only got as far as Mount Chickenfoot." However, Pan did assert that Xu visited Sichuan. Pan Lei, "Pan xu" (Foreword by Pan Lei), XXKYJ 1268-9. See Appendix A, pp. 221-3 for a translation of this essay.

[41] XXKYJ 1196. The precise date of Xu's death is from Chu Shaotang, "Revision", p. 587. The last entry in the diary is dated the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the year Jimao, 10th October, 1639, XXKYJ 1121.

[42] XXKYJ 1191. "Great ascetic" is a translation of the phrase *canxia zhongren*. *Canxia* is a Daoist term, see the biography of Sima Xiangru (179-118) *Han Shu*, vol. 6, *juan* 57, pp. 3539-3612. Kaltenmark notes that the heads of immortals were often depicted as being out of proportion to the rest of the body. See Max Kaltenmark, *Lao Tzu And Taoism.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 120.

Wang Siren wrote:

> Hongzu is tall and dark. He displays no interest in office, and, when he speaks, shows disdain for money. When it comes to the landscape, he is prepared to risk his own safety; for the sake of his writing, he is prepared to sell himself.

Wang commented on Xu's responses to his queries, "When I questioned him, his voice was as clear as a bell, his words as true as the hub of a wheel (*gu*). He spoke incisively and inexhaustibly." [43]

There is also a description of Xu Xiake by Chen Jiru of the occasion of their meeting in 1624 as Xu accompanied his eighty year-old mother on a trip to the caves of Yixing:

> Mister Wang Qihai brought with him a visitor. He has a dark complexion and snowy white teeth. At a height of six feet, he looks as spare as a Taoist priest. His outward deportment is that of a mountain recluse, but there resides in him a rich spirit and the essence of courage. Speaking with him his words were upright and lofty, full of the stuff of strange journeys and extreme danger. [44]

Chen Hanhui wrote:

> He was gentle morning and night and attentive to the smallest things. In his speech, he showed attention to the smallest details, cherished mulberry and catalpa trees, was always respectful to the people of his local village and was ashamed to follow the habits of wealthy young fellows. [45]

Both Wu Guohua and Chen Hanhui wrote of Xu's generosity in helping vulnerable groups, the latter stating that Xu would distribute grain in years of bad harvest (XXKYJ 1188 and 1197), the fact that he was able to do so providing evidence of sound financial status. [46]

Xu Xiake's diaries are largely the account of his movements through the landscape and his reactions to what he saw. However, there are occasions when he

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[43] Wang Siren, XXKYJ 1259. The *locus classicus* for hub is in the *Dao De Jing*. *Laozi duben,* (Taibei: Sanmin, 1973), p. 32. "Thirty spokes share one hub." Lao Tzu (Laozi) *Tao Te Ching*. Translated by D.C. Lau. (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 67. The meaning of the text is that objects seemingly of no use individually can together make a great whole.

[44] Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1235. The first three sentences are taken from Li Chi's translation of Chen's essay, Li Chi, *Hsü Hsia-k'o*, p. 18.

[45] XXKYJ 1191. Mulberry and catalpa trees were traditionally planted for one's descendants. Chen here quotes from "Xiao bian", a poem in the *Shi Jing*, to convey Xu Xiake's love of his parents. *Mao Shi Zhengyi* (Annotated Edition of the Book of Songs) (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), 4 vols. Vol 3, *juan* 12.3. 3b.

[46] According to Chen Jiru's version, in 1624, Xu's mother requested Xiake to distribute the grain, citing the precedent of his ancestor, Xu Qi. Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1257.

wrote about himself and from these it is possible to build up a more substantial picture of the man. For example, further evidence of his generosity can be found in his account of the occasion in Jiangxi when he took pity on the men pulling his boat through the snow and rewarded them with some money (XXKYJ 155). There are also a number of occasions when Xu reported his replies to questions about his activities. In Guangxi, he wrote that he was "mindful of the mountain festival" (*nian lingjie mingshan*) (XXKYJ 301). Elsewhere, when suspected of being a bandit, Xu stated that he was "wandering in the cliffs" (*you yan*) (XXKYJ 355), and later on, pressed to stay longer, he replied that he wished to "pay his respects to famous mountains" (*canli mingshan*) (XXKYJ 495) while, in Yunnan, he replied that he was "wandering through mountains" (XXKYJ 798), "wandering through caves" (XXKYJ 800) and "investigating mountains" (XXKYJ 922). Thus, in his own estimation, Xu was a wanderer.

Xu Xiake's diaries and other materials will now be examined to ascertain what else can be said about his character. In this context, there is a passage of great interest in Qian Qianyi's biography of Xu:

> He would travel with a servant, or sometimes with a monk and just a staff and a cloth bundle, not worrying about carrying a travelling bag or supplies of food. He could endure hunger for several days, eating his fill when he found some food. he could keep walking for several hundred *li*, ascending sheer cliffs, braving bamboo thickets, scrambling up and down hanging over precipices on a rope, as nimble as an ape and as sturdy as an ox. He used towering crags for his bed, streams and gullies for refreshment and found companionship amongst fairies, trolls, apes and baboons, with the result that he became indistinct, retiring and unable to speak. However when it was a matter of discussing mountain paths, distinguishing water sources or seeking out superior geographical terrain, his warm heart would suddenly open out. [47]

This passage illustrates a number of Xu's attributes worthy of examination: his bravery, his independence of thought and action and above all, his complete devotion to travel.

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47 XXKYJ 1199. There is a very similar passage in Chen Hanhui's essay on Xu, XXKYJ 1193.

Bravery

Xu was more unassuming than many other travellers. While his biographers emphasised his bravery, Xu did not. The occasion in Hunan when, after expending considerable effort to reach a mountain summit, he allowed himself an expression of pride (*yijue zihao*) (XXKYJ 180), is highly unusual. More common was his reaction to being informed of the very real risks of encountering dangerous animals. At the start of his visit to Hunan, he wrote, "Two years before, a tiger had carried off a monk from the side of the temple in its claws. The monks had all scattered as stars, wolves and tigers walked round in broad daylight, the fields were all overgrown with weeds, the Buddhist shrines were empty and desolate and nobody went into them. I did not let this hold me back (*yu bu wei zu*)" (XXKYJ 173). This was one of two standard phrases Xu used for describing his own indifference for his own safety. [48]

Xu's physical bravery is evident from the earliest diaries. On the occasion of his second visit to Mount Huang, in 1618, he climbed to the top of two difficult peaks, Heaven's Capital and Lotus Flower. He described himself as moving like a snake, but was casual about physical danger, merely saying that he did not worry and that he passed through the danger (XXKYJ 30-1). At Mount Song, having previously been led to believe that it was a mountain without any dangers, he was delighted when his guide told him of its steep slopes (XXKYJ 42). He "loved the precipitousness" of a cliff he was climbing and even though he did not succeed in finding the cave for which he had been searching, was very happy to have caught a glimpse of "this remarkable steepness" (XXKYJ 800).

The other great travel writers of the late-Ming held similar views. In his account of a trip to Mount Chickenfoot, Wang Shixing wrote: "I have a great love of dangerous parts." In a similar vein, he outlined his philosophy in his "Diancang Ji" (Visit to Mount Diancang): "Enquiring into the strange and cherishing the past, endlessly seeking out famous sites is my uncompleted work." [49] Yuan Hongdao, in his diary of an ascent of Mount Pan, wrote, "Were it not for people prepared to risk their lives, how could there be this remarkable view." [50] It was necessary for travel writers to take risks and climb as high as possible in order to obtain the ultimate view.

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[48] The other and more frequently used phrase was simply "I ignored this" (*yu bu gu*) there are many examples of this see XXKYJ 247, 317, 607, 953 1064 etc. For other references to tigers, see XXKYJ 1, 398, 425, 897, 938, 974 and 1005, Xu generally making no comment beyond reporting their presence, even in the case of the last listed, when he saw very fresh paw-prints. Chen Jiru wrote, "He did not try to avoid poisonous snakes or wild tigers." Chen Jiru, *Preface*, XXKYJ 1235.

[49] Wang Shixing, pp. 148 and 145. Wang also stressed this aspect of his travelling in a letter to He Zhenqing, the compiler of the first collection of mountain journeys. Wang Shixing, p. 589.

[50] Yuan Hongdao, "You Panshan Ji" (Diary of a Trip to Mount Pan) *youji*, p 28.

It was in the contemporary biographies and essays about Xu that his bravery and his desire to go further than the great explorers of Chinese history became enshrined as an accepted fact. Chen Jiru's comments are typical, "While I like staying put, you like to go away; I like the close at hand, while you like the distant; I like flat terrain, while you like the precipitous." [51] Like Qian Qianyi, Wu Guohua stressed Xu's animal-like abilities, "he went as high as the birds, braved heights like the apes and went as low as the fishes. He would not have flinched from sacrificing his own life" (XXKYJ 1189).

Xu's independence

Towards the end of his diaries, as yet another acquaintance sought to accompany him, Xu gave a succinct summary of his travel philosophy:

> When I travel I require neither a horse nor a companion: rather than travelling together, it would be better if you could simply point out the way to me. When I am about to travel, what I am apprehensive about is precisely the idea of having companions while those with whom I do not wish to travel are just worried about getting a horse. (XXKYJ 1044)

Xu's contemporary biographers, as well as modern commentators, highlight his independence. Gu Xing is not referred to by name in any of the contemporary biographies, Chen Hanhui, for example, saying that Xu travelled with a monk and servant, before giving Jingwen's name alone ((XXKYJ 1194). Chen Jiru wrote, "Xu does not use travel seals, he does not take companions" (XXKYJ 1235), while Chen Hanhui said Xu avoided high officials (XXKYJ 1197). This idea was retained by later writers such as Pan Lei, who wrote, "He did not plan the dates of his journeys and did not seek travelling companions." (XXKYJ 1268), while Shi Xialong wrote, "With one bag and one servant, he wandered free and easy in regions unsullied by human traces." [52]

In fact such claims are not true. Xu had companions for several of his early trips, both friends, the monk Lianhua who accompanied him on his first recorded trip, to Mount Tiantai and relatives, his uncle Xunyang who accompanied him to Mount Baiyue (XXKYJ 1 and 10). He was also accompanied for much of his long journey and especially in Guangxi and Guizhou used "horse tokens" (*mapai*) to help him secure horses and relied on letters of introduction throughout the journey. [53] Xu

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[51] Chen Jiru, "Da Xu Xiake" (Reply to Xu Xiake) XXKYJ 1183.

[52] "Shi xu" (Preface by Shi Xialong), XXKYJ 1266-7. Shi's preface was written towards the end of the seventeenth century. See below for more details of the history of the publication of Xu's diaries.

[53] For examples of *mapai* see XXKYJ 469 and 518 for letters see XXKYJ 93-4, 470, 493.

occasionally missed company, with whom he could share an enjoyment of the scenery, and once expressed regret at the lack of practical support: trying to climb up a sheer cliff, he was unable on his own to create a pulley with a rope that had been left behind (XXKYJ 365). It is evident from Xu's later diaries that while he was aware of the need for a servant to assist him in his exertions, he wanted to avoid whenever possible being accompanied by local acquaintances whose idea of an excursions was generally a rather more leisurely outing than the energetic expeditions to which he was accustomed. Near Kunming, he tried to put off a potential companion, saying, "In the morning when you are still dreaming, I will already have flown to the mountain tops" (XXKYJ 788).

Generally, with the exception of the literati whose friendship and support he valued greatly, and monks living in remote regions who could provide him with valuable information, entries in his diaries dealing with what could be termed human interest were rare. In Guilin he showed no desire to visit the performance of a *chuanqi* (XXKYJ 292 and 311, this also happened in Yunnan, see XXKYJ 729). Even at the huge spring market in Dali, Xu went off first to visit some graves, eventually giving a very cursory summing up of the goods for sale, before concluding "there was nothing to make me want to stay and have a look" (*wuzu guanzhe*) (XXKYJ 931-2).

Some of Xu's comments regarding meetings and conversations with local people and other travellers suggest a great taciturnity on his part. In Guangxi, he referred to some travelling companions several days after they had joined up with him, and then only when their presence had assumed direct relevance to his journey (XXKYJ 564). Earlier, in response to Xu's questions, his guide and other locals at first told him there was nothing worth visiting, "They considered shrines and huts to be the sites, and were quite unaware of the wonders of mountainous rocks" (XXKYJ 375). This suggests that Xu did not explain clearly what sort of scenery it was that he wished to visit.

Xu's relationships

It is also possible to glean information about his relationships with friends and family both from what he wrote and what he did not write. The remainder of this chapter will deal with Xu's family, his servant, Gu Xing and two friends, Huang Daozhou, whom he met in eastern China and Tang Dalai (1593-1673), one of the many literati he met in the course of his travels.

As has already been shown, Xu displayed Confucian correctness in his relationship with his mother. That he had the requisite devotion to his ancestors is also unquestionable: he exchanged three *mu* of rice fields to ensure the return of the tomb

essay of his ancestor, Xu Yi. Chen Jiru, in a colophon to an inscription by the great painter Wen Zhengming (1470-1559), spoke of this as an example of Xu's "pure piety" (*chunxiao*). [54] In 1624, Xu, as part of the eightieth birthday celebrations of his mother, wanted to build a new home for her: instead, she asked him to repair the temple, located in Jiangyin, of Zhang Zonglian (1373-1427), an official of the early Ming who had participated in the compilation of the *Yongle Dadian* (Encyclopaedia of the Yongle Period). Later, Xu Xiake took a work by Zhang, *Nancheng Xuji* (Further Account of Journeys in the South), on his trip to southwest China. However, it was lost during the robbery in Hunan, a fact which caused Xu as much grief as any of the more human costs of the incident. In the days following the robbery, Xu referred three times to the loss of this work. After listing the other works he had lost, he wrote:

> and then there was Zhang Zonglian's *Nancheng Xuji,* that is the manuscript, written by Sir Zhang during the Xuande reign (1426-1436) when he was an official in Guangdong which had been in his family's possession for over two hundred years, and which I had obtained only with a huge effort. [55]

The various good works undertaken by Xu Xiake, the repair of the temple as well as the distribution of grain and the building, for his mother, of Clear Mountain Hall are evidence of Xu's wealthy background. These acts were also typical of his age. Educated in the Confucian classics, but largely excluded from traditional areas of power, many members of the elite had been left with no role to fulfil in society. Brook has argued that the local gentry, faced with this emasculation, sought to display their wealth, through the building of highly visible cultural artefacts such as arches, schools and, above all, monasteries. He uses Pierre Bourdieu's term "symbolic capital" meaning the accumulation of good repute through investment in expensive undertakings, which served "to objectify their domination as right in the eyes of the local audience of elite power". [56] Xu Xiake's acts, while falling within acceptable Confucian terms of reference, are a clear example of such an attitude.

When it comes to examining Xu's attitude to his own family, a different picture emerges, for on only two occasions in the long diaries of his journey to southwest China, did he refer to them. The first of these came after the robbery in

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[54] See "Nei Han Gong Xiangzan" (Inscription on a Portrait of Member of the Hanlin Academy Xu), XXKYJ 1228-9. For Li Dongyang's tomb essay of Xu Yi, "Minggu Zhongshu Sheren Xujun Muming" (Tomb Essay for Secretariat Drafter Xu Deceased in the Ming), see XXKYJ 1225-7.

[55] For the repair of the temple, see Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1257. For the robbery see XXKYJ 200-4, translated extract 203-4. There will be more on the robbery in the next chapter. Both Wu Guohua and Chen Hanhui refer to Xu's restoration of the temple as evidence of his good character, XXKYJ 1188 and 1197. For details of Zhang Zonglian's life, see *Mingren Zhuanji*, vol. 1, pp. 524-5.

[56] Brook, *Praying for Power,* p. 14-9.

Hunan when he had returned to Hengzhou in search of funds to enable him to continue his expedition. One of those from whom Xu sought money, Jin Xiangfu, suggested that Xu should go home to seek funding. Xu replied that he was afraid to go home because his family would try to persuade not to go away again (XXKYJ 205). The second occasion came more than two years later while Xu was staying in Yongchang in western Yunnan. His host's servant was returning to eastern China providing an opportunity for Xu to send a letter home. Xu, afraid that his family thought he had died long ago, was uncertain whether to send a letter. In a characteristically elegant phrase, he wrote:

> Remembering all my ups and downs, I feared my family already thought I was a lost soul in the Wuding River. If I were to send a letter home, to let them know I am still alive, would it not just cause them to start worrying again? [57]

While Xu was prepared to display Confucian correctness to his ancestors and his parents, his own family received less affection. Having waited a very long time to be able to carry out his ambition of a trip to the furthest parts of China, he had no wish for any additional delays.

Gu Xing

Gu Xing was Xu Xiake's servant for more than three years during the journey to southwest China. The first reference to Gu in the diaries comes nine days after the start of the journey, and there is no mention of where he came from or how he was hired. On the first few occasions, Gu was referred to as a servant (*tongzi*) (XXKYJ 95, 98 and 99), before being given a name on the twentieth day of the journey, when he was asked to look after the luggage on arriving at a town. He was referred to at that juncture as Servant Gu (*Gu pu*). (XXKYJ 101) [58] Elsewhere, Gu is referred to as "servant Gu", (either *Gupu* or *Gunu*), or just "Gu". *Gunu* is used for the first time after the robbery near Hengzhou, when Gu sustained serious injuries. (XXKYJ 201)

Although they spent three years together, there are only three occasions in the dairies when Gu Xing is given his full name. The first of these comes after more than seven months of travel when Xu met up with Gu in Hengzhou after an absence of around two weeks (XXKYJ 263). The other two occasions also come at the time of a

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[57] The Wuding River, a tributary of the Yellow River, is in northwest Shaanxi. The allusion is to the second of four poems by Chen Tao (a.812-85), entitled "Longxi Xing" (Journey to Longxi). See QTS, vol. 2, p. 1859. In the end, Xu did write a letter (XXKYJ 1037).

[58] By way of contrast, the many literati whom Xu met in the course of his travels were given much greater respect. In Kunming, for example, he met an official called Fu Liangyou. Xu noted that Fu, who was not mentioned in the diaries again, came from Dehua in Jiangxi (XXKYJ 759).

reunion (XXKYJ 470 and 788). On each of the first two occasions, the second coming shortly after the death of Jingwen, Xu expressed pleasure at meeting up again.

Gu's tasks included carrying luggage, looking for books or stele engravers, delivering messages, washing clothes and looking after objects found or bought on the way. His appearances in the diaries were frequent when he and Xu were staying in towns, where he was dispatched on a variety of tasks. The extent to which Xu relied on his servant is apparent when the expected services were not forthcoming. On one occasion when Gu was ill, there was no fire, so Xu had to go to a noodle shop to eat: there seems to have been no question of him making his own fire. (XXKYJ 369)

Sometimes, Gu was not mentioned in the diaries for many days. Because of the serious illnesses which affected both Gu and Jingwen, Xu frequently undertook circular routes in order to allow the invalids time to recuperate. On one of these occasions, Xu arrived back after an absence of twenty days and did manage some words of sympathy for Gu, "I had hoped they would both have shown some sign of recovery but Gu was still very weak and I felt very sorry for him" (XXKYJ 396). Only rarely did Xu record the words of Gu and only when they were directly relevant to the events of the diaries, the first instance over a year after the departure:

> "The year is coming to an end, how can we bear to tarry here? Why don't we seek out some porters in the town, so we can head off tomorrow?" (XXKYJ 522)

Here Gu expressed an opinion. The two other occasions when Gu's words are recorded, merely concern him reporting to Xu, after carrying out his duties (XXKYJ 691 and 832). Perhaps the clearest indication of Gu's role comes towards the end of the diaries, when Xu regrets the lack of a drinking companion on a clear moonlit night: there was evidently no question of Gu filling that role (XXKYJ 1094).

However, elsewhere, the unnamed Gu was granted a role in Xu's aesthetic appreciation of nature:

> For a while a soft rain had been falling on the deserted road, then suddenly the wind was rushing and the rain pouring. The two of us stumbling through deep mountains and remote paths could feel the numinosity of the setting with the sound of the stream and the shadows of the trees. (XXKYJ 705)

Moreover, Gu's disappearance from Mount Chickenfoot did cause Xu great regret. Xu was intending to spend the night in a monk's hut at the top of the mountain: he had sent Gu back down fearing it would be too cold for him. Because it was too difficult to extract the relevant key from the string, Xu had handed over keys for both the

chest, containing extra bedding, and his briefcase. The next day Xu heard that Gu had left, saying he was heading for Dali, but Xu did not believe this. Everything out of his chest was taken. Two of the monks wanted to send someone in pursuit but Xu declined, saying:

> "If we pursue him, we probably would not catch him. Even if he were to be caught he could not be forced to return. All I can do is acknowledge his departure."
>
> However, for a master and his servant to be three years away from home, their forms and shadows inseparable, only for me to be abandoned one morning ten thousand li from home is too much to bear. (XXKYJ 1116)

It seems that Gu simply had endured sufficient hardship. This is the view of Liu Guocheng, who suggests that Gu was disappointed that Xu was not showing any sign of returning home: after all, Chen Hanhui's essay records Xu's intention to head towards Mount Emei and other parts of Sichuan and further west. [59] Zheng Zu'an has suggested the harshness of life in the remote south-west and that Gu, who had also been ill, was no longer as strong as before, had endured enough hardship and was presented with an opportunity. [60]

Curiously, at the end of the fourth part of the Yunnan journey, there is an editor's note by Ji Mengliang, concerning a period of nineteen days for which Xu's diary was missing, where Ji writes, "I enquired about this from the servant who accompanied Xu on his travels." [61] It is evident that Gu also returned to Jiangyin. The likeliest explanation is surely that Gu and Xu were reunited and returned together, though there is no way of verifying this.

Huang Daozhou and Tang Dalai

Xu, as has been mentioned above, was also friendly with a number of well-known late-Ming literati. Of these figures, he reserved the highest praise for Huang Daozhou, a philosopher and official who achieved fame for his loyalty to the Ming cause after 1644. Huang, a member of the Donglin Academy, held a number of official positions but also suffered a series of humiliations. During his life he was imprisoned by both Ming and Qing authorities: he was eventually executed on April 20, 1646. Xu met Huang on several occasions and there are a number of surviving poems written by Huang in his friend's honour. [62]

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[59] Liu Guocheng, pp. 166-7.

[60] Zheng Zu'an, SSWH p. 402.

[61] XXKYJ 802. See below for more details on Ji Mengliang, the first person to copy Xu Xiake's manuscript and the editor of the edition of the diaries discovered in 1976.

[62] For a biography of Huang Daozhou, see ECCP 345-347.

In contrast to just two references to his family during the long journey to southwest China, Xu Xiake regularly mentioned Huang Daozhou and other friends. Huang's was the first name mentioned at the start of the journey westwards: Xu had hoped to see him prior to his departure, but was unable to do so (XXKYJ 93). Xu even carried poems by Huang on his journey, which he valued greatly, showing them to someone he met, for example, at the Qiongzhu Temple near Kunming (XXKYJ 791). While staying in Lijiang, Mu Zeng asked Xu about his friends. Xu replied:

> Shizhai (Huang Daozhou's *hao*) is unique amongst perfect men (*zhiren*), his calligraphy and painting are the best in the Hanlin academy, his writings the best of this dynasty, his personal character is the best in the empire. Since ancient times, his learning best carries on the tradition of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius: but he is not an easy person either to see or to seek after. [63]

On his return to Jiangyin, Xu sent his son to Beijing to give some clothes to Huang who had been imprisoned on a political charge.

In Yunnan, Xu met Tang Dalai, a painter and poet, whose ancestors came from the eastern province of Zhejiang and had settled in Yunnan at the start of the Ming dynasty. Tang had visited Peking where he had studied with Dong Qichang, and travelled extensively in southwest China. Like Chen Jiru, Mu Zeng and the two monks from Mount Chickenfoot, with whom Xu spent much time, Hongbian and Anren, Tang was a member of the Taizhou school. Xu praised Tang highly, comparing him favourably with Dong Qichang. Xu's comments reveal something of the nature of friendship in the late-Ming:

> Although Dalai was poor, he had to live up to Meigong's (Chen Jiru) noble intentions, and we became friends because of their friendship. In this unexpected way, I was rescued from poverty. (XXKYJ 763-4)

Tang told Xu how for several generations his ancestors had alternated between recluses and officials. Xu commented that, in spite of not having passed the imperial exams, Tang, by virtue of being the best poet in Yunnan, had not let down his

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[63] The term *zhiren* appears in the "Xiaoyao you" chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* see *Zhuangzi.* ed Guo Qingfan 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1978), p. 17. In the same passage, Xu goes on to praise Wu Fangsheng, whom he had met in Kunming, Chen Jiru and Dong Qichang (XXKYJ 879). For more on this friendship, see Liu Guocheng's essay "Guanyu Xu Xiake yu Huang Daozhou de Jiaowang ji Huodong Didian de Yixie Kaozheng" (Investigation into Certain Matters concerning the Meetings of Xu Xiake and Huang Daozhou and their Locations), in *Qiangu Qiren,* pp. 157-160. Huang's wife, Cai Yuqing, also wrote poems about Xu, see XXKYJ 1175.

ancestors. After the end of the Ming dynasty, Tang became a monk, taking the name Jinhe. [64]

Tang Dalai helped Xu to recover from an illness, gave him money and letters of introduction. The meeting of the two men was typical of many such encounters during Xu's journey to southwest China. On arriving in cities and large towns, and armed with letters of introduction from his friends, Xu would seek out local Chinese literati, in part at least in order to seek funding for his travels, but also as a way of finding people whom he felt capable of engaging him in enlightening conversation. As has been shown above, Gu Xing was not considered suitable company for keen conversation. Xu also found sympathetic minds amongst the Buddhist and Daoist monks he met, many of whom had originally come from eastern China, living in the huge number of monasteries located both in the towns and the countryside. The diary entries for time spent with such people are full of nights of playing chess, talking and drinking till dawn, of exchanges of poems and mutual praise. Xu was continually entreated to stay longer: the company of an educated man from the central plains was much sought after.

The attraction of Tang Dalai to Xu was of an independent man interested in, and well-informed about, China's geography, who was capable of fulfilling the role of an official, yet chose to be a poet. Xu's praise of Tang's poetry serving as a way of validating his role as a member of a successful family is a reflection of Xu's concerns over his own role as a member of the Chinese literati who had chosen to eschew an official career for the life of a traveller.

Tang, like Huang Daozhou, wrote a number of poems in honour of Xu Xiake. In one of these, an exuberant paean to Xu's *wanderlust*, Tang described his friend as exhausting Heaven and Earth in his travels. Drawing heavily on the *Zhuangzi*, and in particular the "Qiushui" (Autumn Floods) chapter, Tang's poem is constructed around a refrain of the two lines:

> Drifting with the water (*Fanfan hu*),
> Floating in the wind (*Pengpeng ran*),

The poem concludes:

> Neither a Buddhist
> Nor a Daoist Immortal
> But half stubborn half deranged
> He stirs up Heaven and Earth year after year

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64 XXKYJ 763-4. Zhu Huirong notes that there are paintings by Tang Dalai in the Provincial Museum in Kunming, ZHR 808.

> Till the mulberry fields perish
> And the blue sea runs dry.
> Heaven will grow old before us and then we will open it up.[65]

The ethereal, boundless qualities of Xu's travels, stressed here by Tang Dalai, exist alongside the practical nature of his investigative spirit. Xu Xiake valued the friendship of such people highly. Lying on his death bed, he is reported to have said to his son:

> Having travelled widely through many spiritual regions, I know that life is a lodging, death a return. I now long in my journeying to be transformed for there are no obstacles any more. My only regret is that I have not been able to see all my old friends one more time. [66]

Personal observation/Achievements

Xu Xiake, like Wang Shixing and other great travel writers of the era, believed in the necessity of personal investigation and observation. Throughout his journey to southwest China, he corrected mistakes in both national gazetteers and local records. In eastern Yunnan, for instance, he questioned the official stories about Mu Ying who had captured the area for the Ming from the Yuan in 1381. On seeing that the river crossed in the mist by Mu was in fact very shallow, Xu commented that Mu's act was not quite as brave as recorded in the histories, adding the wry remark, "I have to verify facts and examine the truth since all this shows how unreliable books are." [67] In general Xu relied on his own observations, supported by existing records and what he was told by local, preferably educated, people. He maintained a sceptical attitude

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[65] "Dayou Pian Zeng Xiake Xu Xiansheng" (Presenting the Venerable Xu Xiake with a Poem of Great Journeys), XXKYJ 1175. For *fanfan* and *pengpeng*, see *Zhuangzi*, pp. 584 and 594. In the same poem, Tang uses the term *timi* (a type of grass) to represent something insignificant, also from the same chapter of *Zhuangzi*, p. 577. Tang used *fanfan* in another poem for Xu.

> Xiake has neither wings nor fins,
> He roams endlessly with nothing more than a pair of heels,
> Journeying onwards, drifting like an empty boat,
> What can he do about misfortune brought by wind-blown tiles?

Tang Dalai, "Hanman Ge", (XXKYJ 1176-7). The image of a mishap caused by a falling tile also comes from *Zhuangzi*, p. 636.

[66] Quoted in Chen Hanhui's biography, XXKYJ 1196.

[67] XXKYJ 730. For details of Mu Ying, see Wu Yingshou, *Xu Xiake Youji Daodu* (Readers Guide to the Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake) (Chengdu: Bashu Shushe, 1988), p. 347. The passage about Mu Ying is repeated almost verbatim in Xu's essay on the Pan Rivers, "Duke Mu boasted that his victory at Qujing was the result of braving the mist and crossing the river, so that he was able to produce a surprise attack from the upper reaches and thus achieve a famous victory. In fact the stream here is no more than a puddle" (XXKYJ 1123). For another passage in the text of the diaries which is very similar to the essay on the Pan Rivers, see XXKYJ 697.

towards the works he consulted. Approaching a town in Guangxi, he expected, on the basis of a map he had looked at earlier, to cross the river before entering the town. It turned out to be the other way round, "Had I not arrived in person, the prefectural map would have remained unreliable" (XXKYJ 524). As he wrote on another occasion:

> When I enquire about the names of the caves and the division of the villages in this region, I receive many different answers. When I pace them out with the mountain spirits, the veins and arteries emerge in succession. There is nothing of beauty that I am unable to dig out in this way. (XXKYJ 432)

Mountains and rivers, in particular, had to be examined close up: "I believe that you cannot seek an explanation of numinous places from their outer appearance ... here the bones are on the inside, this mountain does not exhibit its marvels the way that others do on the outside" (XXKYJ 771). He also had, within reason, to reach the top of as many mountains as possible. Informed of some interesting caves on a mountainside, Xu wrote, "I realised I would not be able to visit all of the peaks, but, since it is the crown of the range, I could not simply just pay my respects and pass by Mount Hou" (XXKYJ 316).

Rivers also required exhaustive research. In Guizhou and eastern Yunnan, when Xu traced the course of the northern and southern Pan rivers, because he was unable to go in person to all the places through which the rivers passed, and thus had to rely on the words of another, his essay on the subject contains several mistakes. For example, Xu had wanted to investigate the source of the Northern Pan River but accepted the words of an acquaintance, writing, "Gong Qiqian explained it to me most clearly, giving indisputable verification." [68]

There has been considerable discussion about Xu being part of a new scientific movement at the end of the Ming, particularly in relation to his exploration of the rivers and karst regions of southwest China. [69] However, over-enthusiastic claims, both contemporary to him and modern, have been made about Xu's prowess. The following passage appears in Chen Hanhui's tomb essay:

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68 XXKYJ 729. Twelve days later, Xu reiterated his unswerving belief in Gong's words, saying they were "quite unlike the guesswork of the local people" (XXKYJ 742). Xu placed similar credence in the words of Jiang Weibin, who seemed to be knowledgeable about the twists and turns of the Pan rivers (XXKYJ 698). For a more detailed examination of Xu's essay on the Pan Rivers, see Tang Xiren and Yang Wenheng, *Xu Xiake yuqi Youji Yanjiu* (Research into Xu Xiake and his Diaries), (Beijing; Zhongguo Shehui Kexue, 1987). pp. 100-6, Wang Chengzu, pp. 188-91.

69 Liang Xiuhong said that Xu Xiake was the first person to investigate the previously mysterious and unknown southwest of China. Liang, p. 1. Joseph Needham wrote that Xu Xiake, "spent his life exploring the vast areas of west and south-west China which were still practically unknown." Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China.*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), vol 1 (Introductory Orientations), p. 147.

> Xiake did not like the words of the practitioners of divination and numerology. By the time he had finished his wanderings throughout the empire, he had ascertained the divisions and sources of the movements of the stars and the twists and turns of the earth. He said that the astronomical and geographical records written by scholars of former periods had merely perpetuated false assumptions. Since the earliest records, discussions of the courses of the Yangtse and Yellow rivers and the major branches of the three mountain ranges had been limited to those parts lying within the territory of China. Nobody before had ever investigated the outer reaches. For this reason, he desired to go to the regions beyond the Kunlun range. [70]

In fact, Xu consulted diviners on a number of occasions during his trip to southwest China in matters of great importance. He also discussed the landscape using geomantic (*fengshui*) theories. [71] In many instances, Xu's methods of research were still amateurish, throwing a rock into a cave to ascertain whether there was any water within, or waiting for several hours by the roadside for a passer-by in order to ask which of two roads he should take (XXKYJ 448).

There were a number of important discoveries made by Xu Xiake. In western Yunnan he distinguished the Lancang (Mekong), Lu (Salween) and Lishe (Red) rivers as three separate rivers, correcting the entry in DMYTZ which stated that the Red River joined up with the Mekong at Yuanjiangfu to form the Yuan River (DMYTZ 5363). The centrality of this discovery to Xu's overall intentions can be gauged from the fact that, after being informed, in the southern Yunnan town of Yunzhou, by a lame man and some merchants that the Lu was three hundred *li* west of the town of Yunzhou and the Lancang one hundred and fifty *li* to the east, he abandoned his plans to go further south (XXKYJ 1085). [72] Furthermore, in Guangxi, Xu proved that the Left and Right Rivers were not connected with either the Northern or Southern Pan River (XXKYJ 1125-6). Liang Xiuhong has given a useful summary of the accurate material contained in Xu's diaries relating to a number of topics, including the true form of mountains and rivers, water erosion, rocks, volcanoes, sulphur springs, plants and their environments and karst regions. [73] However, as was shown in the previous chapter, Liang Xiuhong and Needham were incorrect in saying that Xu was a pioneer investigating an unknown region. From the start of the Ming dynasty many officials and travellers had covered large areas of the southwest.

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[70] XXKYJ 1194. Part of this translation has been taken from Chang Chun-shu's version in Li Chi, *Hsü Hsia-k'o*, pp. 226-7.

[71] There will be a discussion of divinations and Xu's use of *fengshui* theories later in this thesis.

[72] For Xu's discussion of these rivers, see also his earlier comment, "In my estimation, the two rivers (the Lishe and the Lancang) flowed independently without joining up" (XXKYJ 963).

[73] Liang Xiuhong, p. 156.

There has also been much controversy surrounding whether or not Xu Xiake was the first person to record that the Jinsha Jiang (Golden Sands River) was the upper reaches of the Yangtse, as asserted by Ding Wenjiang.[74] In his essay, Xu wrote

> Those who have sought to trace the source of the river, and claim to know its length are merely of the opinion that it rises in the Min Mountains ... the Yellow River rises north of the Kunlun mountains, the Yangtse rises south of the Kunlun mountains ... first known as the Liniu shi, (ie the Jingjia river of the Buddhist Scriptures), the Yangtse flows south through Shimen Pass, before turning east to enter Lijiang, where it is known as the Golden Sands River. It then twists to the north joining up at Xuzhou with the Min River to become the Great River ... The source of the Yellow River has been investigated many times so its length has been long known. The source of the Yangtse, on the other hand, has never been properly investigated, with the result that it is merely the tributaries which are close at hand which have come to be considered. In fact the Min river entering the Yangtse is, like the Wei river entering the Yellow river, one of the tributaries of the central plains: the Min river is passable for river traffic, while the Golden Sands River twists and turns through the mountainous regions of barbarians, and is passable neither by land nor water ... all (existing Yunnan records) merely return to the sentence in the "Yu Gong" which states that "from Mount Min he surveyed the Yangtse" as disclosing the source of the Yangtse. They do not know that Yu's guidance is merely concerned with the source of the Yangtse within the central plains and not the true source. The Yellow River is guided through Jishi, but it does not rise there: while the Yangtse is guided by the Min Mountains, it does not rise there. The Min River flows into the Yangtse but it is not its source, in the same way that the Wei River flows into the Yellow River but is not its source.[75]

It has since been pointed out that the Golden Sands River had been known as the source of the Yangtse since the Han dynasty. In fact, Zhang Huang's (1527-1608) *Tushu bian* (Compendium of Illustrations and Writings), compiled over fifteen years between 1562 and 1577, contained references to the Golden Sands river originating in Tibet. [76] What is important then as Tan Qixiang pointed out, was that scholars were afraid to speak out due to fear of contradicting the words of the classics. [77]

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[74] Ding, *Nianpu*, p. 56.

[75] XXKYJ 1126-9. Wang Shixing, among many writers of his era, reported uncritically the view that the source of the Yangtse was in the Min mountains, Wang Shixing, p. 244. For the sentence in the "Yu Gong" (*Minshan dao jiang*) which he translated as, "From Mount Min he surveyed the Keang", see James Legge, Vol. 3 book 1 Pt.2, p. 137. Hong Jianxin discusses the early meaning of *dao*, which could mean "to guide" or "to regulate", concluding that this degree of latitude was sufficient for commentators such as Pan Gu and Li Daoyuan to state that the Yangtse River did not originate in the Min Mountains. Hong Jianxin, "Xu Xiake dui Changjiang tan yuan de yanjiu" (Xu Xiake's research into the source of the Yangtse River) in *Xu Xiake Yanjiu*, pp. 49-57. *Huainanzi* has the more unequivocal line "The Yangtse comes from the Min Mountains *(Jiang chu minshan)*" *juan* 16. 9b.

[76] Xin Deyong and Han Rongli, "Xu Xiake shishi erti" in *Qiangu qiren,* pp. 161-4. They point out that Zhang's methodology was in some ways more advanced than that adopted by Xu. Zhang Huang, who was president of the famous White Deer Grotto academy on Mount Lu, met Matteo Ricci in Nanchang in 1595 and subsequently produced a copy of Ricci's *Mappa mundi.* DMB 83-4. Although Xu Xiake visited Mount Lu in 1618, he did not mention Zhang Huang (XXKYJ 28). Reiter points

Xu's achievement was thus in daring to state the facts, rather than in any personal discovery. As a result of what he wrote, he suffered much posthumous opprobrium from Qing dynasty geographers. Gu Zuyu (1631-1692) in his *Du shifang yuji yao* (Essentials of Historical Geography) published in the 1660s, wrote "Recently some nonsense pedlars have claimed that the source of the Yangtse lies in the Kunlun mountains. Certain trouble-makers have stuck to this idea in order to present what has been said as established fact. How despicable!" [78] Hu Wei (1633-1714), in *Yugong zhuizhi* (Basic Guide to the "Yu Gong"), compiled between 1694 and 1697, wrote, "It is clearly stated in the "Yu Gong" that the Min mountains guide the Yangtse, those such as Xiake who claim the Li water (Golden Sands River) to be the true source are not worthy of mention." [79]

Links have also been suggested between Xu and the recently arrived western, ie Jesuit, influence. In a collection of essays on Xu Xiake originally published in 1942, Fang Hao wrote an essay which concluded that Xu must have been influenced by the western missionaries, giving no more evidence than the fact that some of Xu's friends, including Chen Jiru, had met the Jesuits. [80] This view has since been challenged, Cordell Yee claiming that the Chinese tradition of map-making was already established before the arrival of the Jesuits at the Ming court and that there is little sign of western influence in map-making after their arrival. Indeed, Western methods did not supersede Chinese methods till the late nineteenth century. [81]

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out that elsewhere in the *Tushu bian*, Zhang asserted the infallibility of the "Yu gong" precisely because of its inclusion in the Confucian canon, writing "I could not possibly dare (to accept Zhu Xi's) statements that 'the "Yu gong" contains mistakes'" Reiter, p. 137.

[77] Tan Qixiang, "Lun Ding Wenjiang suowei Xu Xiake zai dilishang zhi zhongyao faxian" (A Discussion of what Ding Wenjiang said about Xu Xiake's important geographical discoveries) in *Xu Xiake Jinian lunji* ed. Zhang Xiaoqian (Taibei: Zhonghua Wenhua, 1956), pp. 34-44, especially p. 43. See also Pan Fengying, "Jiang he yuan liu de zhui su kaoding" in SSWH, pp. 347-350.

[78] Gu Zuyu *Du shifang yuji yao* Guoxue jiben congshu. (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1968), Vol. 338, *juan* 134, p. 4986. For Gu Zuyu, see ECCP 419-20. Xu was not named in this work, probably because he was not yet widely known. It is likely that Gu Yuzu was here referring to Gu Yanwu (1613-1682), who, in the section of his *Tianxia junguo libing shu* concerning the Golden Sands River, wrote, "The source of the Yangtse River is in Tibet." See *Dianji,* (Concerning Yunnan) (1808 Taibei: Chengwen, 1967), vol.4, pp. 1474-5. For Gu Yanwu, see ECCP 421-6.

[79] Hu Wei, *Yugong zhuizhi, Siku Quanshu* vol. 67 739. For a life of Hu Wei, see ECCP 335-7. Wu Yingshou notes that Xu was also criticised by Quan Zuwang (1705-1755, ECCP 203-5). Wu, *Daodu,* p. 360.

[80] Fang Hao, "Xu Xiake yu Xiyang jiaoshi guanxi zhi tansuo" (Research into the relationship between Xu Xiake and western Missionaries), in *Jinian lunji,* pp. 64-74. For more on the Jesuits in China, see Kenneth Chen, "Matteo Ricci's Contribution to, and Influence on Geographical Knowledge in China" *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* 59 (1939): 325-359.

[81] Cordell D. K. Yee, "Traditional Chinese Cartography and the Myth of Westernization", in Harley and Woodward, eds., pp. 170-202. Eduard Vermeer also concludes that there is no evidence that the Jesuits "had any effect on the geographical thinking of Chinese literati." Eduard B. Vermeer, "Notions of Time and Space in the Early Ch'ing: the Writings of Ku Yen-wu, Hsu Hsia-k'o, Ku Tsu-yu and

Much attention has already been paid to Xu's scientific spirit of exploration. However, Vermeer's conclusion is that Xu showed "only a few glimpses of a modern scientific approach to processes of change." [82] Xu's account of a visit to a cave in Hunan, when stories told by local people of dragons and strange spirits in the cave merely encouraged him. is a good example of how he stood on the cusp of a new scientific age. At first, he found someone willing to accompany him into the cave until the guide saw that Xu was wearing Confucian and not Daoist apparel. In the end Xu went in with the presumably unsuperstitious Gu Xing. The limits of Xu's geographical knowledge meant that he was unable to explain all that he saw, his response to a dry stretch of the cave through which water had clearly once flowed being "I could not explain this" (*buke jie*). On leaving the cave, the locals were waiting around to see whether he would emerge safely. He thanked them for their consideration and expressed surprise that they should be so unwilling to enter the cave. Thus, while Xu did not allow superstition to interfere with his exploratory spirit, the amount of information he was able to analyse in a scientific way was limited (XXKYJ 183-6).

While agreeing with Vermeer's assertion that Xu did not show any great evidence of a modern scientific approach, I would dispute his claim that Xu's diaries contain "very few references to man's destruction of nature." [83] In fact, the idea of the sanctity of Nature informs the whole of Xu's writing. To give five such examples, Xu wrote of the pollution of a river by the local trade of paper-making (XXKYJ 138), of being upset at the sight of a cave being used as a toilet, such acts "contaminating the spirituality" (*wuhui lingyi*) (XXKYJ 213), of his fears that human additions interfered with the "refined beauty" (*yaqu*) of a beauty spot (XXKYJ 215) of marks left by carving on a hillside as "wounds" (*hen*) (XXKYJ 454) and, in describing human damage to the landscape, of "wounds" (*shang*) and "defects" (*bing*) (XXKYJ 1003).

This thesis will concentrate on Xu's travel diaries and miscellanea as the works of a literatus obsessed with nature. Detailed examination of his diction will show that his exploration of China's landscape, and especially the caves and mountains of the southwest, remained rooted in the language of the traditional travel diary. At the same time, Xu embodied the particular concerns of his peers among the late-Ming literati.

Chang Hsueh-ch'eng" in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*. Eds. Chun-chieh Huang and Erik Zurcher. (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 201-236, here p. 202.

[82] Ibid, p. 204.

[83] Ibid, p. 203. For a passage in Mencius dealing with human destruction of Nature, see *Mengzi, juan* 23.1a. *Mencius*, pp. 164-5.

Chapter Three

The History of the Publication of Xu Xiake's Travel Diaries

It is the contention of this thesis that Xu Xiake, together with other late-Ming writers, contributed to the expansion of both the scope and language of the travel diary. Xu's use of language will be dealt with in detail over the next two chapters. The first section of this chapter will outline the history of the publication of Xu Xiake's diaries. [1] A version of Xu's diary discovered in the 1970's will be examined alongside the earlier accepted version of the text in order to show how Xu's writing is more varied and interesting than had previously been assumed. Examples will be taken from the new edition of the work to show how it can provide a new interpretation of Xu's approach to the art of writing. While questions of literary style will, for the most part, be examined in the next chapter, some aspects will be touched on here. His narrative method, in particular, will be examined.

Looking at the new edition, and especially the additional information found within, allows a reappraisal of Xu's writing. In this thesis, the diaries will be treated as a whole, but this chapter will outline the differences to demonstrate how Xu Xiake's reputation can be enhanced by the new material. This chapter will expand on the events of Xu's life as outlined in the previous chapter, as well as highlighting his aims and achievements.

The second section will present an analysis of an early hand-copied edition of the text of the diaries discovered in Beijing in the 1970s. [2] This text known now

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[1] For full details of all the hand-copied and printed editions of the diaries, including details of additions and omissions from each edition, see Tang and Yang, pp. 215-240. There is a more recent essay by one of the editors of the Shanghai edition, Chu Shaotang, in SSWH, pp. 478-486. The only piece of Xu Xiake's hand-writing to have survived is the two poems he wrote for a monk he met on Mount Chickenfoot, XXKYJ 1159. See also Sun Taichu, "Xu Xiake Shoushu Zeng Jizu Shan Seng Miaohang shigao" (The hand-written copy of a poem presented by Xu Xiake to Miaoxing a monk on Mount Chickenfoot) *Wenwu*, 10 (1978): 81-2.

[2] Zhou Ningxia and others have written an article on the new text. Zhou Ningxia et al. "«Xu Xiake Youji» Yuanshi Chaoben de Faxian yu Tantao" in *Zhonghua Wenshi Luncong*, ed. Zhu Dongrun, Vol. 12. {Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1979), pp. 155-189. (Hereafter, Zhou et al) They refer to the older version of the text, based on Ding Wenjiang's edition of 1928 and the Guoji Jiben Congshu edition as the Tongxingben. I shall follow this nomenclature below referring to the latter edition when necessary. Tang and Yang give the date of the discovery of Ji's second copy of the diaries as 1976. Tang and Yang, p. 217. Wu Yingshou gives 1979 as the date. Wu Yingshou, *Daodu*, Introduction, p. 2.

as the Ji text, after the editor Ji Mengliang (Huiming), fills in many gaps in the early stages of Xu's journey to southwest China. The sections on the trips to Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, and Guangxi are greatly expanded, with a wealth of additional information. The events at the start of the journey to the southwest, the robbery and its aftermath, when, for the only time in the diaries, Xu revealed in detail the contents of his travelling possessions, all give new insights into Xu's personality. The new text, which has been used in the recent editions of the diaries, can also tell us something about the way in which editors worked.

The history of the publication also shows the importance of the element of chance in such matters. There are a number of lacunae in the text: the first part of Xu's trip to Yunnan, totalling some eighty-seven days, was lost at an early stage in the history of the publication of the diaries. [3] There is no clear evidence as to the overall amount of text lost. It was not known that the original entries had been edited to such a great extent.

This leads to consideration of the nature of travel diaries, what was and what was not to be included, as well as speculation as to what might have been missed out from the later parts of the diaries, and how much editing Xu did on his own text. The last section of this chapter will look at the way in which Xu wrote in comparison to other great practitioners of the travel writing genre, amongst both earlier generations and his contemporaries.

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[3] It is possible to ascertain some idea of Xu's route through eastern Yunnan by a close reading of the surviving sections of his diaries and his essay on the Pan Rivers. This is helped by the fact that he retraced parts of his route in the course of his investigation into the source of the Pan Rivers and wrote of places or people he had already seen, for example, a comparison with a place, Pengfu, not mentioned (XXKYJ 711) and other references such as, "I stayed in a Hostel in Shibao Village, which I had passed through before." (XXKYJ 728) and "I stayed with a former host, Gong Qiqian" (XXKYJ 729). See "Panjiang kao" (XXKYJ 1122-6). There are also two surviving, undated, accounts of trips to Mount Taihua and the Yan Caves, respectively, both south of the provincial capital (XXKYJ 680-685). Zhu Huirong discusses Xu's probable itinerary for this missing section, ZHR 712.

Publication

Before 1776, Xu's diaries existed only as hand-copied text. Tang and Yang give details of twenty hand-copied and eighteen printed versions of the diaries. Many of the hand-copied editions are now lost. It is fortunate, given the turbulence in the Jiangnan area at the end of the Ming dynasty, that most of the original text seems to have survived. Xu's manuscript, which he entrusted to a friend shortly before his death, was lost in the sacking of Jiangyin by the Qing army in 1645. Present day knowledge of these texts and their geneses is based largely on the surviving forewords and a piece written by Chen Hong entitled "Zhuben Yitong Kaolüe" (An overview of the similarities and differences between all the editions of the Xu Xiake travel diaries) (XXKYJ 1283-92). This introduction will mention only those editions of the diaries which were of direct importance for the preservation of Xu's text.

The first hand-copied text was by Ji Mengliang. On his return from Yunnan, as he lay on his death-bed, Xu Xiake had little energy left to work on his diaries, so he entrusted the task to the family tutor and personal friend Ji Mengliang, who was helped by Wang Zhongren. Xu's diaries first appeared in book form in the twelfth month of 1642. In 1645, Jiangyin was destroyed by the advancing Qing army. Xu's eldest son, Xu Qi, was killed, Xiake's original manuscript was burnt and Ji Mengliang's first transcript was lost (XXKYJ 679).

The second transcript, also by Ji Mengliang, has the title "Xu Xiake's Western Travel Diary". Ji had to gather together the material again but already some parts were missing, including the first part of the journey to Yunnan. This particular edition of the text was in private hands for many years, before going to the National Library of China in Beijing after 1949 where it was eventually rediscovered in the late 1970's. Ji's second transcript contains five volumes of Xu's journey to southwest China, each volume having a list of places visited on the first page, along with the seals of seven owners or libraries of the edition.

Chu Shaotang suggests that it was this version that was seen by Qian Qianyi, giving as basis for this suggestion, the fact that the seal of the library of the scholar Mao Jin (1599-1659) is included on the copy. Qian Qianyi wrote a letter to Mao encouraging him to print Xu Xiake's diaries, in which Mao's library was mentioned. Furthermore, Qian Qianyi's letter, which says that the diaries were given to him by Xu Xiake's cousin, Xu Chongzhao, complains about the poor state

of the copy: Chu also says that Ji's copy is badly copied. [4] Chen Hanhui's tomb essay and Qian Qianyi's biography both mention the contribution of Xu Zhongzhao in editing the work. [5] From this, Chu goes on to suggest that in fact what was discovered of Ji's second copy is all that was transcribed. This would explain the errors in Qian Qianyi's biography.

Ji Mengliang's foreword to his second copy of Xu Xiake's diaries, the rediscovered version of the text, reveals much about the fate of Xu's original work.

> In the autumn of 1636, Xiake set off on his travels to distant shores, saying farewell to me in a letter. It was five years before he returned, by which time both his legs were quite worn out. Alas! The raft of Zhang Qian, the Duke of Bowang had returned, and the footsteps of Zhang and Hai had reached an end. [6] From now on, the only travelling he could do was in his mind. On many occasions I sat at the end of his bed till midnight, and he never once tired of recounting his travels. Before long, he would take his manuscript out of a trunk and show it to me, saying: "I have to write my diary every day. However, it is jumbled and disconnected. could you put it in order and edit it?"
>
> I declined, saying I was not clever enough, but he persisted in expressing his desire to hand the document over to me. I had just decided to take on the work when, before I had a chance to see him, Xiake set off on a heavenly voyage. Xiake's life work may have come to an end but I had not yet finished sorting out his affairs. At a later date, the diaries were all taken away by Mr Wang Zhongren, as I said I would not complete the work. When he was serving (as an official) in Fuzhou, he returned them to Xiake's eldest son, Qi, pressing him to take them back. Qi took out the diaries to show me, saying, "Without your help, Xiake's ambition cannot be realised."
>
> Opening up the trunk, I saw that Zhongren had arranged the manuscript in careful order, and put in sequence. I reread the text, and saw that it still contained many mistakes. I searched high and low for any more fragments, to restore those parts of the text which Chongren had not touched, compiling and editing in logical order, and making it into a book to await the final revisions of a great scholar. I entrusted it to an engraver in order that Xiake's work would never fade.
>
> I would not presume to say that Xiake is a long-standing friend, but on the occasion that we met we were full of mutual admiration. [7]

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[4] Qian Qianyi, "Zhu Xu Zhongzhao ke Youji Shu" (Letter requesting Xu Zhongzhao to make a copy of the [Xu Xiake] Travel Diaries), "Zhu Mao Zijin ke Youji Shu" (Letter requesting Mao Zijin to make a copy of the [Xu Xiake] Travel Diaries), XXKYJ 1186-7. Chu Shaotang, in SSWH, pp. 480-1.

[5] Chen Hanhui, XXKYJ 1198, Qian Qianyi, XXKYJ 1202.

[6] For Zhang Qian, see Chapter 1. Both Da Zhang, who appeared in a work of the Later Han dynasty entitled *Wuyue chunqiu*, and Shu Hai, one of Yu's ministers, walked from the easternmost to the westernmost point of China. SHJ, *juan* 9.2b. For a reference to Da Zhang, see Remi Mathieu, *Étude sur la Mythologie et l'Ethnologie de la Chine Ancienne: Traduction Annotée du Shanhai Jing.* 2 vols (Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983), vol. 1, p. 436. Xu was contrasted with both of these historical figures elsewhere, in poems by Huang Daozhou (XXKYJ 1170), in the family records (XXKYJ 1202), in an essay by Wang Siren (XXKYJ 1259) and in an essay, written in 1808, by Zhao Yi (XXKYJ 1279).

[7] The foreword is dated the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the year *renwu* of the Chongzhen reign period, ie. 1643. XXKYJ 1. Other early forewords appear in the modern editions of Xu's diaries. Shi Xialong's foreword has survived even though his copy, made in the late seventeenth

Ji's foreword gives a vital insight into the way in which the diaries have reached the state in which they are now presented and also notes that there are many mistakes in the newly discovered copy of the diary. There are clues elsewhere as to what happened to the diaries.

There were four other important early copies: firstly, the one, not extant, made by Cao Junfu who copied Ji's original version. Although this preserved the sections of the text that would otherwise have disappeared in the Jiangyin fire, it lacked the start of the Yunnan diary, which went missing when it was lent out to one of Xu Xiake's relatives, Yuqing, who borrowed it only for it to be lost when his house was destroyed by fire. [8]

Secondly, the copy made in 1662, by Xu Jianji (1634-1692), Xu Xiake's grandson, covering Guizhou and Yunnan. It constitutes the form of the present-day diaries for this latter part of Xu's long journey. Thirdly, the 1684 copy by Xu Xiake's third son, Li Jieli. This was the most important of the early hand-copied editions of the diaries, based on a number of the earliest copies, including Shi Xialong's and Cao Junfu's, and was used by many later compilers. It was to form the basis for what will be referred to in this chapter as the *Tongxingben* accepted edition. By the Qianlong reign period (1736-1795), it was already no longer extant.[9]

Fourthly, Yang Mingshi's (1661-1737) second copy (his first copy, made in 1709, is no longer extant), the most complete extant hand-copy of the diaries. Yang realised that his first copy had many mistakes: he made a second copy, which he completed in 1710. As a result of Yang's personal importance, his copy of the diaries had a considerable impact. He had served as an official in both Yunnan and Guizhou, so he was familiar with the geography and customs of southwest China. Consequently, he was more likely to see mistakes in the copies made by others. [10]

The first printed edition of the diaries, known as the Qianlong edition, appeared in 1776, using the Li Jieli volume along with notes by Yang Mingshi and

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century, is no longer extant XXKYJ 1266-7. For the other forewords, up to and including Ding Wenjiang's, see XXKYJ 1 and 1266-80.

[8] See Ji Mengliang's note, XXKYJ 679.

[9] Tang and Yang, p. 217.

[10] Yang Mingshi, from Jiangyin, himself went to Yunnan around the end of the Kangxi (1662-1722) period. There are several pieces by him in *Dianji*. See *Dianji*, vol. 2. pp. 707-711 and vol. 4. 1350-3.

Chen Hong. There is a copy in the National Library in Beijing. It was edited and has a foreword by Xu Zhen, a descendant of Xu Xiake.

> My ancestor Xiake was born with a great *wanderlust* (*sheng you youpi*). Wherever his steps took him he would fashion the landscape into words which together would form a volume, collecting the volumes to form a book, which was recognised by people of an earlier age as a remarkable work. Unfortunately, he died before his work was completed. He relied on Mr Ji Huiming to re-edit it into the shape of a book. Not long afterwards, it was destroyed in a fire caused by rampaging soldiers. It was only as a result of Xu's son Jieli compiling the edition he picked up from visiting the Shi and Cao families of Yixing that the diaries were again formed into a book. [11] Great men of that age all delighted in buying his writings to serve as a wonderful medium for armchair travelling. As copies of the diaries were passed round as a source of entertainment, so changes were made and revisions introduced by more than one person. Now one hundred and forty years on, although I have obtained the early edition hand-copied by Yang Ningzhai, a local, and the later edition by Chen Tijing [12], the copies are ever broader and mistakes have gradually increased...I compared the two editions and made my own hand-copied edition, with the aim of verifying for the present and transmitting for the future. I recalled how these two gentlemen had carried out very careful research, you could say in order to preserve the genuine article for later generations, but as later copies were made, so mistakes and omissions increased. [13]

There were a number of other printed editions before the arrival of Ding Wenjiang's edition in 1928. Ding consulted seven texts, relying largely on the 1808 version edited by Ye Tingjia. [14]

Apart from the various forewords, biographical essays and poems by and about Xu Xiake, Ding added new material for his edition, the most interesting being poems from the Jingshan Tang, some of which Ding notes were included in the Ye edition of the text, while he found others in the Jiangyin records. These gave him much material for the *nianpu*. He also compiled a series of maps to accompany the text, pointing out in his own foreword that former readers had only been able to appreciate Xu's language without being able to follow his itinerary.

Originally Ding intended to publish the *nianpu* and nothing else but his friend Hu Shi suggested that he publish an edition of the whole text at the same time to back up his research. An edition had recently been published with new style

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[11] That is Shi Xialong and Cao Junfu.

[12] Yang Mingshi and Chen Hong, two of the earlier compilers of hand copied editions of the diaries.

[13] "Xu xu"(Xu's Foreword) (XXKYJ 1)

[14] Ding listed the seven in his foreword. Apart from Ye Tingjia's edition, he looked at two early Qing hand-copied editions; three nineteenth-century printed editions and the 1928 edition published by Shen Songquan. "Chongyin Xu Xiake Youji ji Xinzhu Nianpu Xu" (Foreword for a reprint of the Xu Xiake Travel Diaries and the New Chronicle) XXKYJ 1280-3.

punctuation but no maps. Ding collected thirty-six maps of the various mountains and provinces visited by Xu from friends and acquaintances and then spent three years drawing up a series of maps to accompany the text.

Ding's edition was used as the basis for most of the editions which appeared before the discovery of the Ji hand-copied diary. Zhu Huirong based his edition of the text, the first annotated version, on the first printed edition, along with the newly discovered copy of the text. Zhu Shaotang and Wu Yingshou also used these along with several other of the surviving hand-copied editions. The first selection of extracts from Xu's diaries had appeared in 1929. [15]

New edition [16]

JML provides many more details on Xu's life and thought. The period under consideration covers five hundred and seventy-three days, a period for which *Tongxingben* has entries for three hundred and fifty-one days and JML for five hundred and seven, between the ninth year and eleventh years of the Chongzhen reign period, that is 1636 to 1638. [17] JML is of interest for three reasons: firstly, for the wealth of additional information about the personal circumstances of Xu Xiake and his companions; secondly, the new information about what he saw, and, thirdly, a greater number of descriptive passages, giving further insight into Xu's aesthetic appreciation of Nature and providing evidence of a more sophisticated sense of linguistic dexterity than had previously been granted.

There are a number of differences between the two main copies of the diaries. Often, the *Tongxingben* text is either a paraphrase of what appears in JML or simply misses out whole sections altogether. Sometimes, details about a journey were run together. On the fourth day of the tenth month 1636, for example, *Tongxingben* noted:

> The water divides to the north and south entering the Tiao and Zhe respectively. (WYW 1. 65)

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[15] Interest in Xu Xiake has increased over the last few years since the re-publication of his work. An eponymous feature film based on his life has recently been released. "Xu Xiake zoushang yinmo" (Xu Xiake hits the silver screen), *Renmin ribao,* p. 12, 15th August 1996.

[16] For the purposes of the following survey of the two texts, the earlier version will be referred to as *Tongxingben,* the newer version as JML. For the *Tongxingben,* I have used the edition in the *Guoji Jiben Congshu Sibaizhong* series, vol. 350, edited by Wang Yunwu. The text is divided into six volumes (*ce*). For references to Wang Yunwu's edition, the acronym WYW will be used.

[17] Zhou et al, p. 162-3. For the new text in the Shanghai edition, see XXKYJ 93-618.

In JML, this becomes:

> To the north the water reaches Xiayuqiao and from Qingshan enters the Tiao stream. To the south, the water reaches Shadang and, from Xincheng, enters the Zhe River. (XXKYJ 97)

There are numerous examples of new information in JML. The entry for a day in Jiangxi has just ten characters in *Tongxingben.* "Southwest for seventy *li.* Reached the eastern gate of Jianchang" (WYW 1.77). While not as detailed as many of the entries in Xu's diaries, the entry for the same day in JML records Xu's progress in a concise but detailed manner, giving eleven distances, totalling sixty-eight *li,* sixteen place names (including one alternative), five directions of travel (east, south, southwest, southwest and south), and a few simple verbs to express motion and the events of the day, 'set off" (*fa*), "followed" (*yan*), "ate" (*fan*), "descended" (*xia*), "arrived" (*dao*) and "lodged (*su*) (XXKYJ 127). Elsewhere, JML has new descriptions of underground rivers and caves. The longer description of the Longyin Cliff of Guilin includes an explanation of the origin of the cave, and the eroded cliff in its middle, as well as the principle of the stalactites and Xu's musings on the current state of Buddhism, in all one hundred and forty-two rather than *Tongxingben*'s twenty-nine characters. [18]

In *Tongxingben*, the day-to day progress was often simplified with some daily entries run together and anything deemed irrelevant to the text removed. Zhou Ningxia suggests that Li Jieli cut out or simplified geographical entries in the text because he was a poet. [19] In fact many passages of literary value were also omitted from *Tongxingben* as will be shown below.

In *Tongxingben,* many details of Xu's stays in towns, such as his encounters with local officials and literati, are simply omitted. One daily entry in JML for Xu's stay in Liuzhou, for example, records a brief personal history of an official from whom Xu sought assistance, as well as Xu's enquires about boats for Xunzhou, which were unsuccessful because there were no passengers around due to the holding of the *zhongyuan* festival (XXKYJ 396, no entry in WYW 2.45). Later on,

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[18] XXKYJ 312, WYW 2.18. Zhou lists examples of descriptions of other underground rivers, all of which were removed from the *Tongxingben* (XXKYJ 234, 510, 562 and 604). Zhou et al. pp. 170-1.

[19] See Zhou Ningxia, "Li Jieli yu Xu Xiake youji" (Li Jieli and "The travel diaries of Xu Xiake") in *Xu Xiake Yanjiu,* pp. 77-98, here pp. 89-90.

Xu spent several days at the Xiangshan Temple in the town of Qingyuan in Guangxi. *Tongxingben* has "From the twentieth to the twenty-fifth I sat in the temple while it rained" (WYW 2.99). JML has separate entries for five of the six days, the twenty-first and twenty-second only being condensed into one. The details cover descriptions of the weather, Xu's worries about some of his recent travelling companions, an elaborate allusion to a poem by Du Mu, a divination and various meals to which he was invited by the monks.[20]

The new information covers different areas. Zhou Ningxia cites the example of Xu's meeting with a sympathetic monk, a meeting omitted from *Tongxingben*. [21] Later on, JML also records a rare moment of humour in the diaries in the form of a wry comment by Xu when on seeing, in a hilly region, a shrine called Happiness (Kuaile) he asked whether he might not be presented with a flat road (XXKYJ 278). In Guangxi, there are several mentions of the trouble experienced by Xu in the hiring of porters, including the number of times he changed porters in the course of a day. (XXKYJ 480, 486, 491 and 492), while in Hunan, Xu ran out of food and money for the first time. As Zhou Ningxia has pointed out, it had previously been thought that this did not happen till he entered Yunnan. [22]

JML also fills in some large gaps, including additional entries covering Xu's stay in Nanning. A note from Ji Mengliang informs the reader that an extra day was dated on the basis of a poem, since lost, "I found this entry amidst a mass of jumbled papers, so disordered in fact that I did not know to which day it referred. On the basis of "Dudeng Duxiu Shi" (Poem on Climbing Alone to Duxiu Temple), I was able to work out that it was a diary for the Double Ninth festival." [23]

The following examination of the various aspects of the accounts in the two editions will first deal with the most important additional furnished by JML, namely the start of Xu's journey to southwest China, the robbery on the River Xiang, the fate of Xu's monk companion, Jingwen, and other noteworthy incidents en route. Certain aspects of Xu's methodology and style will then be studied.

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[20] XXKYJ 565-6. See below for more details of Xu's stay in Qingyuan, recounted in a summarising passage.

[21] XXKYJ 144, not in WYW 2.84. Zhou et al, pp. 161-2.

[22] XXKYJ 258. Zhou et al. p. 180.

[23] XXKYJ 448. There are, however, still large gaps in JML, notably at the end of the second part of Xu's visit to Guangxi, where, apart from the one day discovered by Ji, around one month is missing.

Start of the journey west

Tongxingben's account of Xu Xiake's journey to southwest China begins:

> I had long wished to go to the southwest. I had delayed going for two years, but with old age on its way, I could wait no longer. I had planned the nineteenth day of the ninth month of the year *bingzi* (1636) for the start of my ten thousand *li* journey. Before I had finished packing my bags, I met my uncle Duruo and dined with him till midnight. (WYW 1.64)

There is then a gap of twelve days until his departure from Hangzhou on the second day of the tenth month. In JML, the section begins:

> Nineteenth day of the ninth month of the year *bingzi* (1636). I had long wished to go to the southwest. I had delayed going for two years, but, with my old illness recurring I certainly did not want any further delay. I wished to meet Huang Daozhou but there was no news of him and I wished to say a proper farewell to my cousin Zhongzhao but he had not come south. However, yesterday evening I did meet Zhongzhao at Tuduzhuang. Today, the planned date for my departure, I met my uncle Duruo and dined with him till midnight. (XXKYJ 93)

The following days were spent by Xu preparing for his long journey and attempting to visit various friends in the Jiangnan area. Xu recorded his disappointment at not meeting up with Huang Daozhou prior to his departure, indeed he never saw him again, though he did manage to see Chen Jiru. JML also records Xu's purchase for the long journey of a cooking pot and a bamboo basket (XXKYJ 93-6). These two weeks prior to Xu's departure established the pattern for his later visits to large towns, when he recuperated from his exertions, sought out local literati for both conversation and financial assistance and wrote up his diaries.

The River Xiang Robbery

Perhaps the most notable example of the omissions from *Tongxingben* is the long description of the robbery on the River Xiang, the most dramatic incident in the whole of Xu's diaries. In the *Tongxingben,* the entries for the eleventh and twelfth days of the second month of 1637, which occupy more than four pages in JML, take up four lines. The robbery itself is reduced to just fourteen characters:

> At the second watch, we were attacked by robbers, we lost all our bags and I almost lost my life: my servant Gu was seriously wounded. (WYW 1.107)

In JML, there is a slow build-up to the robbery itself. [24] The scene is set by Xu writing that, because the merchants with whom he was travelling were all used to travelling on the river, he had accepted their decision to stop for the night in a remote spot away from any village. He described his own joy at the beauty of the moon-lit scene, commenting sardonically, in view of what was to happen, that Shen Kua's (1031-1095) "Xiao Xiang ye yu" (Night rain on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers), was on this occasion, "rather a case of "Moonlight on the Banks of the Xiang River"." [25] The peacefulness of the scene was then disturbed by sounds of crying on the riverbank, which continued for more than two hours, the peace enhanced by Xu's inclusion of four lines of his own verse, the first two of which draw on Su Shi's "Qian Chibi fu" of a boat trip to the historically famed site Red Cliff (Chibi), where one of Su's companions played a mournful tune on the flute, and Bai Juyi's poem, "Pipa yin":

> "To the sounds of flute and a solitary boat, I grieve at Red Cliff,
> The pipa and my two sleeves dampen my green jacket." [26]

Unwilling to urinate in the river water for fear of causing pollution, and alarmed by the sounds of crying, Jingwen went ashore to have a look, discovering a boy of around fifteen years who had fled from a cruel eunuch in whose home he had been in service. After consoling the boy, Jingwen reboarded the boat, which was then attacked by a crowd of bandits. Xu Xiake was able to move quickly to save himself and as much of his possessions as possible. He grabbed his money box, but in the end had to throw it into the water as the robbers rushed towards him.

> I was the last to go into the water, my feet became tangled up in a bamboo rope so that in the end I fell down into the water together with the awning, landing head first on the bottom of the river, my nose and ears filling up with water. Fortunately the water was shallow, only reaching my waist, so I was able hurriedly to leap up and swim upstream to the middle of the river, where I was able first to conceal myself between two neighbouring boats, before jumping onto one of them. (XXKYJ 201)

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[24] For the robbery and its aftermath discussed below, see XXKYJ 200-207.

[25] "Xiao Xiang Ye Yu" was one of Shen Gua's "Xiao Xiang Bajing" (Eight Scenes of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers), included in his collection entitled *Mengxi bitan* (Chats from Dream Stream). See SKQS vol. 862. 799. For a translation of Shen's visit to Mount Yandang, see Strassberg, pp. 179-182.

[26] For Su Shi's "Qian Chibi Fu", see *Guwen Guanzhi Xinbian* (New Edition of Classical Marvels), ed. Qian Bocheng, (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1990) vol 2., pp. 892-7. For Bai Juyi's "Pipa Yin", the last three characters of which, *qingshanshi,* appear in Xu's second line, see QTS, vol. 2, pp. 1075-6.

After his rescue, Xu counted himself very lucky to have avoided injury as he was naked and lots of knives were being brandished. At this stage, Xu was unaware of the whereabouts of Jingwen, though he was reunited with his servant, Gu Xing, on the night of the attack.

The next morning, the naked Xu was given clothes by a merchant called Dai, whom he rewarded with a silver ear-pick, which he had found in his hair. The text then goes off at a tangent to explain how Xu came to be wearing an ear-pick:

> I do not normally use them. However, on this journey, as I passed through the Wu gate of Suzhou, I had remembered how twenty years before, on my home way from Fujian, as I reached the banks of the Qiantang River, with no money to my name, I had found a pair of silver hair-clasps. I used them partly to buy food and partly to hire a chair for the return journey to the Golden-hearted Moon lodge of the Zhaoqing Temple. [27] This time I had brought along an ear-pick, firstly as a hair-clasp and secondly as a safeguard for any untimely necessity. In fact I had been very lucky to have it on when I fell into the river, as it had held my hair together, while Ai Xingke, whose hair was untied, had not managed to escape. Such an object, though so small, bought so much good fortune. [28]

The robbery thus gave Xu a reason for writing down what he otherwise deemed extraneous information, while at the same time giving the reader a broader understanding of his personality.

Xu then gave some of this clothing to Gu Xing, before going ashore, where he was delighted to discover that Jingwen was still alive. Xu crossed the river to see him attempting on the way to retrieve the casket he had thrown in during the robbery. In fact Jingwen had already recovered from the water the casket, without the money, a cooking pot and some rice. JML then relates Jingwen's encounter with the robbers, in the course of which many items of Xu's luggage are revealed for the only time in the diaries, underlining the importance of books and manuscripts to Xu Xiake. Among the possessions lost were money and pottery, and Xu's leather case containing Zhang Zonglian's *Nancheng Xuji*, six volumes of the *Jingshan tie*

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[27] The Qiantang River is in Zhejiang province. There was a Zhaoqing Temple in Hangzhou. DMYTZ, vol. 5, p. 2714.

[28] XXKYJ 202. There are several references over the next days to Ai Xingke, a merchant who had been on the boat with Xu, as being missing, though the diaries do not reveal Ai's fate until Xu's meeting with Ai's mother twelve days after the robbery. She told him that her son's body had been found two days earlier in the river some ten *li* downstream from the spot where the robbery had taken place. Ai's mother had gone to see the body: as she stroked it and began crying, blood had suddenly spurted out from her son's eyes all over her (XXKYJ 207).

(poems written for his mother), four volumes of Yunnan records, three volumes of Cao Xuequan's writings and ten volumes of *youji.* [29] From Xu's leather case, the robbers took various letters of introduction written by Chen Jiru for Xu to present to a variety of people, including two monks residing on Mount Chickenfoot, and officials through whose territory Xu was due to pass. [30] Among the retained possessions were Jingwen's sutra and the contents of Xu's bamboo book-case, including his own writings and those of Wen Zhenmeng, Huang Daozhou and Qian Qianyi.

Following the robbery, Xu returned to Hengzhou to seek funding for his onward journey, asking Jin Xiangfu, whom he had met during his first stay in the town, whether Jin could obtain funding from his employer, Zhu Changying the seventh son of Emperor Shenzong. [31] Jin, after reporting that Zhu had no money to give, suggested that Xu should go home to find more money. Xu countered by expressing his determination to "complete his great desire to go west" (*liao xifang dayuan*), and explaining that he was afraid to go home because his family would try to persuade him not to go away again, "I had no desire to change my desire to carry on." Jingwen also became involved in Hengzhou in attempting to sort out the financial problems, informing Xu of Jin Xiangfu's desire to buy fields for a temple. Jingwen suggested that Jin could instead advance the money to Xu, who, on return home, would then build the temple, erecting a stele to include the names of all the donors. This was agreed.

Before leaving Hengzhou again, Xu attended the funeral of Ai Xingke, the merchant who had disappeared after the robbery, writing a moving description of the service where he composed two lines of verse which reduced his audience to tears.

> Together on the edge of the world we faced trouble
> How can the one who lives face the dead? (XXKYJ 207)

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[29] See above for details of *Nancheng Xuji* and *Jingshandie.* There is no explanation of the contents of the *youji.*

[30] XXKYJ 203.

[31] Xu had spent twelve days in Hengzhou prior to leaving on his ill-fated trip. During this time he had already made acquaintance with several local literati (XXKYJ 194-200). See ZHR 225 for an explanation of the background of Zhu Changying.

Tongxingben contains no mention of Ai Xingke and merely records that Xu obtained funds to carry on his journey.

The events surrounding Xu's robbery, as outlined in JML, apart from constituting the single most dramatic episode in Xu's diaries, are valuable for a number of reasons. JML not only provides an inventory of Xu's travelling possessions, but also his estimation of what he valued, his concern for the lost objects balanced up against the injuries suffered by his companions. The longer account of the robbery also contains an abundance of literary references, evidence perhaps of Xu having the opportunity on his return to Hengzhou for a careful consideration of the events. Xu's attempts to find money in Hengzhou in order to continue his travels followed the pattern for such matters established at the start of his journey to southwest China, a pattern that would be repeated subsequently in his diaries.

Perhaps the most illuminating aspect of the new material to be found in JML is Xu's attitude to Jingwen. Much of the narrative of the robbery is concerned with presenting the monk's actions in a favourable light, and thus absolving him of the blame and calumny bestowed on him by some of the other merchants on the boat. Thus, when Jingwen went ashore to investigate the source of the crying, Xu stressed the strength of the monk's adherence to his religious convictions, and, when one of the merchants, accused Jingwen of having conspired with the robbers, Xu listed Jingwen's injuries and all the objects he recovered from the wreckage of the boat and the riverbed, commenting, "The robbers had shown some pity to the monk, but this character was even worse than them. How contemptible some people are." In all, Xu's comments on Jingwen's actions reveal a greater compassion for his companions than is to be found in *Tongxingben.* Further evidence of this compassion will now be presented by detailing more of the new material concerning Jingwen to be found in JML.

Jingwen

Tongxingben cuts out many references to Gu Xing, Jingwen and Xu's intellectual acquaintances. Apart from the role he played in the course of the robbery, JML contains further information about Jingwen elsewhere. At one stage of the journey, Jingwen fell off a hired horse (XXKYJ 363). Later on while on a boat for Nanning, Jingwen's fatal illness was named as dysentery (*li*): Xu also noted that Jingwen

stayed dirty for fear of polluting the river, and, because of the resulting smell, was ignored by the others on the boat (XXKYJ 445). Shortly afterwards, in Nanning, Xu discussed the state of Jingwen and, aware that the monk was about to die, installed him at the Songshan temple, gave him some provisions and the temple monks some money to provide for his care, and departed on a circular expedition that was to last more than two months (XXKYJ 451-2). *Tongxingben* merely states that Xu left Jingwen at the Songshan temple and went on a boat towards Taiping (WYW 2.64).

On his return to Nanning, *Tongxingben* records Jingwen's death and his dying wish for his bones to be taken to Mount Chickenfoot, but has no other details (WYW 2.85). JML reports Xu's altercations with the Songshan monks who had kept the money left by Xu for the care of Jingwen, as well as their collusion with a local innkeeper. At first, the monks tried to prevent Xu taking his companion's possessions and, more importantly for Xu, Jingwen's remains. One of them put on a villainous expression (*zuo daozei miankong*), before asking Xu how he could disturb Jingwen's peaceful grave, going on to say, "You say I killed Jingwen, I regret not having killed you." Eventually, Xu was successful in extracting Jingwen's bones along with his clothes and sutras (XXKYJ 531-3).

It is evident from the diaries that Xu considered Jingwen, an educated monk, to be closer to his own intellect and interests than Gu Xing.[32] In contrast to the undramatic manner in which Gu Xing was introduced, Jingwen appeared right at the start of his journey to the south-west, as a "travelling companion" (*tongxingzhe*) (XXKYJ 93). Although, like Gu Xing, Jingwen was frequently ordered (*ling*) or even forced (*qiang*) to do something, he was more of a participant than Gu. In Guilin, for example, Jingwen was allowed an active role when, together with Xu, he looked at the scenery (XXKYJ 325), while Gu's role, when he accompanied Xu Xiake into caves or up mountains, was merely that of a porter, carrying equipment or food. Jingwen was even allowed to answer back on one occasion, when he and Xu stumbled along a muddy road in pouring rain, cursing each other (XXKYJ 262).

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[32] Xu does not however give any information on Jingwen's life. The postscript to Xu Xiake's poems about Jingwen, "A Brief Outline of Jingwen's Life", explains that, prior to his journey with Xu, Jingwen had been a Chan monk for twenty years and was a disciple of the monk Lianhua from the Yingfu Temple in Jiangyin. "Brief Outline", XXKYJ 1154. Lianzhou had accompanied Xu on a visit to Mount Tiantai in 1613, a trip recorded in Xu's first extant travel diary, see XXKYJ 1-2.

In fact, in the latter part of Xu's journey, as recorded in *Tongxingben,* there was already ample evidence of Xu's affection for Jingwen. Although there is no mention in the diaries of the process of transporting the casket containing Jingwen's remains, there are signs in the diaries that Xu was discussing Jingwen with the people he met in the course of his travels. In the town of Jinning in Yunnan, Xu mentioned an essay written by Tang Dalai entitled "Account of the Burial of Jingwen's Bones" (XXKYJ 761). Around three weeks later Jin Gongzhi and Ruan Yuwan both wrote poems entitled "Poem to Accompany Jingwen's Bones" (*Song Jingwen Gu Shi*) (XXKYJ 786 and 788). [33] Xu also wrote a series of poems in Jingwen's honour, the introduction to which reads:

> The Buddhist monk, Jing Wen, and I, having sworn allegiance to the great mountains, came ten thousand *li* on pilgrimage here to Mount Chickenfoot. Unable to recover from an illness, he took lodging at the Songshan Temple in Nanning. Not long after, a parting became *adieu.* The pain of life and death will be seen in these lines. [34]

These six poems reveal Xu's tender feelings for a friend whose love of the landscape matched his own. The first poem ends:

> Looking westwards we had a life and death pledge to go to the mountains.
> Now gazing eastwards alone, to carry on brings pain.
> At home we said that few could climb on high,
> Now with the soul broken at the end of the world, I can only look alone. [35]

The additional details in JML help to give a fuller picture of Xu's relationship with Jingwen, explaining why Xu was prepared to carry the monk's remains for such a long period of time and why he should praise him so lavishly in verse.

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[33] Unfortunately none of these works has survived. Tang's essay, having been written before the burial of Jingwen, is likely to have been an account of Jingwen's life and death and Xu's carrying of his remains.

[34] "Ku Jingwen Chanlü" (Tears for my Chan companion, Jingwen) XXKYJ 1153-4.

[35] The last two lines echo two Tang poems, the first by Wang Wei (701-761), written when he was seventeen and away from home, in which he lamented not being able to accompany his brothers on a mountain-climbing expedition "Jiu ri jiu yue yi shandong xiongdi" (On the ninth day of the ninth month, I remember my brothers east of the mountains), the second by Song Zhiwen (a.656-712 AD) which contains the line, "Looking at the mountains, I feel my soul about to break (*kan shan yu duan hun*), "Jiangting wan wang' (By a riverside pavilion, I look out late in the evening). QTS vol. 1, pp. 299-300 and 158.

Divinations

Mention of Xu's divinations were all removed from the *Tongxingben*. The result of this is that a considerable amount of useful information is concealed, especially about Xu's deliberations over which route he should take. The first mention of divination in the diaries came when relatives of Ai Xingke told Xu they had consulted diviners in their search to find the whereabouts of Ai's corpse. Impressed by this, Xu asked which route he should take on his journey west. He had considered making a detour northwards to another relative living on the north bank of the Yangtse River in order to ask for money but was worried about the time it would take to get there. He also asked which of the potential benefactors in Hengzhou was most likely to give him money. For the first part the answer he received was to go west towards Guangxi, while for the second part there was no clear answer. In spite of this partial success, he declared himself all the more impressed with the perspicacity of the divinity (*yi qinfu shen jian*), suggesting that the first answer was the one he wished to hear (XXKYJ 207).

Subsequent divinations help to give an understanding of Xu's progress through southwest China. While he was away from Nanning, where he had left the ailing Jingwen, for example, Xu Xiake consulted a diviner while considering his route west towards Yunnan. Had he taken one of the possible short cuts, he would not have gone back to Nanning to sort out Jingwen's affairs (XXKYJ 488-9). On his return to Nanning, although aware of Jingwen's request to be buried on Mount Chickenfoot, Xu was at first undecided at first which way to go, worried about the delays that would result from carrying Jingwen's remains. After again consulting a diviner, he decided to take the monk's remains (XXKYJ 531-2).

The other divinations recorded in the diaries generally concerned his future route. The two Xu held in Nanning following Jingwen's death both told him to carry the monk's remains (XXKYJ 531, see also 580, 599 and 735 [ie this last example is in *Tongxingben*]). On one occasion, Xu wished to find out about the character of some people with whom he was travelling - the divination said they were alright (XXKYJ 565). [36]

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[36] See also Zhou, p. 185, for details of Xu's divinations.

Style

JML contains more descriptions of the beauty of the landscape of southwest China. The various passages cited above give some idea of the extra flavour added to a perception of the diaries by the discovery of JML. In particular, the karst scenery is recorded accurately and with great aesthetic sensitivity, enhancing Xu's reputation as both geographer and traveller. [37] The longer Zhejiang diary, (now occupying some eighteen pages against less than six pages of the Wang Yunwu edition of *Tongxingben*), is notable for Xu's elegant and effusive diction, with several passages of great lyrical beauty, reflecting Xu's desire for a harmonious blending with Nature.

Towards the end of a day spent visiting caves at the important Daoist peak, Mount Jinhua, Xu recorded his feelings when he and Jingwen reached a mountain peak:

> We reached the summit as the sun was sinking into the abyss, just in time to see it alighting on a shimmering strip of water below, which I think must have been a creek spurring off to the west of the Qu River. As the evening sun went down, the light was maintained by a clear moon, and all of nature was still, the sky awash with blue, as if one's bones had been cleansed in a jade pot[38] I could feel our two bodies and shadows had both undergone change: when I thought back to the mediocrity of the lower world, who else had experienced this clear light?
>
> Even if others climbed towers and let out screams of delight (*shuxiao*)[39], or supped wine by the riverside (*shi jiu lin jiang*) [40], if they saw our solitary ascent of the peaks of ten thousand mountains to a place where the paths end and the roads cease, and we are completely beyond the mortal world, they would see it was a true paradise. I was not frightened by the crowds of mountain spirits and strange beasts hemming me in, let alone the unmoving silence for I was wandering with the Great Void (*Taixu*). [41] I wandered around for a long time, before descending two li to Pan Rock. (XXKYJ 103-4)

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[37] For two examples of such descriptions, see XXKYJ 96 and 240.

[38] A jade pot is a Daoist symbol of purity, used here also to refer to the Western Jade Pot Stream (Xi Yu Hu Shui) located on the mountain. Li Bai wrote a poem, "Yuhu Yin", QTS , Vol. 1, p. 391.

[39] The phrase *shuxiao* can be found in Tao Yuanming's poem, "Guiqulai" (Return Home), in the line, "I climb the eastern hill to let a cry of delight" (*deng dong gao yi shuxiao*), *Tao Yuanming Quanji*, p. 285.

[40] The line *shi jiu lin jiang* comes from the same Su Shi poem referred to by Xu during the account of the robbery and, like the Tao Yuanming allusion above, is followed in the next line by a reference to the writing of poetry. Su Shi, "Qian Chibi Fu", *Gujin Guanzhi Xinbian*, pp. 892-7.

[41] For *Taixu*, see *Zhuangzi*, p. 758. Somone who is not questioning "will never rise higher than Mount Kunlun, never in the Ultimate Void". Translation by A.C. Graham, *Chuang-tzu: The Inner Chapters* (London: Unwin, 1986), p. 163. Knechtges defines *Taixu* as "the undifferentiated state of the Tao prior to the emergence of concrete forms." Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, Vol. 2, p. 244.

This is a passage, like Xu's account of the River Xiang robbery, replete with literary references, drawing on the works of a wide range of poets, including Tao Yuanming, who, as the next chapter will show, was a major influence on Xu's writing. Later on in Zhejiang, after a day spent on a boat, Xu wrote:

> With the river clear and the moon bright, and the sky a void (*shuitian yikong*) [42], I could feel all my multitudinous cares cleansed and I became fused with the trees of the village and the smoke of human life, forming a piece of crystal: there were no gaps in my skin, all the dregs were gone and everything in front of me was flying and leaping. (XXKYJ 109)

These passages contain many of the concerns prevalent in Xu's diaries, above all the desire to achieve peace and harmony in Nature and to further his own investigations. Later in this thesis the topos of ascending on high for the purpose of attaining the ultimate view over both a temporal and a spatial distance, and the metaphysical joy of the spectator at that moment, present in each of these extracts, will be examined.

Further examples can be found later in Xu's journey. During Xu's visit to Longyin Cave in Guilin, JML contains the sentence, "the spot was secluded but the construction was insipid not what I wanted to see (*di you er zhi ban, fei yusuo yu guan ye*)" (XXKYJ 312). This comment on a man-made addition to the cave was omitted from *Tongxingben*, showing again how Xu's writing for a long time came to be devalued. Towards the end of the same entry, a descriptive phrase was not completely left out in *Tongxingben*, but severely truncated: describing a large stone pillar in the northern corner of the cave, JML has "curling up to the summit, as round as a wheel, suspended like an overturned lotus flower, its colour blue, its shape magical, how is it that creation produces such marvels (*he zaowu zhi she qi ruo ci ye*)" (XXKYJ 313), while *Tongxingben* has "curling up to the summit, its colour blue. its shape strange, how are such marvels produced? (*he she qi zhi ci*)" (WYW 2.19). *Tongxingben* thus reduces the descriptive element of the text, while also removing the reference to the agent of the natural beauty, creation. [43]

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[42] Soothill gives "Varuna" a Sanskrit term for "the heavens" for "*shuitian*". William Soothill *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, 1937), p. 159.

[43] For another example of Xu's lyrical writing in his diary of his visit to Zhejiang, see XXKYJ 96, the sentence beginning *shanjian shi shuang*.

Allusions

There are many allusions in Xu's diaries: most of these are literary, while some are historical. Direct quotations are much rarer, certainly in contrast to other long travel diaries, notably the Song river diaries of Fan Chengda and Lu You. This is, no doubt, a reflection of the circumstances under which Xu travelled and wrote. Unlike the other authors whose progress was leisurely and who were able to work on their diaries after the event, Xu's longer journeys often read like field notes. He was more likely to include quotations while he was staying in comfortable urban surroundings, where, presumably, he had more free time to consult a wide possibility of literary material. For example, on his return to Hengzhou following the robbery, he was able to recall lines from poems by Wang Wei and Su Shi on mushrooms (XXKYJ 206).

Examples of "new" allusions in JML include one to Deng Ai (197-264), a general who made the hazardous journey from Gansu through the Min Mountains to Chengdu, the present-day provincial capital of Sichuan.

> Suddenly a flash of light through the mist revealed layered peaks and mountain gullies, darkly covered with trees; another flash of light allowed me to make out a flat bank beyond the mouths of the two valleys. I had an even stronger feeling that I would be able to get through, in the manner of Deng Ai's journey to Yinping, by scrambling down gullies, rolling down cliffs and using all my skills. However, my hands were quite bare, there was no opportunity to bind them up with felt. [44]

Tongxingben omits a whole section of colourful language, leaving the following:

> Suddenly a flash of light through the mist revealed layered peaks and mountain gullies, darkly covered with trees; I could also make out a flat bank beyond the mouths of the two valleys. I felt even more that I could pass through. Before long, I went precipitously down a bank reaching a dried-up ravine. (WYW *juan* 2. 98)

During his time in western Guangxi, Xu Xiake dreamt one night of a wall collapsing on him and considered turning back (XXKYJ 485). Subsequently he referred to the dream again in the form of an allusion from the *Zuo Zhuan* (Tradition of Zuo) of a bad dream coming true (*yaomeng shi jian*) (XXKYJ 488 and

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[44] XXKYJ 181. For an explanation of this allusion, see ZHR 207. For this section of the chapter, I used *Changyong Diangu Cidian* (Dictionary of Common Allusions), Xu Chengzhi et al, eds. (Shanghai: Cishu, 1990). Hereafter, Allusions Dictionary.

489).[45] Other "new" allusions in JML include two stories by Ge Hong (283-344) about seekers of Daoist immortality, one about a filial son who told his mother of the miraculous healing properties of the leaves of the orange tree (XXKYJ 255), the other about a shepherd who could transform rocks into goats (XXKYJ 594) and two references to the Analects, firstly on an occasion when there was not enough daylight left and Xu felt unable to carry out tasks thoroughly (*sheng tang ru shi*) (XXKYJ 286, Analects 11.15), and, secondly, a direct reference to Confucius's disciple, Zilu, seeking accommodation (XXKYJ 518, Analects 18.7.).[46] These allusions found in JML, while not as crucial to the narrative as the dream reference from the *Zuo Zhuan,* all help to add literary polish to Xu's text.

There are many allusions elsewhere in the diaries, ranging from simply alluding to Confucius saying that he did not like to speak of strange things (XXKYJ 697, Analects 7.21), to the use of "tilling the clouds and herding the rocks" (*gengyun qiaoshi*) to symbolise a place suitable for reclusion, from the *Han Shu* (XXKYJ 721, Allusions Dictionary, pp. 224-5), "startled by the sound of the wind blowing and the crane calling" (*feng he jing xin*) to symbolise a sudden shock, from the *Jin Shu* (XXKYJ 727, Allusions Dictionary, pp. 80-1) and a reference to Yuan An (?-92 AD) who, during a snow storm in Luoyang, stayed in bed while others went out looking for food (XXKYJ 729, ZHR 772).[47]

Having examined some of the main differences between the JML and *Tongxingben* versions of the text of Xu Xiake's diaries, other aspects of his writing will now be considered. Firstly, his method of writing a daily diary, and secondly, the use of passages summarising a larger area, whether a region, a town or a mountain. While reference will continue to be made to the two different versions of the text, from now on the study will revert, for the most part, to being concerned with the overall picture, based on XXKYJ ie JML.

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[45] Neither Xu's dream, nor his two uses of this allusion, is in *Tongxingben.* For the relevant section, see WYW 2.77-8. For the original setting of the phrase *yaomeng shi jian,* see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* Vol. 5, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen.* pp. 163-8.

[46] Additionally, the allusion to Yin Hongqiao, mentioned in chapter two of this work, was omitted from *Tongxingben.* Some allusions survived in *Tongxingben,* see Xu's use of "beautiful region" (*zhe jing*) XXKYJ 385, WYW 2.43 which can be found in *Shishuo Xinyu juanxia zhixia* 11b.

[47] See also Xu's references to the Dream of Mount Luofu (*Luofu meng*), meaning thinking of plum trees (XXKYJ 787 and 1149, Allusions Dictionary, pp. 291-2) and "riding a crane" (*jiahe*) representing the attainment of immortality, from a Du Fu poem, (XXKYJ 797, Allusions Dictionary, pp. 64-6).

Methodology/Structure

The present text of Xu Xiake's diaries has more than 600,000 characters, of which the early trips to famous mountains constitute 50,000 and the journey to southwest China well over 500,000 characters. [48] The length of Xu's diaries and some of the daily entries reveal his love of writing. The popular myth surrounding his method of writing arose from romantic descriptions in contemporary biographies, which played on the image of the sensitive man at one with Nature. Just after a section of his biography of Xu Xiake in which he emphasised Xu's animal-like qualities, "as nimble as an ape, as sturdy as an ox", Qian Qianyi wrote:

> After travelling for several hundred *li,* he would clamber up a broken rock to a withered tree and burn pines in order to gather together some tassels. He would then dash off a record of his journey, which was as good as a writing manual or a great work of art, something which even the greatest writers could not have improved. [49]

For much of his long journey, Xu did manage to write his diary entries on the day in question. Xu also recorded a number of occasions when he had to wait several days before finding an opportunity to write up his diary (XXKYJ 298, 302, 326, 647, 659, 672, 729, 744, 746, 1077, 1081, 1086 and 1112). On one such occasion, at a temple in Guizhou, he elaborated:

> Entering a hall to the rear, I went up to a clean table and, using the ink and paper I was carrying, proceeded to write up several days of my journey. The jumbled chaos of my lodging was no match for the cleanliness and seclusion of this place. The monk, Tanbo, was most solicitous, bringing me tea and snacks from time to time. In the afternoon, two big and two small elephants came by, stopping in front of the temple for a long time ... I was quite intoxicated in drafting my diary. (XXKYJ 657)

While the entries for the days when Xu noted he was writing up his diary were among the shortest in the diaries, because he was not moving, he would write substantial entries for the preceding days. The reader is not always aware of the

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[48] Chu Shaotang, in SSWH, p. 479.

[49] Qian Qianyi, XXKYJ 1199. Xu used the image of a monkey climbing and an ape dropping down and a leopard leaping to describe his own progress (XXKYJ 79 and 331, see also 358). He also taught Gu Xing to climb in the manner of a monkey (XXKYJ 334). In western Yunnan, Xu described how, unable to see either the sky above or the ground below, he walked alternately like a snake or an ape, following an old monk, "when the monk climbed, I climbed; when the monk swung down, I swung down; when the monk crawled along, I crawled along." (1054)

exact process of Xu's writing: in some of the more remote locations, one imagines he would have experienced great difficulty in writing up the day's events.

In his account of his time in southwest China, Xu Xiake recorded distances meticulously, as shown in the example above, where he noted distance eleven times in the course of one day's travelling. This contrasts with his early journeys to the mountains of northern China, when he also covered huge distances, yet did not record accurate details of distances. At the beginning of his journey to Mounts Song, Hua and Wudang in 1623, having referred to the constraints placed on his movements by the need to stay near his mother, Xu gave very basic details of his route, stating that he decided to go by land because travelling up the Yangtse River would be too slow. However, he gave no details of his journey, merely stating that he arrived in Henan after nineteen days. Xu's trips to the three mountains lasted just over six weeks, he then spent another twenty-four days in returning home from Mount Wudang (XXKYJ 39-55). Ten years later, on visiting Mounts Wutai and Heng in the north of Shanxi province, he began by saying that he left the capital reaching the foothills of Mount Wutai some six days later (XXKYJ 82). This was the case with some other early examples of longer travel diaries: Fan Chengda, for example, gave only approximate details of distances. [50] This is very different from the kind of detail given in his long trip, although the distance covered on the Shanxi trip is comparable with the distance covered in Yunnan.

Most of the diaries' daily entries start off with a brief description of the day's weather, the relevance of the weather being the relative ease with which Xu Xiake was able to travel through the landscape. This was also in the tradition established by earlier writers. Lu You's *Ru Shu Ji,* for example, has a comment on the weather for each entry. As noted in chapter one, many of the longer travel diaries followed the structure and language established by the Tang dynasty writer, Li Ao. [51]

On only a few occasions are days run together, generally when he has been staying in a town for a period of time so there is no particular progress to relate. In Jinning, he spent three days in the company of the local literati playing chess in the daytime and, in the evenings, "there was nothing for it but to get completely drunk" (XXKYJ 758). For three days on Mount Heng, the southern sacred mountain located in Hunan, the diary entry simply reads "Shangfeng", the name of the temple

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[50] Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 101.
[51] Ibid., p. 50 and above, pp. 28-9.

at which he was staying. [52] Fan Chengda's "Lan Pei Lu" (Register of Grasping the Carriage Reins), has nineteen entries for a journey covering around one hundred and fifty days, while his "Canluan Lu" records the events of all but two days of a journey of hundred and fifteen days. [53]

Summary passages

There are two types of summary passages in Xu Xiake's diaries. The first and more frequent category covers Xu's description of the various important sites in the environs of a place, such as a town or on a mountain, in which Xu had spent some time. In a town, the summary also included passages on recent local history, with close attention paid to the question of the use of indigenous rulers, the *tusi*, in southwest China, and prominent local personalities. The most important component of this category usually comprised the summarising of rivers and mountains. There are several such passages in Xu's Guangxi diary: some were in *Tongxingben* though much shorter. In Nandan, for example, *Tongxingben* omitted details of food and the mining of silver and tin (XXKYJ 608-12, WYW 2.107).

The second category is of broader overviews covering whole regions or provinces. There are some of these in the southwest, notably outlining the differences between the mountains seen in Guizhou, Guangxi and Yunnan. Some of these were present in the *Tongxingben* and there are some in the Guizhou and Yunnan diaries but, again, JML has added to our knowledge. The diary of Xu's short time in Guizhou has several such passages, (XXKYJ 631, 633 and 638-9), while in Yunnan, there are also a number (XXKYJ 708-711, 733-5, 743-4, 762-6, 805 and 889-90). Such passages often came at the end of a boat journey, when changes in the layout of the landscape emerged at a quicker pace than following a day's journey by foot. There is one such passage towards the end of Xu's visit to Hunan:

> Since Cold Water Bay (Lengshui Wan), the mountains and the sky had opened out, broadening the field of vision, while on either bank of the river water-eating rocks hove in and out of view, each one a sensual and visual feast. On entering the Qiyang region, the rocks took on a strange form and a shining appearance: as we passed through the region, they gradually presented a lofty form till by the time we had reached here (Xiangkou Guan), they seemed to surge out of the earth. On entering Xiangkou, the mass of towering

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[52] XXKYJ 189-90. These three days were omitted from earlier editions. WYW 2.103.

[53] Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 99-101.

interwoven cliffs was transformed into precipitous cliffs rearing up into the sky. (XXKYJ 267, minor differences in WYW 1.129)

The short summary contains precise information as well as Xu's aesthetic appraisal of the scene.

The best-known of all such passages comes near the beginning of Xu's account of his visit to Yunnan and concerns his stay in the town of Huangcaoba. After discussing the local indigenous rulers, the *tusi,* Xu went on to examine the border region between Yunnan and Guizhou, before assessing the various towns of eastern Yunnan through which he had passed, in terms of their relative attractiveness. He then distinguished the major features of the mountains of Guangxi, Guizhou and Yunnan in terms of their formation (that is whether they were predominantly earth or rock), their respective height and the flow of the water round their base (XXKYJ 711). Another example of the second category of summary concerned the scenery west of Nanning, and concentrated on the relative rockiness of the river and the riverbanks, before going on to make comparisons with other similar vistas including Yangshuo, also in Guangxi, and the Sanxia gorges on the Yangtse river. [54] *Tongxingben* retained Xu's basic information but JML has more description (XXKYJ 455-6, WYW 2.64-5).

The summarising passages, as presented in the Shanghai produced edition of JML range from a few lines to several pages. Some of the longer entries will be examined below. A good example of Xu's use of a pithy resumé of his exploits (absent from *Tongxingben,* see WYW 2.60 for the relevant day), can be seen at the end of Xu's stay in Yulin prefecture in Guangxi, when he enumerated and analysed the places and sites which he had visited over a period of sixteen days, including several *dongtian* (cave paradises) and the orientation of the local mountain ranges. Zhou points out that Xu's investigations enabled him to correct the erroneous legend that the three cave paradises near the town of Rongzhou were inter-connected. [55]

Examples of Xu's longer summary passages will now be examined. JML has an extended account of Xu's stay at Xiangwu in the west of Guangxi, during one of

[54] Xu's reference to the gorges is an example of a place for which he left no account of his visits, yet was able to use as a point of comparison. For another reference to Sanxia, see XXKYJ 269. Other places referred to by Xu, for which there is no account of a visit, include Mount Tai (XXKYJ 349, 481 and 827) and Mount Putuo (XXKYJ 1143).

[55] Zhou et al., pp. 171-2, XXKYJ 436-7. See chapter six for more on cave paradises and mountains.

the circular journeys undertaken when Jingwen was too ill to move and had remained behind in Nanning. On arriving in Xiangwu, Xu immediately sought help from the local officials. After writing poems and sending a letter of introduction from an official, Teng Zuochang, with whom he had stayed earlier in his journey, Xu was assisted by the town governor, Huang Shaolun, and an assistant, Zhou Wentao. He showed them letters from Huang Daozhou and Wen Zhenmeng, while they showed him an engraving marking Huang's official promotion. They played chess and ate and drank together. Xu's account of these days stresses the Confucian rectitude of his hosts, with phrases such as "upholding the rites" (*zhi li* [XXKYJ 494 and 495]) and other terms of appreciation, in contrast to the "cunning" (*jiao* [XXKYJ 496]) of the local *tusi*. Although in a hurry to continue his journey, he was persuaded to remain, staying in the end for sixteen days, during which time he rested and found time to visit seven caves. Xu was given food during his stay as well as money for his lodging and travelling expenses, enabling him to buy food and clothing for his onward journey. [56]

On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month, Xu's daily entry for his visit to Baigan Yan, a mountain northeast of the town, had a short passage of around fifty characters, recording Xu's journey from the town and who accompanied him (XXKYJ 498). In the later entry summarising the sites of the area, Baigan Yan was given a more substantial account, including a detailed description of Xu's visit and comparisons with other local beauty spots, before concluding with Baigan Yan being adjudged the most outstanding place in the area (XXKYJ 500-6). *Tongxingben* merely recorded Xu's meeting with Huang Shaolun on arrival at Xiangwu, noting that the two men were soon like old friends, and that Xu spent an enjoyable period of ten days eating (WYW 2.76). While most of the information about Xu's time in the town was excluded, *Tongxingben* did include passages describing the local caves (WYW 2.77-81).

Xu Xiake wrote two other long summary passages towards the end of his stay in Guangxi, at the towns of Sanlicheng and Qingyuan. JML has twenty daily entries for the fifty days Xu spent in Sanlicheng, followed by a lengthy summary (XXKYJ 539-556, of which the summary takes up 544-556). The summing up

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[56] XXKYJ 493-507, the daily entries running from p. 493 to 500, the summary from p. 500 to 507, in which Xu also recounted local disturbances, as he did many times during his journey to southwest China. His attitudes to these matters will be examined in chapter five.

passage round Sanlicheng combines narrative and reporting, the initial daily entries contain merely brief itineraries. *Tongxingben* has only seven daily entries for Sanlicheng, the summary appearing before the narrative (WYW 2.86-94 of which the summary takes up 87-93).

After spending twenty-three days in and around the town of Qingyuan in Guangxi, Xu wrote a long summary which begins with the town, before proceeding to discuss the local mountain range, the surrounding sites including a cave used as a refuge from bandits, and a poem by, and various legends about, Zhang Ziming, an official of the Southern Song who built an academy in the town. [57] Looking at one site more closely, the Xuehua Cave was mentioned briefly in the daily entry, before Xu expanded in the subsequent summary on what he experienced, comparing the taste of the cave's water favourably with the famous Hui springs (Huiquan) of Wuxi and reporting his feelings of the great numinosity of the cave as he spent the night (XXKYJ 564 and 588).

Xu's lengthy journeys to southwest China set his writings apart from the work of other late-Ming writers of travel diaries whose travel diaries were generally in the "minor works" (*xiaopin*) vein. However, although his surviving work is largely in diary form, Xu also wrote several short essays on various aspects of his travels. Apart from the two long essays on the Yangtse and Pan rivers, there are also a number of pieces on a surprisingly wide range of subjects, the most interesting being the extant fragments of the Mount Chickenfoot gazetteer. [58]

As was shown in the previous chapter, the text of Xu's essay on the Pan rivers is in some places drawn verbatim from his travel diary and there are many other instances where the wording is only slightly different. Along with the various summarising passages, many of them rediscovered in JML, Xu's essays serve as a

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[57] XXKYJ 564-581, for the visit, 581-592 for the summary. For details of Zhang Ziming who lived during the southern Song, see ZHR 613.

[58] The other pieces include "Dianzhong Huamu Ji" (Flowers and Trees of Yunnan), "Yongchang Zhilüe" (A Short Record of Yongchang), "Jin Teng Zhuyi Shuolüe" (A Short Discussion of the Various Yi people in the Tengyue Area), "Suibi erze" (Two Jottings), "Lijiang Jilüe" (Short Record of Lijiang), "Fawang Yuanqi" (Origins of the Dalai Lama) and "Shanzhong Yiqu Ba" (Colophon to "Untrammelled Interest in the Mountains") XXKYJ 1131-47. With the exception of the last named, these essays are not dated. It has been suggested that the essays about the Yangtse and Pan rivers were written during Xu's second stay at Mount Chickenfoot in 1639. This seems the likeliest explanation: both essays are full of factual information, requiring both time and a reasonable library for consultation. Tang and Yang, p. 270, Wang Chengzu, p. 188. Jiang Minghong lists five non-extant prose works by Xu Xiake referred to in the diaries. See Jiang Minghong "Xu Xiake de Shi yu Sanwen" in SSWH, p. 510.

pointer to writing he might have carried out had he lived longer on his return to Jiangyin from southwest China. A note by Chen Hong at the end of Xu's essay on the River Yangtse gives a clue to what Xu might have written. Chen wrote, "The original text of this *Investigation* has been lost. This text, which is incomplete, has been copied from the Feng records of this town. Formerly, it was said that the text was several tens of thousands of words long: what we have left today is only just over one thousand. Below the line in the text "Only half of the southern branch of the northern dragon enters the central plains, there is a note saying "There is more to say here" There must have been a lengthy passage which has been lost: what a pity" (XXKYJ 1129).

Xu also wrote a number of poems, some of them extempore works mentioned in the text of the diaries as having been presented to various acquaintances. Few of these were written down in the diaries. There are a number of poems included at the end of modern editions of the diaries touching on subjects such as the sites of Mount Chickenfoot, Jingwen's death and the mountain retreat of Xu's cousin outside Jiangyin. [59]

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[59] XXKYJ 1148-59. Jiang Minghong also lists Xu's poems mentioned in the diaries. Out of fifty-one poems, only four are even partly recorded, of which just one is recorded in its entirety. XXKYJ 550. Jiang Minghong, SSWH, pp. 508-510. See also Wan Jiaxuan, "Xu Xiake yiwen kao" in *Jinian lunji*, pp. 75-98.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the two main editions of Xu Xiake's diaries. In general, JML provides a much broader and more satisfactory picture of Xu's aims. It is worth noting here, however, that in some places, *Tongxingben* has textual details not in JML. Zhou Ningxia has pointed out such a passage, a lengthy description of a waterfall on Mount Magu in Jiangxi. He then goes on to demonstrate how the style of the longer passage in *Tongxingben* is consistent with Xu Xiake's writing elsewhere in the diaries, in the use of comparison, for example. [60] It is also worth noting another oddity of *Tongxingben,* the inclusion of a passage of more than one hundred characters, lifted directly from a diary of a visit to Mount Heng by Zhang Juzheng (1525-1582), a fact acknowledged in the Wang Yunwu edition of the text. The similarities in style show how much of the art of travel writing in the late-Ming was standardised, including Zhang's use of groups of descriptive four-character phrases, in a very similar way to Xu Xiake. [61]

Taken as a whole, however, the version of Xu Xiake's journey provided by JML is in many ways more satisfactory than the *Tongxingben.* The extracts from JML examined in this chapter display this in a variety of ways. The extra material about the robbery, apart from increasing our factual knowledge of Xu's life, also gives considerable additional insight into Xu Xiake's motivation and determination to carry out his ambitions, as well as affording glimpses of his approach to the practical problems of travel and displaying a sophisticated grasp of narrative style.

Xu Xiake's early travel diaries were close in style to the short pieces produced by many of his friends and contemporaries in the late-Ming, and are noticeably more polished than some of his writing in the southwest. Xu's method for working on these diaries was discussed in a letter written to him by one of his friends, Wen Zhenmeng:

> When you take up your staff and put on your shoes this year, which places will you visit? Your former expeditions can already be considered amongst the greatest undertaken. You have already arranged your records and notes (so that they can) guide future travellers and be transmitted to future generations for a thousand years. [62]

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[60] XXKYJ 127-8. WYW 1.76-7. Zhou, "Li Jieli", p. 91.

[61] WYW 1. 103. The full text of Zhang's visit, "You Hengshan Ji" (Trip to Mount Heng), can be seen in GJTSJC, vol.24, p. 628. For a translation, see Strassberg, pp. 292-5. For Xu Xiake's use of four-character phrases, see the following chapter.

[62] Wen Zhenmeng, "Ji Xu Xiake Shu" (Letter to Xu Xiake) XXKYJ 1183. Wu Yingshou dates the letter as 1636, the year of Wen's death, before Xu's departure to the southwest. Wu Yingshou,

In his summary passages, many of which were omitted from, or retained in greatly reduced form in, *Tongxingben,* Xu showed he was also capable of writing in an altogether different style, similar to the synoptic approach used by Wang Shixing in the summarising passages of his *Wuyue Youcao*. Both men relied on personal observation, and strove to extend the boundaries of knowledge and eradicate the mistakes found in existing geographical works. Wang, in his accounts of trips to famous sites, generally eschewed the recording of daily progress through the landscape, often adopting instead the more adventurous style of a conversation between the traveller and a knowledgeable local. [63]

This chapter has also shown how Xu Xiake, when he had enough time to write a record of his travels, could produce work as accomplished as anything achieved by earlier masters of the genre, such as Liu Zongyuan, Fan Chengda or Su Shi. The next chapter will highlight some of the regular literary citations which underpin Xu's diaries and look in greater detail at his linguistic style.

Daodu, p. 2. Wen Zhenmeng, who was a member of the Donglin academy, was one of those wrote a poem in honour of Xu Xiake's mother (XXKYJ 1242).

[63] For Wang's use of this style, see his "Diancang Shan Ji" (Trip to Mount Diancang), in Wang Shixing, pp. 144-7. See Chapter One for a short discussion of the works of Xie Zhaozhe and Cao Xuequan, whose style and methodology also provide grounds for comparison with Xu's summary passages.

Chapter four

The coveting of strangeness

The second chapter of this work presented the outline of Xu Xiake's life and focused on the sheer scale of his achievements, particularly in his journey to southwest China. This chapter will look at the way in which Xu described what he saw and the attitudes and emotions revealed in his use of language. Xu's diaries are based on a precise narrative framework, recording the details of his physical progress through a living landscape, along with his metaphysical search for the sublime. An examination of the language of Xu's diaries will reveal how he was able to combine objective and subjective approaches to the writing of travel diaries, thus refuting the categorisation of the genre into a clear-cut dichotomy of objective and subjective writing. Xu Xiake was an explorer but he was also a travel writer, who wished to describe both "the spirit and the texture" (*shenli*) of what he saw. *Shenli,* which first appeared in a poem by Xie Lingyun, in the line "the way proceeds through spiritual reason (*dao yi shenli chao*)", was a term used by Xu Xiake during his visit to Mount Wutai and Mount Heng, as a way of seeking to explain his attempts to capture the essence of the scenery. [1] This chapter will show how Xu's language is a reflection of his desire to portray an overall appreciation of the landscape.

Valuable work in recording Xu's language has already been carried out, notably in Liang Xiuhong's thesis where he records Xu's use of a variety of rhetorical devices including reduplication, and personification.[2] This chapter will touch on some of these matters and will also examine a number of other aspects of Xu's language: his vocabulary for contemplation and movement, for investigation, and, finally, for the sublime, the search for and description of which lie at the centre of his work. The notion of landscape as a living organism, which underpins Xu's approach to travel, will be referred to, especially the importance of the idea of a scene (*jing*). These

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[1] XXKYJ 87 and 88. "Spirit and texture" is Li Chi's translation. Li Chi, *Hsü Hsia-k'o*, p. 179. Jacques Dars gives "nature et structure." Dars, p. 250. The late-Ming painter, Zhao Zuo (1570?-1633), wrote that trees and rocks "need to be drawn with *li.*" Quoted in Yoko Woodson, "The Sung-chiang (Yun-chien) Painters, 1: Sung Hsu and His Followers." In *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period,* edited by James Cahill, (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971), pp. 75-89, here p. 77. Xie Lingyun, "Cong you jingkou bei zhou Ying zhao", in *Han, Wei, Liu Chao Baisan Mingjia Ji* (Anthology of One Hundred and Three Great Writers of the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties), edited by Zhang Pu (1602-1641) (Taibei: Xinxing Shuju, 1963) Vol. 3. p. 2049.

[2] Liang Xiuhong, pp. 113-120.

discussions will prepare for the next chapter which will deal with Xu's visits to mountains and caves.

This chapter will look at Xu Xiake's use of language in order to show that he wrote firmly in the tradition of the travel writer's vibrant diction, and, by so doing, refute the charges of literary dullness which have been levelled at him. References will be made to the work of earlier travel writers and to the most important contemporary writers on geographical matters, Yuan Hongdao, who wrote many travel diaries and poems, mostly about short trips to well-known sites, and, to a lesser extent, Wang Shixing who wrote both short travel accounts and longer, more comprehensive and reflective geographical pieces.

This chapter will look at some of the vocabulary of movement used by Xu to describe his passage through the landscape in an accurate, precise way. Xu was concerned with movement and vision above all else: the language he employed to describe these two processes involved a progress that was as much mental as it was physical, each step bringing a new vista and new emotions. Xu's attempt to express the mental process of travel led to the employment of a highly sensuous vocabulary, based on the long-established tradition of Nature poetry as well as the vocabulary of the travel diary. Like Liu Zongyuan, Xu sought ultimately to achieve a fusion of the physical scene with human feelings. Firstly, the most important term for the act of travel will be examined.

You

The history of the various terms used in China to describe the act of travel reveals a succession of changing attitudes. As Ganza points out, the title of Jiang Shaoyuan's work on travel in ancient China contains the word *lüxing,* whose *locus classicus* in the Book of Rites suggests a purposeful journey, conducted by more than one person. [3] Such journeys, as was shown in Chapter One of this work, were marked by a sense of fear and awe. *You,* on the other hand, can apply both to mountain excursions and shaman-like aerial journeys, that is to both real and spiritual journeys. *You,* moreover, implied the idea of an excursion or ramble. In Zhuangzi's "Xiaoyao you" (Free and

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[3] Ganza, p. 2. For the contrast between *lüxing* and *you,* see Ganza, p. 2. Definition of *lüxing* from *Ciyuan*, p. 753. See p. 18 for reference to Jiang Shaoyuan. Xu did not use *lüxing* in his diaries. On one occasion, he used the compound *xingyi* to impart a sense of lassitude on his part at having to carry out his duty (XXKYJ 729). *Xingyi* first appeared in a poem about a young man lamenting his absence from his family, entitled "Zhihu" in the "Wei feng" section of the *Shi Jing*. See *Mao Shi,* Vol. 2, *juan* 5.2. 5a. See also Tao Yuanming's second poem of the pair "Gengzisui wuyue zhong cong du huan zufeng yu Guilin er shou", the first line of which reads, "Of old, all have sighed at the carrying out of distant duties (*zi gu tan xingyi*)", *Tao Yuanming Ji,* p. 115. As Marion Eggert has noted, GJTSJC contains separate sections, *xinglübu* and *youbu*. Eggert, p. 2.

Easy Wandering), for example, travel is presented as liberation from the unnatural constraints of society and Nature as the abode of the immortals. [4] *You* is also cognate with the verb *you* meaning "to swim, float". [5] Burton Watson wrote of Zhuangzi's use of the metaphor of a free purposeless journey, an enlightened wandering by means of which man strives to became as one with Nature. [6] Similarly, Stephen Owen wrote that the verb *you* "strongly implies a freedom and an absence of motive." [7]

As the travel diary evolved and became the recording of the act of *you,* so it provided an alternative outlet to poetry's role as the expression of the most powerful human emotions, involving a search for a transcendent state above normal emotion. It was this notion of travel representing freedom and the recounting of its process in a lyrical form that was to inspire Xu Xiake. Eric Leed called this notion "indeterminate wandering", a manifestation of freedom from necessity. [8]

By the Tang dynasty, the travel diary had become an established literary genre, best seen in the lyrical, reflective writing of Liu Zongyuan. The essential characteristic of such works was, "the incorporation of individual poetic vision within a narrative framework derived from historical discourse." [9] The criteria for the type of journeying which could lead to the lyrical depiction of scenery were outlined by Pan Lei, at the start of his preface to Xu's diaries:

> Literary men of great understanding often like to speak of travel. However, it is not easy to say what travel is. Without the breadth of mind to go beyond the mortal world, it is not possible to appreciate landscape; without the physique to traverse the scenic [10], it is not possible to seek out the remote and secluded; without many years of leisure, it is not possible for a man's nature to be classified as free and easy. Without all these, when travelling near to home, you will not be extensive: by travelling in a slight way you will not find the remarkable; if you travel in convenient places, you will not find pleasure; if you travel in a group, you will not be away for long. If you do not

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[4] Paul Demiéville, "La Montagne dans l'art littéraire Chinois." *France-Asie/Asia* 183 (1965): 7-32. For more on this see chapter six.

[5] Eggert, p. 2.

[6] Watson's introduction to Zhuangzi can be found in *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu.* Translated by Burton Watson. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 6.

[7] Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 203.

[8] Leed, pp. 12-3.

[9] Strassberg, p. 12.

[10] The phrase 'traverse the scenic" (*jisheng*) is originally found in the "Qiyi" (Living in Retirement) section of the *Shishuo Xinyu,* where Xu Xun, who was fond of travelling in mountains, was described by his contemporaries in the following way, "He not only has superb feelings: he really has the equipment for traversing the scenic." *Shishuo xinyu, juan xia zhi shang*, 14a. Translation by Richard Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Taibei: Confucius Publishing Co, 1979), p. 136. Xu Xiake, after expounding an elaborate plan for carving a way through a mountain in order to provide a means of visiting scenic spots, used *jisheng* to mean the practical solution to a difficult problem, (XXKYJ 389).

> place your body outside worldly matters, abandon daily affairs and carry out your goal alone, then although you will be travelling, it will not be real travelling. [11]

Conscious decisions were required by an individual before a voyage could be undertaken: once the physical process of travel had begun, and assuming the traveller possessed a mind open to the unusual and the mystical, combined with physical ability, then "real travelling" could also commence. For Xu Xiake, the vital change in his circumstances came with the death of his mother, he had covered large distances before, but always within a certain time-scale. By the time he left for Yunnan, he had no conflicting commitments, and could proceed, most often on foot, with unlimited time at his disposal.

You appears throughout Xu Xiake's diaries. It could sum up scenery through which Xu had passed: "of all the cliffs I had climbed during my wanderings in the West" (XXKYJ 482), or describe an accompanied visit or excursion, for example, around the sites of Mount Chickenfoot (XXKYJ 1119, for other accompanied trips see 498, 909, 1028 and 1034). On one occasion, Xu wrote of preparing "equipment for wandering" (*youju*) (XXKYJ 419).

Xu's diaries contain compounds in which *you* forms the first component: on Mount Chickenfoot, he wrote that in spite of not having any human companionship, he felt he was "wandering at will with numinous spirits" (*shen yu haoling tongqi youyan er yi*) (XXKYJ 856). Xu Xiake also employed several *you* compounds in which the first component reinforced the idea of *you* as a spontaneous, mystical action: these include "wandering at will" (*langyou*), "impromptu travelling" (*zanyou*) and "wandering in the clouds" (*yunyou*) (XXKYJ 180, 320 and 824). Wu Guohua reported Xu as using "wandering in the heavens" (*tianyou*) to describe his own actions:

> Formerly when I wandered through the heavens, my body belonged to the mountains and rivers, and I was able to understand the processes of life and death (*ke liao cang zhou wei tui zhi yuan*). Now according to divine law, my body belongs to my parents and I must fulfil my duty to return home. [12]

Xu's words here echo Wang Shixing's own preface to *Wuyue Youcao,* in which he describes three kinds of travel: "heavenly travel" (*tianyou*), which involves "boundless roaming" (*hanman*) in the Outer Heavens, "spiritual travel" (*shenyou*)

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[11] XXKYJ 1268.

[12] XXKYJ 1188. The terms *cang zhou* and *wei tui,* literally "storing a boat" and "casting off skins", both come from the *Zhuangzi*. See *Zhuangzi,* pp. 243 and 739.

like the Yellow Emperor going to the magical kingdom of Huaxu and "travel among humans" (*renyou*), such as Shang Zichang's wanderings around the Sacred Mountains and Xie Youyu's residing in the hills and gullies. [13]

Xu also wrote of his travelling as "boundless roaming" (*hanman*), again conveying a Daoist-like sense of free and easy travelling. On unexpectedly finding a waterfall, he wrote, "Suddenly, in the midst of my roamings, to have this vision was a remarkable occurrence (*hu yuci dedu, yi hanmanzhong yiqiyu ye*)" (XXKYJ 607), using *hanman* as a way of conveying the vastness of his journey. He also used *hanman* in one of his poems on Mount Lesser Fragrance near Jiangyin, "I have always been inclined towards a life of boundless roaming', as well as in the preface for these poems. [14]

Xu's wanderings involved movement and observation, culminating in a process of observation that was as much metaphysical contemplation as mere physical watching, implying a musing on the past and gazing into both a physical and historical distance. There are a number of terms in Xu's diaries which describe such musings, most often based on the verb *ping* which on its own had a meaning of "to lean". The various compounds used by Xu included "leaning on the void" (*pingxu*) (XXKYJ 366), "leaning on the past" (*pingdiao*) (XXKYJ 302), "leaning into the distance" (*pingyuan*) (XXKYJ 599), "climbing high to look into the distance" (*pingtiao*) (XXKYJ 939) and "leaning and grasping" (*pinglan*) (XXKYJ 550 and 896). [15] The leaning could also involve imaginary buildings: "I leant out towards jasper mansions" (*ping lin qiongge*) (XXKYJ 1055). [16]

The notion of musing on the past could be expressed in more oblique ways. Xu's use of a rhetorical shorthand can be seen in several phrases for wandering to and

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[13] Wang Shixing, "Zixu", *Wuyue Youcao*, p. 27. Shang Zichang, who was usually known by the name Xiang Ziping, went off to wander in the sacred mountains after his children had married and left home, and was never heard of again, see *Houhan Shu*, Vol. 5, *juan* 83, pp. 2758-9. Xiang Ziping also appears in Chen Hanhui's tomb essay for Xu Xiake (XXKYJ 1194) and Zhang Juzheng's account of his visit to Mount Heng, see Zhang Juzheng, "You Hengshan Ji", p. 628. Xie Youyu, better known as Xie Kun, fled to the mountains during the Jin dynasty *Jin Shu, juan* 49, pp. 1377-9.

[14] "Zuizhong mange" (Free lines composed whilst drunk) (XXKYJ 1150), "Ti Xiaoxiang Shan Meihua Tang Shi wushou" (Preface to Five poems Dedicated to Plum Blossom Hall on Mount Lesser Fragrance), XXKYJ 1148-9. Chen Hanhui used *hanman* to describe Xu's travels (XXKYJ 1190). *Hanman* also appears in a poem written for Xu by Huang Daozhou, in the title of a poem written by Tang Dalai and in an introduction to the diaries by Zhao Yi (1727-1824), written in 1808 (XXKYJ 1161, 1176 and 1279). For the locus classicus of *hanman*, see *Huainanzi*, *juan* 2 9a. Liu An. *Huainanzi* annotated by Gao You, (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965).

[15] Xu also used *lan* on its own to suggest a physical approach to the act of viewing scenery "I grasped the beauty of the scenery" (*yu lan shanshui zhi sheng*) (XXKYJ 256) "I did not go back deep into the cave but grasped its structure from the front." (*bu fu shenru, lan dong qian xingshi*) (XXKYJ 915).

[16] The question of the interconnection between ascent and contemplation will be further examined in chapter six of this work.

fro. These phrases convey not just moving or standing and looking but also imply a process of reflection and a sense of purpose. The most common of these is *paihuai,* examples of Xu's use of which include "I wandered round looking in all directions" (XXKYJ 252), "when first I wandered round" (XXKYJ 709) and "I wandered round unable to leave" (XXKYJ 800: see also 104, 120, 293, 789 and 924). [17] Other phrases which appear in the diaries, all with the same meaning, are *changyang*, in Hengzhou, after the robbery, "I wandered round for a long time, no longer aware of the trouble I was in" (XXKYJ 206, see also 418 and 592), *xiyi* (XXKYJ 64, 215, 599, 672, 729 and 839) and *panghuang* (XXKYJ 22, 107, 125, 158 and 390).

While these terms generally implied Xu's interest in uninterrupted contemplation, they sometimes referred to the more sensuous aspect of his journey, particularly if there was an auspicious combination of height and depth or mountains and water. On a boat from Yangshuo travelling back to Guilin, Xu passed a cliff covered in caves, with clouds above and water below, which he described as "a remarkable beauty spot, where it was possible to lean on the void and haul in the distant" (*pingkong cheyuan zhi yishengdi ye*). [18] Similarly, while staying in Guilin, he sat with Jingwen by a window of the Northern Lattice Window Temple. He wrote how they "grasped the myriad peaks outside and peeped at the grottoes within" (*wai lan qunfeng, nei kan dongfu*) (XXKYJ 301).

Only rarely did Xu Xiake feel the need to allude directly to personal enjoyment of his contemplation of the landscape. In a cave in Yunnan, he wrote of "gazing in rapture for a long time" (*guanwan ji jiu*) (XXKYJ 923). More often he would just sit. In Yangshuo he sat in a cave for a long time, looking in various directions around him, again implying that he was engaged in contemplation (XXKYJ 331). Even by writing simply, "I sat there a long time" (*zuojiu zhi*), or "a long time" (*jiuzhi*), Xu was able to suggest that some musing had taken place (XXKYJ 226 and 119). Xu underlined his need for this kind of contemplation on occasions when his intentions were thwarted: when a fierce wind on a mountain top in the eastern Yunnan prevented his enjoyment, he wrote "I was unable to take my rest and enjoy the scene in a leisurely way" (XXKYJ 717). It was not essential for the place in question to be well-known: Xu regularly fell back on these expressions in the undiscovered places of southwest China which had fewer historical associations than the wider-known places he had visited in Eastern China.

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[17] *Paihuai* was used regularly in lyrical travel diaries, appearing in Liu Zongyuan's "Yongzhou Liu zhongcheng zuo Matui shan maoting ji", *Liu Hedong Ji, juan* 27.4a and in a poem, written by Zhang Ziming, cited by Xu during a visit to the Twin Door Cave near the town of Qingyuan in Guangxi. "When travellers come here, they wander up and down together" (XXKYJ 584).

[18] XXKYJ 341. For other combination of rocks and water, see XXKYJ 257, 578 and 585.

Xu Xiake's Sensuous Language

On numerous occasions, the conclusion of Xu's progress through scenery, in both the early and later diaries, was marked by an intense physical experience, as he sought to achieve the fusion of the human self with Nature displayed in the travel diaries of Liu Zongyuan. The importance of the lyrical travel diary created by Liu lay in his vocabulary and literary style and in his creation of scenes (*jing*). James Hargett has looked at Liu's "Flatiron Pond", to show the pattern established by Liu of an introduction, containing a brief description of the setting, followed by precise description of the landscape. The author's reaction is then recorded: his admiration for the beauty of the scenery and finally a conclusion. Liu also made extensive use of parallelism, particularly in his descriptive passages. [19] For Liu, the fusion of author and scene was paramount:

> The scene chilled my spirit and froze my bones. I became hushed, melancholy and remote. The scene was far too quiet to linger long, so I wrote this down and departed.[20]

Similarly, in another of the Yongzhou pieces, "Shide Xishanyan youji" (My First Excursion to West Mountain), Liu wrote, "I happily rambled along with the Creator-of-Things ... My mind was frozen and I lost all sense of my body, feeling at one with everything." [21] Chen Yangu has contrasted Liu Zongyuan's approach to travel writing with that of Xu Xiake, claiming that the former passed from emotion (*qing*) to reason (*li*), while Xu passed in the opposite direction from *li* to *qing*. [22] Certainly, Xu was more interested than Liu in the gathering of information, but this chapter will show how emotion was at the centre of all Xu's writing.

From his earliest recorded expeditions, there are many examples in Xu Xiake's diaries of overwhelming emotional responses to the wonders of Nature. In his first extant diary, which records his trip to Mount Tiantai in 1613, Xu was "thunderstruck from head to toe" (*mao gu ju song*), while crossing the Natural Bridge (XXKYJ 3). Xu used the same expression twenty-five years later to describe his feelings on

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[19] Hargett, *On the Road,* pp. 21-24. Such a pattern can also be discerned in another of the "Eight Records of Yongzhou" entitled "Zhi Xiaoqiuxi Xiao Shitan Ji" (To the Little Rock Pond West of the Little Hill). See *Liu Hedong Ji* , *juan* 29 4b-5a. Translation by Strassberg, p. 144. Xu Xiake used the phrase *haoqi* from this piece to suggest ecstatic communion with Nature (XXKYJ 588).

[20] Strassberg, p. 144.

[21] Liu Zongyuan, 'Shide Xishan Yanyou Ji', *Liu Hedong Ji, juan* 29 2b-3a. Translation by Strassberg, p. 142.

[22] Chen Yangu, "Du 'Chuyou Riji' tan Xu Xiake lüyou xinli sixiang." (A discussion of Xu Xiake's travel mentality based on a reading of his 'Chu travel diary') in *Qiangu qiren*, pp. 81-5.

looking over the side of a natural bridge in the west of Yunnan, in a passage containing a reference to Mount Tiantai (XXKYJ 933). [23]

In Xu's descriptions of such feelings, both his physical body and his senses were affected, both separately and together: his bones were "shaken" (*songgu*) and "chilled" (*qingu*) (XXKYJ 15 and 999), while his spirit was terrified (*shensong*) and his "soul was in terror" (*hunji*) (XXKYJ 651 and 778). [24] His "bones and soul were terror-struck" (*gu yi ju song*), his "spirit and bones went cold" (*shen gu ju leng*) his "spirit and bones trembled" (*shen gu ju song)* and his "spirit and bones were awakened" (*shen gu ju xing*) (XXKYJ 18, 57, 628 and 725). The terror endured by Xu on these occasions was clearly, at least in part, a pleasurable experience: for example, in one of the passages quoted above, Xu noted the sudden appearance of a beam of light as he passed through a cave. He came to the conclusion that "the terrors of the bright places do not do not match the bravery [required in] the darkness" (XXKYJ 778). In other words, for Xu the thrill of exploration lay in finding and successfully passing through the most difficult surroundings.

Xu's spirit was often affected at the same time as his senses: "my heart was dazzled and my eyes terrified" (*xinmu xuanbu*), "my heart was terrified and my eyes dazzled" (*xinbu muxuan*), "my heart and eyes were quite dazzled" (*xinmu ju xuan*), "alarmed my heart and hurt my eyes" (*haixin tongmu),* "my eyes were dazzled and my very essence shaken" (*muxuan jingyao*), "the bright coolness brightened up my heart and my eyes" (*qingling ying ren xinmu*), "my eyes were dazzled my heart terrified" (*muxuan xinhai*), "wrapped up my heart and dazzled my eyes" (*piying xinmu*) and "cheered the heart and pleased the eyes" (*shuangxin kuaimu*) (XXKYJ 8, 28, 296, 320, 503, 835, 902, 1003 and 1094). Sometimes, it was just the eyes: "passed through my eyes to become (a scene to be) enjoyed" (*she mu cheng shang),* [25] "dazzling splendours filled the pupils of my eyes" (*mi li ying mou*) (XXKYJ 320). Elsewhere, it was just his heart or spirit: "my heart filled with anxiety" (*xin xuanxuan*) and "my spirit moved and my intentions changed" (*shenyi zhiyi*) (XXKYJ both 797). At other times, various senses were affected at the same time: "my eyes and ears were driven wild with delight" (*er mu wei zhi kuangxi*) (XXKYJ 25) and the scene "cleansed the thoughts and lifted the spirits" (*dilü yishen*) (XXKYJ 320).

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[23] Similar terms were used by Ma Ge (fl. ca. 1224-1239) in his record of a trip to Mount Long in Shanxi. He wrote "my hair stood on end and I felt chilled to my bones" (*mao gu sen jian*). For text see GDYJX, Vol.2 pp. 22-31. Translation by Strassberg, p. 247.

[24] In order to capture the essential meaning of individual words, the translations in this section are deliberately literal.

[25] XXKYJ 4. This echoes a line from Tao Yuanming's poem, "Guiqulai" (Return Home) "I find interest in my garden every day (*Yuan ri she yi chengqu*)." *Tao Yuanming Ji*, p. 284.

Elsewhere, the elements, the sights and smells of the landscape assailed Xu. On Mount Huang, he described how, "By the side of the stream I was assailed by fragrance" (*xibian xiangqi xiren*) (XXKYJ 17), while, ascending Mount Jindou in Fujian, he wrote, "The lofty pines and lush grass mysteriously assailed the sleeves of my robe" (*qiaosong yancao youxi renju*) (XXKYJ 56) and, in Henan on the way to Mount Song, "I was seduced by the elegance of their beautiful hues" (*xiuse juanjuan meiren*) [26]

Yifu Tuan noted that the Chinese literati, after moving southwards during the period of disunity following the collapse of the later Han dynasty, sought out the familiar smells of the north, rather than the exotic smells of the sub-tropical south, during their journeys through the new regions. Tuan wrote, "Fragrance evoked mild pleasure and wistful melancholy rather than joy." [27] By the time of Xu Xiake's travels, the effect of these natural elements on the traveller ranged from melancholy to a terrible, yet pleasurable, fear. In Guilin, Xu sat down to look at newly-opened lotus flowers, that were full of a dark fragrance and abundant colours (XXKYJ 314); in Guizhou, he saw fields full of bright red poppies, their fragrance as abundant as immortal medicine (*danyao*) (XXKYJ 636); while in eastern Yunnan, Xu wrote:

> At the front of the courtyard was a flowering cassia tree whose mysterious fragrance floated all round, filling up the distant hills and valleys. Previously when I had passed through the valley and circled the ridge I had marvelled at its scent, thinking it to be heavenly fragrance descending in the distance, never imagining it was produced by blossom. The sweet-smelling cassia and the colourful chrysanthemums made me think about this secluded region and I regretted there was no monk with whom I could share it. (XXKYJ 731)

A variety of natural phenomena contributed to the creation of such sensuous experiences: "At this time, as the north wind [blew on] the dancing springs, causing ripples to soar up into the void, both the sounds and shadows were remarkable" (XXKYJ 120); "the sound of the stream and the hue of the mountain created an other-worldly combination of sound and light" (XXKYJ 142). On each of these occasions, Xu wandered around, unable to depart. Yu Guangzhong quotes from Wang Zhi's (1135-1189) visit to Mount Donglin in Zhejiang as an example of a travel diary in which visual, auditory and olfactory experiences are combined. Wang describes how the fragrance of the leaves and blossom of a lotus plant carried by the wind lingered in

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[26] XXKYJ 39. A similar passage can be found in Ma Ge's account of his trip to Mount Long, "Aromatic fragrances entered my nostrils, suffused from a distance and quite delightful. Creepers and pine needles clung to my clothes." Translation by Strassberg, p. 247. For Chinese text, see GDYJX, Vol. 2, p. 23.

[27] Tuan, *Passing Strange,* p. 61.

the air for a long time. Yu shows how, in Wang's diary, the natural world responds to the wind just as the human presence responds to the scene and the attendant weather.[28] Xu recorded the combination of human emotions, the landscape and the natural elements while on an outing north of Dali with a local literatus, He Mingfeng, who, although not particularly skilled at literature, was an accomplished musician:

> He Mingfeng walked towards the wind carrying the *qin* so that the wind harmonised with the strings, making a mournful sound. It is true that the landscape's tunes derive from Nature (*shanshui zhi diao, gengchu ziran ye*).[29]

Xu Xiake's use of Movement and the Language of Dynamism

Yu Guangzhong emphasised the crucial importance of motion in the travel diary, writing "The best way to describe a scene is in fact to narrate it", the aim being to bring motion into the description. [30] From his earliest extant diary, recording his first visit to Mount Tiantai, Xu Xiake was prepared to plunge into the landscape and, anxious to put his exuberance into words, describe his experiences in personal, physical terms, "I leapt bare-footed into the luxuriant grass, grasping (*rou*) onto trees and scrambling up the hillside" (XXKYJ 2).

Xu's use of *rou,* a verb with a meaning of rubbing or caressing, to describe his ascent up the side of the mountain, is typical of his language throughout the diaries, both to describe his own actions and as a way of personifying the landscape. On his second trip to Mount Huang, Xu was again enraptured by what he saw, wanting "to call out wildly and almost break into a dance" (*ling ren kuang jiao yu wu*) (XXKYJ 32). Xu's sensuous language covered both his own actions and the actions of Nature. At Mount Wuyi in Fujian, he wrote of "elbowing the clouds and threading between the rocks" (*pai yun chuan shi*). [31] In the west of Yunnan, Xu used a sequence of highly sensual verbs to describe a singular landscape:

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[28] Yu Guangzhong "The Sensuous Art of the Chinese Landscape Journal" Translated by Yang Qinghua. *Renditions* 19-20 (Spring-Autumn 1983): 23-40. For the Chinese text of Wang Zhi's diary, "You Donglin Shanshui Ji" (Diary of a Trip to Mount Donglin), see GDYJX, vol. 1, pp. 266-70.

[29] XXKYJ 908. The ideas contained in this passage are echoed in an essay by Tu Long (1542-1605), in which he suggested that the *qin* should be played, "in the midst of pine woods and rustling streams, for all three are sounds of nature, it is fitting that they should be grouped together." Quoted in Li Wai-Yee, pp. 281-2.

[30] Yu Guangzhong, "Sensuous Art", 25.

[31] XXKYJ 19. Translation from Li Chi, p. 90. The term *paiyun* comes from a poem by Xu Yin (fl. c. 873 AD) on Mount Hua, entitled "Xihua". See QTS, Vol. 2, p. 1789.

> Both the east and west cliffs which were wedged together with only a narrow crack in between, rubbed the clouds and squeezed the sun (*mo yun jia ri*), while in a stream below could be seen thickets of bamboo and water bubbling over rocks (*meng jing fei shi*). The road wound upwards, struggling up the bank and grabbing hold of the cliff (*ao bi zhi ya*), as it parted the jagged rocks to the north. For three *li,* as I turned down in a westerly direction, the form of the rocks became ever steeper and more conjoined (XXKYJ 962).

In Xu's diaries, there are many occasions when he described with great precision his progress through a landscape. Elsewhere, he alternated between narration and description, the absence of personal pronouns, characteristic of the Chinese language, producing a sense of ambiguity and adding to the process of building towards a climactic description of timeless beauty. In Guizhou, he wrote:

> Followed the mountain path to the northeast and entered a bamboo thicket: towering trees and layered cliffs, above and below mysterious, crossed (*chuan*) crags and penetrated (*tou*) the azure, as if in another world. It was like this for five *li,* then the cliff to the west sloped down from the summit falling to great depths to create a valley, in the middle of which was a marsh of still water, dark and deep blue. Slid (*xian*) into the water from the base of the rocks, but there was no ebb or flow: it was a truly ancient secluded pool, hidden in the valleys of a myriad mountains.

The verbs *chuan, tou* and *xian* are all repeated in the next few lines, their respective subjects again ambiguous (XXKYJ 636-7). The verbs of movement here contrast with the stillness of a remote marsh.

This type of writing has been examined by Li Jianmin, who has written of Xu using the technique of depicting "subjective feelings operating within changes in the writing by means of a hidden flowing." The emotions of the traveller changed as he progressed along the path in front of him, while the language moved between description of the progress of the advancing traveller and the wonders of the scenery. Li has written of Xu combining an objective use of a multitude of viewpoints with a subjective use of emotion filtered through his ambivalent use of language, leading to a diversity of subjective attitudes. The vistas revealed in Xu Xiake's diaries evolve through a flowing process, combining the movements of both man and the elements of the landscape, from clouds to mountains. Li gives the example of Xu's second visit to Mount Huang, when he wrote, "The peaks which had previously been covered with clouds gradually emerged only to fall slowly away below my staff" (XXKYJ 30). Xu did not write of his own motion in this sentence, his shifting position is seen merely in terms of the surrounding scenery.[32]

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[32] Li Jianmin, "Xu Xiake Youji de dongtai miaoxie xitong" (The Dynamic System of Description in the Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake), in <u>Qiangu Qiren</u>, pp. 128-133, quotation from p. 130.

Xu's approach was rooted in the approach of the artist with the idea of studying the scene from as many angles as possible. In his diaries, Xu Xiake expressed this through the precise representation of his movements through the landscape in order to see alternative views and thus achieve his desire of achieving totality of vision.

***Yi bu* (Every Step)**

The idea of the view changing with every step appears frequently in Xu's early diaries: on his first visit to Mount Huang in 1616, for example, he wrote:

> Looking round in every direction, every step brought new strangeness, but the thick snow in the deep valley brought fear at every step (*fukui zhangu, bubu shengqi, dan huoshen xuehou, yi bu yi song*). (XXKYJ 16)

During his visit to Nine Carp Lake in Fujian, Xu wrote, "with each step the shape changes" (*yi bu huan xing*) (XXKYJ 33). Other examples include "with each step I twisted round to look" (*yi bu yi zhuan tiao*) (XXKYJ 350) "with each step I turned round" (*bu bu hui shou*) (XXKYJ 666) "at each step, I turned my head round" (*yi bu yi hui shou*) (XXKYJ 771) "with each step I turned round to look" (*yi bu yi hui tiao*) (XXKYJ 831) "with each step forward, there was another twist" (*yi bu ta zhuan*) (XXKYJ 856). Each step brought a new vista: "the slightest movement meant that I could no longer get a glimpse" (*shao zhuan bu ji bu ke kui*) (XXKYJ 288) and "each twist brought an even more beautiful scene" (*mi zhuan mi sheng*) (XXKYJ 320).

Xu Xiake, who was constantly in a hurry, contrasted his own movement with the immobility of his companions. On his second trip to Mount Huang, he did stop for a while to let the others catch up, but he felt drawn on by the marvellous scenery and continued the ascent by himself.[33] The idea of capturing the essence of movement was not a new idea, as can be seen by looking at the words of the Northern Song artist, Guo Xi (c.1020-a.1090) who wrote, in an essay on landscape painting, "The change of appearance caused by the varying degree of distance from the object is

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[33] XXKYJ 30. Li Jianmin, pp. 132-3. In Xu's accounts of his early trips, his enthusiasm and fearlessness often led to companions being left behind, while Xu advanced by himself or with just one of his servants (XXKYJ 2, 9 and 35). Xu also went on ahead by himself on many occasions during his journey to southwest China, a result at least in part of the illnesses and injuries suffered by his companions, Jingwen and Gu Xing (XXKYJ 405, 492, 593 and 803). On one such occasion, in western Yunnan, he became very frustrated, having to sit and wait every time he reached another summit, "I was unable to prevent myself worrying, fearing, furthermore, that it would be like this for a long time ahead" (XXKYJ 807).

figuratively known as "the change of shape with every step one takes (*shanxing bubu yi*)." [34]

The world of painting was also relevant to other aspects of Xu Xiake's approach to Nature, and, in particular, the desire to achieve totality. His quest for exhaustive investigation will be examined below. Dong Qichang wrote on this matter, "If on a mountain top, one should chance to see an unusual tree, one should approach it from four different angles." [35] Xu used this idea of four sides in a variety of expressions, particularly in his early diaries, when he was high up and would write of there being "mountains on all sides" (*sishan*). On his second trip to Mount Yandang in 1632, he wrote, "I was truly in the midst of the mountains" (*shen zai sishanzhong ye*) (XXKYJ 76), while, near Tengyue, he used *sishan* to describe the effect of looking all round from the summit of a mountain: "On all sides the mountains displayed their bluey-green colours" (XXKYJ 983, for *sishan* see also 2, 8, 19, 56, 152, 273, 276 and 1042).

Eyes and feet

For Xu Xiake, travel involved vision and movement, a combination he expressed in terms of eyes and feet. At Nine Carp Lake, he was unable to advance, captivated by the beauty of the scenery "all day long, my eyes could not budge and my feet would not advance" (*mu buneng yi, zu buneng qianzhe jingri*). The advancement through the scene, so important for Xu, had been halted and he could not explore each and every nuance of the landscape (*buke yi jing qiong ye*) (XXKYJ 36). Similarly, while crossing rugged terrain at Mount Song he felt he "could neither move forward nor stop" (*wulun buneng xing, qie buneng zhi*) and that it was "not possible for my eyes to look to one side nor for my feet to seek respite" (*wu mu bushi pangshun, wu zu burong qiuxi ye*) (XXKYJ 42). At Guilin, again faced with a rocky terrain, he wrote: "I could not escape the fact that while my eyes were faced with a surfeit of vision, at the same time my feet could not move" (XXKYJ 288).

The two abilities were interdependent, the one requiring the other to produce the full aesthetic experience. "All I have achieved", he wrote to Chen Jiru, "is what I have picked out with my eyes and examined on foot" (XXKYJ 1147). Wang Siren

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[34] Kuo Hsi, *An Essay on Landscape Painting,* Translated by Shio Sakanishi (London: John Murray, 1935), p.37. For Guo Xi's original text entitled *Linquan Gaozhi*, see SKQS. vol. 812.571-593. The first line of a poem by Meng Jiao (751-814), reads, "With first one step and then another I depart on my travels (*Yi bu fu yi bu chu xing*)" "You fangkou", QTS vol 1 p. 935.

[35] Translation from Ju-hsi Chou, "The cycle of Fang: Tung Ch'i-chang's Mimetic Cult and its Legacy", in *Wenlin II: Studies in the Chinese Humanities.* Ed. Chow Tse-tsung (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 1989), pp. 243-276, for this quotation, see p. 255.

also wrote of the importance of both the visual and the physical for enjoying the world at large and not just within the confines of a city, saying he related his travel experiences, so that, "the gentlemen can share knowledge of (Nature's) greatness, and their eyes and feet may not be obstructed by dust". [36]

Investigation

Hans Frankel has made the point that during the Tang dynasty, a poet need not have visited the site about which he wrote, asserting that the journeys were spiritual rather than accurate records of real events. [37] By the late-Ming, this was no longer the case and, as Jonathan Chaves wrote, literature "should reflect the concrete reality of an actual place". [38] Accounts of journeys were, for the most part, based in reality and, for Xu Xiake, there was a need for a wide range of vocabulary for investigating and reporting. The many verbs used by Xu to describe his investigations will now be examined. Such verbs appear with great regularity in Xu's later diaries, when his concern for exploration existed alongside his long-standing love of the landscape, in the depiction of which he utilised the vocabulary of travel diaries of both the late-Ming and earlier generations.

Xu used a wide range of mono- and disyllabic investigative words, many of which retained a powerful sense of the exploration of the mysterious. The most common of all the investigative verbs by Xu, both with a meaning of "to inquire after, search out" were *tan* (XXKYJ 283, 301, 321, 322 and many others) and *suo* (XXKYJ 521, 552 567, 610 and many others), used together as in the modern compound *tansuo* on only one occasion (XXKYJ 245). Other mono-syllabic verbs included "to ask" (*xun*) (XXKYJ 432, 436, 824, 826 etc), "to investigate" (*shen*) (XXKYJ 797, 1006 and 1050), "to inquire about" (*xun*) (XXKYJ 432, 454, 466, 817 etc), "to seek out" (*xun*) (XXKYJ 253, 310, 323, 350 and many others) and "to inquire" (*zheng*) (XXKYJ 665, 839, 1053 and 1124).

There are in Xu's writing general words for investigating and a group which is used to convey the notion of thoroughly exhausting the scenery in all of its aspects. The most commonly used of these words is *qiong*, used particularly for the exploration of caves (XXKYJ 376). In Yongchang, Xu laughed at the ease with

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[36] Quoted in Eggert, p. 9.

[37] Hans H. Frankel, "The Contemplation of the Past in T'ang Poetry." In *Perspectives on the T'ang*, edited by Arthur F Wright and Dennis Twitchett, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 345-365, here p. 361.

[38] Jonathan Chaves, "The Panoply of Images: A Reconsideration of the Literary Theory of the Kung-an School." In *Theories of the Arts in China*, edited by Susan Bush and Christian Murck. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 341-364, quotation from p. 357.

which he was able to exhaust a cave (XXKYJ 1030). It is the verb used by Xu at the beginning of his essay on the source of the Pan rivers in eastern Yunnan, and also in the main text of his diaries concerning the same subject (XXKYJ 1122 and 729). Similar words to *qiong* are used to convey a sense of exhausting the possibilities including *ji* which he used to convey a "thorough investigation of the wonders of the secluded mysteries" (*ji youxuan zhi miao*) (XXKYJ 241), and *jin* as in "to see all of the scenery" (*jin ci sheng*) (XXKYJ 549) and "to exhaust the mysteries" (*jin qi aoli*) (XXKYJ 583) and *jing* as in "quite unable to ascertain the slightest inkling" (*buneng jing qi duanni*) (XXKYJ 983).

A more unusual word for "investigate" was *sou* which Xu used on its own and in a number of compounds. Its origin lies in the "Autumn Floods" (*Qiushui*) chapter of *Zhuangzi,* which discusses vastness and provides the *locus classicus* for many of Xu's phrases suggesting his own image of his travels, as well as a number of allusions for Tang Dalai's poem about Xu, included in Chapter Two. As a separate word, *sou* was used most often to convey thoroughness (XXKYJ 166, 417, 553 and 583). Compounds include "to make an exhaustive search" (*souti*), used sometimes to mean a purely physical investigation (XXKYJ 585) or a comprehensive search "to examine every root and corner" (*sougen ti'ao*) (XXKYJ 983), but on other occasions to suggest a broader, quasi-spiritual search, for "strange secrets" (*qimi*) or "dark mysteries" (*youao*) (XXKYJ 240 and 914). [39] Xu also used *sou* in conjunction with "strange" (*qi*) (XXKYJ 330) "to inspect" (*lan*) (XXKYJ 386) and "to visit' (*fang*) (XXKYJ 1119). Other disyllabic words for investigation included *wuse* (XXKYJ 664, 842, 1053, 1108 and 1117) and *mosuo* (XXKYJ 365, 417 473 481 567).

There were words which could suggest both looking and investigating. During his stay in Lijiang, when Xu reported the refusal of his request to visit the town of Zhongdian, he uses, for him, an unusual word for seeing the frontier region, "to sneak a look at" (*chan*), implying a certain furtiveness in his intentions (XXKYJ 876). Investigating was part of Xu's compulsive need for exploring the landscape as thoroughly as possible. Chen Jiru wrote, "On hearing of something strange he felt compelled to go and investigate. On seeing a narrow pass, he felt compelled to go through it" (XXKYJ 1235).

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[39] *Souti* first appeared in an essay by Liu Zongyuan, "Lingling santing ji" (The Three Pavilions of Lingling), in *Liu Hedong Ji, juan* 27 7a-8b.

Verbs of vision

It was vision, however, that lay at the core of Xu's exploratory travelling for other senses lose their effectiveness more quickly with distance, until only sight still informs. As Yi-fu Tuan wrote, "The visual is widely considered *the* aesthetic experience." [40] The importance of vision for Xu is seen in the wide-ranging vocabulary he used to describe the process. This vocabulary will be now first be examined before it is shown how Xu combined it with the language of movement in search of the sublime.

The Chinese language has a great richness of verbs for the act of vision, involving varying angles of direction of the look, gaze or stare, as well as specific verbs for near and distant vision. A huge variety of these were utilised by Xu Xiake with great exactness, as can be seen in an extract from Xu's trip to Guangxi:

> I gazed into the distance and looked at what was close at hand (*yaokan jinshi*), the all-encompassing view beyond the cliff is strange, the twists within the cliff wondrous, truly a fantastic scene. (XXKYJ 357)

As with the verbs which describe the act of wandering around, a sense of contemplation is often implied, especially when the verb of vision is contained within a grouping of four character phrases. Xu used both mono- and disyllabic verbs: "to gaze" (*wang*) (XXKYJ 96, 156 286 and many others), the monosyllabic verbs often preceded by either "to lower the head" (*fu*) or its antonym "to raise the head" (*yang*) (XXKYJ 179). Disyllabic verbs of vision include "to look closely from on high" (*zhantiao*) (XXKYJ 179, 661 and 794) and "to examine closely (*dishi*) (XXKYJ 294 and 567). *Dishi* in particular implied a sense of aesthetic appreciation, the first example being upsetting for Xu in his quest for holistic investigation:

> The guide was in a hurry to move on, but I made him stay so I could have a close look (*qiang liu dishi*). For everything I observed, I had to neglect something else. (XXKYJ 294)

Xu's concern with vision is underlined by the number of times he expressed frustration with any obstacles to his gaining of a total view. In Guizhou he wrote of his frustration at being unable to look northwards towards the source of the Pan River, because there was always a peak in the way. After climbing the peak, he found there was mist all around, "Thus it is that the sources of Nature prevent us from making

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[40] Yi-fu Tuan, *Passing Strange*, p. 166.

observations" (XXKYJ 660). The ultimate goal was a joining together of the near and far, the close at hand and the distant. [41]

If one sense could not provide him with direction or solutions, Xu relied on the others. He regularly described hearing water without seeing it (XXKYJ 77, 191, 515, 612, 664, 702, 703, 712, 796, 938, 964 and 1029). On his first trip to Mount Yandang, he wrote:

> However, in this mysterious valley cut off from the outside world, all I could hear was the sound of burbling water, the source of which I could not detect. (XXKYJ 9)

Xu sometimes heard the water before he saw it: sometimes he never saw the water, prevented by inclement weather or a physical obstruction. On one occasion, unable to look down through dense undergrowth, he could just hear water pounding the void and thundering in the valleys (XXKYJ 160), while, a few days later, in a thick mist he had to rely on vague bamboo shadows and the sounds of a bubbling stream and the barking of dogs (XXKYJ 167).

Active verbs

A longer passage full of verbs depicting both action and vision will now be examined, an account of a trip by Xu Xiake, in the company of a monk, to see Dragon Cave at Mount Fugai in Fujian:

> Fourth day: I braved the rain to visit Dragon Cave. With my monk-guide, I hacked at the trees in order to open up a path, and we scrambled upwards over some rugged scree.
>
> The thick swirling mist, jabbing brambles and the bushes and rocks encaging the slopes were as grotesque and treacherous as weird demons. Passing through the thickets and penetrating the narrow gorges, the more remote and secluded parts were all the more cunningly deceptive, concealing their dangerous steepness, while the tall bare parts were all the more steep and dangerous withholding their (true) height. It was like this for two *li* until, glancing beneath the trees, I spied a steep rock rising up in their midst, with to the right a narrow cliff standing just a foot away, matching it from top to bottom, just like what is known as "a thread of sky". I did not know whether there was any way through to the summit. I lit up a lamp, put a cage round it and crawled into a gap, which was narrow and steep, just like the other thread of sky, it was just that while the top of the outer one was open and bright, the top of this one was closed in and dark.
>
> When I first entered, there were one or two gaps at the join but as I went further in, it became completely black. Below, water flowed over the sand, wetting my feet but level. In the middle of the path, like a tongue sticking up, a rock rose up in the narrow gulch: only about three feet high, its two sides hugged the wall of the cave. My shoulders were bound in by the cave while my chest was right up against the rock, so that it was only with great difficulty that we could clamber up and step onto it in order to cross over it.

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[41] See "far and near shone together" (*yuan jin jiao ying*) and (*yuan jin yinghe*) XXKYJ 340 and 257.

> As we went further in, the space between the two sides of the cave became even narrower, with no room for our shoulders, so we went in sideways. Again a rock blocked the end of the ravine, but this one was twice as high as the previous one. I could not ascend, but the monk hauled me up by the hand. Once he had climbed he could not get down the other side, until he had taken off his robe and contorted himself for a long time. I was still standing still facing sideways on top of the rock, until by also taking my robe off and exerting a huge effort, and with the monk supporting me from the rock below, I was able to enter.
>
> Inside, the wall extended sufficiently for me to be advance with shoulders square-on: the water was now wider and deeper, forming what is known as a "Dragon Pool". I raised my head up and squinted, but it was too high for me to be able to see the top: moreover, a stone dragon hung directly down from the precipice at the end of the narrow wall. The rocks in the cave were all ochre-coloured, except for this one which was pure white, its coarse veins having worn away into dragon scales, giving it the air of a dragon.
>
> I raised the lamp wick in order to have a good look round before leaving the cave. Where the rocks had formed a narrow defile, it was pressing down from above and awkward from below. When we had entered, we had hung from the top and let ourselves drop, the terrain being particularly helpful. As we came out we went sideways from below in order to get out, with both our chests and backs jammed up against the two sides, and again unable even to bend our knees. With the rough rocks piercing our skin, and us unable to hang onto anything behind or grasp onto anything in front, every time a person was brought through, it was done in such haste that he stuck even faster and one was almost afraid that he had become one with the rock. Eventually, we emerged and felt as happy as if we had been given a new life, the mountain mists and vapours suddenly cleared and we felt as if we could climb up into the very heavens. (XXKYJ 62-3)

The verbs of motion and action in this passage are, "to climb" (*pan* and *shang*), "to pass through" (*chuan*), "to penetrate" (*tou*), "to crawl" (*pufu*), "to enter" (*ru*), "to step on or ascend" (*jian*), "to cross" (*yu*), "to incline or prostrate oneself" (*ce*), "to enter" (*jin*), "to pull up" (*yuan*), "to twist and turn" (*wanzhuan*), "to make an effort" (*fenli*), "to reach" (*de*), "to support under the arm" (*yi*), "to suspend" (*xuan*), "to fall down" (*zhui*), "to stretch out" (*qushen*), "to cross" (*du*), and "to ascend" (*ji* and *deng*). The verbs of looking are "to glance at" (*ni*), "to see" (*jian*), "to look at" (*di*), "to gaze at" (*wang*) and "to look at" (*shi*). These verbs of looking sometimes have a direction verb used as prefix: here for example to raise the head (*yang*), placed in front of to look at (*di*). The passage imparts a strong flavour of the physical effort involved without neglecting the point of the whole process, namely an engagement with Nature leading to aesthetic appreciation. As Yu Guangzhong has written, "run-of-the-mill scenic descriptions use a lot of epithets, but a truly striking description uses more verbs." [42]

A shorter passage from Yangshuo shows a similar range of verbs of motion.

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[42] Yu Guangzhong, "Sensuous Art ", 25.

> There was a small flight of steps, long since covered over by grass and brambles. I clambered up through the thicket pulling myself through the gaps in the undergrowth. Eventually I arrived at the foot of a steep cliff where the grassy path came to an end. Pressing on, I stepped over some large rocks to one side and scrambled up a soaring staircase which circled up into the void. In the end, I could not make it, and so came back down. (XXKYJ 330)

In this passage the verbs of motion include "to climb" (*pan*), "to hold" (*men*), "to arrive at" (*zao*), "to climb over" (*nie*), "to clamber" (*yuan*) and "to circle" (*panxuan*), an unusual disyllabic verb of motion. What is important in both of these passages is the combination of movement and vision. Li Jianmin and James Hargett both comment on the important role of movement in the travel diary in bringing a sense of dynamism to the text. [43] Xu's diaries contain a wide-ranging mixture of verbs conveying movement, vision and appreciation, together reflecting his desire for an exhaustive and precise investigation of the landscape. By way of comparison with writers of an earlier dynasty, in a list of travel verbs found in Fan Chengda's diaries, Hargett includes just one verb for to climb, *deng,* while in Lu You's *Ru Shu Ji*, the only ones to appear are *deng* and *nie*. [44] This is a reflection not merely of Xu's extensive vocabulary but also of the sheer linguistic scope of his diaries and his desire to explore with finesse.

In his progress through all forms of landscape, Xu Xiake was painstakingly accurate in giving details of distance and direction. In the aftermath of the robbery in Hunan, when the text contains an unusual amount of narrative, he still managed to include details of where he was going. Having been given some clothing, he wrote, "As this bank was still on the northeast side of the river, I headed northwards along it" (XXKYJ 207). He maintained this precision even when staying in towns, writing in Nandan in Guangxi:

> At noon, I strolled along the eastern street, crossed a dike, passed in front of the local government office before heading west for one *li* beneath the northern cliff of Mount Dun, then entered a south-facing cave on the northern hill. I then headed northwest from the front of the cave for half a *li,* turned to the southwest for another half *li,* crossed a bridge pavilion and entered the Clear Water Dike. (XXKYJ 610)

This type of language could also be used for a day when he was immobile, Xu employing six concise groups of four characters to summarise his activities:

> I sat quietly by the cliff: it was extremely cold. In idle moments I looked at the waterfall: when I was cold, I burnt branches; and when I was hungry, I cooked up some gruel. This was the pattern all day long. (XXKYJ 231)

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[43] Li Jianmin, pp. 129-132, Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 23.
[44] Hargett, *On the Road,* p. 120.

Adjectives

Xu Xiake's precision can also be seen in his choice of adjectives. His use of two adjectives, *you* and *qi*, which appear with great regularity in the diaries, will now be examined. Both are present in Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Source", and Liu Zongyuan's "Eight Records of Yongzhou", works which, for Xu Xiake, evoked strong resonance.

You can mean "dark", "secluded", "elusive", "hidden", "peaceful" or "secret". Its use generally implies an air of mystery, though it can convey simply a practical meaning: while travelling in Guangxi where the "road was dark" (*lu you*), Xu heard of a band of robbers in the area (XXKYJ 250). Xu uses the word on its own and in around forty compounds, such as "deep and quiet" (*yousui*) (XXKYJ 80, 306 381 and 789), "dark and strange" (*youyi)* (XXKYJ 99, 721, 902, 925 and 1074), "peaceful and bright" (*youshuang)* (XXKYJ 21, 164, 216, 504, 541 and 824) and "dark and steep' (*youqiao*) (XXKYJ 284, 681, 951, 982, 984 and 1055).

Sometimes the compounds appear sporadically, but elsewhere groups appear in relatively close proximity, giving some hints as to the way in which Xu wrote. *Youxian*, with *xian* meaning "dangerous" or "perilous" (with an implied meaning of "strategic importance"), appears three times within nine days, an unusually frequent use for Xu: "the most secluded and perilous spot in the mountains", "another secluded and perilous region" and "really an extremely secluded and perilous vista" (XXKYJ 694, 702 and 705). The care with which Xu chose his vocabulary can be seen in his use of the disyllabic form *youqu*, where *qu* has a meaning of "solitary". Xu first used the two adjectives in a separated form, writing of a temple, "although it was secluded, I was not aware of it being solitary" (XXKYJ 794), before subsequently using the two together. (XXKYJ 800, 848 and 895).

Qi has the meaning of "extraordinary", "strange", "singular" and "remarkable", usually a term of praise. [45] It had been much used in earlier diaries, including those of Liu Zongyuan, Lu You and Fan Chengda, but by the late-Ming period, *qi* and its many compounds were being used with great frequency by writers and critics. The preface to the late-Ming collection of short stories, *Jingu Qiguan,* described *qi* as being a natural force. [46] Yang Shen even wrote a "Rhyming

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[45] See Zeitlin, p. 3.

[46] *Jingu Qiguan,* which appeared during the Chongzhen reign period, contained stories by major contemporary authors including Feng Menglong. *Jingu Qiguan* (Hong Kong; Songming, 1966). See also John Bishop, "Some Limitations in Chinese Fiction" in John L. Bishop ed. *Studies in Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 237-45.

Dictionary of Strange Characters" (*Qizi Yun*). [47] By the Ming dynasty, the strange had to a certain extent become formularised, with many texts of connoisseurship, by scholars such as Gao Lian and Li Rihua, cataloguing a wide variety of desirable objects, often termed *qi*. [48] Above all others, *qi* became the epithet applied to Xu Xiake and his diaries, appearing in many biographical works and prefaces. [49]

Xu also used *qi* in the diaries to describe his own concerns. This is apparent from the responses of those he met for example, a man guiding him through a cave, who informed him of a remarkable site nearby, Red Dragon Crag, commenting "if you like strange things, you should make a detour to see it (*jun haoqi, hebu yadao guanzhi*)" (XXKYJ 375). Earlier in his journey, near Mount Jiuyi in the southern part of present-day Hunan, Xu had been more direct in his declaration of what interested him, in a long description of the beauty of his surroundings, part of a passage which contains many examples of the vocabulary and stylistic devices outlined above:

> After two *li*, I went up Dibao Ping'ao. On all sides strange peaks wound round, I passed through rooms of fine jade and parted finely embroidered curtains. Turning through each crack another cave was carved, and passing through each hole another marvellous sight was revealed, as if lions, elephants, dragons and snakes were standing along the side of the road to contest it with passers-by. I felt confused as if in a dream journey through the three Daoist immortal islands, and certainly not in any place seen in the mortal world. [50]

Eventually, he rested for a long time, "coveting the strangeness" (*tanqi*) (XXKYJ 240).

Youqi appears as a compound on several occasions in the diaries, usually to describe the interior of a cave (XXKYJ 316, 328, 358 and 800). Like *you*, *qi* is used in a wide variety of compounds, though Xu used it more often on its own. *Qi* on its own is used for caves (XXKYJ 106, 166 and 984), the setting for a temple (XXKYJ 114), people (XXKYJ 490), a mountain peak (XXKYJ 990) and rocks (XXKYJ 786). In some of the compounds, *qi* can be viewed as an adverb conveying a greater accolade on the second adjective used or as an adjective qualifying a noun, for

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[47] Adam Schorr, "Connoisseurship and the Defense against Vulgarity: Yang Shen (1488-1559) and his Work." *Monumenta Serica* 41 (1993): 89-128, here 118-9.

[48] See p. 45 above for Gao Lian. For strange rocks see John Hay's *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art.* (New York: China House Gallery, 1986). For Li Rihua, see Chu Tsungli, "Artistic Theories of the Literati", in Chu and Watt, eds, pp. 15-6.

[49] See XXKYJ: Wu Guohua, 1188; Qian Qianyi 1186; Chen Jiru 1258; Pan Lei 1269; Xi Youpu 1269 and 1270. Zeitlin points out that the concept of *qiwen* as a desirable literary quality originated in the *Wenxin diaolong*. Zeitlin, p. 23.

[50] As a further example of what the discovery of the Ji text has added to an appreciation of Xu Xiake's style, *Tongxingben* cuts this passage to just twenty-nine characters, "After two *li*, I went up Dibao Ping'ao, all around were strange twisting peaks. Lion, elephant, dragon and snake rocks rose up, pressing in on the road, and contesting the way with passers-by" (WYW 122).

example "strange beauty" (*qili*) (XXKYJ 69). Xu also used the disyllabic "unexpected and perilous", *qixian*. [51]

The other commonly used adjectives of appraisal are "beautiful" (*sheng*), "strange" (*yi*) and "numinous" (*ling*), the last of these having a powerful other-worldly quality. Moving with great difficulty through the Green Lion Cave near Sanlicheng in Guangxi, Xu, as usual, left his companions behind:

> From below, everybody was shouting out that I was an immortal. Even I thought I was an immortal! One minute dark, the next bright: one minute blocked off, the next linked up; one minute up, the next down; one minute in the mortal world, the next with the immortals: was it the cave or was it I that was numinous? [52]

Xu's diaries contain a number of regularly used disyllabic adjectival expressions, used in particular to describe the caves of southwest China, "secluded and deep" (*yaotiao*), "beautiful and pleasing" (*linglong*), often used together. [53] The two appear in poems of the period of disunity (220-589 AD), including Xie Lingyun's "On my Way from South Mountain to North Mountain" ("You Nanshan wang Beishan"). [54] Xu's most frequently used vocabulary of appreciation and awe also includes "deep and beautiful" (*qiankong*) (XXKYJ 24, 341, 353, 417, 560 and 575) and "remote and secluded" (*piaomiao*) (XXKYJ 505, 507, 1055). [55] Of the descriptive monosyllables used regularly by Fan Chengda, those also used by Xu Xiake are "singular", "marvellous" (*qi*), "surpassing" (*sheng*); "beautiful" (*mei*) and "superlative" (*jue*). [56]

There are also many examples of reduplicated, often onomatopoeic phrases, especially for the sound of water "flowing water" (*congcong*) (XXKYJ 161, 168, 1013, 1040, 1077 and many others) and "the sound of flowing water or falling rain" (*chanchan*) (XXKYJ 99, 199, 256 464, 796, 964, 1005, 1022 and many others).

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51 XXKYJ 136 and 622. James Watt notes that *qixian* was a term of high praise in late-Ming art and literature. Watt, p. 12.

52 XXKYJ 553. The uses of *qi, sheng* and *ling* in Xu's diaries are too numerous to list here. To give some idea, during one section of Xu's account of his visit to Mount Chickenfoot, *qi* appears XXKYJ 838, 841, 842, 844 (twice), 845 and 846.

53 For examples of their contiguous use, see XXKYJ 227, 386 and 645. For other uses of *yaotiao*, see XXKYJ 381, 467, 646, 588, 871 and for *linglong* see XXKYJ 182, 370, 405, 445, 557, 650. There are many other examples.

54 Kang-i Sun Chang, pp. 51-2.

55 Yuan Hongdao's vocabulary is replete with many of the adjectives which appear throughout Xu Xiake's diaries: for *qi, yousui*, and *linglong* see his "Tianmu Yi' (First Trip to Tianmu Shan), and for *youqi* see "Yunfengsi zhi Tianchisi Ji" (A Record of Travelling from Cloud Peak Temple to Heavenly Pool Temple) *Youji*, pp. 24 and 32 respectively.

56 Hargett, *On the Road*, p. 120.

Other common reduplicated adjectives included "the sound of a bell" (*zhengzheng*) (XXKYJ 321, 322, 469, and 580) and "strung out in a line" (*leilei*) (XXKYJ 25, 456, 909, 1040 and 1111). The most famous travel diary to include a whole range of auditory terms and devices and onomatopoeia was Su Shi's "Shizhong Shan Ji" (Stone Bells Mountain), for example, *kengran*, *kongkong, zhezhe, zenghong, kuankan, tangta,* sometimes using reduplicated syllables, at other times simply resonance, for the bell-like sounds of the mountain. [57]

Certain of the monosyllabic adjectives used by Xu to summarise scenery were placed in conjunction with a range of verbs of competition, such as *zheng, xuan* and *jing,* to suggest the idea of vying for supremacy, thus reinforcing the notion of the landscape as a living entity. Xu used *jing*, for example to describe the contending for supremacy of mountains, rivers and rocks, which are variously described as "vying for supremacy" (*jingjia*) (XXKYJ 17), "vying in grace" (*jingxiu*) (XXKYJ 49) and "vying in strangeness" (*jingyi*) (XXKYJ 441 and 454) In Jiangxi, Xu wrote of "the rain master and mountain spirits competing in the creation of magic" (*yushi shanling he er jinghuan*) (XXKYJ 115). Xu also used the disyllabic form "vying in strangeness" (*zhengqi*) (XXKYJ 4 and 15). Other Ming writers of travel diaries also used such expressions: Yuan Hongdao used both *zhengqi* and *zhengxiu,* the extract from Zhang Juzheng's visit to Mount Heng contained *zhengqi jingxiu* and Wang Shixing used *jingqi.* [58]

Xu also used two of these competing verbs to create a four character phrase, for example, "competing and vying in strangeness and elegance" (*zhengqi jingxiu*) (XXKYJ 14), "competing and vying in majesty and grace" (*zhengxiong jingxiu*) (XXKYJ 25), "competing and vying in strangeness and wonder" (*zhengqi jingguai*) (XXKYJ 240) and "competing and vying in strangeness and unusualness" (*zhengqi xuangui*) (XXKYJ 328).

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[57] Hargett calls such phrases "echoic". Ibid, p. 123. Of those included in Fan Chengda's travel diaries, Xu Xiake used "trickling [of water]" (*juanjuan*) (XXKYJ 53, 131 and 421) "fast flowing [of water]" (*shangshang*) (XXKYJ 8, 559, 630, 799 and 893).

[58] Yuan Hongdao, "Huashan houji" (Later Account of Mount Hua), in *Yuan Zhonglang Quanji, Youji,* pp. 38-9. Zhang Juzheng, "You Hengshan Ji", p. 628. Wang Shixing, p. 387.

Xu Xiake's use of parallel groups of characters

Xu regularly used groups of four character phrases, both as part of his narrative and as the conclusion to a piece of description, ending, usually, with an allusion to a well-known image of other-worldly beauty. In one example of such a sequence, Xu, along with a guide carrying a torch, entered a dark cave at the rear of the True Immortal cave near Yongshui:

> A thousand stalactites were arrayed in the cave, spread out in disorder in a hundred cavities. Those (stalactites) that had previously seemed lofty and majestic suddenly appeared beguilingly beautiful while those that had previously seemed robust and expansive suddenly appeared delightfully pleasing (*qianzhi chonghong, huwei yaotiao, qianzhi xiongkuang, huwei linglong*). I twisted and turned through the corners and crevices, leaving none unexplored. (XXKYJ 381)

The passage combines movement and appraisal, all described in eight groups of four characters, the middle four of which complement each other.

Xu employed this style from his earliest diary, in which he recorded a visit to Mount Tiantai. The diary contains several clusters of four characters, comprising both movement and description, from the ascent of the mountain, which involved a combination of the scene, the climatic conditions and his own feelings (XXKYJ 2) to the pervasive smell of blossom blown along in the breeze (XXKYJ 4). Twenty-five years later, Xu was still using groups of four characters in this way. On passing through a deserted sentry post in Yunnan, he wrote:

> The mountain valleys were dark and closed off, the encircling streams rocky and narrow, the forests deep and dark. From time to time, the dark fragrance of plum blossom passed along the roadside. (XXKYJ 815)

In this short passage the author's own presence is not mentioned, his progress evoked, in a way familiar from the writing of Nature poets and other travel writers, solely by the attribution of movement to the natural world. Xu Xiake, with a succession of four-character phrases, was able to convey both movement through a landscape and description, moving from mountains, through rivers, trees, and flowers, before ending with fragrance, the sensual experience.

Yuan Hongdao also used groups of four character phrases in order to signal personal assessment of a particular site or piece of action. In the piece on Tiger Hill this occurs throughout, with groups of eight, six and seven four-character phrases. [59] Yuan's diaries are written in the same way as Xu ends a passage of accurate

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[59] Yuan Hongdao, *Youji,* p. 1.

description. Yuan Hongdao, whose travel diaries were all short pieces, did not attempt to describe progress through the landscape in the same meticulous way as Xu Xiake. For example, in his account of a trip to Mount Lu, the only time Yuan denoted distance was to say, "every few *li,* we stopped for a rest". [60]

During his visit to Mount Baiyue, Xu invoked a Wang Wei (701-761) poem, "Luzhai" (Deer Enclosure), in Xu's words "as I walked amidst precipitous rocks and turbulent torrents, the reflecting light of the setting sun shone on the deep wood" (*fanzhao ying shenmu*). Here, he changed his usual four-character rhythm to a five-character flow in order to fit in with the demands of the original poem. [61] The influence of Wang Wei's Nature poetry, although not represented by as many direct allusions as those referring to the work of other poets, can be detected in some aspects of Xu's writing, including the use of Buddhist imagery and a powerful sense of movement. In poems of Wang Wei, such as "Deng Bianjue Si" (Climbing Bianjue Temple) and "Guo Xiangji Si" (Passing Xiangji Temple), the authorial presence remains unstated, yet the progress of the poet towards the temple and Buddhist enlightenment, as well as towards the supreme view, pervades each line. [62]

On another occasion, he used two three character phrases, again producing a dramatic effect: ""I was very happy to have reached the end of a dangerous road and to have arrived at a safe lodging (*guoweitu, jiuanlu, leshen*)" (XXKYJ 728). For a slightly different passage, where two groups of three characters stand out because of the rarity with which Xu used them, we may examine his beautiful description of a short boat trip round Guilin:

> The drumming of the oars and the swaying mast cleansed the brightness and touched the setting sun (*zhuo kongming er ling fanzhao*) I had not thought such a marvellous scene could be found in the mortal world. (XXKYJ 293)

Xu's use of groups of passages of three, four or five characters is part of his extensive use of parallelism. While this usually occurs at the end of a descriptive passage, it can, on occasions, form the narrative. For example, in passing through northern Yunnan he stopped off at a Buddhist hut on a cold wet day, and used four groups of four characters to describe it:

> I went close to the fire to dry my clothes and my body began to revive, after roasting some chestnuts and boiling up some tea, my insides began to warm up. (XXKYJ 747)

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[60] Ibid, "Cloud Peak Temple", *Youji,* p.32.

[61] XXKYJ 12. Wang Wei, "Luzhai", QTS, Vol. 1, p. 298.

[62] Both poems, ibid, p. 293.

The parallelism could be simple, as at the start of his Guizhou diary, with three groups of four characters, "the rocks were extremely lofty, the trees were extremely dense and the road was extremely rough" (XXKYJ 621). Elsewhere, the parallelism is more complex. Describing mountains on respectively the west and east banks of a ridge, Xu employed six complementary groups of characters, incorporating several identical phrases, "the branches came as if they had been delivered" (*fenzhi chuansong er lai*) and "reared up in precipitous peaks, pressing down on the flow of the river" (*songwei weizhang, pingya chuanliu*) (XXKYJ 799).

Xu's description of scenery and the fusion of scene and feelings

Xu Xiake, as noted above, sought a blending of near and far, of man and Nature. On the part of the traveller, this necessitated a detailed examination of the landscape. The term used for such an approach was *yi qiu yi he,* which like so much of the language used by Xu Xiake, had a spiritual dimension. That he saw it as a goal to be sought after is evident from his preface to a series of poems he wrote in 1630 about his cousin's home on a mountain close to Jiangyin:

> My cousin and I are both obsessed with mountains. In my boundless roaming there is nothing I wish to omit. My cousin surpasses my obsession by considering each mound and gully individually (*xiong yi yi qiu yi he guo zhi*): he has, moreover, built his tomb here to one side, in order to fulfil a life and death pact with the hills. Only by acting in a similar way will I be able to do justice to my obsession. [63]

Pan Lei ascribed the term to Xu's approach to travel:

> He would first examine in great detail the comings and goings of the mountain ranges and the joining together and separation of the water courses. Having ascertained the overall layout he would then seek out and investigate the fine details of every hill and valley. [64]

Xi Youpu, another who wrote a preface to Xu's diaries, used the phrase to describe Liu Zongyuan's examination of the fine details of the landscape rather than the broader picture. [65]

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63 "Ti Xiaoxiang Shan" XXKYJ 1148-9. In his preface to *Wuyue Youcao* quoted above, Wang Shixing also wrote of wishing to seek out each hill and gully. Wang Shixing, *Wuyue Youcao, Zixu,* 27.

64 Pan Lei, XXKYJ 1268.

65 Xi Youpu, "Xixu", XXKYJ 1269-71.

Susan Bush notes the origin of the phrase in the words of Ban Gu in the *Han Shu*:

> If one fishes with a line in a valley, the myriad things of the world cannot corrupt this pleasure; if one rests for a while on the hill, the affairs of the empire cannot alter this pleasure. [66]

Elsewhere, *yi qiu yi he* was used to represent a state of mind, the purity and integrity of a scholar who can choose to live in retirement. For the Northern Song poet, Huang Tingjian (1045-1105), it implied a spiritual purity derived from an appreciation of the landscape and an understanding of the poetry of Tao Yuan-ming. Later on the phrase *qiuhe* was applied to an artist deemed to have absorbed scenes unconsciously in his appreciation of the natural world. [67] The modern meaning is the dwelling place of a recluse.

The detailed examination of the landscape led to the goal of the creation of the perfect scene. Near Tengyue, in western Yunnan, Xu cited two lines from a Du Fu poem, "Zigui" (The Cuckoo), introducing it with the words "in the words of a Tang person", commenting that it represented the fusion of "emotions" (*qing*) and "scene" (*jing*). [68] Although Xu used the term *jing* throughout his diaries, this was a rare direct acknowledgement of the importance of this notion to his writing. In Yongzhou, Xu wrote:

> Formerly, this was the site of Luo Pond Temple, the spiritual home of Mr Liu (Liu Zongyuan). Today, the pond can no longer be described as a spiritual place, so how can we expect it to maintain the essence of a scene? I pondered on the past (*pingdiao*) for a long time before returning to my lodgings for some food. (XXKYJ 369-70)

A truly spiritual scene could not exist until anointed by the visit of a learned scholar. Nevertheless, once a particular site had been designated as beautiful, it was the duty of local people to preserve it. Climbing up overgrown steps at Mount Ma'an in Guangxi, Xu commented, "If the famous hillsides just outside towns are overgrown, what are secluded hills and remote valleys going to be like?" (XXKYJ 396).

Xu Xiake espoused the idea of combining of scene and emotions, the outer and inner worlds. In the introduction to the gazetteer he wrote for Mount Chickenfoot, he commented:

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[66] Bush, *Chinese Literati*, pp. 45-6. These words are echoed in *Taiping Yulan* where the Yellow Emperor speaks of fishing in a valley and lodging in a hill.

[67] Bush, *Chinese Literati*, p. 46.

[68] XXKYJ 965. For Du Fu's poem, see QTS, Vol. 1, p. 564.

> The outward manifestations of a mountain's scenes (*jing*) are its peaks and caves. A scene is created when a passer-by chances upon it: once transmitted through his emotions, it is made distinct. (XXKYJ 1141)

Although, as the earlier examination of Liu Zongyuan's approach to travel writing has shown, this was not a new idea, it had assumed added significance by the late Ming. Timothy Brook has noted that, "the particularity of place was becoming important, perhaps for the first time in China" reflecting the attitudes of painters to obtaining first-hand experience of mountains, the goal of their paintings being "to impart a sense of both the uniqueness and enduring stability of the place itself." [69]

Xu's words were later echoed by the philosopher, Wang Fuzhi (1619-1692), for whom the physical manifestations of the landscape, namely hills, rivers, trees and flowers only became a *jing* when transformed by the consciousness of the poet: "*Qing* and *jing* are two in name, but inseparable in reality ... in the best poetry, they subtly conjoin, allowing no barrier."[70] As Alison Black noted in her study of Wang Fuzhi, although *jing* and *qing* are distinguished as mind and object respectively, the one is inevitably involved in the other. [71]

A number of English translations for the term *jing* have been suggested: Brook has given "prospect", Wong "scene" and "visual experience." Stephen Owen defined *jing* as "A scene perceived from a particular place at a particular time." [72] For Xu Xiake, *jing* was distinct from the physical surroundings or "land" (*di*): *jing* involved the sort of highly subjective, sensory experience described above. In this respect, Xu's interpretation differs from Owen's idea that, "the term *ching* (*jing*) refers specifically to that aspect of the external world which is independent of a subjective

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69 The idea of *jing* became, "a recurring convention in Ming-Qing topographical art." As with guide books, they were usually painted in groups of eight, ten or twelve, as in the case of Shen Zhou's (1427-1509) *Twelve Prospects of Tiger Hill.* Brook, *Sources*, pp. 59-60. Xu Xiake commented in the introduction to his poems on the "ten scenes" of Mount Chickenfoot, "map books and gazetteers have eight or ten *jing*" "Jishan Zhilüe" (XXKYJ 1141). Elsewhere, he mentioned several groups of eight scenes (XXKYJ 152, 176 249, and 744). The phrase "eight scenes' (*bajing*) was first used by Shen Gua, see footnote 25 on p. 95 above. A further example of the new approach of painters is given by Cahill. He discusses the artist Zhang Hong (1577-after 1652), whose work was based on first-hand observation, rather than conventional images, and who aimed to represent the physical reality of the landscape rather than visual stereotypes. James Cahill, *Distant Mountains*, pp. 40-1.

70 Quoted on pages 130 to 131 of Wong Siu-kit, "*Ch'ing* and *Ching* in the Writings of Wang Fu-chih" in Adele Rickett, ed. *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 121-150.

71 Alison Harley Black, *Man and Nature in the Philosophy of Wang Fu-chih.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), p. 265.

72 Brook, *Sources,* p. 59, Wong, p. 122, Stephen Owen, *Chinese Literary Thought*, p. 585.

attitude towards it."[73] In fact, a *jing* could only exist once an individual had arrived, bringing with him an array of subjective opinions.

For Xu, then, the notion of *jing* was nothing if not subjective. When visiting Mount Wudang, Xu's words reveal the crucial difference between *jing* and land (*di*). In a part of the mountain where the blossoms of the *langmei* tree spread throughout the secluded valley, "The setting was already exceptionally secluded, and this vista was doubly remarkable" (*diji youjue, jingfu shuyi*). Here is Owen's "scene perceived from a particular place at a particular time", the ephemeral beauty of a flowering tree a vital component of the emotional experience.[74] Similarly, on Mount Wuyi, Xu wrote of "a tract of land" (*youdi yiqu*), before he gave details of the beauty of the scenery.[75]

Jing was tied in with the idea of developing and even creating a site, through the medium of literature, in Xu Xiake's case, through the medium of a travel account. As Peter Bishop has written about Tibet, "Travel writing is not concerned only with the discovery of places but with their creation."[76] An old man in Yunnan told Xu Xiake of a mountain site, very suitable for the growing of tea, that had recently been purchased by a Mr Ruan with the intention of creating a shrine and building a hut and seeking a companion "to develop a superior place" (*kai shengrang*) (XXKYJ 772). A combination of some of the attributes of physical and metaphysical beauty, outlined by Xu Xiake throughout his diaries, were required for any new site. During his visit to Mount Song, Xu's own progress through the landscape was not recorded until after he had given an account of the changing vista. "At this point, the thick rain-dripping mist, which had covered the peaks, gradually cleared and the *jing* gradually began to take on a strange aspect." He then proceeded to give the details of his own movements (XXKYJ 42).

The beauty of the *jing* produced for Xu Xiake the kind of sensuous experience outlined above. Sometimes the fusion of scene and feelings involved sadness. In Fujian, at the time of the Qingming festival, Xu, far from home and unable to pay respects to his ancestors, wrote, "I could not overcome a feeling of sadness at the scenery" (*busheng jingwu cuiqing*) (XXKYJ 55). Back in Hengzhou after the robbery

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[73] Owen, p. 585. .

[74] The *langmei* tree, Xu explained earlier in this visit, had originated when the Black Emperor (Xuanwu) grafted a plum onto a *lang* tree. At the time of Xu's visit, the fruit was forbidden; much of his diary relates to his successful attempts to bribe a monk into giving him some of the fruit. XXKYJ 51-5, quotation p. 53. Xuanwu refers to the Daoist god, Zhenwu, to whom the mountain was dedicated by the Yongle emperor in 1412. For more on this mountain, see James Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan", in Naquin and Yü, pp. 293-332.

[75] XXKYJ 20. Translation by Li Chi, p. 91.

[76] Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-la: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of a Sacred Landscape.* (London: Athlone Press, 1989), p. 3.

on the River Xiang, Xu returned to a garden, where, as on the occasion of his previous visit, the sun was setting, "The scenery had not changed, but my affairs had become confused, how could I not feel overwhelmed with emotion" (XXKYJ 206).

Just prior to this sentence, Xu had written of his overwhelming emotion when faced with the beauty of Nature, "Moved by the wonderful fragrance of the spring flowers, I sighed at the speed with which nature changed (*tan cangsang zhi shuhu*)".[77] Xu used the phrase *cangsang* when he saw evidence of changing, often man-made, scenery, such as dilapidated buildings (XXKYJ 94, 228, 312, 350, 425, 638, 692, 931, 947 and 977). On one occasion, he even saw a lake which had become a field, "I was overwhelmed with feelings of the changing face of Nature" (XXKYJ 300).

In one of his poems on the sights of Mount Chickenfoot, the second couplet suggested that Xu had gone beyond the realm of mortals and was no longer concerned with what went on below:

> Why bother about the upheavals of the natural world?
> I have already taken the immortal raft to the stars. [78]

The passage of time could bring changes to both the landscape and human affairs. The beauty of the *jing* could then evoke strong emotions connected to this passing of time.

Cangsang was one of those phrases used frequently by Xu at the conclusion of a descriptive passage, particularly those that involved climbing high, in order to give the text a metaphysical dimension. Apart from the other-worldly images of Buddhism and Daoism, which will be examined in the next chapter in the context of Xu's trips to China's mountains, he also used two main sources of allusion, poems by Tao Yuanming and Li Bai (701-762).

Xu alluded to Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Source" in a variety of ways. Xu compared Shuizhai in western Yunnan with the Peach Blossom Source as well as with two real places, Wanggong and Pangu, in Shanxi and Henan respectively, before concluding that Shuizhai was the most beautiful place he had seen in the whole of the province (XXKYJ 956). The myriad peach trees glistening through a valley south of Kunming led Xu to imagine that the blaze of colours at blossom time would make Peach Springs and Mount Tiantai (where there is a Peach Blossom Forest) seem like a

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[77] The allusion used here by Xu came from Ge Hong's (283-344) biography of Wang Yuan, in which a sea changed into a field: it came to symbolise far-reaching changes in the natural world. See Allusions Dictionary, pp. 239-241.

[78] "Haiguan" (Sea view), XXKYJ 1155. There is also a reference to the allusion in Tang Dalai's poem about Xu, cited above. See Tang Dalai, "Dayou pian", XXKYJ 1175. There was a tradition that the sea was connected to the Milky Way. See *Bowu zhi, juan* 3.3a. (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965).

"small torch" in comparison. [79] Elsewhere, Xu used particular phrases from the poem to convey the sense of peaceful seclusion: in Zhejiang he described a group of people living in a secluded valley as having avoided the Qin *(bi Qin)* as in Tao's work (XXKYJ 104), at Mount Tiantai, Nine Carp Lake and in Hunan he cited the Peach Spring fisherman who lost his way (XXKYJ 4, 34 and 218). In Guangxi, he felt he had escaped the "dust and clamour" *(chenxiao)* [80] and wrote of hearing the sound of dogs and chickens, signifying a peaceful village, and itself an allusion to the closing lines of the *Laozi.* [81] These references to the traditional myth of an eastern China idyll contrast with his wariness of the Other, as seen in his some of his comments made during his stay elsewhere in the southwest.

Xu frequently used the last line of Li Bai's poem "Questions and Answers in the Mountains" (*Shanzhong wenda*). [82] He used both the first part of the line, (*bie you tiandi*), and the second half, (*fei renjian*), with the addition of one character or with slight alterations in order to create a four character phrase which could be fitted into a sequence: (*bufu renjian*) (XXKYJ 153 and 421), (*feifu renjian*) (XXKYJ 841) (*buchu renjian*) (XXKYJ 801) (*feifu renshi*) (XXKYJ 122, 142, 160, 240 and 636). Sometimes he changed characters substantially, while retaining the sense of the original: "quite unlike the mortal world" (*qiaofei renjing*) (XXKYJ 800) "no normal land" (*feifu fanjing*) (XXKYJ 552) "mysterious unlike the mortal world" (*yaochu renjian*) (XXKYJ 411).

Allusions to Li Bai's poem appear in a number of late-Ming travel diaries. Zhang Dai's "Jiuxi Shiba Jian" (The Eighteen Gullies of Mount Jiuxi) has *bieyou tiandi zifei renjian.* Li Liufang, in his "You Jiaoshan Xiaoji" (Short Account of a Journey to Mount Jiao), has *feifu renjing*, Wang Siren's "Xiaoyang" has *buzai renjian.* [83] On Mount Chickenfoot, Xu alluded to the third line of the poem: while looking at Jade Dragon Waterfall he saw a pavilion, and was disappointed that it was

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[79] XXKYJ 770. Xu used *juehuo* for torch, another allusion, this time to the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi* where it is used in contrast to the light given out by the sun and the moon. *Zhuangzi*, p. 22.

[80] XXKYJ 399. "How do they measure what is beyond the dust and noise" (*Yan ce chenxiao wai*) For Tao Yuanming's poem, see *Tao Yuanming Ji*, pp. 290-6. For a translation, see A.R.Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 195-7.

[81] XXKYJ 411 and 692. For Laozi, see Lao Tzu *Tao Te Ching* (*Dao De Jing*). Translated by D.C. Lau. (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 142, *Laozi*, p. 117. Xu also used the sound of chickens to signify a peaceful secluded village in Fujian during his trip to Mount Wuyi (XXKYJ 20).

[82] "Shanzhong wenda" (Questions and Answers in the Mountains), QTS, Vol. 1, p. 414.

[83] Zhang Dai quoted by Wang Zhaotong, in JYWXS, p. 375. For Li Liufang's "You Jiaoshan Xiaoji", see *Zhongguo Shanchuan Mingsheng Shiwen Jianshang Cidian* (Dictionary of Appreciation of Chinese Poetry and Prose on Mountains, Rivers and Famous Sites) Yang Guang et al. (Beijing: Zhongguo Jingji, 1992), pp. 811-2. In the same volume, Wang Siren's "Xiaoyang" is on pages 757-8.

deserted "but felt it had an air of the mystery of falling blossom and flowing water" (*dan jue yaoran you hualuo shuiluo zhi xiang*) (XXKYJ 841). [84]

For Xu Xiake, Tao Yuanming and Li Bai symbolised the talented individual living largely outside the official levels of society. Tao Yuanming, for example, declined official positions and was content to live a simple life, with no desire for worldly success. In a short essay comparing Tao Yuanming with Xu Xiake, Jiang Minghong praises Xu's active engagement in scientific exploration in contrast to Tao's more passive, selfish retreat from society to a life of solitude. [85] This is missing the point. Xu Xiake admired the idea of a worthy retreat from society and it was for this reason that he cited Tao Yuanming's idyll of the Peach Blossom Source, and alluded to other poems by Tao, with such regularity.

The expression of an emotional reaction to beautiful scenery took other forms and used different vocabulary, whose source was again highly relevant to what Xu was trying to express, especially in the many references to the *Zhuangzi*. Arriving at a surging river in Guizhou, for example, Xu wrote, "I was unable to overcome my terror at the vastness of the water" (*busheng wangyang zhi kong*) (XXKYJ 630). The phrase used by Xu here, *wangyang,* again originated in the "Autumn Floods" chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. [86]

It was a phrase he used elsewhere. At the start of his essay on the River Yangtse, he wrote:

> My home town is situated right at the place where the Great River enters the sea, and indeed its name is taken from the River. The great dynamic force of the River ends on its arrival here. When those who grow up in this area look at the river they strike the oars of their boats in awe (*wangyang jiji*), aware of the river's greatness but not of its length. (XXKYJ 1127)

Similarly, while travelling around the area of the True Immortal Cave near Yongshui, Xu had commented that in the deep thickets, where he was unable to rely on his other senses of hearing and near vision, he just had to look towards the peaks to work out the direction he should be taking. He "sighed in awed terror at the vast scale of the scenery" (*bumian you wangyang ruzu zhi tan*), and hesitated a long time before he was able to overcome his fear and cross the river. He subsequently recorded his fear at the coming of night when, not just tigers, wolves and snakes, but even ordinary birds and beasts were too much for him. He scrambled through thick primeval brambles,

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[84] Xu also used the verb "to reside" (*qi*), from the second line of the poem, with great regularity, as will be shown in chapter six

[85] Jiang Minghong, "Xu Xiake yu Tao Yuanming chushi fangshi de bijiao", SSWH, pp. 454-9.

[86] *Zhuangzi,* p. 561.

before eventually finding a way out. [87] The fact that Xu felt such terror on this occasion is a mark of his awe and metaphysical fear rather than purely physical fear, which he rarely expressed.

There are many other expressions of the sublime in Xu's diaries, for instance his "longing for an immortal raft" (XXKYJ 244) or in a Guilin cave, where he commented, "How is it that Nature can create such a miracle?" (XXKYJ 313). The most common setting for Xu Xiake's rapturous language was in the mountains, and it was there that he most often wrote of the fusion of emotions and scenery. On Mount Chickenfoot, for example, he wrote, "spending the night of New Year's Eve deep in a myriad peaks is better than a thousand nights in the world of men." [88]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the resonances and precision of Xu Xiake's language. There were a few occasions when he expressed an inability to put into words what he had seen. In a cave in Guilin he wrote, "I was unable to put a name to the strange substance of the rocks" (XXKYJ 301), while in Yunnan, replying to a request to explain what he had seen, he commented, "I could not give a full account of the scene" (XXKYJ 798). Such moments were unusual. This chapter has shown the sort of language which appears throughout the diaries, and some of the sources for Xu's writing. Xu's choice of vocabulary reflected a definite purpose, namely a desire to suggest the metaphysical notions of travel and place contained or implied in the originals. The works of the great Nature poets, and in particular, Tao Yuanming and Li Bai, provided much material for Xu Xiake's writing.

Yu Guangzhong wrote that Wang Zhi, in his visit to Mount Donglin, referred to above, plagiarised from two famous travel diaries pieces written by two of the masters of the genre, Liu Zongyuan and Su Shi. In fact, the exact wording is similar but not exactly the same. It seems more relevant to say that Wang Zhi was paying homage rather than simply plagiarising, as does Xu Xiake with the multiple references

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87 XXKYJ 393. Xu here used the verb to overcome (*ji*), as a shortened version of the term *jisheng*, which appeared in Pan Lei's Preface. See footnote ten, page 115, above.

88 XXKYJ 833. The entry in Xu's diaries for other New Year's Eves are varied. The previous entry, for the start of 1638, consisted of just two characters "Rained again" (*fu yu*) (XXKYJ 542), while in the entry for 1637, he noted that he heard no fireworks all night, commenting favourably on the peacefulness of mountain villages (XXKYJ 159).

to poems by Li Bai and Tao Yuanming. [89] The poems cited by Xu Xiake were part of the Chinese literary canon. The manner of his travels, in remote, hazardous scenery precluded the possibility of writing a travel diary replete with *recherché* quotations and allusions, in the manner of Lu You's *Ru Shu Ji*. Far from being simply shallow encomia, the citation of the words of literary masters of an earlier age summoned up the aesthetic values of a living, mystical landscape.

This chapter has shown the similarities and the differences between Xu Xiake's travel diaries and those of his contemporaries and predecessors. In many ways, his writing was different from the general traditional Chinese travel diary. He was skilled at using the wide range of ethereal, allusive language used by other writers, but his work was on an altogether larger scale. His diaries contain many lengthy passages describing, in minute detail, his physical progress, generally on foot, through the landscape, deploying a huge range of verbs that outline with great accuracy, movement, investigation and vision. On reaching a place of particular beauty, whether the interior of a cave or the summit of a mountain, he would then turn to tones of lavish description. The opening sentence of the first day of his first journey to Mount Yandang in 1613 contains movement, vision, appreciation and personal experience in just a few characters.

> Climbed up Panshanling and looked out over the various peaks of Mount Yan, which stretched upwards into the sky like lotus flowers, each one striking my line of vision. (XXKYJ 6)

Li Jianmin contrasts Xu Xiake favourably with many other travel writers of his age who were keen to put forward a theory, progressing from observing the scenery to putting forward a theory. Xu Xiake did not expostulate such big theories, and those feelings he does express are presented in a hidden way. His feelings are submerged within the descriptions of the scenery. [90] Li's idea is appealing and it is true that the impact of Xu's prose is not immediate, but the ideas of Xu are not as well hidden as Li suggests. The reader is able to deduce Xu's particular predilections from the way in which he repeats patterns of language.

Xu's contemporaries and other writers of the imperial period not only emphasised the remoteness of the regions through which Xu passed, but also noted the fantastical elements of his writing. Chen Jiru described Xu as surpassing

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[89] Yu Guangzhong, "Sensuous Art", 25. The two texts for the phrase "about to reach down and snatch us" are Su Shi's *senran yu boren*, and, in Wang Zhi's diary, *sensen yuxia boren.* The two texts can be found in GDYJX, vol. 1, pp. 198-202 and 266-270.

[90] Li Jianmin, p. 129.

mythological feats, the exploits of King Mu and his eight magic horses and the first Qin emperor and his six dragons, as well as reaching places beyond the ken of the most nimble animals. [91] Wu Guohua went a stage further, saying that Xu visited "places unseen since the creation of the world" (*hongmeng lai wei zuo zhi qiao*). [92] In his diaries, Xu Xiake attempted to convey the magic of what he saw, through the use of an extensive vocabulary, in order to cover not only his movements but also his reactions to the metaphysical beauty of his goal, the supreme landscape.

Shi Xialong's preface compared the diaries with a range of ancient works from the *Zhouli* and the *Shizhouji* (Records of the Ten Continents) a geographical work attributed to Dongfang Shuo (154-93 BC), to the *Shuijing Zhu* and a work by Ge Hong (XXKYJ 1266). Xu's diaries were also compared with the works of the great writers on geographical matters, such as Sima Qian, Liu Zongyuan, Li Daoyuan and Sang Qin, Xi Youpu, for example declaring Xu's writing to be a match for the works of Sima Qian. [93] Xu's diaries were thus favourably contrasted with both historical and literary writers. The greatness of Xu Xiake lies in his ability to transcend different categories, drawing on both subjective and objective strands of travel writing. This chapter has shown how his language combined objective and subjective approaches and how he sought to capture the spirit and texture (*shenli*) of what he saw.

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91 XXKYJ 1235. Wang Siren also cited King Mu, along with the mythological ruler, Yu (XXKYJ 1259).

92 XXKYJ 1189 *hongmeng* is another allusion to *Zhuangzi*, pp. 385-90. Xu Xiake used *hongmeng* in his diaries (XXKYJ 393).

93 XXKYJ 1270. See also Xu's biographies and tomb essays and Ye Tingjia's preface, in which Xu was again compared with great geographical writers of the past (XXKYJ 1189 1196 1202 and 1276-8).

Chapter five

The exotic southwest

This chapter will look at Xu Xiake's journey through southwest China, concentrating in particular on the time he spent in Yunnan. There are three main reasons for paying close attention to Xu's time in Yunnan: firstly, he spent around two years in the province, travelling to the western border with Burma and to the north of the province close to the border with Tibet, so there is a wealth of information not only in his diaries, but also in a wide range of poetry and essays. His early diaries contain references to his desire to travel to the southwest: already in 1620, he had dismissed his wanderings in Zhejiang and Fujian as his former travels and declared his goal to visit Guilin, Mount Heng, the southern Sacred Mountain, and the great Buddhist mountain, Mount Emei in Sichuan (XXKYJ 33). Xu's trip to the southwest can be seen as a culmination of his life's work and the achievement of a long-standing desire.

Secondly, while much research has already been carried out into Xu's early diaries, which deal with his journeys to well-known destinations of eastern and central China, less attention has been paid to his later journeys. In Yunnan, the remoteness, harshness and unfamiliarity of the setting all represented a challenge to Xu Xiake's exploratory spirit and cultural identity. [1] Unlike his early diaries which contain remarkably few accounts of the process of the journey and are closer in feel to the school of travel writing concerned with short trips to famous sites, practised by many of Xu's contemporaries, Xu's account of his trip to southwest China is overwhelmingly and explicitly concerned with travel, according with the idea of travel consciousness outlined above.

Thirdly, since Xu's stay in Yunnan marks the furthest part of his journey, his diaries can be examined in terms of the centre/periphery dichotomy, which has played an important part in the analysis of travel and travel writing. [2] The chapter will cover Xu's contacts with Mu Zeng (1587-1646), the powerful leader of the Moxie people based in the Lijiang area of northwest Yunnan and other members of the ethnic groups

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[1] Shi Lizhuo has calculated that the Yunnan diaries constitute forty percent of the total diaries. See "«Xu Xiake Youji» Zhong Jizai de Yunnan Tusi Zhi" (Accounts of the *tusi* system in Yunnan, in the Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake) in *Qiangu Qiren*, pp. 190-2.

[2] See Leed, pp. 159-174, Erik Cohen, "Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence", in Alan Morinis, ed., *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 47-61, Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1973) and Michael Harbsmeier, pp. 273-4.

resident in the province. A brief outline of the topography and history of Yunnan in the context of its role as a frontier region of China proper will also be given. [3]

Centre/periphery

The idea of centre, the political and cultural heart of China, and periphery, the strange and unfamiliar border regions whose exact status had changed many times in Chinese history, has been touched on already in the chapter on the history of Chinese travel writing. Yunnan, in particular, was at once familiar and strange in that it only re-entered Chinese control at the start of the Ming. While the resonances on which Xu feeds in Guangxi include the Tang dynasty exploits of Liu Zongyuan and Yuan Jie, in Yunnan the figures he cites are mostly of the Ming dynasty. The resultant travel diary is thus more clearly a reflection of the concerns of the late Ming.

Michael Harbsmeier sees travel diaries as usually having three features: an outward journey involving disjunction from the familiar, initiation and adventure and a return and reintegration. [4] The abrupt way in which Xu Xiake's diaries end and the uncertainty about his journey home to eastern China mean that the last of these three stages cannot be satisfactorily examined. This chapter will look closely at the second stage, by showing how Xu often evoked the Jiangnan area as a source of comparison. For him, the lure of the familiar centre was very strong: however, his *wanderlust* brought him into areas where there was progressively less of the familiar and a smaller proportion of Han-Chinese in the local population.

Yunnan is worth examining precisely because it had only comparatively recently become an administrative part of China again. Edward Schafer's book *The Vermilion Bird* gives numerous examples of how the southwest of China was perceived in Tang times as an exotic region. [5] By the late-Ming period, a number of other Han literati had passed through Yunnan, including Wang Yangming, Wang Shixing, Yang Shen, and Li Dongyuan. The travel diaries and geographical texts they wrote of their time in the region provided a valuable source of material for Xu. [6] As Strassberg has noted, Chinese travellers compensated for the dislocation of the

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[3] This chapter will also refer to Xu's journey through the provinces of Guizhou and Guangxi. Xu Xiake's short stay in Guizhou has already attracted considerable interest among western scholars, notably Lombard-Salmon's *Un Example d'Acculturation Chinoise*.

[4] Harbsmeier, p. 282.

[5] See pages 27-8 above for a reference to Schafer's work.

[6] The writings of each of these men are referred to in Xu Xiake's diaries. The most notable late-Ming visitor to Yunnan was Li Zhi who served in an official post in Yao'an between 1577 and 1581 before going to Mount Chickenfoot to read Buddhist texts. For an account of his stay in Yunnan, see Jean-Francois Billeter, *Li Zhi, Philosophe Maudit (1527-1602)*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), pp. 109-121.

encounter with the unfamiliar by seeking communion with Nature. [7] The degree of the unfamiliar, together with an increase in physical discomfort which he experienced in southwest China, resulted in Xu suffering mental and physical weariness. Eventually, he fell ill and returned home.

Peripheral peoples

The discussion in this chapter will be informed by the perspective provided by the work of Western anthropologists, notably Lombard-Salmon on Guizhou and a recent collection edited by Stevan Harrell on various ethnic groups of southwest China, and will refer to Harrell's terms "peripheral peoples" and "civilising project". Harrell described a civilising project as an attempt by a powerful central authority to civilise a peripheral group and:

> a kind of interaction between peoples, in which one group, the civilising center, interacts with other peoples (the peripheral peoples) in terms of a particular kind of inequality. [8]

Such civilising projects are "asymmetrical dialogues between the centre and the periphery" in which the centre has a "claim to a superior degree of civilisation, along with a commitment to raise the peripheral peoples' civilisation to the level of the center." [9] These are the most useful terms for this discussion, as Xu's visit to southwest China, and Yunnan in particular, involved visiting areas on the margins of central Chinese life and culture.

Harrell posits three models for the response of peripheral peoples to the arrival of outside civilising projects: outright rejection, total acceptance and a mixture of the two extremes. He suggests that the most common response is the last of these, the peripheral peoples seeking to uphold their own identity while importing some of the values of the centre: this involves an acceptance of themselves as backward and stupid. [10] Although Harrell's essay is concerned with later developments from the middle of nineteenth century, the attitudes expressed by Xu Xiake and other figures of the Ming dynasty indicate how such projects became possible, upholding the cultural and political hegemony of imperial authority. Xu Xiake brought Chinese culture not only to the peripheral peoples, but also to Han exiles, starved of civilisation.

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[7] Strassberg, p. 44.

[8] Stevan Harrell, "Introduction: Civilizing Projects and the Reaction to Them" in Harrell, ed. *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 3-36, here p. 4

[9] Ibid, p. 4.

[10] Ibid, pp. 4-6.

In China, notions of Han superiority over the various minority peoples were established very early. The historical compartmentalisation with its division of the country into degrees of civilisation and barbarism had taken place at an early stage. Both the *Shiji* and the *Zhanguo Ce* (Intrigues of the Warring States), for example, mention the Sanmiao, previously considered to be forerunners of the Miao people, one of the major ethnic groups of southwest China, but now thought to be a general term for ethnic groups. [11]

The common values of a Confucian education can be seen in the language of the local rulers with whom Xu made contact. In China, cultural identity depended to a certain extent on race, but primarily on the acquired learning of a moral code. While Xu could be condescending towards minority peoples, he was able to accept those who had moved within the system. Culture could be used to entice the leaders of peripheral peoples seeking stability and authority.

Harrell mentions ways in which dominant central groups classified peripheral peoples as exotic and thus different: they are variously seen as sexually promiscuous (the category of morality), as children (education) or as ancient and unchanged remnants of an earlier stage of human development (history). [12] Leed notes similar attitudes in European encounters with ethnic peoples from the end of the sixteenth century. The Europeans soon came to see themselves, in comparison with these peoples, as an advanced, mature and rational culture and the others as remaining at an earlier stage of development. [13]

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[11] Robert D. Jenks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: The "Miao" Rebellion, 1854-1873.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), pp. 31-2. The term Miao was first used for a specific group in the twelfth century, to describe people settled in Western Hunan and northern Guizhou. See Siu-woo Cheung, "Millenarianism, Christian Movements and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China" in Harrell, ed, *Encounters*, pp. 217-247, here p. 222. *Zhanguo Ce* was edited by Liu Xiang (77? -6 BC). For Sanmiao, see also *SHJ juan* 6.2b.

[12] Harrell, "Introduction", pp. 8-17. Norma Diamond discusses the eighteenth century "Miao Albums", paintings or block prints of different Miao groups, in which sexual activity and scantily-clad women were regularly depicted. Norma Diamond, pp. 101-2. For more on this, see Lombard-Salmon, p. 115.

[13] Leed, pp. 159-160.

The Geography and History of Yunnan

The province of Yunnan is a complex landscape of high mountains, some of which rise to 19,000 feet, deep gorges and canyons, and basin-lands: terrain very different from the plains of eastern and central China. The precipitous mountains and surging rivers ensured that communication in the province was slow and hazardous and had contributed to the development of numerous distinct ethnic groups, living in valleys separated from each other by the mountains. The terrain slopes down from the west of the province so rivers flow outwards in various directions: in the northern and central parts, the rivers flow into the Yangtse River, in the south into the Xi Jiang or Western River and into Southeast Asia. [14]

In the earliest geographical texts, Yunnan was described as a foreign land existing beyond the original Nine Provinces of China Proper, as outlined in the "Yu Gong." [15] The "Yu Gong", along with SHJ, delineated a progression from central civilisation to peripheral wilderness and barbarism, based on and confirming Confucian notions of superiority: distinctions were made between territories and peoples fully incorporated into the Chinese empire and those existing outside, or on, the boundaries. [16] Of the various terms used by Chinese for barbarians, *man* referred specifically to those dwelling in the south.

The original name for Yunnan, Dian, was first used in the fourth century BC during an expedition led by Zhuang Jue (dates not known). [17] During the former Han dynasty, commanderies were set up in an attempt to establish a trade link with Burma. Tribal groups which accepted Chinese customs and laws were designated cooked (or civilised) *(shu),* while those living beyond Chinese rule were raw (or wild) *(sheng).* Following the collapse of the Han dynasty, Zhuge Liang (181-234) again extended Chinese claims into Yunnan, without establishing direct Chinese rule. Tribal chiefs were given titles in return for recognising Chinese suzerainty, thus establishing a policy that was to be used regularly throughout the imperial period, and distinctions

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[14] Harold J. Wiens, *China's March Toward the Tropics,* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1954), pp. 16-22 and pp. 293-5.

[15] Legge, "The Tribute of Yu", p. 119.

[16] For more on this, see Chapter one. The views of Confucius on this matter were unequivocal: "Barbarian tribes with their rulers are inferior to Chinese states without them." *Lunyu, juan* 3.4b. *Analects,* p. 67.

[17] Cheng Kuei-sheng, p. 36. The name Yunnan, meaning "south of the clouds (of Sichuan)", first appeared in the third century AD. Fitzgerald, p. 39. For further discussion of the early history of the region, see Paul Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du viie siècle." *Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême-orient.* 4 (1904): 131-414.

were made between territories and peoples fully incorporated into the empire and those outside, which remained peripheral. [18]

From one such group there arose the powerful independent Nanzhao kingdom which lasted for more than six hundred years from the start of the Tang dynasty. Centred on the Dali plain in the west of the province, relations with the Chinese authorities were initially good but rapidly declined, leading to a huge battle at Xiaguan, south of Dali, in 751 when some 60,000 Tang troops were killed. The Nanzhao subsequently attacked China, entering Chengdu in 829 and Guizhou in 859, by which date the Nanzhao sphere of influence covered all of Yunnan, Upper Burma, and parts of Guizhou, Sichuan, Western Hunan and Guangxi.

At the same time as Nanzhao maintained political independence, however, the kingdom underwent steady sinicisation: in 829, for example, many books and scholars were brought from Chengdu and there was a series of high level marriages between Tang princesses and local rulers. Political and administrative reforms mirrored the Chinese style and Confucian temples appeared, worshipping familiar Chinese icons, including the four sacred rivers and the five sacred mountains. As Chinese culture began to permeate the kingdom, the Mahayana form of Buddhism, prevalent elsewhere in China, replaced the Theravada form, which had arrived in Dali from Burma. The power of the Nanzhao began to decline towards the end of the ninth century, and it was eventually overrun by the Mongols in 1252. [19] The Mongol Yuan dynasty ended in 1368, though it was another fourteen years before the last remnants of anti-Ming resistance in Yunnan were defeated. Yunnan has been part of China ever since.

From the start of the Ming dynasty, efforts were made to develop the backward outlying provinces. In the late fourteenth century, only some six percent of the total land area of Yunnan was arable. Around 2 million *mu* of land were cleared between 1400 and 1600, much of the work carried out by Han Chinese sent from the cities of eastern China to settle the newly acquired territory. An estimated one million people, mostly soldiers, were moved to the southwest during the Ming dynasty. [20] Chinese dominance in the outlying regions was based largely on the force supplied by these immigrant soldiers. Fitzgerald notes that, over several generations, people from

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[18] See Wiens, pp. 145-52, C.P. Fitzgerald, *The Southern Expansion of the Chinese People.* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972), p.48. Lombard-Salmon, p. 117. There is also discussion of the terms *sheng* and *shu* in Stevan Harrell's introduction to *Cultural Encounters*, p. 19.

[19] Wiens, pp. 152-161, Fitzgerald, pp. 39-65.

[20] James Lee: "Food Supply and Population Growth in Southwest China, 1250-1850", *Journal of Asian Studies* 41, no 4 (1982) pp. 711-746, especially pp. 715 and. 720. See also James Lee, "The Legacy of Immigration in Southwest China, 1250-1850." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1982): 279-304, here 289-92. A *mu* is about one third of an acre.

the same region in eastern China were sent to the same town in Yunnan. Thus, the Nanjing dialect was spoken in the town of Yongchang, and the Peking dialect in the provincial capital, Kunming. [21] As a result of these measures, the population of Yunnan and Guizhou is thought to have grown from three to five million between 1250 and 1600. The registered population of Yunnan in 1625 has been estimated at around one and a half million, with Western Yunnan, round Dali and Lijiang, the most densely populated area of the province. [22]

From the start of the Ming dynasty, great emphasis was placed on bringing the Chinese education system to the southwest provinces. Some seventy-two prefectural and county schools and thirty-three private academies were established in Yunnan during the Ming. However, only one fifth of these schools survived into the Qing dynasty. [23]

The Ming authorities retained the idea, adopted by the Mongols, of using aboriginal chiefs as local representatives of the emperor, introducing the *tusi* system, under which power was given to local people, usually from an ethnic group, but, on occasions, Han Chinese from other parts of the country. [24] This was based on the old idea of "using the barbarians to rule the barbarians" (*yi yi zhi yi*) and had evolved from the "loose rein" (*jimi*) policy, in place since the time of the Former Han dynasty, under which barbarians were allowed to come to court, but were under no compulsion to do so. [25] One of the main aims of this policy was the assimilation of aboriginal peoples into the imperial structure of China. In cruder terms, this meant a policy of divide and rule, and, more importantly for the Ming rulers, an effective means of controlling, and

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[21] Fitzgerald, p. 67. In his records of Mount Chickenfoot, Xu Xiake notes that the Huayan temple was founded in the Jiajing reign period (1522-1566) by a monk from Nanjing XXKYJ 1145.

[22] Such figures do not take account of the large indigenous population covering around one third of the land area. Lee suggests the total figure might have been around two million. Lee, "Food Supply" p. 712. In the nineteenth century, Yunnan and Guizhou together formed what William Skinner termed a "macroregion", an economic region that developed on physiographic grounds rather than simply on provincial boundaries. Due to the unnavigability of its rivers, the Yunnan Guizhou area, unlike the other seven macroregions, relied almost exclusively on land, and not water, for the transport of goods and people. The macroregions reflected the topographical layout of China, eight drainage basins with boundaries fixed by mountain ranges. William Skinner, "Regional Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century China" in Skinner, ed. *The City in Late Imperial China.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), p. 211.

[23] See William T. Rowe, "Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch'en Hung-mou in Yunnan 1733-38", in Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds. *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 417-457, here pp. 425-6.

[24] The *tusi* system is explained in Hucker, p. 547. See also Jenks, pp. 39-41 and Lombard-Salmon, pp. 47-50.

[25] Yang Lien-sheng, "Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order", in Fairbank, J. K. ed. *The Chinese World Order.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 20-33. Yang discusses the *jimi* policy pp. 31-3.

bringing within the Chinese sphere of influence, potentially troublesome border areas.[26]

The system also suited the tribal chiefs, who, unable seriously to challenge the might of the Chinese empire, were, nevertheless, allowed to retain their local power bases. In general, the *tusi* system was successful, though some areas, notably Guizhou, suffered from regular rebellions, conforming to Harrell's first model of response to civilising projects. Throughout his time in southwest China, Xu Xiake referred to these rebellions, which were occurring with increased frequency in the last years of the Ming dynasty. In Guizhou, for example, he recounted the visible aftermath of the rebellions of An Bangyan, which had taken place between 1622 and 1629, almost ten years prior to his visit. On entering a town in the west of the province, Xu wrote:

> The town was deserted and shabby, the thatched huts had been abandoned and remained unrepaired. Down on the eastern side were the provincial offices, not one of whose doors had been restored. This had all happened at the time of Chief An's rebellions: the town wall had been smashed and was now a mass of hillocks, To this day it has not been repaired.[27]

The sixteenth century philosopher, Wang Yangming, who, in his official capacity as provincial governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, was responsible for pacification campaigns in southwest China, supported this policy, comparing the aboriginal peoples to wild deer, who, if given the benefits of Han-style rule, would simply, "butt over your sacrificial altars, kick over your tables and dash about in frantic fright":

> The proper way to treat the *tusi* is to adapt one's policy to fit their character. Divide their leadership in order to split up their unity ... In the wilderness districts, therefore, one should adapt one's methods to the character of the wilderness.[28]

Wang Yangming was subsequently criticised for appeasement and false reporting by Tian Rucheng, who wrote *Yanjiao Jiwen* after he had served in various official capacities in Guangxi, Guizhou and Guangdong for more than ten years. *Yanjiao*

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[26] Wiens, pp. 214-226.

[27] XXKYJ 674. Guizhou, if anything even less developed than Yunnan, was an inhospitable land of vertiginous ravines, underground rivers and deep caves. Like Yunnan, Guizhou became a permanent part of China only with the Mongol conquest, when it was divided among neighbouring provinces. It was only penetrated by the Han to any significant degree from the fifteenth century, becoming a separate province in 1413, with a permanent grand co-ordinator appointed in 1449. However, the province was not finally pacified till the eighteenth century. See Lombard-Salmon, p. 283 and Jenks, pp. 27-8 and 58-9.

[28] Wang Yangming cited in Wiens, p. 219.

Jiwen concludes with reports on fourteen aboriginal tribes of the southwest, in which Tian preserved the traditional divisions of ethnic groups into the two categories of cooked barbarians, who lived near Han centres, had adopted at least some Han customs and came under the control of a *tusi*, and raw barbarians, who were uncivilised and resisted assimilation. [29]

Within this framework, some Han officials adopted a relatively tolerant approach. Yang Shen wrote:

> The Chinese are a truly cosmopolitan people, the heirs of all mankind, of all the world. The Han people are just one of the ethnic groups in the empire and we include many different types of people. In Yunnan alone there are over twenty other non-Han native peoples. So long as they accept the emperor's rule, they are Chinese.[30]

Yang Shen's relative liberalism, however, was not the norm. The first sentence of the Yunnan chapter of the DMYTZ described the province as a land of barbarians beyond the frontier of the southern part of ancient Liangzhou. [31]

Elsewhere in the Yunnan chapter of the DMYTZ, further examples of this attitude can be found, notably in the various sections on local customs. The first entry for this section acknowledged the dissimilarity of a wide range of customs of the different ethnic groups, referring to the question of participation in the most solemn Confucian rituals of burial and ancestor worship (DMYTZ 5259). Subsequent comments persisted in holding this notion of assessing the customs of the peripheral peoples, not on their own terms, but on the basis of whether they were the same as Han customs. Thus, the people of Lijiang were said to wear the same clothing as Han people (DMYTZ 5360), while the origins of the customs in Dali were in the Han (DMYTZ 5280). Strong language was used for those who did not fit the accepted mould: the people of Laozhai, in the south of the province, and thus even nearer to the frontier, were described as barbarous (*guanghan*) (DMYTZ 5391). [32] Xu Xiake

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[29] Norma Diamond, p. 100. For Tian Rucheng, see DMB, Vol. 2 pp. 1286-8 and Lombard-Salmon, pp. 59-60.

[30] James Lee, "Legacy", p. 292. Lee describes Yang Shen's viewpoint as "pluralistic": the phrase "So long as they accept the emperor's rule" seems too loaded to allow such a generous assessment. Jenks points out that there was often a large disparity between words and practice and that little respect was shown for local customs. During the Qing dynasty, anti-Miao discrimination was institutionalised in laws and regulations. Jenks, pp, 42-3.

[31] DMYTZ 5253. Liangzhou was one of the nine provinces of Ancient China contained in the "Yu Gong". Its southern boundary was the Black River, a former name of the Golden Sands River, the upper Yangtse River. Legge, p. 119.

[32] Lombard-Salmon shows how such attitudes persisted after the end of the Ming. She records the terms used by a Guizhou Provincial Treasurer around 1730 to describe the Miao: primitive (*shengxing*), barbarous (*kuanghan*) and savage (*yewan*). Lombard-Salmon, p. 355.

himself, in a letter written prior to his departure, spoke of going to regions populated by howling jackals, screeching flying squirrels and hobgoblins (XXKYJ 1147).

This reflects Harrell's observation that the crucial factor determining the degree of civilisation of the peripheral peoples, as recognised by the Han outsiders, was behaviour, based on the acquired learning of the Confucian moral code, rather than on race. The desired end was the creation of a person moulded in the traditional philosophical, moral and ritual principles considered to constitute virtue, and manifested by the display of familiarity with culture (*wenhua*). [33]

Mu Zeng and the Moxie People

The importance of such an education dominated the encounter between Xu Xiake and Mu Zeng. Mu Zeng was the leader of the most powerful family of the Lijiang region, and head of the Moxie (or Mosuo) people, known today as the Naxi, considered to be descended from the Qiang nomads of northwest Sichuan. The first recorded mention of the Moxie people is thought to be in the *Manshu* (Book of the Southern Barbarians) of the Tang Dynasty, in which their origins were traced back to around 24 AD in the Yongning area of northwest Yunnan. The Moxie moved southwards to the Lijiang area during the Tang dynasty.

The Mu family, originally called Mai, a general designation of a tribal group, was given authority by the Mongols. [34] At the time of the Chinese recapture of Yunnan in 1382, the family assumed the role of hereditary *tusi* and adopted Mu, a Chinese-style surname, as an expression of a conscious desire to adopt Chinese culture. [35] The Moxie people were useful for the Chinese as a barrier against Tibetan expansionism and were recognised as the most dependable of all the tribal groups, both at the time and in later histories. The *tusi* section of the official Ming history records:

> The local rulers of Yunnan all know poetry and writing, respect the rites and preserve righteousness, but at the head of all these families stands the Mu clan. [36]

During the Ming dynasty, the Mu family helped to put down many rebellions. They were helped in this task by financial assistance from the Chinese authorities, who were

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[33] Harrell, "Introduction", pp. 18-19.

[34] Édouard Chavannes, "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" *T'oung Pao* XIII (1912): 565-653, here 566. Yang Shen wrote a preface for the family records in which he traced their history back to the seventh century. Unfortunately, it is not extant.

[35] Xu Xiake includes a short note on this during his stay in Lijiang, XXKYJ 880.

[36] *Ming Shi*, vol. 14, *juan* 314, "Yunnan Tusi", (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974), p. 8,100 .

anxious to retain the support of such a powerful family. The Mu family always showed great devotion to the Chinese emperor: an inscription, written by Mu Gao, marking the defeat of a large Tibetan force in the middle of the sixteenth century at Shigu, west of Lijiang, for example, stressed traditional Confucian virtues. [37]

The power of the Mu family reached its zenith in the time of Mu Zeng, who like his predecessors, and, unlike many other Yunnan *tusi,* was completely loyal to the distant emperor. He suppressed numerous revolts by local tribal groups and sent a regular supply of gifts to Peking, including horses, silver and even labourers for the imperial tombs. In return, he received various otiose tokens of acknowledgement from the emperor: in 1620, he was given the imperial designation of Loyal and Righteous *(Zhongyi)*, and, two years later, was appointed Junior Counsellor to the Provincial Governor. He was also allowed to build an arch in the provincial capital in commemoration of his loyal deeds.

Mu Zeng was also a highly cultured man: a devout Buddhist who introduced Lamaism to the Lijiang area, he funded the building of a number of temples, most notably the Xitan (Complete Attainment) Temple and the Zangjing (Scripture Store) Tower, both on Mount Chickenfoot. In his portrait for the family records, Mu Zeng was depicted wearing Buddhist robes. [38]

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[37] The inscription at Shigu contains the following line: "Within the four seas, in China as well as in foreign countries, the great virtue of loyalty and filial piety constitutes the universal ruling force from which people derive blessings, glories and perpetual inheritance."
For a history of the Naxi people, see Joseph F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947). The quotation is taken from Vol. 1, p. 283. See also Chavannes, "Documents historiques" pp. 572-3. For a more recent account, see Charles F. McKhann, "The Naxi and the Nationalities Question." in Harrell ed., *Cultural Encounters*, pp. 39-62, especially pp. 53-57.

[38] There is a biography of Mu Zeng in DMB vol. 2, pp. 1076-1079. See also Joseph Rock, pp. 127-8 and Chavannes, pp. 572-5. After the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, the Mu family remained loyal to the Ming, supporting the last elements of resistance which had retreated to Yunnan. When the Qing armies finally overcame this resistance in 1659, Mu Yi was put in prison for seven years. The new Qing rulers, themselves outsiders from northeastern China, sought to lessen the power of indigenous peoples, supervising their activities much more closely and introducing the *gaitu guiliu* policy which made the *tusi* subordinate at all times to Chinese officials. Marriage between Han Chinese and ethnic groups was banned and a renewed emphasis was placed on Confucian education, enthusiastically implemented in Yunnan by Chen Hongmou, who sought a moral transformation, comparable, perhaps, to Christian proselytising. See Rowe, pp. 420 and 424-5, Wiens, op. cit., pp. 229-232, Chavannes, *Likiang,* pp. 572-4, Jenks, p. 40. Mu Zeng's descendant, Mu Chuntang, appeared prominently in the recent Channel 4 television series, *Beyond the Clouds.*

Xu Xiake's visit to Lijiang

Xu Xiake arrived in Lijiang early in 1639, having been escorted from Mount Chickenfoot by one of Mu Zeng's officials, who served as both interpreter and guide. As he passed through the southern boundary of Mu's territory, Xu noted that the imperial officials, meanwhile, remained in the provincial capital, Mu Zeng holding the power to decide who could enter his domain. [39] Mu's own officials mirrored the traditional Chinese style, with both a cultural official, who had been to the capital to memorialise, and a very tall, fierce-looking military official. These officials seemed to have some say over Mu's own movements, only allowing him to go north to Gugang after many requests (XXKYJ 877).

Xu Xiake was impressed by the longevity of the family's local dominance which in itself bestowed credibility. Auspicious *fengshui* was seen as guaranteeing the success of the Mu family. The power of the Mu family was apparent as soon as Xu arrived:

> The Mu family have lived here for two thousand years, their mansions imitate the ruler's. Should the imperial army come near, the family meekly submits to being tied up. When the army retreats, they reassert their power: consequently, the Mu family has not suffered the ravages of the imperial army for generations. Moreover, thanks to the uniquely prospering production of silver, their region is the wealthiest of all the indigenous regions. (XXKYJ 870-2)

During his time in Lijiang, Xu Xiake stayed in Mu Zeng's private residence, the Jietuolin (Special Virtue Forest), a Buddhist temple built according to the most auspicious geomantic requirements in the middle of a forest on a hill north of Lijiang, on the southern spur of Mount Jade Dragon. [40] Although the main hall was not imposing, and the Buddhist images neither tall nor large, the overall effect was majestic and imposing. Xu was treated to a series of formidable, exotic banquets, the first of which comprised some eighty dishes. The treatment Xu was given in Lijiang was the most lavish he received anywhere. The diaries, which elsewhere pay scant attention to food, contain detailed descriptions of some of the food he consumed in Lijiang: he described white grapes, longans and lychees as "precious goods" (*guipin*) and the more exotic dishes such as fried cakes filled with rice and pine nuts as

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[39] Wang Shixing also noted the power of the Mu family. He wrote: "The town, at the foot of Mount Jade Dragon, is only some fifty *li* distant from Heqing but there is only one road linking it to China. While the barbarians come and go at will, Chinese have to call at the frontier and are not allowed through. Those who do get in are accompanied by a border official". "Guangyou Yi", p. 387. The town of Lijiang, at an altitude of 8,160 feet, is higher than any of the five Sacred Mountains, while the mountains nearby rise to 19,470 feet.

[40] Rock gives "Monastery of Emancipation" as a translation of Jietuolin. Rock, Vol 1, p. 184.

"remarkable foodstuffs" (*qidian*) (XXKYJ 875). Xu was also given the local delicacy of yak tongue which he described as like a pig's tongue only bigger, with a strange crispy flavour. He felt unable to appreciate it properly having consumed too much food and wine (XXKYJ 883).

Mu appeared at the start of Xu's visit, and intermittently after then. On some occasions, he communicated with Xu via letters: when Mu Zeng was away, his residence, and other buildings, including some so sumptuous that no guests were received within, were kept locked (XXKYJ 876-8). During his stay, Xu was also given clothing and, most importantly, substantial amounts of money which enabled him to continue his travels. However, Xu was not allowed to continue his journey in the direction he wished, to the north of Lijiang, Mu refusing permission on the grounds that the road was infested with bandits and that he could not let such an irreplaceable person tread the unfathomable. Xu followed this in the diaries with a curt rejoinder:

> This was another of his excuses. (XXKYJ 879)

Mu, anxious to make use of the visit of a member of the Confucian literati, asked Xu to revise his Chinese verse. [41] Xu, who noted that it had a large number of incorrect characters and was repetitious, spent a week editing the poetry. [42] Mu Zeng also asked Xu to write a gazetteer of Mount Chickenfoot, and requested that he stay on in Lijiang, so that he might educate Mu's fourth son, saying:

> Although interested in writing, because there are no good teachers here, he has been unable to get even a glimpse of the culture *(wenmai)* of the Central Plains. I hereby ask you to instruct him: were he to learn the basic rules, you would have my eternal respect. (XXKYJ 882)

Xu agreed and wrote down an apposite saying from the *Analects*, "The *ya* and the *song* (Sections of the Book of Odes) being assigned their proper places", an indication that the boy would be given correct training in classical Chinese culture, and a

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[41] In his letter written prior to Xu's departure for the southwest, Chen Jiru stated that Mu Zeng had a "great thirst for noble people". XXKYJ 1184.

[42] XXKYJ 872. For an example of Mu Zeng's poetry, see Rock, p. 162. Xu Xiake had lost a manuscript of Mu Zeng's in the course of the Hunan river robbery (XXKYJ 203). The entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* discussing Mu's collection of poetry, was dismissive, "Being full of Buddhist and Daoist language, it is unavoidably jumbled and lacking in order: not surprising, emanating as it did from such a wild corner of the country." *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, juan* 132, Guoji jiben congshu, 4 volumes. (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1965), vol. 3, pp. 2745-6.

recognition that Xu was a suitable choice as a teacher. He later assessed the boy's work as being "very clear" (*qingliang*). [43]

Elsewhere in Southwest China

That Xu himself believed in these ideas of cultural superiority is revealed in some his comments on the more outlying regions through which he passed. While travelling close to the border with Burma, just outside Tengyue in the far west of Yunnan, he described seeing some wild men (*yeren*) clad only in a loincloth. They were Yi from the Chashan area, of which he wrote:

> formerly this was also part of China, but today it is untouched by imperial rule and orthodox culture (*xi yi neishu, jin fei wanghua suo ji*). (XXKYJ 981)

The implication here is that civilisation would be the inevitable corollary of any return of Chinese rule.

An idea of what Xu's notion of Chinese civilisation entailed can be seen in his comments on the tiny town of Banchang, a settlement of around ten houses near Tengyue:

> There were not many houses, but they all had brilliant azaleas, dazzling blood-red, as if they had been grown by the inhabitants. How is it that wild mountain people should have such a strange (*yi*) hobby. If it is down to the suitability of the mountain soil, how is it that (I have seen) absolutely no signs of it on other ridges and banks. (XXKYJ 967)

The implication being that it was a strange, albeit civilised, interest for peripheral people to have, the notion of "strangeness" being generally a positive attribute in the late-Ming.

Xu's favourable impression of the order he witnessed in Lijiang was matched by other areas which had a strong sense of respect for imperial rule. In Menghua, the rulers had for generations, Xu noted, respected the law (*xunliang*) (XXKYJ 1096). On his way back to Mount Chickenfoot, Xu stayed on Mount Manao with Ma Yuankang, where he was impressed with the hospitality he received:

> I thought that here in the midst of deep and remote mountains, there would be no human traces. Yet I had met this great friend: it was truly like meeting an immortal. (XXKYJ 1042)

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[43] *Lunyu, juan* 10.13b. *Analects,* p. 98. XXKYJ 882.

In Menglai, a town around one hundred and fifty miles southwest of Lijiang, Xu stayed with Zao Longjiang, the local *tusi*, and a member of the Yi ethnic group. Xu recorded his initial meeting with Zao:

> When I entered Zao's home it was already dusk. At first I was in the outer room which was very humble. I was then invited into the main hall, where the host bowed in greeting. With a red cloth still bound round his head, he asked where I had come from. I replied that I had come from Mr Ma. He said: "Yuankang and I are great friends, do you not have a card to show me?" I took out some of Yuankang's poems to show him. Zao took off the binding round his head, changed his clothing and went out before reappearing to bow in greeting again. An evening meal was then prepared: I slept in the main hall. (XXKYJ 1050)

It is evident from this description that Zao had sufficient standing to be able to seek affirmation of Xu's credentials. There is also the suggestion that Zao felt he had to divest himself of the red cloth round his head, representing his origins, before he could properly receive a Chinese literatus.

Like Mu Zeng, Zao was keen to express both loyalty to the emperor and gratitude for being within the realm of civilisation. He spoke to Xu about Menglai:

> Formerly this place was a battlefield and a nest of thieves. Today, under the power and authority of the Son of Heaven, everywhere is at peace, we have bountiful produce, superior to other places. Other places are suffering a drought while here the rain does not stop: other places have just begun planting, while here the new crop is already climbing; other places are full of thieves and robbers while here the doors are left unlocked all night. We may be on the impoverished frontier of the kingdom, yet this is a happy place. All we lack is the visit of a noble person, and now we have you: are not the rivers and mountains fortunate?

Zao not only praised Xu extravagantly, but was also disparaging of other tribal peoples, describing one group as wild and unruly and liable to flee on seeing other humans (XXKYJ 1051).

Mu Zeng and Zao Longjiang, then, represented for Xu Xiake the acceptable side of the *tusi*. Others, however, were defiant and rebellious. Xu described conditions in the eastern part of Yunnan:

> It is in their very nature for the *tusi* to oppress the people: when the (resultant) chaos reaches the imperial frontiers, the situation cannot be allowed to continue. The suffering of the various Yi peoples, which stems from their oppression at the hands of the *tusi* is really heart-breaking and nauseating. The reason why the situation has worsened is because the Yi are concerned with their own survival - there is certainly no question of their being unbendingly loyal to their masters. The reason they seem so happy to rebel is merely the result of incitement by troublemakers.
>
> These people do not practise the Chinese language and are familiar only with Yi customs and are thus accomplished at leading people astray. When it comes to making trouble, they are not as wilful as Yin Hongqiao, or as

> obdurate as Tian Heng's retainers, they are just traitorous petty thieves and bandits, fooling people with fine words in order to put their guile into effect.[44]

In other words, the methods of the *tusi*, whom Xu clearly considered to occupy regions still not fully part of China, were acceptable for only as long as they did not constitute a threat to imperial stability. Xu Xiake's use of two historical allusions at the end of this passage is designed to underline his view that the stubbornness of the *tusi* had no noble qualities of principle, but was merely a reflection of their wickedness. [45]

On his journey westwards to Yunnan, Xu had recorded many rebellions in the provinces of Guangxi and Guizhou. For him, these rebellions were an offence to the emperor: he wrote of the *tusi* "rampaging" (*hengxing*) (XXKYJ 479 and 623) and not fearing the law of the land, but changing allegiances and choosing to respect foreign practices (XXKYJ 479). In the southern part of Guangxi, close to the present-day border with Vietnam, Xu wrote of people who only knew the customs of barbarians and were not even aware of China. Highly unusually, Xu repeated this information on successive daily entries, adding that he was "terrified" (*kongxia*) (XXKYJ 488-9). The impact this lawlessness had made on him is unmistakable: the town of Xiasi, in Guizhou, was ungovernable and in a state of chaos (*luan*), this constituting the greatest fear of the lawful imperial subject (XXKYJ 622). In Guizhou and again in the Yunnan town of Jingdong, the local rulers were said to be tyrannical and rebellious (*jieao*) (XXKYJ 622 and 1096.). Other *tusi* were criticised for terrorising the local people and even for not getting up in the morning. [46]

In the short pieces he wrote on disturbances in southwest China, Xu also employed the language of disapproval. Discussing Tengyue, for example, Xu

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[44] XXKYJ 710-11. The phrase used by Xu Xiake for oppress (*milan*), comes from an example in Mencius of non-benevolence, translated by D. C. Lau as "making pulp of". *Mencius*, p. 194. *Mengzi, juan* 28.1a. Tian Heng, who lived at the end of the Warring States period, set himself up as King of Qi and took refuge on an island. After Liu Bang ascended to the throne, Tian was invited to court. Tian committed suicide on the way as did his followers on hearing the news. For a biography of Tian Heng, see *Shi ji*, vol. 8, *juan* 94, pp. 2643-9. *Shiji* 10 vols. (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963). Yin Hongqiao, encountered already on page 62 of this work, was imprisoned for incompetence, accepted his punishment and later declined the chance of further appointments. See *Jin Shu,* vol. 4, *juan* 77, p. 2043-9.

[45] Xu's words here are echoed in a passage written by Wang Shixing in "Guang Youzhi". Wang wrote, also using the term *milan:* "During my travels through Western Yue, I saw how all the *tuguan* used brutal means on a daily basis to oppress their people." Wang Shixing, p. 226.
Xu also used the term *milan* again in his essay, "Suibi erze", XXKYJ 1132.

[46] XXKYJ 495. This view was echoed by a nineteenth century British explorer, Captain William Gill, who wrote of "head men indulging in the abominable Yün-Nan habits of opium-smoking all night and sleeping all the morning." William Gill, *The River of Golden Sand: The Narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah.* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1969), vol. 2, p. 281. Gill's work is full of derogatory terms to describe the people of Yunnan: see p. 293 "lazy", pp. 311-2 "cunning of these wily people" and p. 334 "usual vacant manner."

included numerous emotive terms, such as to cause chaos (*zaoluan*), to destroy (*jian*), to rebel (*zaoni*), and to act wantonly (*changjue*). He wrote:

> The many Yi close to Tengyue are, in reality, a protecting screen for the west of Dian. The overall layout of Dian in the north touches on Tibet and in the south is full of Yi and Burmese, while constructed in between are the towns and prefectures held together merely by fame and influence and the loose rein policy. [47]

Here was a place on the frontier where Chinese authority was in the ascendance. In another of his short essays, *Suibi Erze*, which recounts, in a similar manner, disturbances in Guizhou, Xu Xiake moved beyond the local to comment on national politics. He referred to the immensely powerful eunuch, Wei Zhongxian, implying that Wei's tyranny at court was responsible for the disturbances elsewhere in the country, commenting, "At that time, Wei was in power stirring up trouble and stopping decrees: meanwhile Qiyuan was even more crazed and uncontrollable.' [48]

Xu Xiake's recording of social and political disturbance was not purely objective *reportage*. His own plans, as happened in Lijiang, were regularly affected by events beyond his control. Chen Hanhui, in his tomb essay for Xu, recorded a conversation between the two men in which Xu mentioned how his plans to visit Mount Emei in the 1620s were thwarted because of the instability caused by the rebellions of Chieftain She. [49] In the southern part of Guangxi, Xu was afraid to go too close to the present-day border with Vietnam, for fear of being abducted (XXKYJ 474, 488-9). Chen Jiru warned Xu of the total misery suffered by the people of Shaanxi, Shanxi, Hunan and Luoyang, and implored him not to leave for the southwest. [50] The actions of politicians and *tusi* had a direct bearing on Xu's progress. His comments on their behaviour do not exist simply within the framework of the language of Confucian morality, but reflect his frustration at being unable to be able to travel when and where he wished.

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[47] "Jin Teng Zhu Yi Shuolüe" XXKYJ 1135-6. The phrase *shengjiao* "fame and influence" comes at the conclusion of the "Tribute of Yu", in the sentence "his fame and influence filled up all within the four seas." Legge, p. 150. It also appears in Shi Xialong's foreword to Xu's diaries, when Shi writes of Xu visiting places where: "the emperor's fame and influence held little sway" (XXKYJ 1266).

[48] XXKYJ 1132. Xu was critical of Wei on another occasion: in the only direct reference to politics in his diaries, he said that he did not wish to meet anyone connected to Wei Zhongxian (XXKYJ 895). Mu Qiyuan was the instigator of the trouble in Guizhou.

[49] XXKYJ 1192. For details of She's rebellions, see ZHR, p. 951.

[50] Chen Jiru, XXKYJ 1184.

The Exotic nature of Peripheral Peoples

Harrell's three categories for the classification of peripheral peoples, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, will now be considered in relation to the views contained in the writing of Xu Xiake and others of his generation. To look at the first of these categories, Xu's diaries contain only one mention of sexual matters, when he registers his disgust at discovering a group of drunken students consorting with prostitutes in the main hall of the Sleeping Buddha temple in Yongchang in western Yunnan (XXKYJ 1030). In the diaries as a whole, women are rarely mentioned. However, near the Caoxi temple, south of the provincial capital of Yunnan, he wrote:

> I saw two girls, with two strands of plaited hair hanging over the shoulders, (Boys and girls in these parts usually have just one plait of hair behind the head. When the young girls and boys grow up, they have two plaits falling down behind the left and right ears: while the girls tie up their hair, the boys tie theirs up on top in a cloth hat. The Luoluo have one plait which they either wind round their forehead or over their head. There are some boys who wear no hats but have a small spiralled plait hanging down from the back of the head, tied up to the rear.) clutching silk fans in their hands, gracefully walking to the front, while behind them followed an old woman, holding a sacrificial box and paper ingots, all on their way to sweep the graves outside the town. I had seen no daintier-footed or prettier girls in the whole of southern China. (XXKYJ 780-1)

Nowhere else in the diaries does Xu write about women in such a detailed way. There are two occasions when he is critical of the behaviour of women with whom he came into contact. The first incident concerned a landlady in eastern Yunnan, whom he described as being crafty and evil (*xia er e),* the second two Luoluo women whom, after receiving no reply to his request for cooking implements, Xu described as coarse and unable to speak Chinese (XXKYJ 704 and 725). Elsewhere, near Hangzhou in Zhejiang, Xu described seeing groups of beautiful, presumably Han, women spending the day in conversation with an old monk (XXKYJ 96), while, at Guilin, he was entertained by female singers, their singing blending in with the beautiful scenery:

> After supper, I went out and sat facing the main road under a bright moon. A refreshing breeze sprang up and spread out amongst the peaks. From all the villages, I could hear the teasing songs of barbarian women, a marvellous scene at the top of the immortal mountains. [51]

While Xu is not, in these examples, writing directly of sexual promiscuity, the attention and detail given to ethnic women in the lengthy description above are not

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[51] XXKYJ 355. Zhu Huirong says the women in question were Zhuang, ZHR, p. 384. Xu Xiake also wrote of being entertained by female singers, while staying at the Qiong Zhu temple outside Kunming (XXKYJ 790).

repeated elsewhere. The exoticisation of women belonging to peripheral groups is indicative of the innate belief of an educated Han Chinese in his own cultural superiority.

An example of the second category, ethnic people as children, has been seen in Xu's remarks, discussed above, on the naivety of the Yi people. The third category, ethnic people as representatives of an earlier stage of human development, again implicit in the belief of a Han Chinese in the innate superiority of his own tenets, is shown in examples of Xu pandering to exoticism in his accounts of the peoples of the remote areas through which he passed. In Lijiang, Xu described the sound of his interpreter's conversation in the local dialect as "chirping" (*jijiyu*) (XXKYJ 882), an onomatopoeic sound he used later in the diaries to describe a gently flowing stream (XXKYJ 1022). At the furthest point of his journey in western Yunnan, north of Tengyue, Xu was told by a man who had lost his own family:

> North of here, beyond Mount Zimei, is a desolate, uninhabited region, where wild men come and go at will. Recently, they have been causing trouble, emerging every morning from the bamboo thickets: although they may number only forty or fifty, they have poisonous arrows that kill anyone who comes into contact with them.[52]

Xu's diaries contain no comments on the man's words. On other occasions, Xu reported his own disgust at what he saw: in Guizhou, he stayed in a Miao house, where the sleeping area was as dirty as a pigpen, noting:

> In this region the Miao were all cooked. Although they were tenant farmers, their habits were vile, leading me to reflect that the bamboo huts of the barbarians (*tuman*) were in fact of superior quality. (XXKYJ 643)

This attitude of cultural superiority sometimes emerges between the lines: in a malaria-ridden town of western Yunnan, Xu described how the fields stretching along both banks of the riverside were occupied only by Luoluo and Boyi. Han people did not dare live there, fearing they will suffer cold shivers and headaches as soon as they enter the region. "Even though the land is fertile", Xu wrote, "it is given over to the Yi". [53] Throughout the diaries there are descriptions of tribal people which contain

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[52] XXKYJ 988. This kind of tale appears in Marco Polo's *Travels*, in which tales of flesh-eating people in China's extreme south-east, unvisited by Polo, are recounted. Marco Polo. *The Travels.* (London: Penguin, 1986), p. 232.

[53] XXKYJ 1068. Zhu Huirong notes that the Boyi, known in the Yuan dynasty as the Baiyi (White Yi), are today called the Dai people ZHR 1051. The Luoluo, who lived in eastern Yunnan, western Guizhou and southwest Sichuan, were the forerunners of the Yi people. ZHR 695. The name Luoluo first appeared during the Yuan dynasty. Lombard-Salmon, p. 139.

elements of Han chauvinism. While passing through Guangxi, Xu, after being given food and drink, wrote:

> unexpectedly, whilst in the midst of the barbarians, to find clean food in a mountain home, was quite remarkable. [54]

Earlier on in his journey, in Hunan, he had noted:

> This was the first occasion on which I had been aware of the generosity of the ancients still residing amongst the Yao people. (XXKYJ 238)

Even in Lijiang, where Xu praised Mu Zeng so highly, some of his comments reveal prejudice. Mu Zeng's son, for example, is tall and fair-skinned, honest and handsome, and is praised for his courtesy and his clear speech, yet Xu's comment was that the boy did not resemble the usual products of border regions (XXKYJ 882-3). Perhaps all this should not be surprising coming from a man who, in a letter composed prior to his departure for southwest China, had written:

> I now believe that the longing of the nine tribes of barbarians for the ways of our great sage (i.e. Confucius) is not mere conjecture. [55]

Similarly, Wang Shixing described different peripheral peoples in terms of their relative docility, the nature of the Zhuang people being "quite docile" (*shaoxun*), while that of the Yao people was "difficult to render docile" (*nanxun*). [56] While passing through Guizhou, this term was also used by someone suggesting possible routes to Xu Xiake. Xu was told to keep away from one road where he would have to watch out for Miao barbarian robbers: on the other route, although it was in a remote region, the Miao were docile and Xu would be able to avoid the unexpected (XXKYJ 639-40).

Others were more brutal, their views going further than any of Harrell's categories. The powerful politician, Zhang Jucheng (1525-1582), discussed the matter in terms of animals:

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[54] XXKYJ 603. Xu had expressed similar sentiments while in the southern part of Guangxi: "How remarkable, how remarkable, to find such a fine man in this desolate and remote frontier region." XXKYJ 490. The phrase "clean food in a mountain home" (*shanjia qinggong*), means eating and drinking with neighbours. Xu used the phrase also in Yunnan, XXKYJ 1042.

[55] XXKYJ 1148. Confucius said he wished to live among the nine tribes of Barbarians. When asked how he could put up with their uncouth ways, he replied: "Once a gentleman settles among them, what uncouthness will there be?" *Lunyu, juan* 10.13a. *Analects*, p. 98. It should be noted that Xu was capable of expressing disdain towards Han people. In Hunan, he recounted the details of a local festival before commenting, "this is how gullible the foolish people are" (XXKYJ 208).

[56] Wang Shixing, p. 218.

> Just like dogs, if they wag their tails, bones will be thrown to them; if they bark wildly, they will be beaten with sticks; after the beating, if they submit again, bones will be thrown to them again; after the bones, if they bark again, then more beating. How can one argue with them about being crooked or straight or about the observation of the law? [57]

Similarly, the first Han Chinese ruler of the Lijiang area said in 1743, that the Moxie people were: "attracted by the Imperial Benevolence as animals are attracted by sweet grass." [58]

The familiar and the Strange

The attitudes expressed or implied in Xu's encounters with the peripheral peoples of the southwest, who represented the strange and unfamiliar, can be further clarified by looking at the importance to him of the familiar. Reference has already been made to the way in which he sought out members of the literati, those familiar with the subtleties of Chinese culture, with whom he shared a common culture and from whom he could seek money when necessary. Throughout his long journey to southwest China, Xu compared and contrasted what he saw and experienced with what he knew from his home region of Jiangnan. On arrival in a small village in Guangxi, for example, he noted, "for the first time (in this region) I saw people living in tiled houses with tall stools. I was amongst Han officials and customs again" (XXKYJ 520). Xu's hankering for the familiar was manifested in other ways in the diaries, by a recourse to comparison of both landscape and objects ranging from local products to plants and animals.

Xu's concerns were amplified in his exchanges with Tang Dalai, who wrote a series of poems in which he warned Xu of the dangers of the border regions and exhorted him to return home to eastern China. The third of these poems reads:

> There is no easy way to Lijiang,
> So how could you reach Yazhou?
> I wish you would look up your old road,
> To take in autumn on Dongting Lake. [59]

Elsewhere in this group of poems, Xu was asked what he hoped to find in areas of such desolate wilderness: a strange question to ask someone whose whole life was dedicated to travel.

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[57] Zhang quoted in Yang Lien-sheng, "Historical Notes" p. 27.

[58] Rock, p. 46.

[59] There are five poems entitled *Xu Xiansheng* (Encouraging Mr Xu), XXKYJ 1181-2. Yazhou is a town in southern Sichuan.

In his diaries, Xu made regular comparisons of the places he visited with places close to his home. Mount Tiantai was a particularly common point of reference, appearing on several occasions in the diaries (XXKYJ 176, 191-2, 463, 770, 829, 841, 845 and 933). In the introductory section of the Mount Chickenfoot records, he referred to Mounts Tiantai, Wutai and Yandang (XXKYJ 1141-44). This process simultaneously gave the sites of Mount Chickenfoot some credibility, while confirming his own authority as a seasoned experienced traveller.

While personal pronouns were often absent from his narrative, Xu Xiake used them in a possessive sense, employing both *wu* and *yu*. In combination with "my home town" (*wu xiang*), Xu referred to people (XXKYJ 562 690 978, and 985), books (XXKYJ 932), flora and fauna (XXKYJ 206 276 786). He also used "my native soil" (*wudi*) or *(yudi)* for flora and fauna (XXKYJ 556, 683, 843, 851 and 975), scenery (XXKYJ 321), climate (XXKYJ 483) and local produce (XXKYJ 523 [silk]). Near Tengyue, for example, he was able to compare three types of bamboo with those found in his home area (XXKYJ 975), while in Guizhou, the pine trees on the hills "were not as tall and proud as those of my native soil" (XXKYJ 665).

Only once in his diaries, however, did Xu refer directly to his home town by name. On seeing a dilapidated stele inscription on a tomb near Yongchang, he compared it to one situated "on the banks of my home town Wucheng":

> Both formerly highly esteemed, one in the outer reaches of the borderlands, one by the sea, though thousands of *li* apart (they inspired) the same feeling. Now they have fallen into decline, just like the copper camel sunk in brambles; although separated by a huge distance, there is no difference between them now. How sad. [60]

This is a rare instance of sentimentality in Xu's diaries. His references to his home region of Jiangnan bespeak a need to appropriate what he saw on his travels to a known and familiar world. Leed suggests that comparison, the use of which was also common in European travel diaries of the Renaissance period, "may be regarded as a defense against the strange and unusual which differs only in direction, not in motive, from retreat and avoidance", a way of ordering and rendering meaningful what the traveller saw. [61]

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60 XXKYJ 1017. The phrase "the copper camel sunk in brambles" (*jingji tongtuo*) is an allusion from the biography of Suo Jing (239-303) in the *Jin Shu,* meaning an Ozymandian lament for the passing of former glories. *Jin Shu, juan* 69, vol. 3, p. 1648-52.

61 Leed, pp. 67-8.

Conclusion

Until his arrival in Yunnan, Xu Xiake had succeeded in sustaining his enthusiasm for travelling. When climbing mountains, he always wished to progress ever upwards in order to obtain the perfect view, and when moving through the landscape, he sought to travel ever further in order to see and record everything. However, as was noted in Chapter Two, during his second visit to Mount Chickenfoot, Xu seemed to acknowledge that he was nearing the end of his journey and his life's work. He had suffered considerably during his stay in the southwest, particularly in the malarial parts of western Yunnan: in Yongchang, he complained of feeling ill after his exertions (XXKYJ 1060), while he was warned of the dangers of going further west towards Burma (XXKYJ 968) or to the south of the province (XXKYJ 1014 and 1068-9). He also acknowledged his weariness (XXKYJ 729 and 811).

In the southwest, and especially in Yunnan, Xu Xiake was encountering unfamiliar and exotic peoples. For Xu, the extremities of the empire were, in some ways, uneasy territory, frontiers between civilisation and the unknown. Although drawn towards these areas, his comments on the non-Han Chinese peoples he encountered there revealed prejudices which contrast with his records of time spent in the company of those he considered his equals, whether city-dwelling literati or monks residing in remote monasteries. He saw himself as the knowledgeable sophisticate surrounded by ignorance: correcting information on the name of a mountain and an adjacent village he asserted that "in remote regions there is no attention paid to verification" (*pidi wu zheng*) (XXKYJ 638).

For Xu, the world of the *tusi* represented a half-way stage between what was acceptable and what was not: the moral tone of the language he used to describe their actions, especially when they were involved in local rebellions, reflected his belief in the supremacy of Confucian authority. When the behaviour of the *tusi* accorded with Chinese customs, the region they occupied could be considered part of China proper, where there was a straying towards what he deemed to be barbarism, the territory in question could be consigned to the border regions.

Mu Zeng, to an even greater extent than other *tusi* of southwest China, wielded considerable political power at the end of the Ming dynasty, though he, unlike others, did not use it in a destructive way. The meeting of Xu Xiake and Mu Zeng was an encounter between the centre and the periphery: the tribal chief, anxious to impress and to learn, and seeking confirmation of his mastery of Chinese culture, and the Han sophisticate, a man who, for Mu Zeng, represented the authority of the superior cultural centre in spite, paradoxically, of his having rejected the career of the mandarin for which he had been trained.

For Xu Xiake, who came to Lijiang desperate to expand his geographical knowledge and satisfy his desire for travel, Mu Zeng, although an aboriginal chief living in what, as a border region, was technically a barbarian wilderness, was a man who was both powerful and culturally refined. Each of the two men was, in his own way, powerful; at the same time, each sought something from the other. In the event, both of the groups they represented were to lose out in the near future. Both the peripheral peoples, for whom the Mu clan was a powerful symbol of independence, and the Han people, represented by Xu, were to lose power to the Manchus, following the end of the Ming dynasty in 1644.

Eric Leed suggests that arrival procedures, which involve identification and incorporation, reveal how ethnicities root themselves in the landscape. Strangers are potential pollutants of domestic order, but if they enter properly they are a source of power and good. [62] In these terms, Xu Xiake's stay in Lijiang with Mu Zeng, although lasting less than two weeks, was the great arrival of his journey through southwest China. Xu's account of his arrival into Mu's territory first stresses the importance of the physical surroundings, before going on to discuss the way in which the architectural constructions, symbolising the power of the Mu family, were incorporated within the landscape. Xu commented on his own privileged position in being allowed through the frontier post: the refusal of permission to others shows how the power and authority of the Mu family were used to intimidate the, theoretically superior, Han settlers. Following Xu's arrival, the presence of a member of the Han elite was used by Mu Zeng for his own ends.

The attitudes expressed by Xu Xiake and other contemporary figures foreshadowed later developments and the civilising projects of the Qing dynasty, described by Rowe as part of a larger process of elite assertion of cultural hegemony over commoner populations, both Han and non-Han, rather than simply an assault on non-Han peoples. [63] The categories of exoticisation outlined by Harrell are reflected in Xu's writings. Xu's descriptions of the food he was given in Lijiang and the highly emotive language used to describe the acts of rebellion, are all examples of his fulfilling the role of the outsider who considers himself culturally superior to the primitive locals. Xu's account of his stay in Yunnan reveals a man imbued with the notion of the superiority of the Han people and their central authority, who, at the same time, strove to satisfy his *wanderlust* in the remotest parts of the country.

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[62] Ibid, pp. 87-9.
[63] Rowe, p. 421.

Erik Cohen, using Eliade's model of traditional society as consisting of a sacred centre and a surrounding chaos, has described pilgrimage as a movement towards such a centre, which is the most sacred place on earth, and tourism as a movement in the opposite direction towards the Other, which can be benign but is generally terrifying. Cohen poses the question whether the desire to find a new centre in the Other can be seen as a threat to the accepted centre. [64] Much of Xu Xiake's stay in southwest China can be seen as a kind of tourism in the course of which he was enchanted by what he saw, while at the same time retaining an underlying fear of a descent into anarchic *luan*. In his writings on the final recorded destination of his journey, Mount Chickenfoot, Xu was recording the attainment of his personal pilgrimage. For him the centre was located, not in the political centre of the country, but in the middle of what was otherwise barbarian territory. Home, as Clifford said, was a stable place to tell one's story, in line with Harbsmeier's notion of disjunction, adventure and return cited above.[65] The lack of a recorded arrival back at his home town presents certain problems for fitting Xu Xiake into this pattern.

Inspired by his meeting with Mu Zeng and the fantastic scenery of the region, Xu Xiake felt he had at last discovered true freedom. This discovery was as important to him as the more prosaic part of his journey, that is the correcting of mistaken geographical assumptions and the broadening of knowledge. This discovery of freedom in the mountains will be examined in the next chapter.

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[64] Cohen, pp. 50-51.

[65] James Clifford, "Notes on Theory and Travel" in James Clifford and Vivek Dhareshwar, eds., *Traveling Theories: Traveling Theorists.* Vol. 5 of *Inscriptions* (Santa Cruz: Center for Cultural Studies, Oakes College, University of California at Santa Cruz, 1989), pp. 177-188, here, p. 178.

Chapter six

Mountains and Caves

From the earliest times, mountains in China have been symbols of inspiration, where Confucius's benevolent man could find joy and Zhuangzi was filled with delight. [1] Mountains were also the fantastic setting for the dwelling place of gods and immortals. The first section of the *Zhuangzi* speaks of a "Holy man" (*shenren*) living on Mount Guye who rides on a flying dragon. [2] There is a similar reference in the *Liezi,* a Daoist text dated to around the third century AD, to a fantastic creature, who inhales the wind, drinks the dew and inhabits one of five mountains situated east of the coast of Shandong: Daiyu, Yuanjiao, Fanghu, Yingzhou and Penglai. The mountains are described as being thirty thousand *li* high and as many miles round, with tablelands on the summit stretching for nine thousand *li*. They are covered in towers and terraces of gold and jade and there are trees of pearl and pomegranate, whose fruit grants immortality to those who eat it. [3] The *Liezi* also includes accounts of the Yellow Emperor wandering in his dreams many thousands of miles from the middle Kingdom, to a mountain attainable only by a "journey of the spirit" (*shenyou*), as well as a version of the visit of King Mu of Zhou to the Queen Mother of the West in the Kunlun mountains.[4]

Mountains, moreover, were seen as being alive, as the largest embodiment of the natural order, and as a setting for the manifestation of supernatural forces. The *Shuowen* (Explanation of Writing), written around 100 AD, for example, defines "mountain" as "diffuser" (*xuan*), "It diffuses vital breath, dispersing and engendering the myriad beings". [5] The rain essential for human survival came from the clouds which gathered round China's myriad peaks. The rocks on mountains are called "cloud roots" (*yungen*), the belief being that water is produced when clouds touch the rocks, which are thus seen as a symbol of fertility. [6] In the Song dynasty,

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[1]*Analects*, p. 84. *Lunyu, juan* 7.14b. *Zhuangzi*, p. 765. "The mountains and forests, the hills and fields fill us with overflowing delight and we are joyful." Translation from Watson, p. 247.

[2] *Zhuangzi,* p. 28. Watson, p. 33.

[3] Liezi *Liezi Shizhu.* (Fully Annotated Edition of the Liezi) eds. Yan Beiming and Yan Jie. (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1986), pp. 115-6.

[4] *Liezi,* pp. 28 and 68-70.

[5] Cited in Paul Kroll, "Verses from on High: The Ascent of T'ai Shan", in Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen, eds, *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih poetry from the Han to the T'ang,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 167-216, at p.175.

[6] For Xu's use of the term *yungen,* see XXKYJ 218 and 1148.

Zhu Xi wrote, "The frontiers of sea and land are always changing and moving, mountains suddenly arise and rivers are sunk and drowned." [7] Living in an age when mountains were very popular, as evinced both by the huge increase in writing on geographical matters outlined above and a renewed interest in Buddhist and Daoist retreat, Xu Xiake maintained this belief in a dynamic landscape. "Who says hills and valleys do not change position (*Shui wei linggu wu yiwei zai*)?", he wrote on Mount Chickenfoot (XXKYJ 859), echoing his earlier words at the Seven Star Cave in Guilin: "on reaching this spot, heights and depths changed position (*zhi ci gao shen yiwei*)". [8]

The examination above of Xu Xiake's use of language has shown how he regarded Nature as a living entity: this chapter will reinforce that notion, showing how Xu brought not only an acute literary sensibility to his travelling but also drew on the values of a variety of beliefs. Mountains were a prime source of inspiration for Chinese poets and travel writers. It is evident from the text of Xu's diaries, as from the works of many other Chinese travel writers, that mountains and caves were a central part of his interest. His early diaries deal almost exclusively with his visits to the mountains of eastern and central China.

At the start of his account of his trip to Mount Song in 1623, Xu wrote that, from an early age, he had wanted to visit the Five Sacred Mountains (XXKYJ 39). [9] He eventually fulfilled this ambition in 1637 when he attained the summit of Mount Heng in Hunan. While individually, mountains were dynamic, Nature as a whole represented a permanent contrast to the transience of individual human lives, thus providing a symbol of stability in difficult times, as shown in Du Fu's line, "The state may fall but hills and streams remain (*Guo po shan he zai*)".[10] In a similar vein, on revisiting, after an absence of twenty years, the border area between the provinces of Jiangxi and Fujian, Xu Xiake wrote:

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[7] Zhu Xi cited in Needham, vol. 3, p. 598. Needham wrote that early ideas about the origins of mountains were based on Daoist and Neo-Confucian notions, which themselves perhaps originated in Indian Buddhist ideas of periodical cataclysms when the world was destroyed and remade.

[8] XXKYJ 294. Zhang Huang, in an essay on the "Yu Gong", acknowledged Nature as a living force in a similar way, writing, "hills and valleys change and shift (*ling gu bian qian*)." Reiter, 136. For the original text see, Zhang Huang, *Tushu Bian* (Compendium of Illustrations and Writings), *juan* 10 50a-53b, this quotation from 53a. For the full text of *Tushu Bian,* see SKQS, vol. 968.1. - 972.862.

[9] Other Ming literati wrote of cherishing a desire to visit China's mountains. See the first line of Wang Shixing's diary of a visit to Mount Song in 1581. Wang Shixing, *Wuyue youcao*, p. 31. Gao Panlong wrote, "When I was young, how impatiently I wished to travel to the Five Sacred Mountains." Quoted in Rodney Leon Taylor, p. 191. Zhang Dai wrote, "When young I took immense delight in visiting famous mountains", cited in Brook, *Praying for Power,* p. 41.

[10] "Chunwang" (Spring View), translated by David Hawkes, from *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 45-48.

> However much one may have aged, the rivers and mountains are the same as before. How can this not spur one on with a desire to seize what time is left for travel? (*Renshou jihe, jiangshan ru uo, neng bulingren you bing zhu zhi si ye*). (XXKYJ 113)

This chapter will also cover the impact of Daoism and Buddhism on the way in which the Chinese conception of mountains developed. It covers the Five Sacred Mountains, as well as many others visited by Xu Xiake, including Mount Chickenfoot, for which he left a longer record than for any other place. Xu's copious writings on mountains, which include several references to "mountain spirits" (*shanling*) as protectors of the traveller, reflect a belief in the numinosity of mountains. Xu applied a variety of beliefs to his love of mountains, expressed in various ways, from artistic terms which sought to express the living quality of mountains and the pseudo-scientific art of geomancy, to proto-scientific methods of investigation into caves, and to a sympathetic espousal of the tenets of Buddhism and Daoism. The spiritual peace which Xu Xiake craved could be found high up, where he could write of "a mountain washing its bones and Heaven washing its face" (XXKYJ 96).

This chapter will cover both the scientific and the poetic, giving further evidence of the lyrical side of Xu's travel diaries. It will cover both the broad sweep and the particular, beginning with a brief introduction to the importance of mountains in Chinese culture, before turning to consider various aspects of Xu's approach to the matter. Though this work as a whole is primarily concerned with Xu's stature as a travel writer, this chapter will discuss his application of those scientific facts that were available to him, concluding that, in his travels through mountains and caves, he placed aesthetic beauty before scientific value. As Yu Guangzhong wrote, "Chinese mountains and Chinese men of letters seem to exist in a symbiotic relationship. They need each other in order to be fully accepted into the halls of fame." [11]

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[11] Yu Guangzhong "Sensuous Art", 27.

Sacred mountains

In Europe, there was a tradition in Christian literature that mountains were a symbol of the decay of the world given by God to mankind: it was only from the eighteenth century on that mountains were regarded as anything other than monstrous aberrations. [12] In China, they have inspired fear, awe and admiration from earliest times, their very height a seeming guarantee of proximity to heaven. They were a place both for desperate refuge and for voluntary retreat.

The exact date for the start of the Chinese worship of mountains is unclear, although it is certain that from early days they were treated with a mixture of reverence and dread, since they harboured not just wild animals and intemperate weather, but also spirits and gods. There are a number of references in early historical texts: in the "Shun dian" section of the *Book of Documents*, the legendary ruler Shun is said to have visited each of the sacred mountains in turn. [13]

Court rituals listed in the *Zhou Li* (Rites of Zhou), say that the Grand Master of Ceremony conducted sacrifices to the ancestral deities, the heavenly deities and the earthly deities. During the Zhou dynasty, apart from national sacrifices, lords of the various feudal states which made up China at the time sacrificed to prominent local rivers and mountains. [14] As outlined in chapter one of this work, the Kunlun mountains, closely associated with early shamanistic forms of worship, were perhaps the first of China's many numinous mountains. Munakata suggests that because of these shamanistic origins, although Mount Kunlun was a potent symbol throughout China's history, it remained outside the orthodox state religious system.[15]

There were originally four Sacred Mountains. At the time of the Qin dynasty, these were Mount Tai in Shandong (Eastern), Mount Heng in Shanxi (Northern), Mount Hua in Shaanxi (Western), and Mount Heng in Hunan (Southern). The *Er ya,* an early lexicographical work, contains a reference to the Five Sacred Mountains, including the first southern mountain, Mount Huo in

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[12] See Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959). For Joseph Addison (1672-1719), although mountains represented confusion, they were, "an agreeable kind of horror." Nicolson, p. 305.

[13] James Legge *The Chinese Classics,* Vol.3 Pt.1. (Taibei: Wenxing, 1966), pp. 34-7.

[14] Munakata, p. 3.

[15] Ibid, p. 12. Simon Schama incorrectly states that Mount Kunlun is the western sacred mountain. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), p. 407. It is true, however, that the Tang Dynasty poet, Yuan Jie, suggested that Mount Kunlun should be the western sacred mountain. Schafer, pp. 140-145.

Anhui, now known as Mount Tianzhu. [16] The central fifth mountain, Mount Song in Henan, close to the city of Luoyang, capital of China during the Eastern Zhou and the Later or Eastern Han, was added during the Han dynasty. The notional system of the Five Sacred Mountains became one of the grids used to define the cultural boundaries of the Chinese Empire. The Five Sacred Mountains were the terrestrial counterparts of the five emperors of heaven who presided over the five cardinal points of earth.

It was not necessary for the mountains to be or be seen to be of a great height: the highest of the sacred mountains, Mount Heng in Shanxi, is a mere 7,280 feet high, but due to its location on a plateau 4,000 feet up, "looks squat and lacks the detached grandeur of Taishan." [17] Neither was it necessary for the mountains to occupy a position of strategic importance. Only Mount Hua of the five Sacred Mountains is located in such a position, close to Chang'an and guarding the east-west corridor between the provinces of Shanxi, Henan and Shaanxi. The important factor was the degree of numinosity.

Although its summit is only 5,000 feet above sea-level, Mount Tai is the most famous and most numinous of all Chinese mountains. It is the place from where the sun, and thus life, originates, the mating place of *yin* and *yang*. It has also been called "the greatest mountain" (Daishan) or "revered ancestor" (Daizong). Xu wrote in a letter to Chen Jiru, "Just as the ten thousand river sources all divide into tributaries, but all end up flowing into the sea, so the multitude of peaks all have flags hung up paying their respects to Mount Tai." [18]

Sima Qian recorded that Qin Shihuangdi visited Mount Tai in 219 BC on a tour of inspection of his empire. During this tour, he ascended a number of mountains, leaving behind stone inscriptions celebrating the virtue of the Qin Empire, China's first centralised empire, of which he was founder. He erected a stone monument and offered sacrifice to Heaven at Mount Tai. [19] There were visits

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[16] Aat Vervoorn, "Cultural Strata of Hua Shan, the Holy Peak of the West" *Monumenta Serica* 39 (1990-91): 1-30, here 9. See also Wang Chengzu, pp. 25-7. *Er ya* dates from either the Qin or Former Han dynasty. Nienhauser, p. 315.

[17] Mary Augusta Mullikin and Anna M. Hotchkiss, *The Nine Sacred Mountains of China: An Illustrated Record of Pilgrimages Made in the Years 1935-1936.* (Hong Kong: Vetch and Lee, 1973), p. 26.

[18] XXKYJ 1148. Rock translates an inscription written by Mu Gao which suggests that the majesty of the Mu family was, "as lofty as the height of the North Sacred Mountain." Rock, p. 284. Given that the town of Lijiang is three thousand feet higher than Mount Tai, there are certain ironies here.

[19] Édouard Chavannes. *Le T'ai Chan: Essai de Monographie d'un Culte Chinois* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1961).

by many subsequent emperors, including Emperor Wudi (156-87) of the Han, who visited Mount Tai on five occasions.

David Hawkes has called such journeys, which originated with the mythical exploits of Shun, a ritual progress through the zones of a symmetrical cosmos, each zone being presided over by a god or political figure who confirms the authority of the visitor. The journeys, he argued, established the idea of a ritual progress, involving either a real or an imaginary journey as a means of acquiring or affirming power, ending with the return to the capital once imperial control had been demonstrated.[20] These real journeys stemmed from and developed the idea of early fantastical wanderings, such as the journey of the Yellow Emperor in *Liezi.* and the "ecstatic excursions", the spirit trips into the other world, which culminated with ascension into the higher reaches of the universe, the most famous being "Yuanyou" (The Far-Off Journey) from the *Chuci* (Songs of Chu), dating from roughly the third century BC. [21]

The arrival of Buddhism in China, during the first century AD, brought the idea of collective organised retreats in remote areas: there are records of Buddhists dwelling on mountains as far back as the third century AD. [22] The idea was soon adopted by Daoists, who claimed the Five Sacred Mountains as their own around the end of the sixth century AD. [23] From then on, many of China's mountains assumed sacred status and there appeared what is termed a sacred geography, marked by relics, shrines and temples. [24] It became quite acceptable for Buddhist and Daoist temples to be present on the same mountain, the Buddhist shrines occupying the lower parts, while those buildings with Daoist associations were often higher up and thus closer to the immortals. [25] Over the imperial period of Chinese history, many mountains came into and went out of fashion, their differing

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[20] David Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess" in Cyril Birch ed. *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974, pp. 42-68, here, p. 54.

[21] For more on this, see Livia Kohn, *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) pp. 249-50. For a translation of "Yuanyou", see David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), pp. 81-7.

[22] E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: the Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China,* 2 vols, (Leiden: Brill, 1959), vol 1, p. 207.

[23] John Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan" in Naquin and Yü, pp. 293-332, here p. 328. The earliest Daoist rock-carvings date from the second century AD. Lagerwey points out that only Mounts Hua and Tai assumed a significant role in Daoist history and even they were less important than other mountains. See also Thomas Hahn, "The Standard Taoist Mountain and related features of religious geography" in *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 4 (1988): 145-156, here 147.

[24] See the introductory chapter, "Pilgrimage in China" in Naquin and Yü, pp. 1-38.

[25] Hahn, p. 147.

status reflecting changes in the political situation or the predilections of individual emperors.

The beliefs associated with Mount Tai ensured that at first it acquired the status of a Daoist mountain, only taking on board Buddhist beliefs during the Tang, when Buddhism was at its zenith, and Buddhist ideas of the judgement of souls were adopted, leading to Mount Tai becoming the place where people returned after death. Thus it had connections both with the exalted world of heaven and the human world of death and decay. The Mount Tai cult spread throughout China: most big towns and mountains had a temple of the Eastern Sacred Peak. [26] Like the mythical Kunlun mountains, Mount Tai accords with Mircea Eliade's model of mountains filling the role of an *axis mundi* at the Centre of the World, permitting communication between heaven and earth. [27]

Climbing on high

For the artist and aesthete, mountains were a spur for the imagination. The theme of climbing on high in order to obtain a view over a great spatial distance is common in poems of many different eras: poets could, at the same time as doing so, look back over a great temporal distance, recalling past events associated with the particular site. Frankel's emphasis on the importance of ascent and contemplation is illuminating in this context. He examines a poem by Meng Haoran (689-740), discerning several topoi relevant to the travel writer, including the ascending of great heights in order to look into a temporal and spatial distance, and the reference to historical events and the permanence of rivers and mountains in contrast to human transience, themes regularly referred to by Xu Xiake. In Meng's poem, "Ascending Mount Xian with Several Gentlemen", the landscape becomes a repository of human memories, the physical remains assisting the process of providing a link with the past. [28]

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[26] Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan:*, p. 27. As evidence of the popularity of the Mount Tai cult, Xu Xiake visited a Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue miao) near Yongchang in western Yunnan (XXKYJ 1061). See chapter one above for a mention of Zhang Dai's visit to Mount Tai.

[27] Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* (Paris, 1951. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 266-269. Wu Guohua's tomb essay of Xu Xiake claimed, erroneously, that Xu climbed the celestial pillar of Kunlun (XXKYJ 1189).

[28] Frankel examines the poem by Meng Haoran on pages 345 to 347 of his article. For Meng's poem, "Yu zhu zi Deng Xianshan", see QTS, Vol. I, p. 375. Frankel's translation of the first four lines of this poem reads:

Human lives succeed each other and decay
They come and go, becoming past and present.
Rivers and mountains keep their vestiges,
We in turn ascend to have a look.

Climbing high had a practical side and a romantic side. When Xu visited the southern Mount Heng, the last one of the Five Sacred Mountains he visited, he succeeded in obtaining the desired uninterrupted view (XXKYJ 191). From the summit, he was able to ascertain the layout of the land:

> In fact, Duke Meng's Col was not merely the boundary between two districts, but was actually the start of the western range of Mount Heng. It was only because the col was extremely flat and the western hills of Mount Heng were not particularly high that I had not perceived this. Only now did I realise that Mount Heng's range did not come from the south but reared up at the eastern end of this col to form Paired Hair-coil Peak, progressing via the peaks to the rear of Lotus Flower Peak before rising still further to the east to form Stone Granary Peak. Only then did it divide into two branches, the various peaks of Goulou and Baishi to the south, and Yunwu, Guanyin and rising up to Heavenly Pillar Peak to the north. Had I not taken this western road, I would undoubtedly have said that the mountain range came from the south, via Goulou and Baishi.[29]

Such a passage is representative of the practical side of Xu's exploration, in which the information is displayed in a clear, concise way.

For Xu, though, travel was not simply a matter of scientific verification. Above all, climbing as high as possible was part of the search for the sublime in Nature. For Chinese travel writers, the ascent of mountains became a pervasive motif and often the climactic focus of their writing. [30] Certain scenic views could provide a total perspective on the world, a theme already mentioned in relation to Tang dynasty poetry, but dating back as far as Mencius, who wrote that Confucius, after climbing Mount Tai, "felt that the Empire was small." [31]

When Xu Xiake stood on the summit of Mount Jinhua in western Yunnan, he felt, "like a Heavenly immortal looking down at the nine regions (of China)" (*ru tian ji zhenren, xia bian jiuzhou*) (XXKYJ 900). Xu always wished to climb as high as possible in order to achieve the perfect view. and, simultaneously, a transcendent experience. He would then describe what he had seen and felt in his favourite terms, employing, in various combinations the adjectives outlined above. By the late-Ming, the ascent of mountains had long been the climactic focus of travel accounts.[32] Yuan Hongdao's account of a trip to Mount Lu, for example, ended with the author

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[29] XXKYJ 192. This passage is not in *Tongxingben.* Several of the mountains visited by Xu Xiake had a Heavenly Pillar peak, symbolising the *axis mundi:* Mount Yandang (XXKYJ 7), Mount Wuyi (XXKYJ 21), Mount Wudang (XXKYJ 52) and Mount Guifeng (XXKYJ 115).

[30] Strassberg, pp. 21-2.

[31] *Mencius*, p. 187. *Mengzi, juan* 27.2a.

[32] Strassberg, pp. 20-21.

at the highest point, unable to advance without leaving the mortal world. [33] Where there were tourists, Xu Xiake made a point of going beyond the standard itinerary wherever possible. At Mount Yandang, he wrote of going to a secluded spot seldom visited by tourists and, while visiting a cave in Hunan, forced his guide to take him into a part of a cave where the water was usually considered too deep. [34]

In the mountains, Xu's aim was always to gain an uninterrupted view from the highest accessible point. As elsewhere in his work, there are echoes of painting theory in this approach. During his first visit to Mount Chickenfoot, Xu wrote, "You could say that every side of a numinous mountain is remarkable" (XXKYJ 845). He also regularly used the expression *siwang* (gazing in all directions), which, through its original usages, inspired particularly strong feelings of a metaphysical striving for the attainment of lofty heights. In the *Zhou Li,* it conveys a sense of offering sacrifices to mountains, while in Qu Yuan's "He Bo" (God of the Yellow River), after climbing Mount Kunlun, it has a meaning of looking across great distances from aloft. [35] The act of climbing on high thus involved a variety of motives, most notably the desire to find a scene worthy of aesthetic appreciation, using the type of language outlined earlier in this thesis, and the need to obtain the best view possible in order to ascertain with precision the layout of the land. [36]

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[33] "Yunfengsi zhi Tianchisi Ji" (A Record of Travelling from Cloud Peak Temple to Heavenly Pool Temple) Yuan Hongdao, *Youji,* p. 32. There is a translation of this essay in *Praying for Power*, p. 109.

[34] XXKYJ 81 and 230. There are echoes of Xu's attitudes in Lévi-Strauss's writings on his love for mountains, "I hated those who shared my preference, since they threatened the solitude by which I set such store; and I was contemptuous of the others for whom mountains were largely synonymous with excessive fatigue and a closed horizon, and who were therefore incapable of experiencing the emotions that mountains aroused in me. I would only have been content if the whole of society had admitted the superiority of mountains while granting me exclusive possession of them." Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques,* p. 339.

[35] For a translation of Qu Yuan's poem see Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, p. 42. For Xu Xiake's use of *siwang,* see XXKYJ 9, 29, 30, 32 and 968.

[36] Though this thesis does not cover the Qing dynasty, it is worth mentioning here two writers whose style is discussed by Yu Guangzhong. Yu points out that Fang Pao's (1668-1749) account of a visit to Mount Yandang has no description of the ascent of the mountain, indeed he goes out of his way to describe it as indescribable. Xu visited the mountain on at least three occasions, the third time with the specific aim of reaching a remote pool. Fang Pao's short account, on the other hand, contains no description of his progress through the landscape, and is full of phrases like "could not be reached", "cannot be recorded" "no way to distinguish". The mountain is merely a means whereby Fang Pao is able to express his moral viewpoint, that the mountain has escaped the destruction wrought on other mountains as a result of its remoteness, and that it can engender thought. Mi Shoushun notes that this is repeated elsewhere in Fang's travel accounts. Yuan Mei's (1716-1798) trip to Mount Huanglong is similar, containing little description of progress through the landscape. By the Qing dynasty, Yu asserts, the writers of travel diaries had become more concerned with expressing opinions than describing the process of travel. Yu Guangzhong, "Intellectual Art", 70. For translations of these two pieces, see Strassberg pp. 399-405. Fang Pao's "You Yandang Ji" (Account of a Visit to Mount Yandang) can be found in GDYJX 339-342; Yuan Mei's "You Huangshan Ji" (Account of a Visit to Mount Huang) in LDYJX 349-352. Mi Shoushun in JYWXS, pp. 460-1.

Shi* and *Fengshui

For Xu Xiake, the landscape was alive and possessed its own dynamism. In Jiangxi in 1636, he wrote, "The mountains on all four sides seized the void and rushed into the valleys" (XXKYJ 160). Elsewhere he wrote of peaks "piled up and interchanging" (*die chu di huan*) (XXKYJ 462). Xu's first diary of a trip to Mount Tiantai in 1613 describes the mountains as "brightly encircling" (*huiying*) (XXKYJ 2), and in Fujian, as "encircling and enfolding" (*huanbao*) (XXKYJ 55). It has been shown above how Xu sought to capture the totality of a scene, and depict the notion of Nature as a living entity, in a similar manner to the aims of poets and painters. One of the terms used by Xu Xiake to describe this vitality was "momentum" or "dynamic force" (*shi*).

There was much discussion amongst late Ming painters and literati of *shi*. Zhao Zuo (1570?-1633) argued that for a painter the use of a technique of dynamic force made the painting lively:

> The main thing is to try for a sense of dynamic force (*shi*). If you capture this dynamic force in your mountains, then even when they coil and twist from top to bottom they will be strung together [into a continuous movement]. [37]

Cahill describes this as a system of linking long series of forms through a continuity of *shi,* Dong Qichang writing, "One should begin by outlining the mountain in such a way that its form and momentum are already grasped." [38] For Dong, mountains were to be seen as an entity, not as a series of different features. This accorded with Xu's way of looking at the scenery: the most important feature of the layout of the landscape was its *shi* defined in the *Wenxin Diaolong* as, "the inclination of Nature." [39] John Hay has described *shi* as "the configuration of any phenomenon as it is manifested out of a state of potentiality, from entropic energy into specified matter. Its boundaries are therefore in time as well as in space; They are never geometrically precise or fixed". [40] The vocabulary of the late Ming painters, based firmly on such a view of *shi,* show that mountains were considered to be part of a living landscape.

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[37] James Cahill, *Distant Mountains*, pp. 68-9.

[38] Ibid., p. 95.

[39] Quoted in Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 232.

[40] John Hay "Introduction" in John Hay, ed. *Boundaries in China.* (London; Reaktion, 1994), pp. 1-55, quotation from p. 19.

Chou Chih-ping has noted the use of *shi* by Yuan Hongdao as a literary term, meaning a natural force or tendency precipitating change in the development of literature. [41] In his diaries, Xu Xiake wrote of a mountain's *shi* to describe a dynamic state in contrast to its "fixed form" (*xing*). He was thus able to collocate numerous active verbs with *shi*, such as "to close in" (*he*) and "to turn round" (*hui*) (XXKYJ 24 and 29). in order further to create a picture of a living Nature. While Xu used *shi* predominantly to describe the position of mountains as part of the overall layout of the land (XXKYJ 930 968 and 91), he also used it for other elements of the landscape, These uses included rivers, for example in comparing the flow of the two Pan rivers (XXKYJ 741) or when looking for the Shang River, he saw some water the volume of which was too small to be what he was looking for (XXKYJ 1050). On a more mundane level, Xu used *shi* for rain (XXKYJ 715, 1009, 1010 and 1058), for waterfalls (XXKYJ 4, 29, 846 and 936) and, unusually, for a man-made object, a majestic bell tower facing the three pagodas at Dali (XXKYJ 930).

There is also a clear distinction between *dishi* and *xingshi.* The latter is the formation of the earth, translated by Needham as "local influence" while the former is the formation of larger scale land masses. [42] Discussing two temples built at the eastern and western ends of a valley, Xu wrote:

> Guanyin Cliff was bright and open and looked down, its form (*xingshi)* was certainly different from Nine Dragons which was dark, secluded and open in the middle. In terms of overall topography (*dishi*), although Nine Dragons was slightly below the summit of the mountain, it was much higher than Guanyin Cliff. (XXKYJ 164)

The passage shows that Xu used *dishi* to refer to the setting in the overall topography of the mountain, while *xingshi* referred to the form of the particular land mass under discussion. The construction of shrines and temples was important both in terms of individual suitability and for the position on the mountain as a whole.

Xu regularly used geomantic terms in describing the overall layout of a scene, writing of a temple in the east of Yunnan, for example, as having a "defect" (*bing*) in its lack of any adjacent open land. [43] In his writing, apart from seeking to capture the essential dynamism of a mountain, Xu Xiake also considered each mountain not as an isolated entity but as part of a longer chain or "dragon ridge" (*longmai*), t1-139, herefiguration, along which flowed "living breath" (*qi*). Each of

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[41] Chou Chih-ping, pp. 37-9.

[42] Needham, vol. 2 (History of Scientific Thought), p. 359.

[43] XXKYJ 844, for *bing* see also 216, 375, 731, 597 and 1003.

the three dragon ridges, which all originated in the Kunlun mountains, was flanked by two of the four major expanses of water, the Yalu, the Yellow and Yangtse rivers and the South sea. The idea of dragons was then adapted on a local scale, in conjunction with other animals, in assessing the ideal *fengshui* site, in which the setting for the construction, whether a building or a tomb, was known as a *xue*. Local topographical features were of paramount importance in determining the suitability of individual sites. Needham wrote, "The forms of hills and the directions of watercourses, being the outcome of the moulding influences of wind and waters, were the most important." [44] Fast flowing water was important for guaranteeing a constant supply of *qi,* the life source or "cosmic breath", while surrounding hills were necessary for protective purposes.

Xu applied *fengshui* in a number of different ways on both a small and a large scale. In the latter category, the idea of the three dragons was relevant to Xu's writings on the various rivers of the southwest. In his essay "Sujiang jiyuan" (Tracing the Source of the Yangtse River), which concentrated on the southern dragon, he wrote, "the northern presses in on the northern side of the Yellow River, and the southern one hugs the south side of the Yangtse, while the central, and shortest, one divides the other two" (XXKYJ 1128-9). Wang Shixing also outlined the three dragons in the "Veins of the Earth" (*dimai*) section of "Guang You zhi", referring, like Xu, to the discussions of Song dynasty Confucians, that is Zhu Xi and the other great Neo-Confucians. Wang noted that the middle dragon was traditionally held to be the most important as it was the home of the greatest number of China's traditional capital cities. Only with the Southern Song and the early Ming had the south begun to play a significant role in the political and economic life of the country. [45]

Xu Xiake used *fengshui* terms throughout his diaries. He did not however use the term *fengshui* and, on the only occasion that he met a practitioner of the art, whom he asked for information on the directions and sources of local rivers, used

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[44] Needham vol 2, p. 359, where he quotes a useful definition of *fengshui* by H. Chatley, "The art of adapting the residences of the living and dead so as to cooperate with the local currents of the cosmic breath." Needham suggests that *fengshui* was already well-known by the beginning of the second century BC. See also Qin Ziqing, "Lüe Lun Xu Xiake dui Zhongguo Shanmai Xitong Yanjiu de Gongxian" (A Brief Discussion of Xu Xiake's Contribution to the Study of China's Mountain Ranges), in *Xu Xiake Yanjiu*, pp. 33-37. For a comprehensive analysis of *fengshui,* see Stephan Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy.* (Vientiane: Éditions Vithagna, 1974) and Andrew March. "An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy" *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 2, (1968): 253-267. Among the terms used by Xu Xiake throughout his diaries are "site" (*xue*) "table peak" (*an*) "tiger sha" (*husha*), "dragon sha" (*longsha*) , "outer sha" (*waisha*) and "inner sha" (*neisha*). The *sha,* sometimes given the name of an animal, were the small hills flanking the site, the *an* was a protective peak located south of the *xue.*

[45] Wang Shixing, pp. 210-11.

the alternative term *qingwu shu* (XXKYJ 698). The fact that the man's words were deemed to be reliable is a testament to Xu's belief in the art. On an earlier occasion, a Daoist had asked Xu to explain why the orientation of the entrance to a temple had been moved, saying, "You must be well versed in the words of the geomancers (*gong bi jing qingwujia yan*)" (XXKYJ 344-5). Clunas has asserted that, while there was some criticism of individual *fengshui* practitioners in the Ming dynasty, in general the metaphysical assumptions lying behind the major *fengshui* theories were accepted by the literati, and indeed were "largely taken for granted as part of an educated person's mental furniture." [46]

For Xu Xiake, landscape was a source of strength. On approaching Lijiang, for example, he detected connections between the mountainous landscape and the founding of the Mu family:

> On the southern summit of Mount Wenbi, which reared up to the southwest, was the Hall of the Mu Family its circling peaks boldly blocking off the southeast corner (*xiong guan yu xunwei*). In the midst of all these mountains this small one was the most important. Thus, Huangfeng (Yellow Peak) was the foundation of the thousand generations of the Mu family. (XXKYJ 878)

He explained the Mu family's success by their use of *fengshui* using *xun,* one of the eight trigrams from the *Yi Jing* (Book of Changes), to describe the orientation of the land. This followed his use of a variety of *fengshui* terms in the preceding passage, including *an* and *long*. Later on, north of Tengyue, Xu wrote of mountains as "encircling dragons watching over the ancestors" (*hui long gu zu*) (XXKYJ 974).

In southwest Yunnan, Xu gave a detailed assessment of the layout of the land round Mount Baotai, where a majestic temple, built in 1628, nestled amongst the peaks.

> Across the front there was a deep gorge, which did not open out. The site of the building was majestic, but its western spur was concealed, the right side lacking a protective spur, with the result that the water was able to flow away. I felt that, although the terrain was secluded, in truth it lacked a protective barrier and for this reason was not a perfect site. Some said the fault lay in the oppressive mountain to the front. I did not agree. Although the big river beyond the mountain did come round it, without this screen the site would have been too open, while although the deep gorge within the confines of the mountain was very close, without this mountain the water would have flowed away, although the front was oppressive as the wall of a house and the temple buildings, like Shaowu at Shaolin and Lingyan at Mount Tai all reared up to the front, only opening up in the distance. In my

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[46] Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China.* (London: Reaktion, 1996), p. 183. Li Ciming's criticisms of Xu, recorded in the introductory chapter of this thesis, are dismissive of Xu's application of *fengshui* theories. See page 6 above.

opinion, the fault was not the oppressive mountain to the front but the lack of balancing arrangement to the right. (XXKYJ 950)

Xu visited the grave of the Shan family outside the town of Yongchang, again using a range of *fengshui* terms, such as *husha, longsha* and *xue*. He wrote:

> The hill running from west to east, which I had recrossed on my way over, was the *husha*, while the one running from east to the south, close to the houses of the village, was the *longsha*, and the *xue*, which faced southeast, was suspended in the middle. The outer hall was an east-facing ridge, with water flowing across to the front, while the inner hall, which was the gully I had forded and ascended, was slightly pressed in and precipitous. Facing the site, a dike had been constructed between the two *sha*, with a pool of water created in the middle in order to complete the configuration. (XXKYJ 1022)

Fengshui was crucial for the correct worship of ancestors, there being a need for tombs, as much as settlements to be adapted to specific environments in order to ensure that man could live in harmony with Nature. On this occasion, Xu paid his respects at the Shan family's spirit table and was later thanked by a descendant for paying respect to his ancestor (XXKYJ 1022-6). Three months earlier, at the time of the Qingming festival, Xu had felt ashamed at not having seen his own ancestors' grave for three years (XXKYJ 915). This subsequent occasion may have been Xu's attempt at vicarious ancestor worship. Another tomb near Yongchang, not only lacked a *sha,* and was thus unable to welcome the requisite flowing water, but also did not follow the local mountain range, with the result that although the Hu family had enjoyed continued rewards, the prosperity existing when the town was founded had changed (XXKYJ 1017).

The desired goal was a successful blending of humanity and Nature. Xu accepted human buildings on mountains, as long as they were constructed in harmony with the surroundings, writing on one occasion:

> surrounded by hills on all sides, the inner valley where the Buddhist temple had been built was narrow and secluded, while the outer valley, the setting for the relocated academy, was twisting and long. All blended in perfectly with Nature.[47]

During his second trip to Mount Huang, Xu described the combination of a construction by some monks and the natural beauty as a wonder (XXKYJ 32-3), while, near Yongchang, he commented that although previously he had been annoyed to see shrines built inside caves, because they concealed the wonders of the

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[47] XXKYJ 152-153.

caves. on this occasion he considered it to be a "spiritual ornamentation" (XXKYJ 992).

Xu Xiake's application of *fengshui* terms in his discussion of the landscape through which he travelled reflects his desire for the recording of accurate and precise information within a widely-known theoretical framework. In his visits to caves, he also recorded large quantities of information while not neglecting his desire to convey their aesthetic beauty.

Caves

Caves appear throughout Xu's diaries. In his first extant diary, of a trip in 1613 to Mount Tiantai, he tried to enter a cave only to discover that a monk had blocked up the entrance (XXKYJ 2), while a discussion of the inhabitability of a cave on Mount Chickenfoot formed part of Xu's penultimate daily entry more than twenty-five years later (XXKYJ 1120). In 1628, he visited the Yuhua Cave, near Jiangle in Fujian:

> The entrance to this cave, like Duke Zhang's, sloped downwards from a height, and was encrusted with strange treasures. The darkly suspended strange marvels of the latter, however, were all displayed in a spot which received light, while the competing strangeness of the dazzling artistry displayed in this cave was everywhere arrayed in dark mystery. Moreover, its opening was even larger. In fact, there were very few differences between the two caves. [48]

This passage shows the aesthetic sensibility that Xu brought to descriptions of all forms of landscape. For Daoists, mountains were a channel for communicating with and seeking to join the immortals. From the belief that mountains provided a link between heaven and earth, they developed the notion of "cave paradises" (*dongtian*). The Daoists brought paradises from imaginary islands in the eastern seas to the human world. The intrepid could now seek immortality in terrestrial mountains, where the cave paradises were offices of the celestial bureaucracy, self-contained worlds which only the pure could enter. After passing along passageways lined with precious gems and crossed by streams of sweet-tasting water, the pure person would find caves containing great treasures and mystic scriptures.[49] Caves for

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[48] XXKYJ 58. Duke Zhang's Cave was near Yixing in Jiangsu, where Xu had gone with his mother in 1624. As is the case with other natural phenomena throughout the diaries, Xu regularly contrasted caves he was exploring with those he had seen earlier. In northern Yunnan, Xu made precise comparisons between the cave he was visiting and Shicheng Cave, which he had seen more than a year before, in Hunan (XXKYJ 166 [for the visit to Shicheng] and 863).

[49] Raoul Birnbaum, "Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: the Caves of Wu-t'ai Shan." in *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* (5) (1989-1990): 115-140.

Daoists symbolised a kind of rebirth not in Buddhist terms of other-worldliness but rather on this world as a "True Man" (*zhenren*).

Ge Hong, the author of the *Baopuzi*, an early Daoist text, recommended about thirty mountains suitable for the purpose of seeking immortality, while listings of cave paradises first appeared in the fifth century AD. Tao Hongjing (456-536) said that cave paradises were the sixth of the seven levels of other-worldly existence. Du Guangting (850-933) compiled a list of ten major and thirty-six minor cave paradises, the caves being said to be linked by subterranean passages. [50] Soymié mentions claims of such passages linking Mount Luofu in Guangdong with the southern Mount Heng and Mount Emei in Sichuan. [51]

Precious texts, found within the cave paradises, could serve as protection for the wary traveller. Ge Hong wrote:

> Writings of this type are to be found in all the famous mountains and the five revered mountains, but they are stored in hidden spots in caves. In response to those who have secured the divine process and entered a mountain to give sincere thought to it, the god of the mountain will automatically open the mountain and let such persons see the texts. [52]

Mountains contained many dangers: both real, wild animals and bandits, and perceived, malevolent spirits. As all mountains possessed divine numina and were full of dreadful phenomena, an unprepared visitor was certain to find calamity and harm. As a result, the Daoist adept sought to protect himself by carrying talismans to avoid the dangers of wild animals and falling trees and rocks, and to protect himself against attacks from evil spirits concealed in the mountain's woods, rocks and streams.

Naquin and Yü state that more austere pilgrims would pin these talismans to the chest. [53] Schipper writes of the adept having a contractual link with the mountain: on approaching the mountain, he would call out the names of gods and spirits or reflect in a mirror trees and rocks met on the way. In this way their "True Form" (*zhenxing*) was revealed. [54] The talismans often took the pictorial form of the "True form of the Five Peaks" (*Wu yue zhenxing tu*) representing, in a highly

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[50] John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (New York: China House Gallery, 1986), p. 60.

[51] Michel Soymié, "Le Lo-feou Chan: Étude de Géographie Religieuse" in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême-orient.* Vol.48.1. (1956): 1-139, here 96.

[52] Translation by James Ware from Ge Hong *Alchemy, Medicine and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: the Nei P'ien of Ko Hung.* (New York: Dover, 1981), p. 314.

[53] Naquin and Yü, p. 20.

[54] See Kristofer Schipper, *L'Empereur Wou des Han dans La Légende Taoiste* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1965), p. 28.

schematised way, the five sacred peaks. Xu also wrote of the *zhenxing*, and on one occasion, in a letter to Chen Jiru, referred to the type of talismans mentioned above (XXKYJ 1147). The opening item of Xu's table of contents for his gazetteer of Mount Chickenfoot, was the mountain's "General Classification of the True Form" (*zhenxing tonghui*). He explained that he started from the true form before moving on to the famous beauty spots and ending up with the temples, "progressing gradually from Heaven to man (*jian you tian er ren*)." [55]

Caves, however, were also of practical use in the chaotic political turbulence of the late-Ming, providing shelter for both animals and humans. A cave could provide a setting for a granary (XXKYJ 505, 646), or serve as a shelter for cattle (XXKYJ 646), a place of retreat for a monk (XXKYJ 365), a place of safety for villagers besieged by bandits (XXKYJ 482 and 585) or just a cool spot on a hot day (XXKYJ 382). Caves were of particular importance in the province of Guizhou, where most of the water flows underground, and there are few valleys. As a result, agriculture and habitation were usually found in depressions or *dolines* either in a circular form with steep sides or as wider plains, enclosed but with irregular contours. [56]

Lombard-Salmon noted that speleologists first appeared in China from the Ming dynasty, motivated both by scientific curiosity and by a "love of the strange" (*haoqi*), a combination of interests evident in Xu's reports of his own visits. [57] According to a table produced by Yang and Tang, Xu Xiake mentioned three hundred and fifty-seven caves in his diaries, the vast majority of them in the southwest of the country. Of these, he visited more than three hundred, of which two hundred and eighty-eight were karst caves. The table sets out various aspects of Xu's approach and compares this with other contemporary and earlier geographical works. *Shuijing Zhu* contains only forty-six caves, Fan Chengda's *Guihai Yuheng,* covering the Guilin area, had thirty, while DMYTZ, covering the whole country, mentioned three hundred and seventy-two, of which one hundred and thirty-one were described in some detail. Tang and Yang's table also showed the relative

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[55] XXKYJ 1139-1141. For *zhenxing* see also XXKYJ 322 and 939. The term also appears in Wang Shixing's preface to his *Wuyue youcao,* Wang Shixing, p. 29. For a typical passage describing Xu's visit to a cave paradise, see XXKYJ 332-4.

[56] Lombard-Salmon, p.77, where she notes that Gu Zuyu, whose discussion of Guizhou was concerned largely with strategic matters, also mentioned the number of people who could lodge in a cave. The characters regularly used by Xu to describe such depressions are *wa* (XXKYJ 551) and *wu* (XXKYJ 549, 625 and many others). In Yunnan he used the term *aotang* from the "Xiaoyao you" chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* in a sentence that was repeated almost verbatim in his essay on the Yangtse River (XXKYJ 730 and 1123) *Zhuangzi,* p. 7.

[57] Lombard-Salmon, p. 74.

attention paid by different writers to the origin of the caves. Xu referred to a variety of possible explanations of the formation of the caves he visited, including erosion.[58]

Xu's description of a cave he visited in Liuzhou contains several of the factors that he considered in his assessment of the many caves he visited:

> The entrance faced west, inside it was wide but not tall. There was a stone pillar suspended in the centre, with a group of holy statues propped up all round it. Behind the pillar, there was another opening which led through to the gap in the northern side of the cave I had visited earlier. I now knew that it was possible to pass through the stomach of the mountain and radiate outwards: although the centre was empty, the outer parts were interconnected. All sides of the mountain were beguilingly beautiful, something I had not often seen in any of the caves of Guilin. (XXKYJ 370)

Xu wrote firstly about a cave's physical details: he described the direction in which the entrance faced, the size of the cave in terms of the number of people who could fit inside, its formation, and whether it was dry or wet (the presence or absence of a fresh water supply being of paramount importance), warm, cold or windy. Xu then described its potential for human habitation, using the verb *qi* which originally meant "to perch (of a bird)", but had later assumed powerful Daoist associations of living in seclusion, both on its own and in the compound "to perfect the vital spirit" (*qizhen*), a Daoist term (XXKYJ 161, 507, 591, 637 and 1047). Xu would end such passages by discussing the cave's metaphysical qualities or comparing it with others he had visited.

Among the practical considerations mentioned by Xu were the crucial question of the amount of water to be found within caves at different times of the year (XXKYJ 548, 591 and 661), the brightness (XXKYJ 157), the depth and spaciousness within (XXKYJ 375, 376 and 588) and whether it went right through the mountain (XXKYJ 596). Sometimes he would stress the difficulty of entering the cave and the need to move like an animal: in Jiangxi he had to move like a snake and tumble like an ape (XXKYJ 157). Xu, whose bravery was never in doubt, required these perilous expeditions to give the places he visited a certain degree of exclusivity. A combination of several practical attributes, both within the cave and outside, in its external environment, merited appreciation in Xu's aesthetic vocabulary. Spending the night outside a cave on a hillside in Guangxi, Xu declared the water he was drinking to be the match of the famous Hui Spring near Wuxi in Jiangsu, while the cliffs surrounding him on three sides reached up to the stars (XXKYJ 588; see 550 for another cave which was described as reaching up to the

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[58] Tang and Yang, p. 253.

stars).[59] Elsewhere in Guangxi, Xu felt that, although a particular cave was located at the correct height on the hillside, it was not secluded enough to be a real retreat (XXKYJ 376).

There was also the question of the amount of evidence of a human presence. At Seven Stars Cave near Guilin, he complained at the amount of interference which had resulted in some caves being blocked off (XXKYJ 343-4). Religious carvings were acceptable and even desirable: near Yangshuo he wrote, "I was again aware of the wonders of this cave: although it contained no carvings, I felt most happy in it" (XXKYJ 323). The aesthetic appeal of a cave's setting could compensate for deficiencies in other areas. Near Dali, Xu stood outside a cave which, although light, had rough stone and no twists: however, the steep cliffs, ancient trees and the mist plucking at the azure hillsides were sufficient to make him think of another distant world (XXKYJ 939).

Xu's account of a visit to the Dragon Cave, near Xunzhou in Guangxi, reveals his interest in both the scientific and the aesthetic aspects of the exploration of caves. Deep in the darkness, he saw in the distance a beam of light shining on the surface of the water. In reply to the assertion of his Daoist guide that it was a strange (ie supernatural) light (*guai guang*), Xu said it must be daylight coming from the adjacent cave. Nevertheless Xu's attempt at a rational explanation of the light came directly after he had appraised the scene in his customary literary style, stating that it was "truly the watery abode of a sacred dragon" (*xun shen long zhi yuanzhai*) (XXKYJ 439).

Xu regularly applied the panoply of both mono- and dysyllabic adjectives such as *qi* (remarkable), *yi* (strange), *linglong* (beautiful and pleasing) and *qiankong* (deep and beautiful), the nuances of depth and hidden beauty making them particularly suitable for the description of caves. At the Dragon Cave in southern Hunan, Xu wrote, "Of all the curved caves I have visited, this is the brightest, and of all the majestic ones I have visited, this is the most beautiful and pleasing. It excels in a multitude of strangeness" (XXKYJ 244). Xu also used a number of other terms, many of which, as a result of the strong associations linking caves to Daoism, were drawn from classic Daoist texts. In western Yunnan, for example, he described a divine spring (*shenfen*), using a term from *Liezi*[60], while in Guangxi, he described feeling as if "I were up amongst the elms and sapanwood trees, as high

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[59] Hui Spring (Hui Quan) was ranked the second-best spring in the country. See Yang Guanlin et al. eds. *Zhongguo Mingsheng Cidian* (Dictionary of Famous Chinese Scenic Spots) (Shanghai: Cishu, 1989), p. 330.
[60] XXKYJ 992. *Liezi*, p. 122

as if I were flying through the sky (*cangyu fangzhe wu ji yu chuitian zhi yi ye*), using terms from the opening chapter of *Zhuangzi*." [61]

As with his travels in other spheres, Xu wished to be exhaustive in his exploration of caves and comprehensive in their evaluation. More than anything else, Xu's visits to caves reveal his desire to investigate personally. Near Guilin, he wrote, "There are numerous caves in these hills, which I investigated on the basis of people's recommendations: when I traced out their words, there seemed to be contradictions, but when I followed the reality there was in fact a logical order everywhere" (XXKYJ 353). In Zhejiang, he wrote, "clutching a torch, I examined all around" (*bingju siqiong*), before going on to place a collection of eight caves in order of merit, the best being Paired Dragon (Shuanglong), in which water and land were conjoined in strangeness and darkness and light were clustered in wonder (*shui lu jian qi, you ming cou yi*), while the eighth, Cave Window (Dongchuang), lacked niches and twists and paired gates (XXKYJ 105-9). In Guizhou, he found the perfect cave:

> Tranquil and not chaotic, secluded and not secret, lofty and not oppressive, one could call through to the stars, completely cut off from the mortal world, really the perfect spot for perfecting the spirit. (XXKYJ 637)

Xu's accounts of his visits to caves reveal a pragmatist who at the same time expressed his love of what he saw in literary terms. At times prepared to overcome what he saw as superstition, elsewhere he revelled in it. [62]

Having looked at caves I will now discuss further Xu's interest in mountains. Apart from Xu's early diaries, most of which recorded visits to the famous mountains of eastern China, his longest stay on a mountain was the time he spent on Mount Chickenfoot in Yunnan. His writings on Mount Chickenfoot include the lengthy entries in the diaries and the extant sections of his gazetteer, including an introduction, poems and short historical passages (XXKYJ 821-859, 1103-1121, 1138-1146 and 1152-1159). Thus a certain amount of background, and

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[61] XXKYJ 549, *Zhuangzi*, pp. 2 and 9. For more terms from *Zhuangzi*, see Xu's search for caves near the town of Fumin in central Yunnan, where he used "soaring" (*aoxiang*) and "ninefold depths" (*jiu yuan*) (XXKYJ 800), *Zhuangzi*, pp. 14 and 1061.

[62] There are a number of articles in which Xu's investigation of caves is explored, generally in terms of his scientific approach. See Bian Hongxiang, "Xu Xiake dui Xiangnan Yanrong Dimao de Kaocha Yanjiu" (Xu Xiake's Investigative Examination of the Karst Topography of the Xiangnan Region) in *Qiangu qiren*, pp. 39-44. Wang Jiasun, "Dongxue xue yanjiu de xianqu - Xu Xiake" (Xu Xiake, Pioneer of Speleology) in *Xu Xiake Yanjiu*, pp. 38-48.

especially the impact of Buddhism on the late-Ming literati, is necessary in order to explain Xu's concerns and the importance of Mount Chickenfoot.

Buddhism

It was a long-accepted view that Buddhism went into a long decline following the Han Yu-inspired persecutions at the end of the Tang dynasty and the rise of Neo-Confucianism during the Song dynasty. According to Arthur Wright, Buddhism became progressively weaker and more sinicised, assuming the role of a Chinese folk religion. [63] Recent research has reassessed this view: while acknowledging the undoubted power of Neo-Confucianist thought, scholars such as Chün-fang Yü and Timothy Brook have shown clear evidence of a revival at the end of the Ming dynasty, Brook writing that Buddhism was just one among many accomplishments of the late-Ming literatus. [64] Brook has written in terms of the rise of the individual: the literati now enjoyed greater economic independence and could think about Buddhism, thus shifting their focus from the traditional social duty to serve the state to a renewed concern with the self. [65]

Yü argues that Buddhism adopted the new investigative spirit of the age, as represented by He Xinyin (1517-1579), Gao Panlong, Jiao Hong (1540-1620) and Li Zhi. She claims that late Ming Buddhism was syncretic, and emphasised practice rather than doctrine. [66] This point has been reinforced by Timothy Brook, who notes that Gao Panlong retained a strong sense of loyalty to Confucianism, yet was able to distinguish between Buddhism as a creed and as a set of cultural institutions, writing "Buddhism awakens people to the Way in a roundabout fashion." [67]

Many prominent intellectual figures of the late-Ming were sympathetic to Buddhism. For example, Tu Long, Li Zhi and Yuan Hongdao were all keen advocates of bridging the gap between Confucianism and Buddhism, Yuan going so far as to suggest that the two beliefs presented the same concepts in different language. Billeter notes that the monasteries were the true intellectual centres of the

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[63] Arthur Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 86-107.

[64] Brook, *Praying for Power,* p. 43.

[65] Ibid., p. 55.

[66] Yü Chün-fang, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 1-4. Yü agrees with Wright that the sinicisation of Buddhism continued during this period, p. 6.

[67] Brook, *Praying for Power,* pp. 87 and 208. For further discussion of the move towards syncretism in the late-Ming, see Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming" in de Bary, *Unfolding,* pp. 39-66. Kengo quotes Yuan Zongdao, "It is not irresponsible to assert that we can understand Conufcianism for the first timne only after we have studied Chan." Kengo, pp. 52-3.

age. [68] The interest in Buddhist matters was reflected in the number of literati actively involved in writing gazetteers about and staying in monasteries. As before, however, imperial support was crucial: the fortunes of Buddhism, like those of Daoism, were always closely tied to the personal whims and changing interests of the emperor. [69]

In their desire to present Xu Xiake as a modern geographer whose concerns were primarily scientific, some Chinese critics have tried to suggest that Xu was uninterested in religion. Wu Yufang, for example, plays down the importance of Xu's friendship with the monks whom he met, saying they were useful to Xu only in terms of providing information about the mountains he was visiting. [70] However, there is more to Xu's interest than this: there are many examples of Xu enjoying the company of monks, both Daoist and Buddhist, though more often the latter. He wrote of his desire to reach another Buddhist mountain spurring him on (XXKYJ 790). On the way, waiting for a master to return, Xu spent a day looking at the Buddhist classics (XXKYJ 812). Elsewhere in Yunnan, relishing a fragrant spot, Xu regretted the lack of a monk with whom he could share the experience (XXKYJ 731). Xu clearly considered monks to be the perfect companions for the remote mountains.

There were many other meetings with sympathetic monks in the diaries. Near the town of Yihuang in Jiangxi, Xu was delighted to meet a monk, Guanxin, who was familiar both with the mysteries of Buddhism and Confucianism, and the profundities of literature. They stayed up half the night talking, with no wish to go to bed (XXKYJ 144). [71] In Guangxi, Xu was again delighted to be in the company of a monk in a mountain monastery: "in the still and peace of the empty mountains, in a dustless jade palace, a visitor and a monk faced each other in openness, just as if we were amongst the many summits of the jade peaks, making worthwhile my autumnal wanderings". [72] In Qingyuan, in western Guangxi, Xu lit a special Buddhist torch (*changmingdeng*) in order to dispel the amassed *Yin qi* (*yi qu jiyin zhi qi*) (XXKYJ 576, for further examples of Xu praying in Buddhist temples, see XXKYJ 575, 647, 731, 747 and 750).

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[68] Billeter, pp. 64-6.

[69] Yü, p. 155. There was a reaction against Buddhism at the start of the seventeenth century as the Neo-Confucianist establishment reasserted its strength. See Brook, *Praying for Power,* pp. 74-5. Xu Xiake commented on this: on passing a ruined temple in Guilin, once full of Song dynasty carvings, Xu wondered whether its decline was due to the rise and fall of the fortunes of Buddhism or just the vicissitudes of time (XXKYJ 312).

[70] Wu Yufang in SSWH, p.79.

[71] This encounter was omitted from JML, see WYW 2.84.

[72] XXKYJ 445. The epithet *wuchen* (dustless) meant a Buddhist freedom from mortal affairs.

Xu's interest in Buddhism is also attested to by contemporaries, the first line of Wu Guohua's tomb essay referring to his reading of Buddhist texts (XXKYJ 1188), while Chen Hanhui, after citing the heroic exploits of Xuanzang, wrote, "When [Xu] Xiake travelled westwards, he already regarded this life as illusory: once on Buddhist soil, he wished to carry out his desire to cast off his mortal shell" (XXKYJ 1195). Xu's close personal relationship with the monk Jingwen has been mentioned above. Following Jingwen's death, Xu had to rely on the monks and literati he met in the course of his travels. Often the sole residents in the remotest parts of the countryside, the monks were knowledgeable about local matters and educated, an important combination for Xu, for whom they provided the ideal foil. In order to illustrate Xu Xiake's interest in Buddhism, I will now examine in detail his stay on Mount Chickenfoot, while also bringing in other references to Buddhist temples and monks in the diaries, as a way of highlighting his interest in Buddhist affairs and illustrating his employment of Buddhist language.

Mount Chickenfoot

Xu Xiake stayed on Mount Chickenfoot for several months, spread over two visits, writing more about it than any other mountain. According to Buddhist legend, it is the place where Jiaye (Kasyapa) waited 600,000 years for Mile (Maitreya), brother of the Buddha, a legend referred to several times by Xu in the course of his stay on the mountain, both in the text of the diaries and in his poems and other writings (XXKYJ 829). Originally known as Jiuqu Shan (Mount Nine-curve), it was known as Jizu Shan (Mount Chickenfoot) by the late sixteenth century. Neither in his diaries nor in the extant fragments of his gazetteer of the mountain does Xu Xiake use the old name at all. [73] It is likely that the change reflected the advent of stronger ties with Buddhism, leading to an association being made with a Mount Chickenfoot in India, which was connected with the legends surrounding Asoka, emperor of India in the third century BC. [74]

There were Buddhist buildings on the mountain as early as the Three Kingdoms period (220-280), and more were built during the Tang dynasty. However, the most flourishing period was during the Ming and Qing dynasties when there were more than three hundred and sixty shrines and around five thousand monks on the mountain the five biggest temples all having between several

[73] Jiuqu Shan is the name used in DMYTZ 5282.

[74] This suggestion was made by Wang Shixing. See Wang Shixing, p. 150. For the Indian Mount Chickenfoot, see Soothill, p. 470. According to one of Yang Shen's texts on Yunnan, the first native chief of the area was a third-generation descendant of Asoka, emperor of India in the third century BC. DMB 1533.

hundred and a thousand worshippers. [75] At the start of the Wanli-reign period (1573-1620), the emperor's mother donated a copy of the Buddhist scriptures to the monks, who stored them in the Dajue Si (Great Awareness Temple) (XXKYJ 848 and 1145). Mount Chickenfoot, sometimes referred to as the fifth Great Buddhist Mountain [76], was visited by a number of prominent late-Ming literary figures, including Wang Shixing, Xie Zhaozhe and Li Zhi, who in 1581 renounced an official position in nearby Yaoan, where he had spent four years, in order that he might study Buddhist texts there. [77] Wang Shixing wrote that the monks, "all kept to their vegetarian diet, controlled their passions and did not transgress Buddhist law." [78]

There are various descriptions of the mountain's physical appearance. The entry in DMYTZ reads: "More than one hundred *li* east of the River Er, its peaks are clustered together like the petals of a lotus flowers. Above the nine twists lies the renowned Nine-layered Peak, at the top of which are impenetrable caves" (DMYTZ 5282). Xie Zhaozhe wrote:

> Mount Chickenfoot is also known as Mount Nine-curve. One hundred *li* north-east of Dali, its peaks are clustered like lotus flowers curving and twisting nine times. At the summit are three feet like those of a chicken, hence the name. There are seventy-two shrines on the mountain ... Looking in all directions from the summit the other mountains, apart from the west cliff of Mount Diancang, all look up to it ... At New Year monks from western China and India who gather in great numbers carrying incense and chanting, can be seen from a distance of one hundred li: a scene almost out of this world. [79]

Wang Shixing visited Mount Chickenfoot in 1591. Xu Xiake referred to Wang's short account of his visit, correcting Wang's mistaken assumption that the Sacred Peak (Sheng Feng) was the middle of the mountain's three spurs (XXKYJ 1118). Wang's short diary begins with a concise explanation of the reason for the

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[75] Chen Ding (born around 1650), like Xu Xiake a native of Jiangyin, visited Yunnan and Guizhou during the Qing dynasty. He reported that, from Han times to the present day, on the first day of the new year, Buddhists came to the mountain on pilgrimage from all directions, writing, "the five biggest temples all have between a thousand and several hundred worshippers, all mountain farmers." Chen Ding, "Dian youji" (Journey to Yunnan) in *Xuehai leipian* (Taibei: Wenhua Shuju, 1964) vol.10, pp. 5937-5945. See also Lu Yongkang *Xu Xiake in Yunnan* (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin, 1988), p. 81.

[76] The Four Great Buddhist Mountains (*Sida Mingshan*) are Mounts Wutai, Putuo, Emei and Jiuhua. Representing the four quarters of the universe, each was the setting for a manifestation of one of the great Bodhisattvas in human form. By the Ming dynasty, they constituted a grand Buddhist pilgrimage. Naquin and Yü, "Pilgrimage in China", p. 17.

[77] For an account of Li Zhi's stay in Yunnan, see Billeter, pp. 109-121.

[78] Wang Shixing, pp. 147-150.

[79] Xie Zhaozhe, *Dianlüe, juan* 2, 8b-10a.

name given to the mountain. While Wang at times inserts his presence into his description of the mountain, it is generally more of a description of the mountain as a whole rather than a diary, though it does record the physical exertion involved in climbing the mountain. Like other travellers to the southwest, Wang was ecstatic at the scenery, writing, "Seeing this alone was sufficient to justify my travels in the mighty south ... Gradually, my spirit seemed to be about to soar off." [80]

By the time of Xu's visit, there had been several changes. He noted, for example, the Tianchang Ge (Everlasting Pavilion), which had been built in 1627. In Wang's essay, the Tuzhu Miao (Earth Lord Temple) was the summit of the mountain. According to Xu's diary, in 1637, a certain Zhang said that it was essential that Kasyapa should be worshipped at the summit of the mountain, so the Jiayedian (Kasyapa Temple) was moved to the site of the Tuzhu Miao which in turn was moved to the left-hand side of the new temple, again revealing the placing of greater emphasis on Buddhism (XXKYJ 827-8).

From the beginning of his stay at Mount Chickenfoot, Xu Xiake's diaries demonstrate an interest not just in the landscape but also in the affairs of the resident monks. He mentioned conversations with monks and was already recording historical details pertaining to the buildings. On first arriving at Mount Chickenfoot, Xu described how, as a result of the large number of pilgrims and the small space available, the pilgrims crowding round a Buddhist master had to take turns to speak to him. The master greeted Xu, quoting from the *Yi jing* about a meeting of like minds, the fact that Xu was greeted so effusively serving as an indication of Xu's stature. [81] Xu also recorded the mass of pilgrims visiting at New Year, mentioned in Wang Shixing's essay, and described how their torches lit up the whole of the mountainside all night long, matching the stars glittering in the sky. [82]

Yi-fu Tuan has pointed out that Buddhism, for all its emphasis on ascetism and otherworldliness, also depends on the existence of an institutional and material base, that is roads, sacred places, inns for pilgrims and monasteries. [83] The goal was the creation of "sacred space", which "does not exist naturally, but is assigned

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[80] Wang Shixing, p. 150.

[81] XXKYJ 824-5. "Things that accord in tone vibrate together. Things that have affinity in their inmost natures seek one another (*Tong sheng xiang ying, tong qi xiang qiu*)". *Zhouyi zhengyi* (Annotated Edition of the Book of Changes) (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 1.9a. Translation from *I Ching or Book of Changes* Translated by Richard Wilhelm. Rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes, (London: Arkana, 1989), p. 382.

[82] XXKYJ 832-3. Such a mass of pilgrims' lights was a common sight at the time. For more on this, see Dudbridge, "Pilgrimage", pp. 226-7. Three weeks after New Year, Xu noted that previously busy spots on the mountain were now quiet (XXKYJ 859).

[83] Yi-fu Tuan, *Passing Strange*, p. 241.

sanctity as man defines, limits and characterises it through his culture, experience and goals." [84] In both his diaries and his gazetteer for Mount Chickenfoot, Xu Xiake was concerned with recording the mountain's powerful numinosity: his precise descriptions of the physical setting do not reflect an obsession with minutiae but are rather the result of a desire for a holistic approach.

Surrounded by overwhelming numinosity, Xu always retained his concern for the beauty of the mountain. Commenting on a rock closely associated with various Buddhist legends, he wrote, "Even if there were no famous associations, the setting amidst winding cliffs coiled round to the outside, and tumbling gullies coiled up in the middle, as well as the rock's position touching the bank and overlooking a gully was in itself a strange sight" (XXKYJ 830). Unlike most travel diaries, Xu's visit to Mount Chickenfoot involved a lengthy stay in one place. The amount of time he spent on the mountain allowed him to see the effects of the changes in the seasons. Seeing newly opened blossom on trees outside the Xitan temple, he was moved to allude to a poem by Du Fu concerning the coming of spring.[85]

On Mount Chickenfoot, Xu's discussion of Buddhist affairs included references to worshipping Buddha (*li Fo*) (XXKYJ 835) and taking part in "pure conversation" (*qingtan*) (XXKYJ 837). He wrote of a monk who had died as "returning to the Western region" (*gui xifang*) (XXKYJ 825) and of "forests" (*conglin*), a term for groups of temples (XXKYJ 822, 838 and 844). He used the term "fragrant plant" (*lanre*) for a monk's cell (XXKYJ 837), and described climbing the mountain as like "stepping above Vulture Peak" (*nie Jiuling er shang*), an Indian mountain that was the legendary setting for the preaching of the Lotus Sutra (XXKYJ 836). [86] He also gave the kind of sensuous experience described above a Buddhist context, the combination of snow on the tall peaks and light shining in the valleys of Mount Chickenfoot making his heart and vision into the font of all life (*shi ren xin mu rongche)* and transforming his surroundings into a vibrant Dharma world. [87] This can also be seen earlier in the diaries: an impromptu

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[84] R.H. Jackson and R. Henrie, cited in Chris Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion*. (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 248.

[85] XXKYJ 840-1. Du Fu, "Deng lou" (Climbing a Tower), QTS, vol. 1, p. 561.

[86] XXKYJ 825, 836 and 845. For the definition of Vulture Peak, see Soothill, p. 488. Zürcher notes that Xie Lingyun compared a monastery on Mount Lu with the same Vulture Peak, Zürcher, pp. 207-8.

[87] XXKYJ 852. Soothill, p. 271, gives 'the absolute from which all proceeds' as a translation for *rongche.*

poem, for example, containing Buddhist imagery such as the term "three lives" (*sansheng*). [88]

Xu also used Daoist language and displayed a similar respect for Daoist shrines and temples: in Hunan, he declined to enter a Daoist temple, feeling that his sore feet were impure (XXKYJ 254). Xu also used many Daoist terms, such as "immortal's dwelling place" (*danqiu*) from "Yuanyou", "reflected shadows" or the "highest point of the Daoist heaven" (*daoying*) and *yunqi* a term used in painting to describe scroll-like representations of clouds and especially clouds on mountains which symbolised mystical forces. As shown above, Xu regularly referred to the other-worldly. In his account of a visit to Mount Lu and again in Yunnan, he referred to the three immortal fairy islands in the eastern ocean (XXKYJ 25 and 896).

Shortly after leaving Lijiang, Xu visited the Daoist peak, Mount Jinhua, which he decided was the greatest place he had seen for cave paradises. In his account of his time on the mountain, Xu referred to various Daoist paradises, including "stamen palace" (*ruigong*), "hibiscus city" (*rongcheng*) and "heavenly palace" (*yuchen*) (XXKYJ 895-6). In Guilin, Xu wrote of a "jasper terrace" (*qiongtai*) (XXKYJ 300), while there is a similar passage recounting Xu's visit to the Dragon Cave outside Yangshuo, when his terms included another Daoist term for paradise "stamen pearl palace" (*ruizhugong*), "the assembled jade tops of the mountains" (*qunyu shantou*) alluding to an immortal mountain inhabited by the Queen Mother of the West, this being followed by a description of how he wished to float off and become an immortal, only to realise that he was merely at the extremities of the human world, a feeling which left him downcast (*taran sang wo*), the latter phrase an allusion to the opening line of the second chapter of *Zhuangzi*, when Ziqi sits sad and alone. [89]

There are several occasions in the diaries when Xu referred to "mountain spirits" (*shanling*), the most revealing of which came in eastern Yunnan, when he suddenly felt a sharp pain in his right foot:

> I said, "It must have been a sacred spring that I just bathed my feet in: the mountain spirits are punishing me! I will intone a Buddhist chant to relieve the pain. If the gods are willing, the pain will cease after I have

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[88] XXKYJ 550.

[89] XXKYJ 335. The phrase *qunyu shantou* appears elsewhere in the diaries, see XXKYJ 96, 355, 445, 636, 1116 and 1142. It is clear from these extracts that many Daoist terms include words connected with either flowers or jade. Among the many other references to jade in Xu's diaries are "jasper mansions" (*qiongge*) (XXKYJ 1055), "jade bamboo" (*yu sun*) a term for stalactites (XXKYJ 385 and 797) and "jade dragon" (*yu long*) meaning waterfalls (XXKYJ 115, 839. 923, 1038, 1058, 1143 and 1158).

> prayed for ten paces." I proceeded for ten paces and the pain did stop abruptly. In my journeys through the mountains, I do not like to speak of strange things (*bu xi yu guai*). However, this event is part of my personal experience and knowledge, and, because of it, I would not like to deny the existence of mountain spirits. [90]

Elsewhere, he also wrote of the mountain spirits working to help him in his travels. On one occasion, when he found what he had been looking for after taking the wrong route three times, he wrote, "you cannot say the mountain spirits had nothing to do with my success" (XXKYJ 459). However, there were times when there was a lack of co-operation from the gods. After attempting to visit the Yan Caves in southern Yunnan, Xu declared, "I recalled how I had wished for decades to see these three caves, and had hastened here over many thousands of miles. However, on arrival not only was my way blocked by Yi rebels, and cut off by the God of Water (Yanghou), but the sun had been too pressing and I was led astray by my guide. I realised this was the most inauspiciously timed of a lifetime's travels." [91] Among his other references to mountain spirits, Xu Xiake sometimes displayed an unusually flippant tone, on one occasion claiming that they were teasing him (XXKYJ 674) or, at Mount Chickenfoot, in a deprecatory comment on some inscriptions, asking, "What have the mountain spirits done to deserve this?" (XXKYJ 830). [92]

Xu Xiake's poetry

As part of his gazetteer of Mount Chickenfoot, Xu Xiake wrote a series of poems describing the ten sites of the mountain. They contain numerous allusions to both Buddhist and Daoist legends, the Buddhist myths attached to the mountain, in particular, forming an integral part of the poems. Much of the vocabulary had already appeared in Xu's diaries of his visit to the mountain, with some lines lifted

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[90] XXKYJ 696-7. In saying he did not like to speak of strange things, Xu was consciously echoing the words of Confucius who also did not speak of strange things (*bu yu guai*), translated by D.C. Lau as "did not speak of ... prodigies". *Analects*, p. 88. *Lunyu, juan* 8.11a.

[91] Xu's guide had told him that there was too much water in the caves at the time of his visit, which took place in the summer by when the ice inside the cave had melted. Moreover, wrongly directed by his guide, Xu had taken a big detour with the result that he ran out of daylight (XXKYJ 683-5).

[92] For *shanling* see also XXKYJ 115, 180, 425, 1044, 1144 and 1149. Other travel writers of the late-Ming dynasty referred to mountain spirits. See Wang Shixing, "You Qixing Yan Ji" (Trip to Seven Star Cave), p. 140, and Yuan Hongdao, who wrote "Why is it that vulgar scholar-officials can desecrate the Mountain Spirit with impunity?" in "Qi yun" (Even with the clouds), *youji,* p. 25, translation by Jonathan Chaves, *Pilgrim of the Clouds,* pp. 101-2. Also Yuan's "Huashan hou ji" (Later trip to Mount Hua), *youji,* p.39. There is also a reference to mountain spirits at the end of Zhang Juzheng's visit to Mount Heng, referred to in chapter three of this work. See GJTSJC, vol.24, p. 628.

almost verbatim. In his diaries, Xu's words of appraisal most often appear within clusters of four-character phrases. In the poems, he used a similar vocabulary but was able to develop more of a narrative, bringing in a succession of myths and Buddhist legends, as well as the numinous language present elsewhere. A good example of this can be seen in his poem on the mountain's waterfall.

> Waterfall soaring into the void
>
> Three feet facing east, for whom is it the key?
> Like a bolt of silk suspended in front of myriad gullies,
> The three peaks gaze at each other with the Chicken to the rear,
> Over the tops of the waves suddenly appears Ma peak to the fore.[93]
> Jade pearls criss-cross in the image of the nine heavens, [94]
> Frozen snow tumbles over, bellowing in the paired cliffs.
> I wish to ride the back of the Jade Dragon
> To the mountain peaks where flocks of cranes flutter. (XXKYJ 1158) [95]

The "three feet" of the first line and the "tripod feet" of the fourth line refer to the three spurs of the mountain from which it derives its name. The first four lines establish the location of the waterfall, close to Ma'an Peak with the main part of the mountain behind. The fifth and sixth lines describe the appearance of the falling water before Xu ends by introducing a cosmic element, expressing his desire to achieve immortality. Several of the terms in this poem appear firstly as part of the main text of the diaries, and secondly, in the introduction to the poem. The two passages read:

> Looking from Watching Waterfall Pavilion to the opposite side, I could see the water descending below the Jade Dragon Pavilion, a bolt of silk suspended (*xuan lian*) from the cliff more than 100 *zhang* deep, pouring right down to the foot of the pass buried in bamboo thickets. Looking down I could not see the foothills. However, sitting on the pavilion looking up and down, I could see the summit floating in mist, suspended in the highest heavens, while on the sheer cliff in falling snow below were inlaid the deepest earths while the combination of the brightness of the clearing blue

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[93] There are references in the text of the diaries to Ma'anling, horse saddle peak, which Xu described as a small depression or cavity (XXKYJ 844). There is also a Ma'anling on Mount Yandang, close to the Great Dragon Waterfall, in the description of which Xu used the term *tengkong* (soaring into the void) as in the title of this poem, XXKYJ 8 and 76,

[94] See Li Bai's poem, "Wang Lushan pubu shui" (Gazing at Mount Lu's Waterfalls), where the waterfall is described as resembling the Milky Way descending from the highest heaven (*yi shi Yinhe luo jiutian*). QTS, vol. 1, p. 420.

[95] XXKYJ 1158. Cranes are associated with various myths of immortality. including that of Dong Shuangcheng, a servant of the Queen Mother of the West, who, having obtained the Dao, began playing a mouth-harmonium before mounting a crane and leaving to join the immortals. Schipper, p. 74. Xu Xiake's poem, "De Hengzi" (Finding the *Heng* character), contains the line, "Should you reach the summit, do not ride the yellow crane of immortality (*fengtou qie mo qi huanghe*)" (XXKYJ 1149).

sky and the floating gleam of the blossom led me to feel I was not in the realm of mortals (XXKYJ 841).

The waterfalls of Mount Lu are not as great as those on Mount Yandang, which, being admired by all, have entered the list of the four great sights. The Jade Dragon Waterfall of Mount Chickenfoot is also not like the rocks at the spur of Monkey Cave [96] which dodge in and out of sight. However, Jade Dragon hangs alone in front of the mountain, surging and bubbling through the multitudinous gullies lifting up the scenic spots. Just like Mount Lu, one cannot divide the sites up in order of preference (XXKYJ 1143).

Xu's poem thus draws on both his travel diary and his introduction found in the gazetteer he wrote on the mountain. The passage from his travel diary ends with one of Xu's customary flourishes, clusters of four-character phrases leading to a declaration of spiritual removal from the mortal world. Within the format of his poems, Xu could maintain a steadier approach, without the need for such dramatic conclusion. The poetry of Xu Xiake is if anything top-heavy with imagery, yet is clearly the product of a person devoted to the landscape. "Poetry", wrote Qian Qianyi, "is where the heart's wishes go. One moulds one's native sensibility (*xingling*) and wanders amidst scenery." [97] Barbara Aziz has written that, for pilgrims, poetry and songs have allowed writers more liberty in "merging tales of an inner spiritual quest with the earthly journey." [98]

Xu's use of both Buddhist and Daoist imagery, as well as his love of mountains, can be seen elsewhere, in a poem on Mount Lesser Fragrance, near Jiangyin:

Finding the *Hu* character

The beautiful footprints in the empty mountain gently call to mind the king of Wu's wife,[99]
Where the recluse, untrammelled and carefree, is inspired by Su Shi. [100]
Plum blossoms, planted here for three thousand kalpas,
Have pared down to form the first stone-like tree.
The reflected moon fragments in the distance as we worship Guanyin,[101]

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[96] This is most likely a reference to the famous Monkey Rock on Mount Huang, *Mingsheng Cidian,* p. 432.

[97] Qian Qianyi quoted on p. 239 of Richard John Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: Wang Shi-chen's (1634-1711) Theory of Poetry and its Antecedents" in de Bary, *Unfolding,* pp. 217-270.

[98] Barbara Nimri Aziz, "Personal Dimensions of the Sacred Journey: What Pilgrims Say." *Religious Studies* 23 (1987): 247-61, here 249-50. Aziz's work deals mainly with India.

[99] Xu's preface to the poems begins, "My cousin Leimen has built a hut and is growing plum blossoms on Mount Lesser Fragrance, a name which came from the occasion when the king of Wu sent his wife there to pick fragrant plants" (XXKYJ 1148)

[100] Words from a poem by Su Shi about plum blossoms were inscribed in a hall on the site (XXKYJ 1148).

[101] The preface reads, "To the rear of the hall some of the rocks were pared down to form a cliff, some were gouged out to make a pool, while some were laid out to make a portico, with an

And darkness and light come and go over the small mountain,
In a short while I will have pulled free of all mortal dreams,
For now, my withered bones in the cold of the forest face the jade pot. [102]

Elsewhere, the poems Xu wrote in honour of his companion Jingwen were also brimming with Buddhist imagery and expressed more openly his love for the monk than any entry in the diaries.

Mount Chickenfoot and its *fengshui*

The *fengshui* layout of Mount Chickenfoot, while on a smaller scale than his discussion of the three great dragons, was no less important to Xu Xiake, since geomantic considerations were of paramount significance in the burial of Jingwen. He commented on the lack of a pagoda as soon as he arrived at the mountain, and immediately expressed his approval for the location of the one being built (XXKYJ 823). At a later stage, he went into greater detail, according both the layout of the mountain and the positioning of the pagoda his greatest approval. On reaching the Xitan Temple, situated on the south-eastern of the three mountain spur, he wrote:

> When I first arrived at Mount Chickenfoot, on reaching Dajue temple, I examined the mountain's setting from every angle: each of its circling peaks was dotted with Buddhist shrines and retreats, all perfectly placed. The only imperfection was the lack of a pagoda here at the heart of the mountain. (XXKYJ 844)

Having seen the setting for the pagoda, he concluded, "It was all Heaven-made and Earth-disposed, a marvel of nature, and could not be matched by human invention" (XXKYJ 844).

Two of the other Mount Chickenfoot poems reveal Xu's blending of a number of beliefs concerning mountains and different religions.

A pagoda rounds off the scene.

Poem one

When Asoka made his powerful vows [103],
Deep in the mountains was revealed spiritual work.

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embroidered Bodhisattva placed in the middle for worship, and tea-tables and couches to one side as a place for visitors to rest." Ibid, 1148. Xue Zhongliang gives a note saying that the embroidered Bodhisattva was Guanyin. See Xue Zhongliang, p. 63.

102 XXKYJ 1149. In all, Xu wrote five poems and a preface about the mountain. XXKYJ 1148-51.

103 For a reference to the Asoka legend in the text of Xu's dairies see XXKYJ 844. Asoka was reputed to govern 84,000 countries, so it was necessary to build the same number of temples.

Coiling and facing in the skies all the pagodas are finished,
One pillar alone props up the hinge right in the middle. [104]

The scenery surpasses the immortal lock and key of Turtle Peak,
The light shines like the jade lotuses of Vulture Peak.
It is as if, at the summit, the Queen Mother of the West came up to me,
By the long sword of the Kongdong mountains we met again.

Poem two

Who used the shadow of his hand to spread divine knowledge?
The immortal palm piercing the void constructs double layers.
China's famous mountains receive the nine gifts [105]
Xunmen and Wenbi are the piercing twin peaks.

The azure cliffs on all four sides open out a fresh aspect,
The Golden Buddha in three realms presents a Dharma countenance.
Openly facing Zi'en I write a poem of praise,
This day in southern Yunnan, I boldly make sacrifice. (XXKYJ 1157-8)

Again the poems, the gist of which is the favourable comparison of Mount Chickenfoot with China's other famous sacred mountains, contain elements found in the text of the diary, such as "Vulture Peak' (Jiu Ling) (XXKYJ 836), "lock and key" (*suoyue*) (XXKYJ 843) and "immortal palm" (*xianzhang*) (XXKYJ 1121). The pillar in the fourth line of the first poem represents the mountain's status as an *axis mundi*. The poems sum up Xu's eclectic approach, bringing in a range of Buddhist myths, concerning Asoka and famous Indian peaks, Daoist legends such as the Queen Mother of the West and Turtle Peak, the dwelling place of immortals, as well as assessing and praising the setting of the mountain and its buildings.

"Shanzhong Yiqu Ba"

Xu Xiake also wrote a colophon for a collection of poems written by his host, Mu Zeng, entitled "shanzhong yiqu ba" (Colophon to Untrammelled Zest for the Mountains). An engraved version of this colophon was discovered in 1986: written in seal script, its considerable illegibility has led to some controversy about its exact content, and there have been at least three different versions published. The text, including several blanks, was first published in the 1987 reprint of the Shanghai edition of the diaries. Since then, Zhu Huirong has produced a different version of the text, with no blanks, which he included in a paper presented at the Conference

[104] In his introduction to this poem, Xu wrote "The Buddha's aura (*yu hao*) was everywhere, all that was lacking was a hinge on the doorway: a golden hand in the middle of the sky suddenly became a lotus sutra of a thousand auspicious signs" (XXKYJ 1143). The term *yu hao* represents the white curl between the Buddha's eyebrows from which he sent forth the ray of light that illuminated the world. Soothill, p. 195.

[105] The nine gifts (*jiu xi*) were symbols of official imperial favour. There are a number of different lists found in ancient works such as the *Zhou li*.

held in Guilin in 1991 marking the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Xu Xiake's death. [106] In the 1993 edition of the Shanghai edition of the diaries, most of the blanks have been filled in but they do not all correspond with the text which Zhu Huirong presented in 1991. While the 1987 Shanghai edition of the diaries referred to the discovery of the text, there is no further explanation in the 1993 edition of the process by which the text was revised.

Zhu Huirong has presented the history behind the discovery of this text. In the 1940s, Wan Jiaxuan discovered a "preface" to Mu's collection of poetry ("shanzhong yiqu **xu**"), in the possession of Mu's descendants in Lijiang. This has since been shown to have been written by Zhang Taiding, not Xu Xiake. [107] However, Zhu Huirong has since discovered the real colophon in Mu Zeng's collection, one of two epilogues written by Xu Xiake and Liang Zhihan. There are two surviving editions of Mu Zeng's work: a block-printed edition, stored in the Yunnan Provincial Museum and a hand-made copy, now in the Yunnan Provincial Library. In all it contains two *fu,* three *sanwen* and one hundred and fifty-two *shi* poems with notes and commentaries. There are two forewords, one by Zhang Taiding and one by Tang Tai, the latter dated 1637: the text of the former foreword is exactly the same as the text written down by Wan Jiaxuan, with the exception of Zhang's name at the end instead of Xu's. Of the various prefaces and epilogues to Mu's text, only Zhang's is full of flattery for Mu. Zhu Huirong concludes that the name was changed during the Qing dynasty, pointing out that the first character of Xu Xiake's *ming,* Hongzu, was changed to a slightly different *hong* in order to avoid the use of a character belonging to the Qianlong emperor, Hongli, which had by then become taboo. [108]

Xu's text was written while he was staying at Jietuolin Monastery at the start of the second month of 1639. The text of Xu's diaries refers only to Xu editing and writing a foreword to a work of Mu Zeng's entitled "Yunke tanmo ji". Zhu suggests that the transcribers of Xu's diaries simply made a mistake, writing down "Yunke tanmo ji" for the second day of the second month of 1639 instead of "Shanzhong

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[106] XXKYJ 1987 and 1993, 1138-9 and Zhu Huirong "Xu Xiake "Shanzhong Yiqu Ba" de Faxian" (The Discovery of Xu Xiake's "Colophon to Untrammelled Zest for the Mountains"). Paper presented at the "Conference Marking the Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of Xu Xiake", held in Guilin in 1991. I have since corresponded with Zhu Huirong on the subject. There is a poorly reproduced photograph of the text in the 1987 and 1992 editions of the diaries XXKYJ 1303-4.

[107] Zhu, "Faxian", pp. 6-9. For the text of this preface see pp. 76-7 of Wan Jiaxuan, "Xu Xiake yiwen kao" (An Examination of Xu Xiake's missing works) in *Jinian lunji,* pp. 75-98. .

[108] Zhu also shows areas in which the amount of knowledge of Mu Zeng displayed in the preface does not accord with that shown elsewhere by Xu Xiake. Zhu, "Faxian", pp. 7-8.

yiqu ji" (XXKYJ 875) and that Xu's essay was changed from a foreword to a colophon after he saw that two forewords had been written already. An alternative explanation would be that "Shanzhong yiqu" is a part of "Yunke tanmo ji".

Xu's colophon of five hundred and forty-six characters, engraved in seal script, takes up nine pages, each page has four lines with on average eight characters a line, each character one to two centimetres high. Each page is divided into columns by lines of red ink and has a black silk border, with "Shanzhong yiqu Xuba" and the page number at the top, At the end of the piece are two seals in intaglio, the first bearing the name *Xiake,* the second the words "printed by Xu Hongzu" (*Xu Hongzu yin*).

Both the editors of the Shanghai edition and Zhu Huirong have stressed that they consulted several calligraphy experts in trying to work out precisely what is in the text, Zhu emphasising the difficulty of reading seal script, where the same character can be written in several different ways within the same text. [109] Zhu has also pointed out that the engravers of Xu's original hand-writing may have made mistakes in the transcription. The following tentative translation of the text is based on both versions. The two texts, along with a third version showing the characters used for this translation, can be found on pages 224-6 of this work.

Colophon for "Untrammelled zest for the mountains"

> Since the time when Heaven and Earth [110] were first separated out, Earth was the heavier part and it was at the extremities of this heavy part that the mountains came forth. Using a weighty and stabilising body to establish the turtle extremity-pillars and ordain the mountains of the four regions, [111] all that one could see was that they were tranquil and constant, [112] there was not yet anybody who could confer on them an untrammelled feeling. Who would know that, when one's body has a tranquil form, the spirit is untrammelled of its own accord and when the mountain is settled, its nature is untrammelled of its own accord.
>
> When the earliest recluses escaped from form and effaced shadows, dug through walls in order to escape, and blocked themselves off in hidden valleys, [113] did they really think that this was being untrammelled? No, they were just people making their dwelling in the mountains.

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[109] XXKYJ, "Zaiban shuoming", p. 26. Zhu, "Faxian", p. 12.

[110] For *liangyi* (the two primary forces) see *Zhouyi juan* 7.17a., and *I ching,* p. 318.

[111] The compound *zhending* "to settle" appears in the *Guoyu* (Discourses of the State) (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), *juan* 13.4b. Nü Wa broke off the legs of the turtle in order to form the four extremities, see *Huainanzi, juan* 6.7a.

[112] Cf. *dong jing you chang* (Movement and rest have their definite laws) *Zhouyi juan* 7.1b., *I ching,* p. 280.

[113] The compound *zaopei* "to carve through a wall (in order to escape)", is from the *Huainanzi, juan* 11.14b. *Yin* is used in *Zhuangzi* to describe the actions of Yu in controlling the rivers of China, *Zhuangzi,* p. 1077.

If we look further, Yi Yin found *yi* in ploughing, Tai Gong in fishing, Xie Fu in chess, Tao Kan in moving bricks. [114] However, the state of being untrammelled cannot be sought out externally. If we seek comparisons in this way, then the great Shun was greater than these men, for was it not he who once lived in the trees and rocks and roamed with deer and swine, yet later was it not also he whose untrammelled nature burst out like a surging river which none could control? [115] To track down a man of the wilds one could try it in a marketplace but to try and track the great Shun one would not be successful there (in a marketplace), for his was truly an untrammelled nature. [116]

All emperors, ancient and modern, strive to emulate Shun, who, when in court with his officials, musicians and fine clothes, was able to find a great zest, as a result of the great strength that he had acquired during his time deep in the mountains. [117] However, since the time of Shun, there has been a long history of people toiling in the mountains and rivers. For that reason, the divine Yu toiled there till calluses appeared on his hands and feet, while Qin Shihuangdi had a bridge built into the sea and restored the Great Wall. [118] How can these be the so-called untrammelled people?

Why is it that only the venerable gentleman, Duke Shengbai of Lijiang (Mu Zeng), has untrammelled zest for the mountains? It is not that the world is toiling while we alone are untrammelled or that the world is lamenting together while we alone tend towards zestfulness. The world's toiling belongs to the world while we remain aloof. The ability to bring calm belongs to us, and the whole world will secretly receive protection. As for those mountains which cannot provide peace, we can leave them alone.

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[114] Yi Yin, who lived in the Shang dynasty, delighted in farming the fields according to the principles of Yao and Shun. He was summoned by Tang, the ruler of the Shang, to become a minister. *Mencius,* p. 146. *Mengzi, juan* 19.6b. Jiang Shang was fishing in the Wei river when he met King Wen of the Zhou. He was brought to court and later founded the kingdom of Qi. For his biography, see *Shiji,* "Qi Taigong shijia", Vol. 5, *juan* 32, pp. 1477-1513.
Xie Taifu was the posthumous name of Xie An (320-385), an important official who, on receiving news of the victory of his armies at the battle of Feishui in 383, carried on playing chess without displaying any emotion. Xie An, who was the great-great uncle of Xie Lingyun spent the early years of his adult life living in seclusion in the hills of Guiji. For an account of Xie An's life, see *Jin Shu, juan* 79, pp. 2072-90 and J.D.Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream, The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433), Duke of K'ang-Lo.* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 1-6. Tao Kan (259-334), while in Guangzhou, moved a pile of one hundred bricks outside in the morning and back again in the evening. His mother was famed for cutting off her hair to sell in order to provide wine for a guest, a story referred to by Chen Jiru in his biography of Xu Xiake's mother, XXKYJ 1258. For Tao Kan's biography, see *Jin Shu, juan* 66, pp. 1768-82, for a reference to the bricks see p. 1773.

[115] This is a paraphrase of Mencius. In D.C. Lao's translation: "When Shun lived in the depth of the mountains, he lived amongst trees and stones, and had as friends deer and pigs. The difference between him and the uncultivated man of the mountains then was slight. But when he heard a single good word, or witnessed a single good deed, it was like water causing a breach in the dykes of the Yangtse or Yellow River. Nothing could withstand it." *Mencius*, pp. 184-5. *Mengzi, juan* 26.14b.

[116] The phrase *qiu zhi bude* appears in *Zhuangzi,* in a passage describing Mozi trying unsuccessfully to emulate the labours of the great Yu. *Zhuangzi,* p. 1080.

[117] This is also drawn from Mencius, "When Shun lived on dried rice and wild vegetables, it was as though he was going to do this for the rest of his life. But when he became Emperor, clad in precious robes, playing on his lute, with the two daughters (of Yao) in attendance, it was as though this was what he had been used to all his life." *Mencius,* p. 195. *Mengzi, juan* 28.8a.

[118] For the story of Qin Shihuangdi having a bridge built out into the ocean east of the coast of Shandong in order to reach the place where the sun rose, see *Yiwen leiju* (Collection of Literature arranged by Categories), compiled by Ouyang Xun (557-641), 2 vols (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), vol. 2, *juan* 79., p. 1347.

These mountains are not like the mountains of China proper, but mountains which we can calm and settle. Neither are they like the mountains of my home region: they are mountains which can be crowned and receive calming and settling.

So it is that where the rain is pure and brushes the rocks then *yi* is in the unfurling clouds issuing from the peaks.

Where the snow is pure and flies its willow floss, then *yi* fills half the sky with jade.

Where the stream is pure and brimming from its source, then *yi* is in the confluence of streams from all around. [119]

When the ideals are pure and there is sweet music, then *yi* is in the Grand Beginning. [120]

When the songs are peaceful and there is the noise of percussion, then *yi* is in the Heavenly-Music.

This book of yours is the means by which you roll up your talents and store them in secret, [121] different from both Yi Yin in the state of Shen and Taigong at the River Wei. [122] You calm your (thoughts of) regret for not being known and therefore you are content in a state of being untrammelled. But if you were to be summoned to the great foothills, your work would be no less great than (what is expressed) in the songs of the court of Shun. [123] This being the case, it is the zest of this poetry that can present the empire to primaveran climbers of terraces [124] and a harmonious influence to the cosmos.

So why should we talk about the mountains? The reason why we connect zest with mountains is precisely because it was in the mountains that the turtle pillars were established and the four extremities manifested.

Hongzu sought out mountains throughout the empire and it is in the mountains that he has now found a state of being untrammelled. For this reason he is extremely delighted to write a preface for this collection.

The first day of the second month mid-spring in the year Simao in the reign of Emperor Chongzhen, your humble pupil Xu Hongzu, Xiayi, respectfully wrote this at Jietuo tanlin.

In this densely allusive colophon, Xu extolled the virtues of Mu Zeng and other great historical and mythological figures who found *yi,* or a state of "being untrammelled", from the legendary ruler Shun, who lived in the mountains in the company of deer and pigs, to Yi Yin who found *yi* in the act of ploughing. The first part discusses the formation of the world. At first the mountains existed on their

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[119] For the phrase *zuoyou feng qiyuan*, see *Mengzi juan* 16.12a-b.

[120] The "grand beginning" (*taishi*) refers to the "cosmic breath" (*qi*) that existed before the world was fully formed. *Liezi*, p. 3.

[121] In the Analects, *juan* "to roll up" is used to describe the rolling up and storing away of abilities in a time when the Dao has fallen into disuse. *Lunyu zhengyi, juan* 18.5a. *Lun* is here taken as short for *jinglun* meaning managing the affairs of state, see *Zhouyi juan* 1.17b. For *cang mi*, see *shengren yi ci xi xin tui cang yu mi, Zhouyi juan* 7.16a. "The holy sages purified their hearts, withdrew, and hid themselves in the secret." *I ching,* p. 316.

[122] Shen and Wei are associated with Yi Yin and Taigong, the first two seekers of *yi.* Yi Yin ploughed in fields of the state of Shen, part of northwest Henan. Jiang Taigong fished on the banks of the River Wei.

[123] The phrase "being sent to the foothills" (*nadalu*), comes from the Canon of Shun, see James Legge, Vol. 3 Pt. 1, p. 32. It has come to mean the assumption of overall authority.

[124] The climbing of a terrace in spring (*ru chun deng tai*), a phrase originally found in *Laozi,* was synonymous with lofty contemplation. *Laozi duben*, p. 45.

own: at that time *yi* was not present. The second part concerns society, Xu giving examples of people who sought *yi* saying that it was only with Shun that there was true *yi* and that, after him, the exploits of Yu and Qin Shihuangdi did not constitute true *yi*. The third section analyses Mu Zeng's claim to have *yi*, praising Mu's literary and artistic skills. Xu discussed the way in which Mu's poetry fulfilled the quality of *yi*, asserting that here was a quality particular to the remote parts of the country, and especially the mountains. Xu ended the piece by saying that he had sought out mountains throughout the empire before eventually finding *yi* at Mount Chickenfoot.

Xu's colophon is written in the style of the eight-legged essay *(ba gu wen)* the standard form at the time for the imperial examination. [125] Xue Zhongliang has pointed out the various opposing pairs that appear in the essay, "work" (*lao*) and "untrammelled" (*yi*), the world (*tianxia*) and "I" or "we" (*wo*), and "lamenting" (*bei*) and "zestfulness" (*qu*). [126] The positive attributes of *yi* and *qu* were both much sought after in the late-Ming period. The earliest uses of *yi* can be found in the *Zuozhuan* (The Tradition of Zuo), where it means variously "to flee", "to hasten" or "to liberate". There is also a section of the *Book of Documents* entitled "Wuyi" (Against luxurious ease), which begins, "The Duke of Zhou said: "Oh! The Superior Man rests in this, that he will have no luxurious ease." The passage is a homily in favour of diligence and against wastefulness. [127] By the imperial period, the meaning of *yi* was no longer derogatory. Ge Hong's "Accounts of Reclusion" (*Yinyi Zhuan*) described people who in their, "lofty superiority did not serve". [128] There is a section of *Shishuo xinyu* entitled "Living in Retirement" (*qiyi*), which refers to those who chose to retire from official life and includes a section on the enjoyment of Nature.

From the Tang dynasty, *yi* was used as a painting term, introduced by Li Sizhen (d.696), for whom a painter of the "Untrammelled Class" (*yipin*) was independent and rejected orthodoxy. [129] Ni Zan (1301-1374) wrote, "I do bamboo simply to express the untrammelled spirit in my breast." Xu's contemporary, the critic Tang Zhiqi (1579-1651), acknowledged that *yi* was difficult to define.

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[125] For a short explanation of the eight-legged essay, see Ching-i Tu, "The Chinese Examination Essay: some Literary Considerations" *Monumenta Serica* 31 (1975): 393-406.

[126] Xue, p. 166. There is a compound *laoyi,* meaning toiling and freedom, which refers to Helu (? -496 BC) ruler of the state of Wu, who was renowned for the simplicity of his lifestyle, "Thus diligently did he care for his people and share with them in their toils and pleasures." For translation of this piece from the *Zuo Zhuan*, see Legge, Vol. 5, p. 795.

[127] *Ciyuan,* p. 1669. Legge, Vol.3 Part 2, p. 464.

[128] Berkowitz, p. 325. Ge Hong's work has not survived.

[129] Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 47.

However, it clearly had positive connotations for, while it could be pure, elegant, refined, subtle or profound, it had never been associated with murky, vulgar, indecisive or base. He wrote, "Although *yi* verges on the bizarre, really it is without any intention of being bizarre." [130] Chen Hanhui wrote that Xu Xiake investigated the untrammelled affairs of the ancients (XXKYJ 1191).

Qu - variously translated as "zest", "charm", "interest" or "delectation" - was a concept "central to late Ming literary criticism". [131] Perhaps the best exponent of the appeal of *qu* was Yuan Hongdao, who in a famous passage wrote, "*Qu* that is derived from nature is profound, while that achieved through learning is shallow ... The more one knows of the way (of things), the farther one is from *qu.* " [132] Both *yi* and *qu* relied on the ability of the individual to be spontaneous, drawing on what Wang Yangming had termed "innate knowledge". It was this spontaneity that Xu Xiake sought in his travels, the embodiment of Zhuangzi's "Free and Easy Wandering". In one of his earliest journeys, to Nine Carp Lake in Fujian, Xu wrote that the names given to the sites all accorded perfectly. However, for Xu, "in this realm of vaporous clouds and mists, the *qu* was all in the scenery not in seeking out connections with the names that had been engraved" (XXKYJ 36).

Xu found beauty everywhere in the landscape and felt that through cultivating his own positive attitude, he would be able to bring peace and calm to the rest of the world. The colophon to Mu Zeng's poetry, written near the end of Xu Xiake's life, is an unusually personal piece of writing, in which Xu took the opportunity presented by the topic to enunciate his personal philosophy. It may perhaps serve as his epitaph. The crucial inference to draw from the essay is that *yi* could not be achieved solely by rigorous physical striving but represented above all a state of mind.

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130 For a discussion of the term *yi*, see Susan E. Nelson "*I-p'in* in Later Painting Criticism" in Bush and Murck eds., *Theories of the Arts in China*, pp. 397-424, Tang Zhiqi appears on page 415. There is more evidence of interest in the term *yi* in the late-Ming. *Gujin yishi* (Ancient and modern untrammelled matters), a collection edited by Wu Guan, which appeared during the Wanli reign period, contained several major works dealing with geographical matters both real and fanciful, including *Mu Tianzi Zhuan, Shanhai Jing, Wuyue Chunqiu, Luoyang Jielan Ji* and *Guihai Yuheng zhi. Gujin yishi* ed Wu Guan (Taibei: Song, Yuan, Ming Shanben Congshu, 1969) 20 vols. Gao Lian's "Eight Discourses on the Art of Living", at the end of each section of which the author discussed *yishi,* was first published in 1591, Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, pp. 13-14.

131 Watt, pp. 4-5. A number of western scholars have touched on this subject. See also Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, pp. 88-9, Andrew Plaks *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 30 and Jonathan Chaves, "The Panoply of Images", p. 345.

132 From Yuan Hongdao "Preface to Chen Zhengfu's *Huixin Ji",* in *Yuan Zhonglang Quanji,* p. 5. Translation by Watt, p. 5. Other contemporaries who wrote on the subject included Wang Shizhen and Li Rihua. Gao Lian wrote, in *Zunsheng bajian*, "I discuss art from the point of view of charms (*qu*) in nature, in human life and in objects". Translated in Lin Yutang, *The Chinese Theory of Art: Translations from the Masters of Chinese Art.* (London: Heinneman, 1967), p. 117.

Conclusion: Sublime/Sacred Space

Yi-fu Tuan has written that landscape in China always had mystical-magical properties and that the aesthetic was always linked to other values, including the life-force and morality. [133] Mountains and the caves located within them were an important aspect of the boundaries between the real and the imagined, the mundane and the sublime, providing a link between the human world and a diverse mixture of religious and cosmological systems. The language of Xu Xiake reflects the many spiritual journeys found in Chinese literature, underlining the fact that his diaries, often dismissed as little more than field notes, in fact abound with religious and numinous expressions. His surviving poems, many of which are concerned with mountains, also involve the use of such language as Xu sought to express his desire to achieve a state of spontaneity.

In the mountains, it was possible to glimpse the sublime and it was there that Xu ultimately found the freedom for which he had been searching. The act of climbing on high involved a variety of motives, including aesthetic appreciation using the type of language outlined earlier in this thesis, and the need to obtain the best view possible in order to ascertain with precision the layout of the land. Joseph Addison wrote of the difference between the sublime and the beautiful and, like others of his age, was attracted by the idea of vastness, writing, "a spacious horizon is an image of liberty". [134] By the late Ming, the mountains of eastern China were well-known and much visited. As a result there was a certain sameness about the way in which literati travel writers expressed their encounters with sublime scenery. As Frances Ferguson has written, the sublime "dwindles as soon as familiarity converts the necessary distance of danger and death into an absolute banishment of those dreads." [135] By visiting the remote southwest of China where the mountains were so much higher than those found on the central plains, Xu was able to transcend such familiarity and discover an untrammelled state.

Xu Xiake, then, sought the sublime, an ideal expressed in his language and achieved through his obsessive travelling. At the same time he gained a Daoist-like freedom from restraint balanced with a proto-scientific scepticism and rationalism. Michel Soymié has suggested that Chinese accounts of trips to mountains are not always reliable. Indeed, being a mixture of the real and the imaginary derived in many ways from ancient "ecstatic excursions", they are not always intended to be

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[133] Tuan, *Passing Strange,* p. 215.

[134] Addison cited in Nicolson, p. 314.

[135] Frances Ferguson, *Solitude and the Sublime: Romanticism and the Aesthetics of Individuation.* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.46.

so. "Les promeneurs chinois ont un canon du pittoresque", wrote Soymié. [136] James Cahill, noting that the recording of transcendent experiences was common to travel diaries on Mount Huang, suggests that the religious concepts of Buddhism and Daoism should be expanded to encompass the "quasi-religious experience of the sublime". [137] It is against this background that Xu's writing should be assessed. His summary of the gazetteer he wrote for Mount Chickenfoot, started with a list of phenomena associated with the mountain, before moving on to discuss physical sites and then human constructions (XXKYJ 1139-47).

The Taoist tradition, which guided much of Xu Xiake's writing, was, as Simon Schama correctly points out, hostile to the idea of mountains as the site of human triumph and possession. Mountains in China were "places from which to survey not the panorama of the earth, but the mysterious immaterial essence of its spirit". [138] In fact, for Xu Xiake, the physical and spiritual aspects were inseparable. He wished to examine the physical layout of the land in order to discern cosmic patterns in line with the notions of *fengshui* whilst also relying on the sensibility of the classically-trained literatus.

In his trips to the sacred mountains and caves of China, Xu Xiake was concerned with the idea of sacredness, what is now called "sacred space". The Chinese experience in this respect differs from generalisations made about the creation of sacred space. Leed, citing the research of Dean MacCannel, wrote that the first stage of the creation of holy sites involves the removal of any extraneous associations. [139] The non-exclusive tendency of Chinese beliefs ensured that it was possible, as was the case for much of the late-Ming, for Buddhist and Daoist shrines to occupy the same site. Xu's concern that Jingwen's tomb and the pagoda should be built in the accordance with the tenets of *fengshui* reveal a belief that the sacred space on the mountain should be used correctly. The act of writing the first gazetteer to deal exclusively with Mount Chickenfoot allowed Xu a powerful role in the creation of the mountain's sacred space as well as its various *jing*.

When Xu entered caves or climbed mountains, he concluded his lengthy passages of accurate description with lavish poetic language, full of supernatural praise, and extolling of the other-worldly. His language reflected Daoist descriptions of journeys to paradises, which contained many references to light, flying and clouds. This chapter has provided further evidence for a comprehensive refutation of

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136 Soymié, p. 3.
137 Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings", p. 277.
138 Schama, p. 407.
139 Leed, pp. 143-4.

Xu's unwarranted reputation as a literary dullard, whose sole concern was the pursuit of scientific knowledge. Underlying every aspect of Xu's approach is a spiritual dimension, the obsession which drove him to pursue his travels, and the belief in landscape as a living force, alive not solely with a dynamism aligned with a mass of cultural, religious and literary associations.

Conclusion

Xu Xiake was born in Jiangyin, near the mouth of the Yangtse River and at the heart of the Jiangnan area of China's eastern coast, which by the end of the Ming dynasty was becoming the economic centre of the country. Economic and social changes had created a wealth of new possibilities and new trends, enticing many away from the traditional path towards an official career. The opportunity for indulgence in a wide range of activities, which at other earlier times would have been considered unproductive or anti-social, led to a new emphasis on the activities of the individual.

Like many of his peers, Xu decided to eschew the pursuit of an official career. There were fewer positions available and many of those who did choose to follow such a path suffered endless troubles: the experiences of Dong Qichang, Huang Daozhou, Zheng Man and others could only serve as a warning of the potential dangers of pursuing official success. Instead, members of the literati branched out into an ever-widening field of activities, of which travel and writing about travel formed a significant part. Increased leisure time inspired travellers to venture further from home, while the growth in syncretism spurred seekers of enlightenment, such as Gao Panlong and Luo Hongxian, to appropriate the form of the travel diary as a means of depicting their spiritual experiences, which could then be expressed in either Neo-Confucianist or Buddhist terms, or even in the all-embracing language of aesthetic appreciation employed by Xu Xiake.

Xu Xiake wished to go in the opposite direction from the path to officialdom. Finally granted the requisite freedom to undertake such a journey by the death of his mother, it was to be another ten years before he was able to depart for southwest China. Xu's short travel diaries were written over a relatively long period of time, the last only three years away from the start of his long journey and twenty years after his first diary. The difference between his early short diaries and his lengthy account of his trip to southwest China is in the respective attention paid by them to the minutiae of travel. The early diaries are all self-contained, with only the most basic details of the journey to and from Jiangyin. Not wishing to be away from his mother for any longer than necessary, these journeys were presumably carried out, not on foot, as was the case for much of his last journey, but by boat or on horse-back.

While the later diaries are clearly not as polished as the earlier accounts, the quality of writing in difficult circumstances is remarkable. The language itself did not undergo a huge change, many elements of the earlier diaries being retained, notably the climactic clusters of four-character idiomatic phrases and the expression of the

desire to enter another world. What did change was the way in which Xu painstakingly recorded details of his precise progress between the sites, which were his goal.

What has become apparent is that for all the many deficiencies of existing geographical works, southwest China, although still a relatively remote region for the Chinese, was by no means the blank spot that has been suggested. As the work of Lombard-Salmon on Guizhou has shown, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the area had received many visitors from the central plains, several of whom had written extensively of their experiences. In his diaries, Xu referred to numerous writers, who had spent time and left their mark in the region. Of these writers, the most important for Xu Xiake were Yang Shen and Wang Shixing. [1] In the late-Ming, there were more members of the literati going to the southwest and records of their experiences were more readily available.

The mistaken assumption by some writers of Xu Xiake as *the* pioneer of the exploration of southwest China has resulted in too great an emphasis being placed on that aspect of his writing, at the expense of the literary quality of his diaries. Even Li Chi, who rightly summed Xu up as a "quintessential lover of nature", wrote of his later diaries, "The spirit of scientific inquiry, hitherto present but subordinated, replaced the quest for natural beauty as the predominant motive for his travelling." [2] In fact, some of the discoveries often thought to have been made by Xu were already common knowledge. He was not primarily concerned with the collection of physical and written data, in spite of there being many examples of such activities in the later diaries, from the copying of stelae engravings and searching out of relevant books to the gathering of strange trees and rocks. Furthermore, unlike the accounts of meetings between the Jesuits and contemporaries, including Zhang Huang and Yuan Hongdao, there is no evidence of any influence from the recently-arrived Westerners on Xu Xiake's work and methodology.

This is not to devalue Xu's copious writings on the karst caves of Guangxi and Guizhou, and his constant corrections of mistakes in the official gazetteers, but to place then in the context of the age in which they were produced. When he wrote about caves, Xu was unquestionably concerned with their habitability and other concrete factors, but the language he used to describe them was firmly based, not in reliable scientific criteria, but in an array of aesthetic terms, both those of the

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[1] Liu Guocheng notes that Yang Shen's works were published in Fujian in 1554 and thus likely to have been available in the Jiangnan area during Xu Xiake's childhood. Liu Guocheng, pp. 174-5. As noted above (pp. 34-5), Xu did show interest in Yang Shen during his time in Yunnan.

[2] Li Chi, pp. 28 and 20.

traditional travel diary and those that were prevalent in the late-Ming. The range of words used for investigating are a reflection more of his desire to see and experience everything, than his undeniably present, yet relatively minor, interest in proto-scientific exploration. It is safer to see him as a forerunner for the *kaozheng* school of the Qing dynasty, which would for some lead the traditional *youji* into the arid wastes of the mere recital of facts, typified by the travel writings of Fang Pao and Yuan Mei.

Some of Xu's writing about his time in southwest China reflects the conventional Confucian side of his character, the solitary figure who feared "chaos" (*luan*) and sought order. Elsewhere he expressed a freer Daoist desire to seek peace and magic in Nature, in line with his other writings. Xu's time in southwest China, moreover, can be adapted to more universal models of travel. His visits to Mount Chickenfoot and Lijiang were both the great arrival of his greatest journey and the climax of a life-long pilgrimage to Nature. While for Tang Dalai and other Han exiles the centre of the world was eastern China, for Xu, it was in the remote south-west that he found the freedom he sought, as he acknowledged in his colophon to Mu Zeng's verse.

In his account of his visit to Yunnan, Xu Xiake fulfils the role of a pilgrim on a sacred journey, the destination being Mount Chickenfoot, a prominent contemporary sacred space, popular with members of the Han literati, yet located in what was, in many ways, alien territory. The introduction Xu wrote to a series of poems on Jingwen refers directly to their journey together as a pilgrimage and his travels cover several categories of a typology of sacred journeys. [3] Burying Jingwen's remains was the most visible achievement of this journey and signifies the accomplishment of a finite worldly goal. It could even be argued that, while there was no external compulsion, Xu's obsession with Nature fuelled a physiological craving and compulsion. The main distinguishing feature of Xu's travels is that his devotion was to Nature, rather than to any religion. The initiatory status of his journey lies partly in religious enlightenment, as evidenced by his manifest sympathies with the Buddhist way of life, but most clearly in his discovery of a state of untrammelled happiness in the mountains. The extant fragments of his gazetteer for Mount Chickenfoot, and his poems, the work of a great literary mind, are the product of a lover of Nature.

Ultimately, though, it is as a wanderer that Xu will be remembered. There need be no contradiction between someone who both embodies the idea of *xiaoyao*

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[3] A list by Alan Morinis contains six types of sacred journey: A) Devotional: an encounter with a shrine divinity; B) Instrumental: to accomplish finite worldly goals such as a cure for illness; C) Normative: part of a ritual cycle; D) Obligatory, such as the *haj*; E) Wandering: with no predetermined goal, for example Basho's quest for timeless eternity; F) Initiatory, that is transformation of the status of the participant. Alan Morinis, ed. *Sacred Journeys*, Introduction, pp. 1-28, here, pp. 10-14

you while at the same time seeking scientific truth, in however rudimentary a fashion. He displayed Confucian benevolence and rectitude while inclining towards the freedom of Daoism and Buddhism. and in this can be seen as a representative of the syncretic spirit of that age.

Xu's language: spirit and texture (*shenli*)

Painters such as Wang Lu and Dong Qichang who sought in their work to convey the spirit of the landscape, and specifically of individual mountain, inspired Xu Xiake to attempt to describe such experiences in his diaries. As was shown in chapters three and four of this work, Xu's vocabulary is a reflection of his physical exploration of the landscape, a highly sensual and tactile approach. He travelled through the scenery with a desire for truth, but he also had Liu Zongyuan's desire to join up with the landscape, the union of *jing* and *qing*. In fact, Li Ciming was in some respects correct in his summing up of Xu's writing. [4] Xu Xiake was indeed motivated by a desire to investigate the strange and bizarre and his methods of geographical investigation were undoubtedly still technically primitive. However, that is the very appeal of his work.

His espousal of so many of the traditional aspects of the travel diary is apparent throughout his writings, manifested most visibly through the weight of language borrowed from classic texts and the great figures of Chinese Nature literature, Tao Yuanming, Xie Lingyun, Liu Zongyuan and Li Bai. The recently discovered longer version of the early stage of Xu's journey to southwest underlines the extent to which his language was rooted in the world of traditional travel writing, in which distinctions between mundane and mystical geography were blurred. It has been shown above how these distinctions remained influential in the late-Ming, a period when the short "day-trip" travel diary was part of the literary mainstream, such diaries being written by many of Xu's friends and near contemporaries, It is tempting to categorise Wang Shixing and Yuan Hongdao, who were for Xu Xiake the two most influential travel writers of the age, as representing respectively the objective and subjective approach to the genre. However, such pigeon-holing is too simplistic. Xu was influenced both by the investigative spirit of Wang Shixing and by the literary style of the Gongan school, whose advocacy of *xingling,* the belief in a creed of spontaneity of expression, was reflected in so much of his writing about Nature. At the same time neither Wang Shixing nor Yuan Hongdao were exclusively objective or subjective.

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[4] See page 6 above.

I would argue here that Chinese travel writers maintained a sense of the sublime and not merely of the need for the picturesque as suggested by Yi-fu Tuan's comment quoted above. Thus, while Xu had certain geographical aims, for example finding the sources of rivers and the highest point of mountains, the overall aim of his travels reflected an obsessive restless need for ever more wandering. The remarkable achievement of his diaries of his visit to southwest China was in their recording of so much detail as he travelled and his writing to such a consistently high standard.

Xu Xiake embodied the late-Ming idea of the obsessive, acknowledging, for example, his addiction for mountains, as quoted above, "My cousin and I are both obsessed with mountains. In my boundless roaming there is nothing I wish to omit." [5] Chen Jiru wrote, "In his long travels Xu was neither an official nor a trader, nor was he on a social outing, but was just obsessed with the landscape" (XXKYJ 1258). Huang Daozhou wrote of remarkable men being obsessed with mountains (XXKYJ 1161), while the opening line of Wu Guohua's tomb essay states that Xu was "born with a strange obsession" (*sheng you qipi*) (XXKYJ 1188). Wang Shixing was similarly described as being obsessed with scenery. [6]

It was a range of late-Ming cultural trends that were the most important for Xu Xiake. The Gongan school's desire for spontaneity in writing along with Neo-Confucianist enlightenment through contemplation and meditation, and the general move towards syncretism combined to form Xu Xiake's literary style. Clunas has placed works concerned with aesthetic matters, by writers such as Gao Lian, in the forefront of all contemporaneous social activity claiming that they represent the late-Ming *Zeitgeist,* as surely as writings by the better-known, more regularly cited figures, Li Shizhen, Xu Guangqi and Song Yingxing, whose works recorded scientific developments. [7]

In his biography of Xu, Qian Qianyi described how, in his early years, Xu "felt cramped like a bird crashing into the corners of his cage, and his every thought was of going away" (XXKYJ 1198). On the occasion when he was detained by monks in a temple in Yunnan Xu replied to their entreaties to stay longer, "to delay one day would be to turn this beautiful place into a prison (XXKYJ 791). When, in

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[5] XXKYJ 1148-9. See chapter four, page 138 for a discussion of this passage.

[6] *Siku Quanshu Zongmu Tiyao*, p. 1654. Dorothy Ko cites the case of Ye Wanwan, a woman from a prosperous family from Wujiang south of Suzhou, who died at the age of twenty-three after an unhappy marriage, during which she consoled herself with the hope of retiring to a mountain as a hermit with her sisters and thus satisfying her "mountain addiction". Ko, pp. 192-6.

[7] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, pp. 13-14. See Li Chi for reference to Li Shizhen et al, pp. 26-8 See also Li Dezhong "Shilun Xu Xiake jingshen de jiben neihan ji qi chengyin" (An Examination of the essential significance and foundation of Xu Xiake's spirit) in *Xu Xiake Yanjiu Wenxuan*, pp, 3-14. For the listing of Li Shizhen et al, see p. 10.

Yunnan, he was forced by lack of money to sell his clothes, he paused only briefly to eat some food before heading off immediately to visit another cave.

Xu was driven by a desire to see everything, to reach the highest point of each mountain he visited and to express what he saw in terms of its spirituality and other-worldliness. only stopping at the end of the day when it was impossible to continue. His travels and the language of appreciation he employed to describe them were inspired not by a nascent scientific striving for knowledge but by the need to emulate the great writers of the past. He penned self-justifications for a life of reclusive wandering and, by extension, for his not taking the exams and becoming an official. He compared Mu Zeng with the mythological ruler Shun, as well as with Yi Yin and Xie An, all of whom were discovered living in reclusion. Their positions were also analogous to Xu's own position on the fringes of society.

Xu's essays on the Pan and Yangtse Rivers and the lengthy summarising passages contained within his account of his journey to southwest China are an indication that he could have written works similar to Wang's more general essays such as "Guangyou zhi". The new passages summarising Xu's travels in the southwest, such as the area round Qingyuan and the lengthy description of Baigan Yan in particular are full of numinous language and close in spirit to the traditional lyrical travel diary in the manner of Liu Zongyuan, while also containing the new exploratory spirit. Although he wrote in a similar way about the fusion of physical landscape and human emotion, Xu Xiake did not experience the same melancholia as suffuses the writing of Liu Zongyuan, the many references to his home region in his journey to southwest China serving as an indication not of his homesickness, but his wish to bring the familiar into a remote region for purposes of highlighting and comparison.

In Qian Qianyi's biography of Xu Xiake, it is Yelü Chucai, along with Zhang Qian and Xuanzang, with whom Xu is reported as wishing to be compared (XXKYJ 1201). Of these, the first two were officials, while Xuanzang travelled on a religious mission. All three covered huge distances. The longest travel diaries prior to the Ming dynasty were the Buddhist epics of Faxian and Xuanzang and the more leisurely exploits of Lu You and Fan Chengda in the Song dynasty. It is the expeditions of the great Buddhist pilgrims, who selflessly covered vast distances of inhospitable territory, that provide the most pertinent comparison with the diaries of Xu Xiake, whose journeying was certainly also on an epic scale. Leed has called such journeys, in which the writer is affected by the fatigue, hardship and dangers of the journey,

"Heroic". [8] For Xu and his contemporaries, the epic nature of such journeys had their origin in fabled accounts of the mythical journeys of early kings and emperors, Hawkes's idea of "ritual journeys". [9] Xu's interest from an early age in historical and geographical texts was stressed by Chen Hanhui, who mentioned accounts of journeys to far-flung places, a biography of Tao Yuanming, and tales of Daoist immortals and caves. "A great man should in the morning be at the blue sea, and in the evening at Mount Cangwu. Why should I restrict myself to one corner of the world?", Xu was recorded as saying. [10]

It was this spiritual element that dominated Xu's thinking. As he wrote to Chen Jiru:

> My greatest regrets are to have explored fully neither the distant obscurities of the heavens above, nor the profundities of human life below, nor the patterns of the lives of the current generations. All I have achieved is what I have picked out with my eyes and examined on foot between these highs and lows. (XXKYJ 1147)

It is in this way that the travels of Xu Xiake fulfil Leed's notion of indeterminate wandering, especially in their demonstration of freedom from necessity. [11] In the language of the late-Ming, this was expressed by the achievement of a state of *yi*, in accordance with the Daoist idea of Free and Easy Wandering. The descriptions of Xu by both Chen Hanhui and Chen Jiru suggest that Xu had the physical appearance of a Daoist. Xu's diaries and his poems are full of Buddhist terms, Yet, for Tang Dalai, Xu was neither a Buddhist nor a Daoist, the best way to read this being that he was neither wholly one nor the other, but a part of the syncretic trend of the age. The lavish praise bestowed on Xu Xiake by his contemporaries is a sign of their recognition of a freer spirit, one whose life was spent, for the most part, outside society.

On returning home from southwest China, Xu Xiake was once again moved by thoughts of his ancestors. Chen Hanhui reported Xu as heaving a sigh and saying, "In the end, the Three Beliefs do not go beyond the five relationships. My forebears are all buried in Jiangyin, and it is to there that I return today." [12] In the end, then, Xu Xiake was drawn by his temperament to the potential for spontaneity implicit in Daoism and Buddhism, yet remained loyal to Confucian propriety. His travel diaries

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[8] Leed, p. 8.

[9] See page 177.

[10] XXKYJ 1191. Mount Cangwu in Guangxi was the burial place of the mythical emperor, Shun.

[11] Leed, pp. 12-3.

[12] The Three Beliefs were Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. The five relationships, a Confucian concept, were those between a ruler and his subjects, between father and son, husband and wife and those between brothers and between friends. *Mencius,* p. 102. *Mengzi, juan* 11.11b.

contain much objectively reported information, yet the abiding impression is of a highly subjective lover of Nature.

Appendix One

In his 1928 edition of the text of Xu Xiake's diaries, Ding Wenjiang placed the Pan Lei foreword at the very beginning, adding a note saying that it had been brought to his attention by Liang Qichao;

> Although many forewords have been written for Xu Xiake's travel diaries, none of them adequately shows us what Xiake was like. Only Pan Lei's foreword, which firstly states how Xiake's travels were different from other people's, by praising him as 'the only person to travel in this way', secondly points out the mistakes in Qian Qianyi's biography, thus verifying the truth of the text and thirdly states that Xu's reason for travelling was that he did not have a reason, reveals a deep understanding of Xu's passion for knowledge. We are thus able to know Xu in his true light. [1]

Pan Lei's foreword

Literary men of great understanding often like to speak of travel. However, it is not easy to say what travel is. Without the breadth of mind to go beyond the mortal world, it is not possible to appreciate landscape; without the physique to traverse the scenic, it is not possible to seek out the remote and secluded; without many years of leisure, it is not possible to classify one's nature as free and easy. Without all these, when travelling near to home, you will not be extensive, by travelling in a slight way you will not find the remarkable, if you travel in convenient places you will not find pleasure; if you travel in a group, you will not be away for long. If you do not place your body outside worldly matters abandon daily affairs and carry out your goal alone, then although you will travelling it will not be real travelling.

I have perused the travel diaries of all the great writers of the past and realise that what they saw and passed is merely the tasting of a morsel of meat the peeling back of a section like just stepping over the gate of a courtyard rarely seeing the more secluded places.

As for those places which I have visited, I had to exhaust the heights and plumb the depths. For example, when I went to Linwu Cave I was able to became detached from the mortal world[2],

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[1] See Ding, foreword, p. 2. Pan Lei also wrote a preface for Wang Shixing's *Wuyue Youcao,* (see Wang Shixing, pp. 19-20) and was himself the author of several travel diaries. For a translation of Pan Lei's 1688 visit to Mount Luofu, see Michel Soymié, pp 44-50.

[2] Linwu Cave, the ninth of the sixteen Daoist cave paradises, is at the Western Dongting Mountain near Wu county in Jiangsu. MSCD 349. Although the term Gefan is underlined in XXKYJ, thus

when I went to Mount Yandang, I saw Yan Lake with my own eyes, when I went to Mount Lao, I ascended the summit of Hualou [3], at Mount Luofu, I lodged at the summit of Feiyun. On each occasion, I felt I had gone as far as it was possible to go.

After reading Xu Xiake's travel diaries, I can only apologise for this is not the case. Xiake's travels in the central plains were nothing special: however, his three or four trips to and fro the desolate regions of the hundred barbarians in Fujian, Guangxi, Hunan, Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou were supremely remarkable achievements.

In his journeying, he did not follow government roads, but wherever there was a spot worthy of fame he would abruptly twist and turn to seek it out. He would first examine in great detail the comings and goings of the mountain ranges and the joining together and separation of the water courses. Having ascertained the overall layout he would then seek out and investigate the fine details of every secluded spot.

When climbing, he did not need a path, for there was no wild tree or bamboo thicket through which he was unable to pass. When crossing water, he did not need a ford, there was no surging rapid or fierce torrent through which he was unable to pass. He unfailingly soared up to sit onthe summit of the steepest peaks and would hang like a gibbon and slither like a snake through the deepest caves, exhausting all the side passages. If his road came to an end, he did not worry; if he erred in his way, he did not regret his mistake. When he was tired, he would sleep lying down amongst the rocks and trees, when he was hungry he would eat the fruit of plants and trees. He did not seek to avoid the wind and the rain and was unafraid of tigers and wolves. He did not plan the dates of his journeys and did not seek travelling companions. For Xiake, travelling was both his innate sensibility (*xingling*) and his whole life.

He is unique in all times. In former years, Qian Qianyi admired Xiake's personality and wrote a special biography of him, giving a short outline of his life. However, because Qian had not seen the Travel Diaries, there are a number of inaccuracies in his work. Having looked out Xu's book, I know that the trips beyond the Yumen pass, up the Kunlun Mountains and investigating fully Lake Xingsu never took place: in fact, Xu only got as far as Mount Chickenfoot.

Xu's journeys amongst the rulers of the aboriginal tribes of Guangxi, Guizhou and Yunnan, his tracing upstream of the Lancang and Jinsha Rivers and his exhaustive investigation of the sources of the Northern and Southern Pan Rivers are truly a case of a Chinese person opening up new lands. After reading his diaries, I realised the breadth of the southwest region and its many remarkable mountains and rivers which surpass those of the central plains. His diaries, arranged on a daily basis,

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denoting a proper name, I have found no reference to such a place on the mountain. Accordingly, I have taken the term to mean a state of removal from normal worldly affairs. Chen Renxi wrote a poem about Xu Xiake's visit to the area (XXKYJ 1160).

[3] Mount Lao is in Shandong. MSCD 588.

directly record his feelings and the scenery without any over-elaborate description: natural delights flow on all sides, astonishing wonders of nature and the arrangement of the mountains and rivers are all displayed in front of our eyes. Local customs and human feelings, frontier bridges and border passes appear frequently: the mistakes in the old records of mountains and local regions are all corrected, while strange traces and remarkable tidings come (almost) too thick and fast for the reader.

However, Xu did not go in for wild and extravagant talk attempting to deceive the reader with false knowledge. Thus, in Xiake's travels, I admire not the vast distances which he covered but the fine precision of the detail, while, in his book, I admire not the range of arguments but the truths. Muzhai (Qian Qianyi) called Xiake the greatest traveller and he was right. Someone said: "Zhang Qian and Gan Ying made contact with all the tributary states of the Western Regions; Xuanzang went to India in search of Buddhist scriptures; Du Shi reached the western boundaries of Tibet and traced the source of the Yellow River. [4] What did Xiake achieve?"

He went without a reason and that was his reason. He was thus most single-minded. Because he was single-minded, he travelled alone. Because he travelled alone, he could come and go as he pleased and was able to achieve every one of his aims.

If the creator did not wish the supernatural marvels of our rivers and mountains to be long obscured, how is it the case that this man was born to reveal them? To sum up, there was an absolute need in the universe for such a remarkable man and an absolute need in the annals of literature for this book. It is a great shame that I am old and weary and thus unable once more to lift my skirts and head off to tread the hallowed path which made this person alone amongst remarkable people. (XXKYJ 1268-9)

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[4] Du Shi (n.d.) was sent to investigate the source of the Yellow River in 1280. Xu Xiake referred to both Zhang Qian and Du Shi at the start of his essay on the Yangtse River (XXKYJ 1127).

Appendix two

Two versions of *Shan zhong yi qu ba.* Firstly from the 1993 edition of the Xu Xiake diaries.

山中逸趣跋

自兩儀肇分,重者爲地.重之極而山出焉.
以鎭定之體奠鼇極而表方岳,但見其靜而有常而已,未有能授之逸者.
孰知其體靜而神自逸,其跡定而天自逸.
彼夫逃形滅影,鑿坯湮谷,曾是以爲逸乎? 是直與山爲搆者也.
進而求之,伊尹逸於耕, 太公逸於釣,謝傅逸於弈,陶侃逸於甓. 逸不可疏,
求類若此而大舜有大焉. 其與木石居鹿豕游者誰, 其爲沛然決莫能禦者又誰?
疏野人求之不得,口大舜用之不得,是所謂眞逸也.
千古帝皇,莫不以舜爲兢業.百人鼓琴被袗,其得力於深山者固趣甚.
自有虞以後,山川之勞人亦久矣.
神禹以之胼手胝足,秦人因之驅石范城,焉睹所謂逸人.
麗江世公生白老先生獨有山中逸趣者何?
非天下皆勞而我獨逸, 天下共悲 而我獨趣也.
以天下之勞攘還之天下, 而我不與之搆, 以我之鎭定運之.
俄而退下,陰受其庇. 與山之不能靜者,我獨歸之.
是山非天下之山, 乃我之能鎭能定之山也.
此山非我一方之山,乃天下之覓而受鎭受定之山也.
故雨清而犓石者,逸爲出岫之卷舒.
雪清而飛絮者,逸爲天半之瓊玉.
泉清而濫眞者,逸爲左右之逢源.
志情而宮商之音,逸爲太始.
賦靜而金石之宣,逸爲鈞天.
先生此集, 所以卷綸藏睹者,與口渭洛異而鎭惜念之心,故悠然跡外,
即納之大麓, 又何讓於舜庭之揚歌乎! 然則能齎天下於春臺者, 此趣能賜太龠
於寰宇者, 初趣而山中云乎哉! 然必係之山中者,所謂奠鼇極而表方岳也.
弘祖偏覓山於天下,而今乃得逸於山中,故喜極而爲之序.

崇禎己卯仲春朔旦江左教下後學徐弘祖霞逸父稽首拜書於解脱檀林

Zhu Huirong's version.

山中逸趣跋

自兩儀肇分,重者爲地.重之極而山出焉.
以鎭定之體奠鰲極而命方岳,但見其靜秀有常而已,未有能授之逸者.
孰知其體靜而神自逸,其跡定而天自逸.
彼夫逃形滅影,螻坯湮谷,曾是以爲逸乎,穸直與山爲搆者也.
進而求之,伊尹逸於耕,太公逸於釣,舜傳逸於奕,陶侃逸於局.
逸不可跡求,類若此而大舜有大焉.其與木石居,鹿豕游者誰,其逸沛然決,
莫能禦者又誰?
跡野人求之市,復跡大舜求之不得,是所謂眞逸也.
千古帝皇,莫不以舜爲兢業.自乃鼓琴被袗,其得力於深山者固趣.
但自有虞以後,山川之勞人亦久矣.
神禹以之胼手胝足,秦人因之驅石范鐵,於睹所謂逸.
乃麗江世公生白老先生,夙有山中逸趣者何?非天下皆勞,而我獨逸,
天下俱悲,而我欲趣.即以天下之勞攘還之天下,而我不與之搆,
以我之鎭定還之我,而天下陰受其庇.與山之不能相者,我欲跡之.
是山非天下之山,乃我之能鎭能定之山也.多山非我一方之山,乃天下之山,
而爲鎭爲定之山也.
故文章而犄石者,逸爲出岫之卷舒.
雲影而飛絮者,逸爲天半之瓊玉.
泉靜而濫觴者,逸爲左右之逢源.
丘壑而宮商之音,逸爲太始賦形,
而金石之宣,逸爲鈞天.
先生此集,所以卷綸藏密者,與莘渭各異而鎭意念之心,故悠然跡外.
即納之大麓,又何與於舜庭之颺歌.
垂承則能齎天下於春臺者此趣,能翔太龢 於寰宇者此趣,而山中云乎哉!
然必係之山中者,所以奠鰲極而表方岳也.
弘祖遍覓山於天下,而亦乃得逸於山中,故喜極而爲之序.

崇禎己卯仲春朔旦江左教下後學徐弘祖雲逸
父稽首拜書於解脱檀林

Version of the text used for this translation

山中逸趣跋

自兩儀肇分，重者爲地．重之極而山出焉．
以鎭定之體奠鰲極而表方岳，但見其靜而有常而已，
未有能授之逸者．
孰知其體靜而神自逸，其跡定而天自逸．
彼夫逃形滅影，鑿坯湮谷，曾是以爲逸乎？是直與山爲搆者也．
進而求之，伊尹逸於耕，太公逸於釣，謝傅逸於弈，陶侃逸於甓．
逸不可跡求類若此而大舜有大焉．
其與木石居鹿豕游者誰，其爲沛然決莫能禦者又誰?
跡野人求之市，復跡大舜用之不得，是所謂眞逸也．
千古帝皇，莫不以舜爲兢業．百人鼓琴被袗，其得力於深山者固趣
但自有虞以後，山川之勞人亦久矣．
神禹以之胼手胝足，
秦人因之驅石范城，焉睹所謂逸人？
麗江世公生白老先生獨有山中逸趣者何？
非天下皆勞而我獨逸，天下共悲而我獨趣也．
以天下之勞攘還之天下，而我不與之搆，
以我之鎭定還之我，而天下陰受其庇．
與山之不能靜者，我獨歸之．
是山非天下之山，乃我之能鎭能定之山也．
此山非我一方之山，乃天下之覓而受鎭受定之山也．
故雨清而犄石者，逸爲出岫之卷舒．
雪清而飛絮者，逸爲天半之瓊玉．
泉清而濫觴者，逸爲左右之逢源．
志情而宮商之音，逸爲太始．
賦靜而金石之宣，逸爲鈞天．
先生此集，所以卷綸藏密者，與莘渭各異，而鎭惜念之心，
故悠然跡外，即納之大麓，又何讓於舜庭之揚歌乎！
然則能齎天下於春臺者此趣
　　能賜太龠於寰宇者此趣
而山中云乎哉，然必係之山中者，所以奠鰲極而表方岳也．
弘祖偏覓山於天下，而今乃得逸於山中，故喜極而爲之序．
崇禎己卯仲春朔旦江左教下後學 徐弘祖霞逸父稽首拜書於解脱檀林

Glossary

Places

Anhui 安徽
Beijing 北京
Beipan Jiang 北盤江
Bianliang 汴梁
Chu 楚
Dajue Si 大覺寺
Dali 大理
Dian 滇
Dongchuang 洞窗
Donglin 東林
Er Hai 耳海
Fujian 福建
Gongan 公安
Gouqu 勾曲
Guangdong 廣東
Guangxi 廣西
Guilin 桂林
Guizhou 貴州
Hangzhou 杭州
Hengzhou 衡州
Hunan 湖南
Huaxu 華胥
Jiayedian 迦葉殿
Jiangnan 江南
Jiangsu 江蘇
Jiangxi 江西
Jiangyin 江陰
Jiangyou 江右
Jietuolin 解脱林
Jinsha Jiang 金沙江
Jinning 晉寧
Jingshan Tang 晴山堂
Jingxi 荆溪
Kaifeng 開封

Kuaile 快樂
Kunming 昆明
Lancang Jiang 瀾滄江
Lishe Jiang 禮社江
Lin'an 臨安
Lijiang 麗江
Liuzhou 柳州
Longyin Cliff 龍隱巖
Longjing 龍井
Lu Jiang 潞江
Luoyang 落陽
Menglai 猛賴
Nanning 南寧
Nanjing 南京
Nanyangqi 南陽岐
Nanpan Jiang 南盤江
Qian 黔
Qiantang Jiang 錢塘江
Qiongzhu Temple 筇竹寺
Quanzhou 泉州
Shouning 壽寧
Sichuan 四川
Suzhou 蘇州
Taihu 太湖
Taizhou 泰州
Tianchang Ge 天長閣
Tuzhu Miao 土柱廟
Wuxi 無錫
Xifan (Tibet) 西番
Xiang Jiang 湘江
Xiangshan Temple 香山寺
Xunzhou 潯州
Xiangwu 向武
Xingxiu Hai 星宿海.
Xuehua Dong 雪花洞
Yangzhou 揚州
Yixing 宜興

Yingfu Si 迎福寺
Yongchang 永昌
Yuexi 粵西
Yunnan 雲南
Zhaoqing Temple 昭慶寺
Zhejiang 浙江

Mountains

Baiyue Shan 白岳山
Daishan 岱山
Daiyu 岱輿
Daizong 岱宗
Diancang Shan 點蒼山
Emei Shan 峨嵋山
Fanghu 方壺
Heng Shan (Northern) 恆山
Heng Shan (Southern) 衡山
Huqiu 虎邱
Hua Shan 華山
Huang Shan 黄山
Huo Shan 霍山
Jizu Shan 雞足山
Jinhua Shan 金華山
Jiuhua Shan 九華山
Jiuqu Shan 九曲山
Kongdong Shan 崆峒山
Kunlun Shan 崑崙山
Lu Shan 廬山
Luofu Shan 羅浮山
Manao Shan 瑪瑙山
Pan Shan 盤山
Penglai 蓬萊
Putuo Shan 普陀山
Sheng Feng 聖峰
Shuanglong 雙龍
Sida Mingshan 四大名山

Song Shan 嵩山
Tai Shan 泰山
Tiantai Shan 天台山
Tianzhu Shan 天柱山
Wudang Shan 武當山
Wutai Shan 五臺山
Wuyi Shan 武彝山
wuyue 五嶽
Yandang Shan 雁宕山
Yingzhou 瀛洲
Yuanjiao 員嶠
Yunyang Shan 雲陽山
Zimei Shan 姊妹山

People

Ai Xingke 艾行可
Anren 安仁
Baiyi 白彝
Ban Gu 班固
Bian Hongxiang 卞鴻翔
Boyi僰彝
Cao Junfu 曹駿甫
Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 (1574-1646)
Chao Buzhi 晁補之 (1053-1110)
Chen Bofu 陳伯符
Chen Ding 陳鼎
Chen Hanhui 陳函輝 (1589-1646)
Chen Hong (Tijing) 陳泓 體靜
Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639)
Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 (1581-1636)
Chen Renyu 陳仁玉 (n.d.)
Chen Tao 陳陶 (a. 812-85)
Da Zhang 大章
Dai 傣 (people)
Dai 戴

Deng Ai 鄧艾
Deng Chun 鄧椿 (ca.1167)
Deng Huoqu 鄧豁渠 (1498-1570)
Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (1887-1936)
Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636)
Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770)
Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933)
Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852)
Duruo 杜若
Faxian 法顯 (337-422)
Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193)
Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646)
Gao Lian 高濂 (Fl. second half of sixteenth century)
Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626)
Ge Hong 葛洪 (281-341)
Gong Qiqian 龔起潛
Gong Yongqing 龔用卿 (1500-63)
Gu Xing 顧行 *Gu pu* 顧僕 *Gunu* 顧奴
Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-82)
Guo Xi 郭熙 (c.1020-a.1090)
He Mingfeng 何鳴鳳
He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠 (1558-1632)
He Xinyin 何心隱 (1517-1579)
He Zhenqing 何振卿
Helu (?-496BC) 闔廬
Hongbian 弘辯
Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962)
Huang Bian 黄汴
Huang Daozhou (Shizhai) 黄道周 石齋 (1585-1646)
Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (1045-1105)
Ji Mengliang (Huiming) 季夢良 會明
Jiaye 迦葉
Jiang Weibin 姜渭濱
Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540-1620)
Jin Gongzhi 金公趾
Jin Xiangfu 金祥甫
Jingwen 靜聞 (?-1637)

Li Ao 李翱 (772-841)
Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1447-1516)
Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758-814)
Li Ji (Jieli) 李寄 介立
Li Rihua 李日華 (1565-1635)
Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593)
Li Sizhen 李嗣李 (d.696)
Li Weizhen 李維楨 (1547-1626)
Li Xun 李恂
Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (1497-1580)
Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602)
Lichan 立禪
Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527)
Lianhua 蓮舟
Laolaizi 老萊子
Liang Hong 梁鴻
Liu An 劉安 (180-122 B.C.)
Liu Xin 劉歆 (ca.50 B.C.-A.D.23)
Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819)
Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210)
Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504-1564)
Luoluo 儸儸
Ma Dibo 馬第伯 (n.d.)
Ma Ge 馬革 (fl. ca. 1224-1239)
Ma Yuankang 馬元康
Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659)
Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740)
Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814)
Miao 苗
Mile 彌勒
Miu Changqi 繆昌期(1562-1626)
Mu Yi 木懿
Mu Zeng 木曾
Mu Ying 沐英
Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374)
Qianshiyi 千十一
Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664)

Qiang 羌
Qin Shihuangdi 秦始黄帝
Qu Yuan 屈原
Ruan Yuwan 阮玉灣
Sang Qin 桑欽
Shang Zichang 尚子長
Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095)
Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509)
Shen Songquan 沈松泉
Shenzong 神宗
Shi 史
Shi Xialong 史夏隆
Shu Hai 豎亥
Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86? B.C.)
Song Xu 宋旭 (1525-1605)
Song Yingxing 宋應星 (born ca. 1600)
Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (a.656-712 A.D.)
Su Shi 蘇軾(1037-1101)
Suo Jing 索靖 (239-303)
Tang Dalai 唐大來 (1593-1673) Jinhe 晉荷
Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1523)
Tang Zhiqi 唐志契 (1579-1651)
Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536)
Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316-1403)
Tian Heng 田横 (Warring States)
Tian Rucheng 田汝成(*jinshi* 1526)
Tu Long 屠隆 (1542-1605)
Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086)
Wang Er 王二
Wang Gen 王艮 (1483-1541)
Wang Lü 王履 (1332-1391)
Wang Qi 王圻 (1565-1614)
Wang Ruren 王孺人 (1545-1625)
Wang Shixing 王士性 (1547-1598)
Wang Siren 王思任 (1575-1646)
Wang Wei 王維 (701-761)
Wang Wei 王微.(ca.1600-1647)

Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379)

Wang Yangming 王陽明(1472-1528)

Wang Yuan 王遠

Wang Zhi 王質 (1135-1189)

Wang Zhongren 王忠紉

Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568-1627)

Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟 (1573-1636)

Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559)

Wu Guohua 吳國華 (Jinshi 1616)

Xiang Ziping 向子平

Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433)

Xie Kun (Youyu) 謝鯤 幼輿

Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1567-1624)

Xu Gou 徐岣 (1624-1678)

Xu Gu 徐錮

Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633)

Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729)

Xu Jianji 徐建極

Xu Qi 徐麒 (early Ming dynasty)

Xu Qi 徐屺 (Xu Xiake's son)

Xu Xiake 徐霞客 (1586-1641) Hongzu 宏祖 Zhenzhi 振之. Xiayi 霞逸

Xu Xian 徐峴

Xu Yanfang 徐衍芳

Xu Yi 徐頤

Xu Yin 徐夤 (fl. c. 873 A.D.)

Xu Yu'an 徐豫庵 (1545-1604)

Xu Yuqing 徐虞卿

Xu Zhen 徐鎮

Xu Zhongzhao 徐仲昭

Xu 許 Xu Xiake's first wife

Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 600-664)

Yanghou 陽侯

Yang Mingshi (Ningzhai) 楊名時 凝齋

Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559)

Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (fl. ca. 528-547)

Ye Tingjia 葉廷甲

Yelü Chucai 耶律楚才 (1189-1243)

Yi 彝
Yin Hao 殷浩 (Hongqiao) 洪喬 (?-356)
Yingzong 英宗(1457-64)
Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907)
Yuan Jie 元結 (719-772)
Yuan An 袁安
Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610)
Yuan Zongdao 袁宗道 (1560-1600)
Yue Shi 樂史 (930-1007)
Zao Longjiang 早龍江
Zhang Dai 張岱 (ca. 1597-ca. 1679/1684?)
Zhang Hong 張宏 (1577- after 1652)
Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525-82)
Zhang Qian 張騫 (?-114 B.C.)
Zhang Lingshi 張靈石
Zhang Taiding 章台鼎
Zhang Ziming 張自明 (fl. ca 1208-1224)
Zhang Zonglian 張宗璉 (1373-1427)
Zhang Huang 章潢 (1527-1602)
Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1824)
Zhao Zuo 趙佐 (1570?-1633)
Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1435)
Zheng Man 鄭鄤 (1594-1639)
Zheng Zhixuan 鄭之玄
Zhou 周
Zhu Changying 朱常瀛
Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200)
Zhuang Jue 莊蹻
Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234)
Ziqi 子綦

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Er ya 爾雅

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"Gui qu lai" 歸去來

"Guo Xiangji Si" 過香積寺

"Haiguan" 海觀

"Hanman ge" 汗漫歌

"He Bo" 河伯

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明故徐豫庵隱君暨配王孺人合葬墓誌銘

Mingshan Tu 名山圖

Mu Tianzi Zhuan 穆天子傳

Nancheng Xuji 南程續記

"Nanming Jiyou Xu" 南明紀游序

"Nei Han Gong Xiangzan" 内翰徐公像贊
"Pan xu" 潘序
"Pipa yin" 琵琶引
Pidian xiaoshi 癖顛小史
"Qiyan Gu Yishou Zeng Xu Xiake" 七言古一首贈徐霞客
"Qiyi" 棲逸
"Qishi" 奇石
Qizi Yun 奇字韻
"Qi yun" 齊雲
"Qi Taigong shijia" 齊太公世家
"Qian Chibi fu" 前赤壁賦
"Qiupu chenji tu yin" 秋圃晨機圖引
"Qiupu chenji tu" 秋圃晨機圖
'Qiupu chenji Wei Jiangyinshang Xu Xiakemu Ruren Fu'
秋圃晨機爲江上徐霞客母孺人賦
'Qiushui' 秋水
Ru Shu Ji 入蜀記
Sancai tuhui 三才圖會
Shanhai Jing 山海經
"Shanzhong wenda" 山中問答
"Shanzhong yiqu ba" 山中逸趣跋
"Shi Chaoxian lu" 使朝鮮錄
"Shi de Xishanyan youji" 始得西山宴游記
"Shizhong Shan ji" 石鍾山記
Shiji 史記
"Shi xu" 史序
Shishang leiyao 士商類要
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Shuijing Zhu 水經注
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"Tianmu Yi" 天目一
Tianxia Junguo Libing Shu 天下郡國利病書
Tianxia Mingshan Jiyou 天下名山記游
Tongxingben 通行本
"Wang Ruren Muzhi Ming" 王孺人墓誌銘
"Wei feng" 魏風
Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍
Wuchuan Lu 吳船錄
Wujun Zhi 吳郡志
Wuyue Youcao 五嶽遊草
Wu za zu 五雜組
"Xihua" 西華
"Xizhao Lu" 璽召錄
Xiyou Lu 西游錄
"Xiake Xu Xiansheng Muzhi Ming" 霞客徐先生墓志銘
"Xianshi zhuan" 仙釋傳
"Xiao Xiang ye yu" 瀟湘夜雨
"Xiao bian" 小弁
"Xiaoyang" 小洋
"Xiaoyao you" 逍遙遊
"Xincheng you Beishan Ji" 新城遊北山記
"Xushi Sanke Zhuan" 徐氏三可傳
"Xu Xiake Kuangzhi Ming" 徐霞客壙誌銘
"Xu Xiake Zhuan" 徐霞客傳
"Xu Xiake Zhuanlüe" 徐霞客傳略
"Xu xu" 徐序
"Xu xiansheng" 勗先生
Yanjiao Jiwen 炎徼紀聞
Yitong Lucheng Tuji 一統路程圖記
"Yinyi Chuan" 隱逸傳
"Yongzhou Liu zhongcheng zuo Matui shan maoting ji"
邕州柳中丞作馬退山茅亭記
"Yongchang Zhilüe" 永昌至略

Yongle Dadian 永樂大典
"You Donglin Shanshui Ji" 遊東林山水記
"You fangkou" 遊枋口
"You Hengshan Ji" 遊衡山記
"You Jiaoshan Xiaoji" 游焦山小記
"You Nanshan wang Beishan" 遊南山往北山
"You Panshan Ji' 遊盤山記
"You Qixing Yan Ji" 遊七星岩記
"You Sijun Ji" 游四郡記
"Youxi Ji" 右溪記
Youzhi 游志
Youzhi Xubian 游志續編
"Yuhu yin" 玉壺吟
Yuanhe Junxian Zhi 元和郡縣志
"Yuanyou" 遠遊
"Yunfengsi zhi Tianchisi Ji" 雲峰寺至天池寺記
"Yunke tanmo ji" 雲薖淡墨集
Yunnan Shanchuan zhi 雲南山川志
Yunnan Tongzhi 雲南統志
Zhanguo Ce 戰國策
"Zhao Yinshi" 招隱士
"Zhi Chen Jiru shu" 致陳繼儒書
"Zhi xiaoqiu xi xiao shitan ji" 至小丘西小石潭記
"Zhihu" 陟岵
Zhou Li 周禮
"Zhu Mao Zijin ke Youji shu" 囑毛子晉刻遊記書
"Zhu Xu Zhongzhao ke Youji shu" 囑徐仲昭刻遊記書
"Zhuben Yitong kaolüe" 諸本異同攷略
"Zuizhong mange" 醉中漫歌
Zunsheng ba jian 尊生八箋

Chinese terms

an 案

ao bi zhi an 鏖壁摭崖

aoxiang 翱翔

bajing 八京

bei 悲

bi Qin 避秦

bie you tiandi 別有天地

bieyou tiandi zifei renjian 別有天地自非人間

bingju siqiong 秉炬四窮

bing 病

buchu renjian 不出人間

bufu renjian 不復人間

bu fu shenru, lan dong qian xingshi 不復深入攬洞前形勢

buke jie 不可解

buke yi jing qiong ye 不可一境窮也

bumian you wangyang ruzu zhi tan 不免有望洋濡足之嘆

buneng jing qi duanni 不能竟其端倪

busheng jingwu cuiqing 不勝景物悴情

busheng wangyang zhi kong 不勝望洋之恐

buxi yu guai 不喜語怪

buzai renjian 不在人間

bu bu hui shou 步步回首

canli mingshan 參禮名山

canxia zhongren 餐霞中人

cangsang 滄桑

cang zhou 藏舟

ce 側,

chan 覘

chanchan 潺潺

changmingdeng 長明燈

changjue 猖獗

changyang 徜徉

chenxiao 塵囂

cheng 成

chuan 穿

chuanyu 穿窬

chuanqi 傳奇
chunxiao 純孝
conglin 叢林
congcong 淙淙
danqiu 丹丘
danyao 丹藥
dan jue yaoran you hualuo shuiluo zhi xiang 但覺杳然有花落水流之想
dao 到
daoying 倒影
dao yi shenli chao 道以神理超
de 得
deng 登
deng dong gao yi shuxiao 登東皋以舒嘯
dilü yishen 滌慮怡神
diji youjue, jingfu shuyi 地旣幽絕景復殊異
dimai 地脈
dishi 地勢
di you er zhiban, fei yu suo yu guan ye 地幽而褺板非余所欲觀也
dishi 諦視
di 睇
die chu di huan 疊出遞換
dongjing you chang 動靜有常
dongtian 洞天
du 度
er mu wei zhi kuangxi 耳目爲之狂喜
fa 發
fanzhao ying shenmu 返昭映深木
fan 番戎
fanfan hu 泛泛乎
fan 飯
fang 訪"to visit"
feifu fanjing 非復凡境
feifu renjian 非復人間
feifu renjing 非復人境
feifu renshi 非復人世
fei renjian 非人間
fenzhi chuansong er lai 分支傳送而來

fenli 奮力
feng 風
feng he jing xin 風鶴驚心
fengshui 風水
fengsu 風俗
fengtou qie mo qi huanghe 峰頭且莫騎黄鶴
fu 俯
fukui zhangu, bubu shengqi, dan huoshen xuehou, yi bu yi song
俯窺輾顧步步生奇但壑深雪厚一步一悚
gaitu guiliu 改土歸流
gengyun qiaoshi 耕雲樵石
gong bi jing qingwujia yan 公必精青烏家言
gu yi ju song 骨意俱悚
gu 轂
guwen 古文 p. 49
guanwan ji jiu 觀玩既就
guanghan 獷悍
gui xifang 歸西方
guipin 貴品
guo po shan he zai 國破山河在
guoweitu, jiuanlu, leshen 過畏途就安盧樂甚
haixin tongmu 駭心恫目
hanman 汗漫
haoqi 好奇
hao mushi weiyuan yi ziyin 好木石爲園以自隱 p. 54
he 合
he she qi zhi ci 何設奇至此
he zaowu zhi she qi ruoci ye 何造物之設奇若此也
hengxing 横行
hongmeng lai wei zuo zhi qiao 鴻濛來未鑿之竅
hu yuci dedu, yi hanmanzhong yiqiyu ye 忽於此得睹亦汗漫中一奇遇也
husha 虎沙
huanbao 環抱
hui 迴
huilong guzu 迴龍顧祖
huiying 迴映
hunji 魂悸

jijiyu 唧唧語

ji 躋 to ascend

jimi 羈縻

ji 極 very, extremely

ji youxuan zhi miao 極幽玄之妙

jisheng 濟勝

jiahe 駕鶴

jian 殲 to destroy

jian 見 to see

jian 踐 to step on

jian you tian er ren 漸由天而人

Jiang chu Minshan 江出岷山

jiao 狡

jieao 桀驁

jie cao wei lu 結草爲廬

jielu 結廬

jin 進

jin 盡

jin ci sheng 盡此勝

jin qi aoli 盡其奧裡

jingji tongtuo 荆棘銅駝

jinglun 經綸

jing 景 scene

jing 竟 to complete

jingjia 競駕

jingxiu 競秀

jingyi 競異

Jingwen jielü shen yan 靜聞戒律甚嚴

jiu xi 九錫

jiu yuan 九淵

jiuzhi 九之

Jiuling 鷲嶺

juanjuan 涓涓

juan yu xingyi 倦於行役

jue 絕

juehuo 爝火

jun haoqi, hebu yadao guan zhi 君好奇何不迓道觀之

kai shengrang 開勝壤

kan shan yu duan hun 看山欲斷魂

ke liao cang zhou wei tui zhi yuan 可了藏舟委蜕之緣

kengran 鏗然

kongkong 硿硿

kongxia 恐嚇

ku yu xing 苦於行

kuankan 窾坎

lanre 蘭若

lan 覽 "to inspect"

lan 攬 to grasp

langmei 榔梅

langyou 浪遊

lao 勞

leilei 累累

li 里 one third of a mile

li 理 reason

li Fo 禮佛

li 痢 defect

liandan 煉丹

liangzhi 良知

liao xifang dayuan 了西方大願

ling gu bian qian 陵谷變遷

linglong 玲瓏

ling 靈 numinous

ling 令 to order

ling ren kuang jiao yu wu 令人狂叫欲舞

liuxin yuanyue 留心淵岳

long 龍

longmai 龍脈

longsha 龍沙

luyou 路幽

lüxing 旅行

luan 亂

Luofu meng 羅浮夢

mapai 馬牌

man 蠻

mao gu ju song 毛骨俱悚

mao gu sen shu 毛骨森豎

mei 美

men 捫

*meng jing fei sh i*蒙箐沸石

milan 糜爛

mi li ying mou 靡麗盈眸

mi zhuan mi sheng 彌轉彌勝

Minshan dao jiang 岷山導江

mosuo 摸索

mo yun jia ri 摩雲夾日

mu wu tahao hao xitian fuzhi 毋無他好好習田婦織 p. 56

mu 畝

mudan 木膽

mu buneng yi, zu buneng qianzhe jingri 目不能移足不能前者竟日

muxuan jingyao 目眩精搖

muxuan xinhai 目眩心駭,

nanxun 難馴

neisha 內沙

ni 睨

nian lingjie mingshan 念令節名山

nie 躡

nie Jiuling er shang 躡鷲嶺而上

pai yun chuan shi 排雲穿石

paihuai 徘徊

pan 攀

panxuan 盤旋

panghuang 徬徨

pengpeng ran 蓬蓬然

piying xinmu 披映心目

pidi wuzheng 僻地無徵

piaomiao 縹緲

ping 憑

pingdiao 憑弔

pingkong cheyuan zhi yishengdi ye 憑空掣遠之勝地也

pinglan 憑攬

ping lin qiongge 憑臨瓊閣

pingtiao 憑眺

pingxu 憑虛

pingyuan 憑遠

pufu 匍匐

qi 棲 to perch, reside

qiyi 棲逸

qizhen 棲眞

qi 奇 strange

qibi 奇闢

qidian 奇點

qili 奇麗

qiwen 奇文

qi 氣 cosmic breath

qianzhi chonghong, huwei yaotiao, qianzhi xiongkuang, huwei linglong
前之崇宏忽爲窈窕前之雄曠忽爲玲瓏

qiankong 嵌空

qiang 強 to force

qiang liu dishi 強留諦視

qiaosong yancao youxi renju 喬松豔草幽襲人裾

qiaofei renjing 悄非人境

qingu 沁骨

qingliang 清亮

qingling ying ren xinmu 清泠映人心目

qing shan shi 青衫濕

qingtan 清談

qingwu shu 青烏術

qing 情

qiong 窮

qiongge 瓊閣

qiongtai 瓊臺

qiuhe 邱壑

qushen 屈伸

qu 趣

qunyu shantou 群玉山頭

ren shou ji he, jiang shan ru zuo, neng bulingren you bing zhu zhi si ye
人壽幾何江山如昨能不令人有秉燭之思耶

renyou 人遊

ren zhi wuliang ru ci 人之無良如此

rong 戎

rongcheng, 蓉城

rou 揉

rutianji zhenren, xiabian jiuzhou 如天際眞人下辨九州

ru you Qihong zhibian 如有奇肱之便 pp. 60-1

ru 入

ruigong 蕊宮

sansheng 三生

senran yu boren 森然欲搏人

sensen yuxia boren 森森欲下搏人

shanjia qinggong, 山家清供

shanjian shi shuang. 山間石爽

shanling 山靈

shanshui zhi diao, gengchu ziran ye 山水之調更出自然也

shanxing bubu yi 山形步步移也

shangshang 湯湯

shang 上

shaoxun 稍馴

shao zhuan bu ji bu ke kui 少轉步即不可窺

she mu cheng shang 涉目成賞

shen 身 self

shen gu ju leng 身骨俱冷

shen gu ju song 身骨俱悚

shen gu ju xing 身骨俱醒

shenfen 神瀵

shenli 神理

shenren 神人

shensong 神悚

shenyi zhiyi 神移志易

shenyou 神游

shen yu haoling tongqi youyan er yi 神與灝靈同其游衍而已

shen zai sishanzhong ye 身在四山之中也

shen 審 to investigate

sheng tang ru shi 升堂入室

sheng 生 raw

shengxing 生性

sheng you qipi 生有奇癖

sheng you youpi 生有游癖

shengjiao 聲教

shengren yi ci xi xin tuicang yumi 聖人以此洗心退藏於密

sheng 勝 to overcome, surpassing; beautiful

shi jiu lin jiang 釃酒臨江

shi ren xin mu rongche 使人心目融徹

shi 勢

shuxiao 舒嘯

shu 熟

shuangxin kuaimu 爽心快目

shui lu jian qi, you ming cou yi 水陸兼奇幽明湊異

shui wei ling gu wu yi wei zai 誰謂陵谷無易位哉

sishan 四山

siwang 四望

songgu 悚骨

songwei weizhang, pingya chuanliu 聳爲危嶂屏壓川流

sou 搜

sougen ti'ao 搜根剔奥

souti 搜剔

su 宿

suo 索

suoyue 鎖鑰

tan 探

tansuo 探索

tan cangsang zhi shuhu 嘆滄桑之倏忽

tangta 鏜鞳

tianyou 天遊

tong 同 to accompany

tong sheng xiang ying, tong qi xiang qiu 同聲相應同氣相求

tou 透

tuman 土蠻

tusi 土司

wa 窪

wai lan qunfeng, nei kan dongfu 外攬群峰內闞洞府

waisha 外沙

wanzhuan 宛轉

wang 望

wangyang 望洋

wangyang jiji 望洋撃楫

wei tui 委蜕

wen 文

wenmai 文脈

wo 我

wudi 吾地

wu mu bushi pangshun, wu zu burong qiuxi ye 吾目不使旁瞬吾足不容求息也

wuxiang 吾鄉

wuchen 無塵

wulun buneng xing, qie buneng zhi 無論不能行且不能止

wuzu guanzhe 無足觀者

wu yue zhen xing tu 五嶽眞形圖

wuse 物色

wu 鴮

xi yi neishu, jin fei wang hua suo ji 昔亦內屬今非王化所及

xibian xiangqi xiren 溪邊香氣襲人

xiyi 徙倚

xia er e 黠而惡

xia 下

xianzhang 仙掌

xian 陷

xiaopin 小品

xiaosan 蕭散

xin 心

xinbu muxuan 心怖目眩

xinmu ju xuan 心目俱眩

xinmu xuanbu 心目眩怖

xin xuanxuan 心懸懸

xing 形

xingyi 行役

xingshi 形勢

xingling 性靈

xiuse juanjuan meiren 秀色娟娟媚人

xuan 宣 diffuser

xuan 懸 to suspend

xuan lian 懸練

xue 穴

xue 學

xun shen long zhi yuanzhai 洵神龍之淵宅

xun 尋 to seek out

xun 詢 to inquire about

xunliang 循良

Yan ce chenxiao wai 焉測塵霄外

yan 沿

yang 仰

yaomeng shijian 妖夢是踐

yaokan jinshi 遙瞰近視

yaochu renjian 杳出人間

yaotiao 窈窕

yeren 野人

yewan 野頑

ye 掖

yi bu fu yi bu chu xing 一步復一步出行

yi bu yi hui shou 一步一回首

yi bu yi hui tiao 一步一回眺

yi bu yi zhuan tiao 一步一轉眺

yi qiu yi he 一邱一壑

yi bu huan xing 移步換行

yi bu ta zhuan 移步他轉

yi shi Yinhe luo jiutian 疑是銀河落九天

yi qu jiyin zhi qi 以驅積陰之氣

yiyi zhiyi 以夷制夷

yijue zihao 益覺自豪

yi qinfu shen jian 益欽服神鑒

yi 異 strange

yi 逸 untrammelled

yipin 逸品

yi 夷 barbarian

yinjun 隱君

you 幽 dark, secluded etc

youao 幽奧

youqiao 幽峭

youqu 幽闃
youshuang 幽爽
yousui 幽邃
youxian 幽險
youyi 幽異
you 游 to swim, float
you 遊 to travel
youju 遊具
you yan 遊巖
youdi yiqu 有地一區
yu zhi hanman 予之汗漫
yu bu gu 余不顧
yu bu wei zu 余不爲阻
yudi 余地
yu lan shanshui zhi sheng 余攬山水之勝
yu 逾
yushi shanling he er jinghuan 雨師山靈合而競幻
yuchen 玉宸
yulong 玉龍
yusun 玉筍
yuan 援 to pull up
yuan ri she yi chengqu 園日涉以成趣
yuan jin jiao ying 遠近交映
yuan jin yinghe 遠近映合
yuan 緣 to clamber
yungen 雲根
yunqi 雲氣
yunyou 雲游
zanyou 暫遊
zao 造
zaoluan 造亂
zaoni 造逆
zenghong 噌吰
zhantiao 瞻眺
zhezhe 磔磔
zhenren 眞人
zhenxing 眞形

zhenxing tonghui 眞形

zheng 徵

zhengzheng 錚錚

zhili 執禮

zhi ci gaoshen yi wei 至此高深易位

zhi 質

zhiren 至人

zhongyuan 中元

zhui 墜

zhuo kongming er ling fanzhao 濯空明而凌返照

zi gu tan xingyi 自古嘆行役

zuojiu zhi 坐就之

zuo daozei miankong 作盜賊面孔

zuoyou feng qiyuan 左右逢其原

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