Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain

Traces of a Late-Ming Hatchet and Chisel

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香港大學出版社
Hong Kong University Press

Hong Kong University Press
14/F Hing Wai Centre
7 Tin Wan Praya Road
Aberdeen
Hong Kong

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ISBN 978-962-209-084-2

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Secure On-line Ordering
http://www.hkupress.org

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue copy for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by United League Graphic & Binding Co. Ltd. in Hong Kong, China

Contents

Acknowledgements vi
List of Illustrations vii
Explanatory Notes ix

Introduction 1

PART I

1 Of Trivial Things 12
Writing the Self in Late-Ming Literary Culture

2 Landscape of Brush and Ink 32
Literary Tradition at Yellow Mountain

3 Hills and Waterways 49
Yellow Mountain in Seventeenth-Century Visual Culture

4 Traces of Hatchet and Chisel 71
Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain

PART II

5 "Account of My Travels at Yellow Mountain" 98
by Qian Qianyi (1582–1664)

Conclusion 143

Epilogue 147

Appendix A: A Note on the Text 149
Appendix B: 游黃山記 錢謙益 (1582–1664) 著 156

Notes 165
Selected Bibliography 194
Index 214

List of Illustrations

Figure 1 25
Yang Pengqiu 楊鵬秋. *Qian Qianyi* 錢謙益. Drawing from Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1880–1968) comp., *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan dierji* 清代學者象傳第二集 (1953).

Figure 2 33
The Imperial Tour of Inspection at Taishan 巡守岱宗圖. Woodblock print from Sun Jianai 孫家鼐 ed., *Qinding Shujing tushuo* 欽定書經圖説.

Figure 3 39
Zheng Zhong 鄭重 (*fl.* 1590–1630). *Yellow Mountain* 黃山. Woodblock print from *Mingshan tu* 名山圖 (1633).

Figure 4 57
Wu Yi 吳逸. *Yellow Mountain* 黃山. Woodblock print from *Shexian zhi* 歙縣志 (1690).

Figure 5 63
Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾. From *Yellow Mountain* 黃山圖. Set of woodblock prints from *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀 (1609).

Figure 6 64
Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301?–74). *Woods and Valleys of Yushan* 虞山林壑. Hanging scroll dated 1372.

Figure 7 65
Mei Qing 梅清 (1623–97). *Lotus Blossom Peak* 蓮花峰. Album leaf from *Huangshan tuce* 黃山圖冊 (1691–93).

Figure 8 66
Dai Benxiao 戴本孝 (1621–93). *Lotus Blossom Peak* 蓮花峰. Album leaf from *Huangshan tuce* 黃山圖冊 (1675).

Figure 9 67
Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547–1621?). *Morning Sun over Heavenly Capital* 天都曉日. Hanging scroll dated 1614.

Figure 10 68
Yuanji 原濟 [Shitao 石濤] (1641–1718?). Two sections of *Yellow Mountain* 黃山圖. Handscroll dated 1699.

Figure 11 69
Yuanji 原濟 [Shitao 石濤] (1641–1718?). Album leaf from *Huangshan tuce* 黃山圖冊 (before 1667).

Figure 12 70
View of Thread of Heaven 一綫天 route, Yellow Mountain (2005).

Figure 13 151
Opening page of Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582–1664) "You Huangshan ji" 游黃山記, *Muzhai chuxueji* 牧齋初學集, *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition.

Introduction

> If an artist desires to paint an object's appearance, he should select its appearance. If he desires to paint an object's substance he should select its substance. But he should not mistake appearance for substance 物之華取其華物之實取其實不可執華為實.
>
> Jing Hao 荊浩 (*fl.* 907–23) attrib.,
> "Bifa ji" 筆法記 [Account of Brush Methods][1]

Some decades ago in his classic study, the eminent Viennese art historian E. H. Gombrich (1909–2001) marvelled "how long and arduous is the way between perception and representation" in sixteenth-century painted landscapes. To the landscape painter, he continued, "nothing can become a motif except what he can assimilate into the vocabulary he has already learned."[2] It was an articulation of a concept that had been at the core of the visual arts for centuries; Jing Hao's concern to select 取 either appearance or substance reveals already an important distinction between meaning and form. Centuries later, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) could assert that painting was a *cosa mentale* — a thing of the mind — dismissing those painters who draw by the judgement of the eye and without the use of reason as no better than mirrors,[3] while more recently, René Magritte (1898–1967) explained his *La condition humaine* (1933) with the comment that the world "is only a mental representation of [that which] we experience inside ourselves."[4]

This book focuses primarily on landscape presented in written rather than visual form, specifically the ways in which a particular mountain was

depicted in the *youji* 遊記 (travel accounts) produced during roughly the final century of Ming rule (1550–1644). This might seem far removed from the concerns of Gombrich, but the study has emerged out of a sense that we have been far too slow in literary criticism to recognize the vital role of the viewer in the process of representing the natural world. There remains in secondary scholarship a tendency to read the landscape descriptions found in *youji* as accurate historical and physical records of given sites, while ignoring the specific cultural contexts in which these descriptions were formed. James Hargett's 20-year-old definition of the genre remains typical of the way in which travel essays are understood:

> To begin with, they contain a first-hand account of a brief excursion or an extended journey. The language used therein to describe the details of the trip is predominantly narrative. Second, they provide facts about the physical environment such as climate, relief, vegetation and land-use in a given region . . . *The descriptions in these types of reports are "objective" or "impersonal" in that the author himself plays no direct role, but simply observes and reports on what he sees* [my emphasis]. Third, *youji* works invariably reveal the author's attitudes or opinions . . . This "subjective" or "personal" quality is the one characteristic that most clearly distinguishes the travel record from the geographical tracts found in most local histories (*fangzhi*).[5]

Drawing from the same framework, a more recent treatment of one late-Ming traveller discusses his work in terms of an "ability to transcend different categories, drawing on both subjective and objective strands of travel writing."[6]

It is not my intention here to pick holes in Professor Hargett's outstanding study of the travel literature of the Song (960–1279), but it does seem to me that the notion of "facts about the physical environment," in which "the author himself plays no direct role" implies of the observer a disinterest that can no longer be accepted so uncritically. All "objective" non-fictional writings are created not only by the descriptive tools at an author's disposal, but by entire systems of cultural, political, social and aesthetic schemata that, at various levels of the observer's consciousness, impose themselves on the world. By making a case here for a more nuanced and subtle treatment of *youji* in secondary literature, I hope to go some way towards removing the genre from its elemental *you* 遊 and *ji* 記, which, in Chinese as well as its usual English equivalent of "record" is freighted with connotations of verisimilitude not carried by other literary forms. Abandoning the oversimplified subjective-objective framework, my analysis begins with the assumption that all representations of landscape are culturally creative acts.

The specific case study around which this book revolves is the "Account of My Travels at Yellow Mountain" (You Huangshan ji 游黃山記), a ten-part essay written by the poet, scholar, official and literary historian Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664) in early 1642. Written to complement a set of poems, the essay recounts a journey Qian made during the previous year to Yellow Mountain (Huangshan 黃山), the range of peaks that makes up the major orographic feature of southern Anhui 安徽, within the region immediately south of the Yangzi River known as Jiangnan 江南. While today, images of its iconic, mist-shrouded peaks decorate the halls of railway stations throughout the country, the relatively inaccessible Yellow Mountain was far slower than many other significant Jiangnan landscapes to attract the attention of travellers and poets. The Wanli 萬曆 reign (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, during which Qian Qianyi was born, marks the beginning of the site's representational history in any meaningful sense, and part of what this study sets out to do is to introduce at least some of the ways in which this landscape began to be presented in writing during this crucial period. Rather than attempt any kind of objective description or history of the site (hopefully it will become clear that I regard such a possibility as problematic), my aim here is to recreate the landscape of Yellow Mountain as it existed for a select group of highly educated élite males, most of whom lived within a relatively confined area, and who chose to present their world in *youji* form during the decades leading up to the end of the Ming period (1644). By drawing into this discussion a wider representational tradition that necessarily includes depiction in visual as well as textual form, I present a reading of late-Ming Yellow Mountain as the product of a discourse rather than as an empirically verifiable space. I argue that what this mountain meant, how it functioned, even what it looked like to Qian Qianyi and his seventeenth-century contemporaries are far more usefully viewed as products of the complex world in which these men lived, than as evidence about the landscape itself.

While this approach runs somewhat against the grain of traditional readings of travel literature, I have sought throughout to remain alert to branches of recent scholarship that have developed across a number of diverse disciplines. Over a decade on from the publication of Craig Clunas' seminal work *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (1996), it seems to me that the implications of his study for our understanding of late-Ming prose in general have yet to be fully explored.[7] Clunas seeks to challenge conventional histories of "the Chinese garden," preferring to read such a category as the product of "discursive practice" rather than as a pre-existing object of representation. He draws the discussion of Ming gardens back into a context in which landownership and luxury consumption had become key components of élite self-representation and identity construction, showing

that what gardens in southern China meant in 1600 had shifted dramatically from what they had meant just a century earlier. His project is particularly significant here, as it bridges the divide between art and landscape, and between the visual and verbal, a theme I take up below. In an earlier essay, W. J. T. Mitchell had remarked that "the intensive, almost compulsive collaboration between practitioners of the word and practitioners of the image" represents one of the most salient features of modern culture, noting the sense in which nature has been "pictorialized" by the audio and written commentary that often now accompanies the outdoor experience.[8] The idea of the pictorialization of landscape is one I wish to explore here, although I hope that what follows is at the very least the beginnings of an argument against such processes being the preserve of something called *modern* culture.

In another context, British historian Simon Schama recently claimed that "landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock." He argues that "once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery."[9] This kind of category-muddling is a particular feature of the religious pilgrimage, of course, and the present study is also in part a response to the important work of Coleman and Elsner, in which "physical and myth-historical landscapes provide the backdrop to movement, so that in progressing through the physical geography a pilgrim travels and lives through a terrain of culturally constructed symbols."[10] The foundations of such studies in twentieth-century Western scholarship may well have been laid by geographers such as Donald Meinig, who has long argued that "any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads,"[11] but the concept was already understood by Jia Zheng 賈政, who knew that for the observer, the meaning of Grand Prospect Garden 大觀園 would be created by reading "that touch of poetry which only the written word can lend a scene" in Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 (*zi* Qinpu 芹圃, *hao* Mengruan 夢阮; 1715?–63) classic novel *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 [Dream of the Red Chamber].[12]

The example of the pine (*song* 松) might usefully preface my underlying thoughts here. The pine is one of the famed Four Perfections of Yellow Mountain 黄山四絕, a phrase now so much a part of modern consciousness that it featured as a question in a recent competition for international students of Chinese language and culture.[13] It is impossible now to imagine that pines were not always one of the most important features of the landscape, and certainly no visitor to Yellow Mountain today would ever leave without viewing the famous Welcoming Guests Pine 迎客松, one of the more recognizable cultural icons of the Jiangnan region. But the fact that

the earliest-surviving topographical source for the site, the Song-dynasty *Huangshan tujing* 黄山圖經 [Topographical Classic of Yellow Mountain], mentions pines only in passing, provides a very real challenge to what we think we know about this mountain and this tree.[14] What happened between the Song dynasty and the end of the Ming to transform the pine from an incidental footnote of a landscape into one of the most important of its visual features? Or, to put it another way, did the character *song* 松, which I am perhaps too casually rendering into "pine," mean the same thing in the Song dynasty as it did in the Ming? We are told in Jing Hao's tenth-century treatise that a pine tree grows "with the virtuous air of a gentleman" 如君子之德風也. Some paintings depict them as coiling dragons in flight, their branches and leaves growing wildly, but this "does not capture the true spirit of pines" 非松之氣韻也.[15] How is it then, that pines of the early seventeenth century are *almost invariably* of serpentine form, if such a portrayal does not capture their true spirit? In Jing's world, a pine was, like a man of integrity, upright and unwavering in the face of political oppression or poverty. By the late Ming, the twisted, coiling pine embodied the ideal of the eccentric and exceptional man 奇士. Such a dramatic shift in meaning provides a sober warning against accepting on face value any description of landscape, without attempting to understand the cultural context from which it came.

Qian Qianyi was one of the great literary figures of the seventeenth century, a man who, in the words of Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲 (*zi* Taichong 太冲, *hao* Nanlei 南雷; 1610–95), "presided over the literary world for fifty years" 主文章之壇坫者五十年.[16] But if Qian were the *sommo poeta* of his generation, he was also, politically, one of the more problematic figures of the Ming-Qing transition period, having served both ruling houses during his official career. In 1769, over a century after Qian's death, the Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor (Gaozong 高宗; r. 1736–96), by far the most vociferous of Qian's detractors, issued the following decree:

> Qian Qianyi was a man of great natural ability, but of no character. In the time of the Ming, he held official posts; likewise after our house had seized control he was one of the first to follow our house in service as a director of one of the minor courts. He was lacking in loyalty and truly does not deserve to be remembered by mankind . . . If Qian Qianyi had courted death for the sake of the last dynasty and refused to turn coat, and with brush and ink ranted against [us], this would have been appropriate and reasonable. But having accepted office under our rule how could he continue to use this wild, howling language of former days in his writings? In my opinion, it was due to his wish to cover up the shame of having been disloyal to the Ming, which only makes his disgrace worse.[17]

While subsequent proscriptions did not succeed in preventing the eventual transmission of his works, the stigma of disloyalty did prevent any meaningful scholarly research into Qian Qianyi and his works before the end of the Qing era, and our knowledge of the man and his writings has been adversely shaped by this scholarly lacuna. Critical examination of Qian's literary works, particularly his prose texts, has barely begun, and the vast majority of his essays remain unannotated and unstudied. At present there exists no adequate critical biography of this remarkable literary figure.

The present project is explicitly not an attempt to fill this biographical void, and I would certainly not claim to have mastered in any sense the wealth of material that exists and continues to be generated on Qian Qianyi and his writings.[18] Nor do I seek here to emulate the work of Brian Dott, whose important recent treatment of Taishan 泰山 [Mount Supreme] in the late imperial period examines multiple readings of that sacred space by gentry, clergy, pilgrims and emperors.[19] The far more modest objective of this book is to attempt to read closely a single individual's account of one particular landscape in light of what we know of its late-Ming context. For this essay at least, the formula of objective description coupled with personal opinion does not begin to approach the level of sophistication required to attain any meaningful understanding of the text. The "objective descriptions" that make up Qian Qianyi's Yellow Mountain lie at the intersection of an existing textual tradition, late-Ming aesthetic, cultural and religious values, and traditional cosmology, all of which is filtered through the memory of one of the greatest literary historians of his generation, and presented in an essay composed for a specific rhetorical purpose. The "Account of My Travels at Yellow Mountain" was one of just a handful of travel essays in Qian's voluminous corpus, but despite its inclusion in several anthologies, it has never received adequate attention in secondary scholarship. This project not only includes the first complete English-language translation of the essay, but also represents the first critical study of the account, and of the various existing versions of the text, to appear in any language.[20]

The late-Ming world in which Qian Qianyi sat down to compose his essay was a complex place. While corruption and factionalism at court threatened to plunge the empire into political crisis, banditry, famine and plagues provided a daily more evident challenge to social and economic order. In Chapter One of this study I examine some of the social changes taking place within this world, arguing that self-representation through text had by the turn of the seventeenth century become an essential part of élite life. Drawing on recent studies that have highlighted the link between conspicuous consumption and identity construction in the late Ming, I argue that representations of engagements with landscape are usefully viewed alongside

writings about collecting and connoisseurship that characterize the period. We are not justified in reading travel accounts as innocent sources of information that stand apart from a late-Ming society in which, in representational terms at least, status markers had assumed such an important role in élite discourse. This chapter also seeks to place Qian Qianyi himself into this world, briefly sketching his early career, before focussing in particular on the years surrounding the composition of the Yellow Mountain essay in 1642. If part of what we read in the landscape is a reflection of Qian, then the fact that he made the journey at such a critical juncture in his public and personal life necessarily informs our reading of his essay.

Chapter Two examines the Yellow Mountain we find in writing up to the end of the Ming period. By presenting in chronological order the represented experiences of travellers since the Tang era (618–907), this chapter traces the gradual accretion of layers of cultural, historical and religious meaning that become part of the way the mountain is experienced, and how this experience is related in essay form. My analysis shows that by the time the important Wanli reign had come to an end in 1620, the significant sites and sights of Yellow Mountain had been defined, and an appropriate traveller's itinerary prescribed. We find, on close reading, a remarkable similarity of recorded experience on the part of late-Ming travellers, not only with regard to the language used to describe individual features of the mountain, but also in the recurring themes that pervade the various texts. This unravelling of the meaning of the mountain is continued in Chapter Three, which focuses on the representational tradition of the site in visual form, a dimension that I argue is usefully viewed alongside the textual tradition as part of the general understanding of the landscape being formed by the mid-seventeenth century. Mirroring the way in which representations of Yellow Mountain developed in text, visual depictions of the site become, by the early Qing period, conceptual works that tend to emphasize distinct views, often at the expense of spatial consistency. Textual and visual accounts of the mountain produced during the seventeenth century not only give the impression of being a progression from one individual scene to the next, but also seem increasingly to rely on the consensual presentation of shared historical and descriptive information.

Against this background, Chapter Four introduces the "Account of My Travels at Yellow Mountain" by Qian Qianyi, highlighting some of the main themes that pervade the text. The essay is one rich in the language of religious pilgrimage, and it seems that for Qian, the landscape can be read appropriately in accordance with Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist tradition. I argue here that representational conventions by now established for Yellow Mountain direct Qian's writing process, and that the necessity of engaging with certain important sites may actually have led to the deliberate distortion of parts of

his itinerary. The complete picture of his trip of 1641 cannot be grasped by reading the essay alone, and the fact that details included elsewhere in Qian's collected works, the *Muzhai chuxueji* 牧齋初學集 [Collected Early Scholarship from Shepherd's Studio], are omitted from the *youji* is revealing. Qian's account of the landscape is very much a product of late-Ming cultural and aesthetic values, but it also fixes the canonical literary sources as the means by which the natural world is to be interpreted and represented.

Discussion of such issues is intended to prepare the reader to make sense of my full translation of Qian's essay, which appears as Chapter Five. While I have endeavoured to produce an English rendition of the essay that flows as freely as is possible (and should be accessible to specialist and non-specialist alike), the annotations that supplement the text are necessarily dense, and highlight some of the complexities of the essay and its composition that have been discussed in previous chapters. A close analysis of the narrative reveals considerable reliance on the works of others, providing a significant challenge to the idea of author as objective observer that a reader might gain at first glance. Indeed, reading the text in annotated form shows the Yellow Mountain of Qian's essay to be the product of a highly complex creative process, and one that in the end reveals far more about the author and élite writing in the late Ming than about the mountain itself.

Finally, a note on the title of this book, which borrows a phrase — "traces of hatchet and chisel" 斧鑿痕 — that appears in Part IV of Qian's essay, as we come upon a monk cutting into the rock at the foot of a peak. The expression is used literally in this instance, but it had also come to refer metaphorically to traces of artistry in a written composition; those passages in a text at which the interventions of the poet's brush onto the natural scene were most evident. Rather than highlighting these traces in a pejorative sense (the sense, indeed, in which such a phrase would normally have been understood in Qian's world), the present study seeks to enrich our reading of the text by revealing the intricacies behind the fascinating cultural practice of *youji* composition. We have long since accepted that the very process of capturing landscape in visual art invalidates any attempt to present a site as standing apart from other historically contingent contexts in which meaning is created (even the once innocent photograph, for example, is no longer read in such a naïve way).[21] And almost a century after Wang Guowei 王國維 (*zi* Jing'an 靜安, *hao* Guantang 觀堂; 1877–1927) reminded us that "all scenic description [in poetry] involves the expression of emotions,"[22] it seems appropriate to apply the same level of sophistication to the analysis of prose. For the truth is that the way the late-Ming élite chose to write about their landscapes and why, is an infinitely more interesting story than we have hitherto acknowledged. Those traces of hatchet and chisel visible in Qian Qianyi's Yellow Mountain

represent the great achievement of seventeenth-century literary culture, and the essays of Qian and his contemporaries can be understood only as we begin to recognize, in Gombrich's terms, just how "long and arduous" these literary journeys really were.

Conclusion

In the fourth month of the *guimao* 癸卯 year of the Qianlong reign (1783), long after the calamity of 1644 had passed from living memory, the 67-year-old poet Yuan Mei was crossing one of Yellow Mountain's terraces when he came across an ancient pine 古松:

> Its roots grew towards the east; its body fell to the west, while its head faced south, plunging into a rock and emerging from its other side. This rock seemed to be alive and hollow, so that the pine was able to conceal itself within and become one with the rock. The pine seemed afraid of Heaven, not daring to grow upwards, so while it was ten arm spans around, it was barely two feet tall. There were so many other pines of this sort that it was impossible to record them all.[1]

Among the men of his generation, Yuan was the chief inheritor of Gongan values of literary self-expression, and would certainly have read many of the late-Ming essays we have examined here. But travellers in Yuan's world did not need an anthology to recognize the eccentric, serpentine pines that lived in symbiosis with the rocks; by then they had become so much a part of Yellow Mountain lore that it would have been unimaginable to write of them in any other way. The fact that a pine did not dare 不敢 to grow upwards would not have raised an eyebrow among Qian Qianyi and his seventeenth-century contemporaries, but it would certainly have surprised Jing Hao, who, centuries earlier, knew the pine to grow straight and true, "with the virtuous air of a gentleman." Perhaps the clearest indication that Yellow Mountain

pines had now been written into élite consciousness is the fact that Yuan Mei describes just one example before moving on to the next stop on his itinerary, as if a detailed description of their now easily recognizable forms had become somewhat redundant.

This study has examined a number of written and visual representations of Yellow Mountain produced mainly during the seventeenth century. I have argued that a far more useful understanding of the *youji* under discussion here is achieved by reading this landscape not so much as an empirically verifiable fact, but as a product of a system of representational practices that developed within the specific social, political, cultural and economic context of late-Ming Jiangnan. Qian Qianyi's essay of 1642 is a narrative of self-realization through ascent, an engagement with a landscape that takes the form of religious pilgrimage, while remaining grounded in orthodox Confucian philosophy. For Qian, Yellow Mountain is a site that can best be understood through text, and he presents the landscape always within the context of his literary heritage. Deliberate emphasis, ambiguity and exclusion are part of the narrative; the story of Qian's engagement with the landscape as presented in "Account of My Travels at Yellow Mountain" differs from that found elsewhere in the *Muzhai chuxueji*, in verse, in preface and in colophon. The writings of previous travellers inform and direct Qian's gaze, and his essay is as much an engagement with a representational tradition as it is an account of neutral observation.

Perhaps the greatest and most fascinating challenge to a reading of Qian's Yellow Mountain essay as a kind of first-hand and objective record is the extent to which the language of his text draws from the writings of others, a fact not immediately obvious to the modern reader of the text in unpunctuated form. A close analysis of the essay reveals significant debts to the works of Qian's literary forefathers, and we need to remind ourselves here that although we might require the help of punctuation and annotations to recognize an allusion to a Daoist text, Qian's contemporary readers, for the most part, did not. Just as at the other side of the Eurasian continent, John Milton (1608–74), whose life also spanned the Ming-Qing transition, could assume that readers of his epic poem would identify Adam's pentametered confession "She gave me of the tree, and I did eat" as being cut from *Genesis* 3:12,[2] so too could Qian know that his own unacknowledged borrowings from Wang Wei, Su Shi or the *Zhuangzi* would be recognized by his peers. Recognition of literary allusions was crucial — not incidental — to the reader's experience of these men's works, and in this sense at least, the heavily annotated form in which I have presented Qian's essay above probably approximates for the modern reader the experience of a seventeenth-century literatus more closely than would the text on its own.

In the final page of the introduction to his anthology of travel writing, Richard Strassberg notes that by the end of the Song period, "a number of influential texts had emerged to form a canon, while the important sites of literary pilgrimage had been mapped and inscribed."[3] This study has attempted to highlight the extent to which travel writing, and indeed, the travel experience itself, was for the late-Ming man-of-letters an engagement with those inscriptions. Recording an appropriate response to a landscape inevitably involved responding to the works of one's literary forefathers, and the *youji* of the period are cluttered with descriptions and expressions cut from centuries of collected writings. At Hengshan 衡山 Xu Hongzu "recall[s] 憶 Li Bai's lines about the sun glistening on the snow of the Five Peaks and blossoms floating over Dongting," a "recollection" cut verbatim from Zhang Juzheng's experience at the same spot.[4] Qian's observation that "two splayed pines shield [Mañjuśrī] Cloister like a feather canopy, and speckled with rocks, its surface looks like a patchwork kasāya" (Part IV) comes straight from the essay of his late friend Xie Zhaoshen. Such instances force us to allow the concept of authorship a more collaborative connotation than it is usually afforded in post-Renaissance Western scholarship, but it is also worth noting here that Qian's Yellow Mountain is partly composed not only by other people, but in many cases *of other landscapes*. Where Qian describes the waters of White Dragon Pool with a line from Liu Zongyuan (Part II), originally written centuries earlier about a site thousands of *li* away, Yellow Mountain becomes part of a complex web of written heritage spanning both time and space.

What we are working towards here is a recognition of the extent to which Qian's text is *textile* in Roland Barthes' sense, and that the narrative is made up of linguistic units that are *déjà lu* (already read),[5] an idea that has gained traction across a number of disciplines. Simon Pugh's understanding of landscape and its representations as "'readable' like any other cultural form,"[6] is taken up in a thoughtful recent study of mountains in Western culture by Robert Macfarlane, who argues that "we read landscapes . . . in the light of our own experience and memory, and that of our shared cultural memory."[7] But the metaphor of reading can only be useful here if it is understood as an *active* process of engagement with a text, rather than a passive acceptance of something pre-existing. Jing Hao knew that representation required selection 取 by the viewer, an idea articulated more recently by another art historian, John Berger, who argued that "to look is an act of choice."[8] I am inclined to think that it is more constructive to understand this Yellow Mountain as a landscape *written* by Qian, through a process in which, as Chu-tsing Li notes of visual arts, "referring to the past for models did not mean a simple process of copying or imitating; rather, the idea of transformation was seen as part of the artist's creative act."[9]

The Yellow Mountain that has been at the centre of this study is a story essentially written by (and for) a small number of élite males, all educated under the same system and all working out of the relatively insular world of late-Ming Jiangnan. While this region undoubtedly included some of the Ming state's largest and most important cities, recent scholarship reminds us that there was also a Ming world on the other side of the Yangzi, and I am acutely aware that my study has been necessarily narrow in terms of its geographical focus.[10] Similarly, if I have said little about what this landscape may or may not have represented for pilgrims, monks, women, innkeepers, porters or chairbearers of the period, it is because, sadly, the absence of literary evidence would make such a study almost impossible. The essays of men such as Qian Qianyi have survived in the public sphere, sometimes against the odds, precisely because their authors held such standing in the world of letters to which they belonged. In an important recent study, W. J. T. Mitchell urges us to think not about what landscape is, but what it *does* in terms of its role as an instrument of cultural power,[11] an approach that might usefully be applied to the way we think about landscape in late imperial China. Imperial rites and inscriptions at mountains had acted as powerful symbols of political authority for centuries before Qian Qianyi ever set foot on Yellow Mountain, and of course, the Kangxi Emperor would later use the landscape of early Qing Nanjing for the same purpose, as Jonathan Hay reminds us.[12] A part of what the present study has attempted to show is that in their privileged ability to experience, interpret and represent landscape in their own terms, men such as Qian Qianyi played an equally important, if slightly more subtle, role in the maintenance of cultural authority in seventeenth-century Jiangnan society.

The story of Yellow Mountain did not, of course, end with Yuan Mei's visit in 1783, although its popularity did fall into decline soon after the turn of the nineteenth century. Its twentieth-century rediscovery (again assisted by infrastructural development) saw the landscape reinvented once again, and the ways in which various competing representations of Yellow Mountain have been complicit in its redefinition as a nationalistic symbol of "Chineseness" might well provide a fruitful area of future scholarship. But while its meaning has shifted, Yellow Mountain does retain something of its late-Ming self. The exceptional 奇 pines are still exceptional, and the bizarre 怪 rocks are still bizarre; visible reminders of seventeenth-century aesthetic sensibilities, and linguistic traces of one landscape's debt to the late-Ming world.

Epilogue

> Last year I journeyed to Yellow Mountain, and [later], without measuring myself 不自量度, I recorded my travels over an entire fascicle. Afterwards I greatly regretted doing so . . . and now, I have written this to register my regret, and to counsel those others of this world who love to travel.
>
> Qian Qianyi, "Introduction to Drafts of My Travels in Eastern Yue" 越東遊草引 (1642)[1]

Qian would not have long to dwell on his literary excess. The late-Ming world that he and his peers had known was moving inexorably towards its ignominious collapse, and even on the mountain itself it had been noticeable that "the tolling of the great fish bells ha[d] all but ceased." For the educated élite, the transfer to Qing rule would prove difficult, and for Qian, the resulting posthumous denunciation by the Qianlong Emperor, and censorship of his literary works, would threaten to erase completely his place in the literary canon. "Now Qian Qianyi is already dead . . ." the emperor fumed in 1769,

> . . . and his bones have long ago rotted away. We will let him be. But his books remain, an insult to right doctrines, and a violation of [the principles of] loyalty. How can we permit them to exist and be handed down any longer? They must early be done away with. Now therefore let every governor-general and governor see to it that all the bookshops and private libraries in his jurisdiction produce and send [to the yamen] his [collected

> works]. In addition let orders be despatched to small villages, country hamlets, and out of the way regions in mountain fastnesses for the same purpose. The time limit for this operation is two years. Not a volume must escape the burning.[2]

Fortunately for us, this challenge, the greatest yet to Qian Qianyi's inscription into the peaks of Yellow Mountain, ultimately proved unsuccessful.

Notes

Introduction

1 Rpt.; Wang Bomin 王伯敏 ed., in *Zhongguo hualun congshu* 中國畫論叢書 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963). Among the many alternative translations of this treatise see that of Stephen H. West ("A Record of the Methods of the Brush"), in Pauline Yu, Peter Bol, Stephen Owen and Willard Peterson ed., *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 202–13. West renders this passage into: "If it is the visible pattern of a thing — seize its visible pattern; if it is the essential substance of a thing — seize its essential substance. One cannot seize on visible pattern and make it essential substance." (204)

2 E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in *idem*, *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), pp. 107–21 (116–7). See also *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1959).

3 Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence — 1500 to the Present: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), p. 72.

4 René Magritte, "La Ligne de vie," cited in Sarah Whitfield, *Magritte* (London: South Bank Centre, 1992), p. 62.

5 James Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126–1193)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), p. 2. See also Hargett' s entry, "*Yu-chi wen-hsüeh*," *ICTCL*, Volume 1, pp. 936–9.

6 Julian Ward, *Xu Xiake (1587–1641): The Art of Travel Writing* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), p. 125.

7 Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996). The best critical treatment of Clunas' study of which I am aware is the review article by Mark Jackson, "Landscape/Representation/Text: Craig Clunas's *Fruitful Sites* (1996)," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 19 (3/4) (1999): 302–13.

8 W. J. T. Mitchell, "Editor's Note: The Language of Images," *Critical Inquiry* 6 (3) (1980): 359–62.

9 Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 61.
10 Simon Coleman and John Elsner, *Pilgrimage Past and Present: Sacred Travel and Sacred Space in World Religions* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), p. 212.
11 D. W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene," in *idem* ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 33–48 (34).
12 David Hawkes trans., *The Story of the Stone (Volume One: The Golden Days)* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 324–5. For the original text, see Cao Xueqin and Gao E 高鶚, *Hongloumeng* (rpt.; Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998), Volume 1, p. 217.
13 *Shanchuan xiuli de Zhongguo* 山川秀麗的中國 [*di si jie "Hanyu qiao" shijie daxuesheng Zhongwen bisai wenda tiji* 第四屆"漢語橋"世界大學生中文比賽問答題集] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2005), p. 15. On the Four Perfections of Yellow Mountain, see Chapter Four.
14 *Huangshan tujing*, reprinted as Volume 1 of the *Anhui congshu* 安徽叢書 Series 5 (Shanghai: Anhui congshu bianyinchu, 1935). This important work will be discussed in Chapter Two. Pine trees are mentioned in this text only in the entry on Pine Forest Peak 松林峰 (9b).
15 Jing, "Bifa ji." This passage is treated in Stephen H. West, Stephen Owen, Martin Powers and Willard Peterson's "*Bi fa ji*: Jing Hao, 'Notes on the Method for the Brush,'" in Yu et al. ed., *Ways with Words*, pp. 202–44. See also Powers' "When is a Landscape like a Body?" in Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 1–22.
16 Huang Zongxi, "Sijiu lu" 思舊錄, in Shen Shanhong 沈善洪 ed., *Huang Zongxi quanji* 黃宗羲全集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2005), Volume 1, p. 377.
17 Luther Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966), pp. 102–3 (romanization altered).
18 A number of new studies have appeared since I began working on this project, and one that I have not yet had the opportunity to read is Yang Lianmin's 楊連民 *Qian Qianyi shixue yanjiu* 錢謙益詩學研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007). I am also acutely aware that I have barely scraped the surface of the astonishing number of articles about all aspects of Qian Qianyi that have been published in the journals of the major Chinese universities over the past two decades, for a useful list of which, see Ding Gongyi's 丁功誼 *Qian Qianyi wenxue sixiang yanjiu* 錢謙益文學思想研究 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2006), pp. 259–61.
19 Brian R. Dott, *Identity Reflections: Pilgrimages to Mount Tai in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
20 Partial translations of the essay into English appear in Richard E. Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 315–6 [Part III] and in Yang Qinghua's rendition of Yu Kwang-chung's "The Sensuous Art of the Chinese Landscape Journal," in Stephen C. Soong and John Minford ed., *Trees on the Mountain: An Anthology of New Chinese Writing* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1986), pp. 23–40 [a partial translation of Part VIII]. The essay appears in annotated form in Wang Keqian 王克謙 ed., *Lidai Huangshan youji xuan* 歷代黃山遊記選 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1988), pp. 102–29 [the complete essay, but with considerable deficiencies, including a failure to identify people or the majority of literary allusions, erroneous punctuation etc.]; Bei Yunchen 貝運辰 ed., *Lidai youji xuan* 歷代遊記選 (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1980), pp. 289–97 [Parts III and VIII only], and Ni Qixin 倪其心 ed., *Zhongguo gudai youji xuan* 中國古代遊記選 (Beijing: Zhongguo youji chubanshe, 1985), Volume 2, pp. 255–64 [also Parts III and VIII]. The trip and its resulting writings are mentioned briefly in Gao Zhangcai's 高章采

Guanchang shike 官場詩客 (Xianggang: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 162–6, Ding Gongyi's *Wenxue sixiang*, pp. 111–8, and in three studies by Pei Shijun 裴世俊: *Sihai zongmeng wushi nian: Qian Qianyi zhuan* 四海宗盟五十年：錢謙益傳 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2001), p. 95; *Qian Qianyi guwen shoutan* 錢謙益古文首探 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996), pp. 100–2 and *Qian Qianyi shige yanjiu* 錢謙益詩歌研究 (Ningxia: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 95–103, a discussion that seems to draw heavily on the editor's introduction to Li Yimang 李一氓 ed., *Ming Qing ren you Huangshan jichao* 明清人遊黃山記鈔 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1983), although it is not attributed as such (see especially Pei's comment on the transformations of the seasons, p. 98). See also Chen Yinke, [Chen Yinque] 陳寅恪, *Liu Rushi biezhuan* 柳如是別傳 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1980), Volume 2, pp. 613–34.

21 See, for example, Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1977).

22 Adele Austin Rickett trans., *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien Tz'u-hua: A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1977), p. 71.

Chapter 1

1 Martin Heijdra notes that "while the number of officials hovered between 25,000 and 40,000, the number of degree holders [had] increased from 100,000 to 550,000 [by the end of the Ming]." ("The Socio-Economic Development of Rural China during the Ming," in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote ed., *The Cambridge History of China Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], pp. 417–578 [561]).

2 Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 173. On some of the factors contributing to the decline of the imperial courier system, see Hoshi Ayao, "Transportation in the Ming Dynasty," *Acta Asiatica* 38 (1980): 1–30.

3 See in particular: Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*; Wai-yee Li, "The Collector, the Connoisseur, and Late-Ming Sensibility," *T'oung Pao* 81 (4/5) (1995): 269–302.

4 Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, p. 108.

5 Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, p. 137.

6 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, p. 220. On Ming sumptuary restrictions, see also Craig Clunas' "Regulation of Consumption and the Institution of Correct Morality by the Ming State," in Chun-chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher ed., *Norms and the State in China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), pp. 39–49. I do not mean to suggest here that the relaxation of sumptuary laws was on its own responsible for the changing concepts of taste and fashion in late-Ming society, which was of course a product of a wide range of influences. In terms of aesthetic qualities of visual arts, for example, Chu-tsing Li notes that in contrast to other periods, by the late Ming "very few painters were attached to the court, which meant that neither the emperor nor his court served as an arbiter of contemporary taste." ("The Artistic Theories of the Literati," in *idem* and James C. Y. Watt ed., *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period* [New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987], pp. 14–22 [14].)

7 Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and Lineage in China: A Study of T'ung-ch'eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties*, cited in Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, p. 155.

8 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, p. 238.
9 Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 19.
10 Timothy Brook, "Communications and Commerce," in Twitchett and Mote ed., *Cambridge History of China Volume 8*, pp. 579–707 (581).
11 Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, p. 146.
12 "I once visited a friend in Jiaxing, and noted that when entertaining guests the household used silver braziers and golden spittoons. Every guest had a set of golden dish and dish-stand, and a great golden cup with a pair of *chi* dragons. Each set contained about 15 or 16 *liang*. I passed the night there, and the next morning washed my face in a silver basin chased with plum blossom. The hangings, curtains and bed clothes were all of brocaded gauze, and my sight was assaulted to the point where I could not close my eyes all night. I have heard that the family even has incense-burners of gold, making them the richest family in Jiangnan, and at the same time the acme of common vulgarity incapable of being outdone." See Craig Clunas, "Some Literary Evidence for Gold and Silver Vessels in the Ming Period (1368–1644)," in Michael Vickers ed., *Pots and Pans: A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese and Graeco-Roman Worlds, Oxford, 1985* (Oxford Studies in Islamic Art III, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 83–7 (86).
13 Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi (Ginger) Hsü, "Anhui Merchant Culture and Patronage," in James Cahill ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981), pp. 19–24 (21).
14 Chin and Hsü, "Anhui Merchant Culture," p. 22.
15 Li, "The Collector," pp. 275–6.
16 English-language studies of Ming printing and publishing include: K. T. Wu, "Colour Printing in the Ming Dynasty," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 11 (1) (1940): 30–44, and "Ming Printing and Printers," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7 (1942–43): 203–60; Francesca Bray, *Technology and Society in Ming China (1368–1644)* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 2000), pp. 7–17, and Chow Kai-wing, "Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China," *Late Imperial China* 17 (1) (1996): 120–57.
17 Books were also a collectable commodity, of course, on which see Brook's *Confusions of Pleasure*, pp. 167–72, Clunas' *Superfluous Things* and "Books and Things: Ming Literary Culture and Material Culture," *Chinese Studies* (London: British Library Occasional Paper #10, 1988), pp. 136–42.
18 Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 28–67; Craig Clunas, "Artist and Subject in Ming Dynasty China," *Proceedings of the British Academy 105: 1999 Lectures and Memoirs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 43–72.
19 Yang Ye trans., *Vignettes from the Late Ming: A Hsiao-p'in Anthology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. xviii.
20 Ye, *Vignettes from the Late Ming*, pp. xviii–xix.
21 Ye, *Vignettes from the Late Ming*, pp. xviii.
22 Chen Jiru, "Wenyu xu" 文娛序, in Hu Shaotang 胡紹棠 ed., *Chen Meigong xiaopin* 陳眉公小品 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 24–6. The punctuation given in this annotated edition of the text ascribes this dating to Zheng Yuanxun, while Ye's translation ascribes the line to Chen Jiru himself.
23 Robert E. Hegel, "*Vignettes from the Late Ming: A Hsiao-p'in Anthology* by Yang Ye," reviewed in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 37 (1) (March 2002): 116–8. Statements that similarly downplay the rhetorical function of late-Ming *xiaopin*

abound; see, for example, Yin Gonghong 尹恭弘 (*Xiaopin gaochao yu wan Ming wenhua* 小品高潮與晚明文化 [Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 2001]): "Only the late-Ming *xiaopin* was able to throw off the bonds of didacticism [that had characterized the prose of earlier periods] and give free expression to the desires of the [author's] heart" 縱心而談 (2).

24 Lu Shusheng, "Yanshi ji," in Shi Zhicun 施蟄存 ed., *Wan Ming ershijia xiaopin* 晚明二十家小品 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1984), pp. 18–9. This essay is translated as "Inkslab Den" in Ye's anthology (pp. 12–3).

25 Ye's only comment here is of Lu Shusheng's *xiaopin* in general: "Rich in literary allusions, Lu's vignettes often breathe a sense of humour and a cheerful appreciation of life's little pleasures" (*Vignettes from the Late Ming*, p. 11).

26 Gu Qiyuan, *Lanzhen caotang ji* 嬾真草堂集 cited in Qianshen Bai, *Fu Shan's World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 19; Bai leaves the term *qi* untranslated throughout his discussion.

27 Bai, *Fu Shan's World*, p. 19. "It was precisely its vagueness," Bai continues, "that opened the term up to innumerable possibilities." (pp. 19–20) Similarly, in her thoughtful treatment of the term *yi* 異 [strange], Judith T. Zeitlin notes the difficulty of defining an idea that is "a cultural construct created and constantly renewed through writing and reading" (*Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993], p. 6).

28 Bai, *Fu Shan's World*, p. 19.

29 Judith T. Zeitlin, "The Petrified Heart: Obsession in Chinese Literature, Art, and Medicine," *Late Imperial China* 12 (1) (1991): 1–26, and *Historian of the Strange*, pp. 62–97.

30 Duncan Campbell, "Qi Biaojia's 'Footnotes to Allegory Mountain': Introduction and Translation," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 19 (3/4) (1999): 243–71 (247). See also Joanna F. Handlin-Smith's "Gardens in Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (1) (1992): 55–81 (59–64).

31 Zhang Dai, "Qi Zhixiang pi," 祁止祥癖 in Xia Xianchun 夏咸淳 and Cheng Weirong 程維榮 ed., *Taoan mengyi / Xihu mengxun* 陶庵夢憶 / 西湖夢尋 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2001), pp. 72–3.

32 Alfred Gell, "Newcomers to the World of Goods: Consumption among the Muria Gonds," in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 110–38 (112).

33 For an extension of this idea into the realms of landscape art during the Yuan-Ming transition, see Richard Vinograd, "Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng's *Pien* Mountains of 1366," *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982): 1–29: "The predominant subjects of Yuan scholar-amateur landscape were, for the most part, not merely generally notable sites or famed scenic spots, but rather local mountains and streams, regional vistas, studio environs, and villa settings which were closely tied to the artist or recipient or both by bonds of ownership, personal association or family history." (p. 11, romanization altered)

34 The handscroll exists today in two versions, one in the Ogawa Family Collection, Kyoto, and the other in the Honolulu Academy of Arts (known as *Changjiang jixue* 長江積雪 [The Yangzi River after Snow]). There is considerable debate over the authenticity of the two scrolls, which, in the present context, I have chosen to ignore. The work and its provenance are superbly treated in Wen Fong's "Rivers and Mountains after Snow (Chiang-shan hsüeh-chi), Attributed to Wang Wei (AD 699–759)," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976–77): 6–33, in which Fong asserts the primacy of the Ogawa version. This version is also reproduced in Naitō Torajirō's 內

藤虎次郎 (1866–1934) *Shina kaiga shi* 支那繪畫史 (rpt.; Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎 and Naitō Kenkichi 內藤乾吉 ed., *Naitō Konan zenshū* 內藤湖南全集 [Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1969–1976], Volume 13) as plates 24 and 25. Michael Sullivan's plate 97 (*Chinese Landscape Painting – Volume II: The Sui and Tang Dynasties* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980]) is labelled as the Ogawa scroll but appears to be another work.

35 Adapted from Fong, "Rivers and Mountains," p. 14.

36 Adapted from Fong, "Rivers and Mountains," p. 15.

37 Fong, "Rivers and Mountains," p. 12, citing Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680). *QRSM* (Volume 2, p. 1084) records a Cheng Jiahua 程甲化 as having the sobriquet (*zi* 字) Jibai 季白, although this Cheng is given as being from Putian 莆田 (Fujian) rather than from Xin'an.

38 A reference to the Zhang Hua 張華 biography in the *Jin shu* 晉書 (rpt.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), in which two swords are uncovered in the ground at Fengcheng (Volume 4, p. 1075).

39 Qian Qianyi, "Ba Dong Xuanzai yu Feng Kaizhi chidu" 跋董玄宰與馮開之尺牘, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 85 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 1788–9). The original version, which differs slightly from that published in the *Muzhai chuxueji*, is reproduced (without translation) as an appendix to Fong's "Rivers and Mountains." Qian actually calls the painting *Jiangshan jixue* 江山霽雪, although this fact goes unmentioned by Fong. The original text is dated the *renwu* 壬午 year of the Chongzhen reign (1642).

40 Harriet T. Zurndorfer, *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History: The Development of Hui-chou Prefecture, 800 to 1800* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), pp. 225–8.

41 Chin and Hsü, "Anhui Merchant Culture," p. 23.

42 Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *idem* ed., *Social Life of Things*, pp. 3–63 (38).

43 Xu Hongzu (1586–1641) is one man who does complain frequently of such difficulties in the diaries of his great travels in the southwest (see Ward, *Xu Xiake*). Such long and remote journeys were, however, very much the exception among late-Ming travellers.

44 The 1570 edition of *Yitong lucheng tuji* was republished in 1635 as *Tianxia shuilu lucheng* 天下水陸路程 (rpt.; Yang Zhengtai 楊正泰 ed., Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1992).

45 Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, p. 13.

46 Huang Liuhong, *Fuhui quanshu* 福惠全書 cited in Brook, "Communications and Commerce," pp. 624–5.

47 Sung Ying-hsing, *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century*, translated by E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), p. xiii (romanization altered). Francesca Bray notes in her study that "[m]any key features of Ming transport technology, such as the magnetic compass, ships built with watertight compartments, and canal locks, were already in use by the Song. The Ming was remarkable less for the invention of new technologies than for their wide dissemination as commerce advanced, population grew, and China's internal and external trading links were consolidated." (*Technology and Society*, p. 19)

48 Yuan Hongdao, "Dongdongting" 東洞庭, in Qian Bocheng 錢伯城 ed., *Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao* 袁宏道集箋校 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981), Volume 1, pp. 163–4.

49 Stephen McDowall trans., *Four Months of Idle Roaming: The West Lake Records of Yuan Hongdao (1568–1610)* (Wellington: Asian Studies Institute Translation Paper #4, 2002), p. 1.

50 Dante Alighieri, *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Cantica I: Hell [l'Inferno]*, translated by Dorothy L. Sayers (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949), p. 235.

51 Hong Mei 弘眉 comp., *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志 (1667), reprinted in *Zhonghua shanshuizhi congkan (shanzhi juan)* 中華山水志叢刊 (山志卷) (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2004), Volume 15, pp. 241–574 (471–4). This work will be discussed in Chapter Two.

52 Robyn Davidson, "Introduction," in *idem* ed., *The Picador Book of Journeys* (London: Picador, 2001), pp. 1–7 (3).

53 Of wrong sorts of traveller there were of course many, most famously articulated in Wang Siren's 王思任 (*zi* Jizhong 季重, *hao* Suidong 遂東; 1575–1646) "Jiyou yin" 紀遊引, for which see Li Wu 李嗚 ed., *Wang Jizhong xiaopin* 王季重小品 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 138–9.

54 Hargett, *On the Road*, p. 44.

55 Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, p. 56.

56 James M. Hargett, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 7 (1/2) (July 1985): 67–93 (70).

57 W. Jackson Bate, *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 4.

58 Michel Butor, "Le voyage et l'écriture" in *idem*, *Répertoire IV* (Paris: Minuit, 1974), pp. 9–29.

59 Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlanzhi* (rpt.; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1998). Yuan draws from this work in his "Fourth Record of West Lake" 西湖四 (see McDowall trans., *Four Months of Idle Roaming*, pp. 4 and 15).

60 Brook, "Communications and Commerce," p. 625.

61 McDowall trans., *Four Months of Idle Roaming*, pp. 3–9.

62 Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 40–1.

63 Alan Brien, "Tourist Angst," *The Spectator* (July 31, 1959): 133.

64 Gu Yanwu, *Rizhilu jishi* 日知錄集釋, Huang Rucheng 黃汝成 ed. (rpt.; Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1990), Volume 1, pp. 473–5.

65 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, p. 174.

66 Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), p. 10.

67 S. A. M. Adshead, "The Seventeenth Century General Crisis in China," *Asian Profile* 1 (2) (1973): 271–80 (272).

68 A more complete listing of Qian Qianyi's known sobriquets is found in *QRSM*, Volume 2, p. 926. For biographical details, see the entry by L. Carrington Goodrich and J. C. Yang in *ECCP*, pp. 148–50 and that by Ming-shui Hung in *ICTCL*, Volume 1, pp. 277–9. For more extensive treatments of Qian's life, see Pei, *Sihai zongmeng*; Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan* and Jin Hechong 金鶴沖, *Qian Muzhai xiansheng nianpu* 錢牧齋先生年譜, reprinted in *QMZQJ*, Volume 8, pp. 930–52. Jin's study was also reprinted along with three other *nianpu* (chronological biographies) of Qian by Ge Wanli 葛萬里, Pengcheng tuishi 彭城退士 and Zhang Lianjun 張聯駿 in *Beijing tushuguan cang zhenben nianpu congkan* 北京圖書館藏珍本年譜叢刊 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1999) 64: 559–720. In addition to those already noted, literary studies of Qian's works in Chinese include: Li Qing 李慶, "Qian Qianyi: Ming mo shidafu xintai de dianxing" 錢謙益：明末士大夫心態的典型, *Fudan xuebao* 復旦學報 [*sheke ban* 社科版] (1989) (1): 37–43; Sun Zhimei 孫之梅, *Qian Qianyi yu Ming mo Qing chu wenxue* 錢謙益與明末清初文學 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996); Cai Yingyuan 蔡營源, *Qian Qianyi zhi shengping yu zhushu* 錢謙益之生平與著述 (Miaoli: Fuhua shuju, 1977), which also includes a useful *nianpu*; Liu Zuomei 柳作梅, "Wang Shizhen yu Qian Qianyi zhi shilun" 王士稹 [*sic*] 與錢謙益之詩論, *Shumu jikan* 書目季刊 2 (3) (1968): 41–9; Hu Youfeng 胡幼峰, *Qing chu Yushanpai shilun* 清初虞山派

詩論 (Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1994), and Zhu Dongrun 朱東潤, "Shu Qian Qianyi zhi wenxue piping" 述錢謙益之文學批評, in *idem*, *Zhongguo wenxue piping lunji* 中國文學批評論集 (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1947), pp. 76–95 (and reprinted in *idem*, *Zhongguo wenxue lunji* 中國文學論集 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983], pp. 71–89). Zhu erroneously dates Qian's birth to the fourth year of the Longqing reign (1570), and his subsequent discussion is somewhat hindered by this mistake (p. 79). For studies in English, see: Hellmut Wilhelm, "Bibliographical Notes on Ch'ien Ch'ien-i," *Monumenta Serica* 7 (1942): 196–207; Jonathan Chaves, "The Yellow Mountain Poems of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582–1664): Poetry as *Yu-chi*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48 (2) (1988): 465–92; K. L. Che, "Not Words But Feelings — Ch'ien Ch'ien-I [*sic*] (1582–1664) on Poetry," *Tamkang Review* 6 (1) (1975): 55–75, and Chi-hung Yim [嚴志雄], *The Poetics of Historical Memory in the Ming-Qing Transition: A Study of Qian Qianyi's (1582–1664) Later Poetry* (Unpublished PhD thesis: Yale University, 1998). As I write, Yim's monograph, *The Poet-Historian Qian Qianyi* (Routledge, 2009) has yet to be released.

69 Sun, *Ming mo Qing chu wenxue*, p. 14; Pei, *Shige yanjiu*, p. 14. For the Qian family tree, see Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, p. 6.

70 Sun Zhimei argues that fostering the development of a network of political, social and literary connections during Qianyi's early life, such as his introduction to Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (*zi* Shushi 叔時, *hao* Xiaoxin 小心; 1550–1612) at age 15 *sui*, was one of the most significant roles his father Shiyang played in Qianyi's upbringing (*Ming mo Qing chu wenxue*, pp. 26–7).

71 Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, pp. 6–10. In his "Sijiu lu," Huang Zongxi erroneously refers to Qianyi's son as Qian Sunyi 孫貽, a conflation of *ming* 名 and *zi* 字 (*Huang Zongxi quanji*, Volume 1, p. 378).

72 Lynn A. Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619–1683: A Historiography and Source Guide* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1998), p. 64.

73 Goodrich, *Literary Inquisition*, p. 104 (romanization altered).

74 On the *Siku quanshu* project, see *ICTCL*, Volume 1, pp. 247–9 and R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

75 On the transmission of Qian's writings despite the efforts of the Qianlong Emperor, see Wilhelm, "Bibliographical Notes," pp. 196–8: "One would think that a nationwide persecution such as this might have resulted in a serious loss of literary material, but actually Qianlong's inquisition was a failure. All the more important writings of Qian have outlived this persecution, and those which have been lost succumbed not to political but to natural calamities" (romanization altered).

76 The best treatment of the reception of Qian Qianyi's writings following the Qianlong era is Kang-i Sun Chang's "Qian Qianyi and His Place in History," in Wilt L. Idema, Wai-yee Li and Ellen Widmer ed., *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 199–218. Chang cites among others Zhao Yuan 趙園, who refers to Qian as "one who lost his integrity" 失節者 (*Ming Qing zhi ji shidafu yanjiu* 明清之際士大夫研究, cited on p. 199).

77 See Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr. ed., *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

78 In addition to those below see: Hongnam Kim, *The Life of a Patron: Zhou Lianggong (1612–1672) and the Painters of Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: China Institute in America, 1996); Ho Koon-piu, "Should We Die as Martyrs to the Ming Cause? Scholar-officials' Views on Martyrdom during the Ming-Qing Transition," *Oriens Extremus* 37 (2) (1994): 123–51; Tom Fisher, "Loyalist

Alternatives in the Early Ch'ing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44 (1984): 83–122; Wing-ming Chan, "The Early-Qing Discourse on Loyalty," *East Asian History* 19 (2000): 27–52; and Lawrence D. Kessler, "Chinese Scholars and the Early Manchu State," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 31 (1971): 179–200.

79 Tobie Meyer-Fong, "Making a Place for Meaning in Early Qing Yangzhou," *Late Imperial China* 20 (1) (1999): 49–84 (52). "From the vantage point of the 1660s . . ." she continues, "the range of options was far more nuanced than a simple trichotomy of 'romantics,' 'stoics,' and 'martyrs' would allow" [in reference to Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 43 (4) (1984): 631–65]. Elsewhere, Meyer-Fong notes of the new age, "the (re)creation of a new, broadly inclusive community of elites, in some cases along the lines of preconquest friendship networks, preceded, and even facilitated, political accommodation that gradually took place between Han elites and the new Qing order" ("Packaging the Men of Our Times: Literary Anthologies, Friendship Networks, and Political Accommodation in the Early Qing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64 (1) (2004): 5–56 [6]). On relationships between scholars of the early Qing, see Xie Zhengguang 謝正光 [Andrew Hsieh], *Qing chu shiwen yu shiren jiaoyou kao* 清初詩文與士人交遊考 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2001).

80 Gu Yanwu was one man who refused contact with Qian during the early Qing on moral grounds. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), Volume 2, pp. 718–20 and p. 879, n. 86.

81 Bai, *Fu Shan's World*. Qian Qianyi's continued contact with Huang Zongxi, who had actively resisted the Manchu takeover of southern China until 1649 (*ECCP*, pp. 351–4), is one argument for a more cautious approach to his life and career during the early Qing.

82 On Qian's collaboration with the Qing government and the issue of his involvement in anti-Qing resistance movements, see in particular: Jin, *Qian Muzhai xiansheng nianpu*, pp. 938–52; Jerry Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 266–8; Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, Volume 3, and Wai-yee Li, "Heroic Transformations: Women and National Trauma in Early Qing Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59 (2) (1999): 363–443 (395–408).

83 Qian Qianyi, "Ke *Gushi tanyuan* mulu hou xu" 刻《古史談苑》目錄後序, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 74 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 1636–8). This work is now housed in the National Central Library 中央圖書館 in Taiwan (Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, p. 39).

84 On this group, see John W. Dardess, *Blood and History in China: The Donglin Faction and its Repression, 1620–1627* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

85 Nelson I. Wu, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett ed., *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 260–93.

86 Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, p. 45.

87 On Gongan literary thought, see in particular: two studies by Chih-p'ing Chou, "The Poetry and Poetic Theory of Yüan Hung-tao (1568–1610)," *Tsing-Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* (New Series) 15 (1/2) (1983): 113–42, and *Yüan Hung-tao and the Kung-an School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Ren Fangqiu 任訪秋, *Yuan Zhonglang yanjiu* 袁中郎研究 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1983); Martine Vallette-Hémery, *Yuan Hongdao (1568–1610): théorie et pratique littéraires* (Paris: Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1982); Zhang Guoguang 張國光 and Huang Qingquan 黃清泉 ed., *Wan Ming wenxue gexinpai*

Gongan san Yuan yanjiu 晚明文學革新派公安三袁研究 (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1987), and two studies by Jonathan Chaves, "The Expression of Self in the Kung-an School: Non-Romantic Individualism," in Robert E. Hegel and Richard C. Hessney ed., *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 123–50, and "The Panoply of Images: A Reconsideration of the Literary Theories of the Kung-an School," in Susan Bush and Christian Murck ed., *Theories of the Arts in China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 341–64. Qian's friend Cheng Jiasui is discussed in Chapter Four.

88 On the concept of *xingling*, see James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1962), pp. 70–6.

89 Yuan Hongdao, "Liu Yuanding shi xu" 劉元定詩序, *Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao*, Volume 3, pp. 1528–9.

90 Qian Qianyi, "Shu Qu Youzhong shijuan" 書瞿有仲詩卷, in *Muzhai youxueji* 47 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 6, pp. 1557–9). The *Muzhai youxueji* 牧齋有學集 [Collected Further Scholarship from Shepherd's Studio] of 1664 was the second published collection of Qian's works.

91 Qian Qianyi, "Huang Tingbiao Ren'an shi xu" 黃庭表忍菴詩序, in *Muzhai youxueji* 20 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 5, pp. 846–7). For more extensive examinations of Qian's literary theories in relation to those of the Gongan School, see Sun, *Ming mo Qing chu wenxue*, pp. 123–39 and pp. 257–79, Hu, *Yushanpai shilun*, pp. 44–9, Lynn A. Struve, "Huang Zongxi in Context: A Reappraisal of His Major Writings," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47(3) (1988): 474–502 and Che, "Not Words But Feelings," pp. 60–1.

92 On the compilation of the *Liechao shiji*, see Sun, *Ming mo Qing chu wenxue*, pp. 342–58, Yim, *Poetics of Historical Memory*, pp. 235–41, and Meyer-Fong, "Packaging the Men of Our Times," pp. 18–21.

93 Qian Qianyi, "Yaohuangji xu" 姚黃集序, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 29 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 885–6). See also Zheng Yuanxun, "Yingyuan ziji" 影園自記, translated by Duncan Campbell as *A Personal Record of My Garden of Reflection* (Wellington: Asian Studies Institute Translation Paper #5, 2004).

94 Qian Qianyi, "Ti Du Canglüe ziping shiwen" 題杜蒼略自評詩文, in *Muzhai youxueji* 49 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 6, pp. 1594–5).

95 Qian Qianyi, "Jiangyin Li Guanzhi qishi xu" 江陰李貫之七十序, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 37 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 1026–7).

96 The most extensive treatment of Qian's library to date is Jian Xiujuan's 簡秀娟 *Qian Qianyi cangshu yanjiu* 錢謙益藏書研究 (Taibei: Hanmei tushu, 1991). See also Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, Volume 2, pp. 820–32. The destruction of the Tower of Crimson Clouds collection is related in a colophon by another twice-serving official, Cao Rong 曹溶: "Not long after he had travelled north [to take up office] he [Qian] returned home on the pretext of ill health, taking up residence in Red Bean Mountain Estate 紅豆山莊. Turning to his book collection, he began again to bring order to it, mending those books that needed repair, making copies of those that needed copying, at the same time sorting the collection into various categories. He then had the whole collection housed upstairs in the Tower of the Crimson Clouds, in seventy-three large bookcases. With evident joy, he would survey his collection, exclaiming: 'I may well have been reduced to poverty in my old age but I'm certainly rich in terms of my books!' Ten or so days later his young daughter was playing upstairs in the tower with her wet-nurse in the middle of the night when, as the wick of the lamp was being trimmed, it fell amidst a pile of papers and caught fire. Downstairs, Qian Qianyi arose with a start, but by that time the flames already lit up the sky and the tower was beyond saving. He fled outside. Before long, both the tower itself and the books that it had once housed had been

reduced to ashes." Cao Rong, "Jiangyunlou cangshu mu tici" 絳雲樓藏書目題詞, appended to the *Jiangyunlou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 (see publication details below), pp. 321–2, translated by Duncan Campbell in "The Moral Status of the Book: Huang Zongxi in the Private Libraries of Late Imperial China," *East Asian History* 32/33 (2006/2007): 1–24 (17).

97 Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, p. 102.

98 Niu Xiu, "Hedongjun" 河東君, reproduced in Fan Jingzhong 范景中 and Zhou Shutian 周書田 ed., *Liu Rushi shiji* 柳如是事輯 (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 2002), pp. 13–7.

99 Duncan Campbell, "Cao Rong (1613–85) on Books: Loss, Libraries and Circulation," unpublished seminar paper delivered to the Department of History, University of Otago (10 May 2006), p. 10. For Tu Lien-chê's biography of Cao, see *ECCP*, p. 740.

100 The *Jiangyunlou shumu* is published as part of the *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 collection (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2002), Volume 920, pp. 319–424, a facsimile reprint of the 1820 edition housed at the Beijing Library. The catalogue is a rather eclectic document, frequently omitting details such as the compiler or number of volumes in a work, but clearly placing importance on the period of the imprint. Cao Rong notes that Qian "would only list in his catalogue the older imprints of works," and cites glaring omissions (such as the *Zongjinglu* 宗鏡錄) as evidence for the document's incompleteness ("Jiangyunlou cangshu mu tici," p. 322). I am inclined to think that the catalogue tells us more about the way in which Qian Qianyi wanted to present himself as a collector than about the actual holdings of the library.

101 "A book that has once been part of the collection of a famous person and which carries both his seal and his handwriting seems to have a much enhanced ancient fragrance 古香 about it" (cited in Gu Huizhi 谷輝之 ed., *Liu Rushi shiwen ji* 柳如是詩文集 [Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1996], p. 243).

102 Qian Qianyi, "Ba Songban Zuozhuan" 跋宋版左傳, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 85 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, p. 1780).

103 Cao, "Jiangyunlou cangshu mu tici," p. 322. On some of the other avenues of élite consumption enjoyed by Qian (such as tea, wine and music), see Li, "Xintai de dianxing."

104 Campbell, "Moral Status of the Book," p. 16.

105 Qian Qianyi, "Da Shanyin Xu Bodiao shu" 答山陰徐伯調書, in *Muzhai youxueji* 39 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 6, pp. 1346–9).

106 Qian Qianyi, "Da Du Canglüe lunwen shu" 答杜蒼略論文書, in *Muzhai youxueji* 38 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 1306–9).

107 Qian Qianyi, "Du Du xiaojian" 讀杜小箋, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 106–10 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 2153–2219). The full study (i.e. including that completed after the publication of the *Muzhai chuxueji*) is reprinted as *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1979) in two volumes. Some decades ago William Hung (*Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952]) raised questions over the authenticity of Qian's edition of Du Fu's works: "Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) was a man of masterly erudition, persuasive literary ability, and rather doubtful character . . . In my judgement, the so-called Wu Ruo text with its fine display of variant readings — a hand copy of which was in the possession of Qian alone, but was nowhere to be found shortly after his time — was a clever forgery made by plagiarising a plagiarist's edition of 1204 and by putting in a number of additions and alterations. Circumstantial evidence seems to point to Qian himself as the forger" (pp. 13–5, romanization altered). The commentary is nonetheless an extraordinary insight into Qian's literary thought, and

would certainly repay further scholarship. For a useful preliminary study, see Zhang Jipei 張繼沛, "Qian Qianyi jian Du zhi yaozhi ji qi jituo" 錢謙益箋杜之要旨及其寄託, in *Lianhe shuyuan sanshi zhounian jinian lunwenji* 聯合書院三十周年紀念論文集 (Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1986), pp. 215–34. The two most comprehensive treatments of the work of which I am aware are Hao Runhua's 郝潤花 Qian zhu Du shi *yu shishi huzheng fangfa* 《錢注杜詩》與詩史互証方法 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2000), and Chan Che-shan's 陳芷珊 lengthy *Qian jian Du shi yanjiu* 錢箋杜詩研究 (Unpublished PhD thesis: The University of Hong Kong, 2005).

108 "Publisher's Introduction" 出版說明 to Wang Qi ed., *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集 (rpt.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), pp. 9–10.

109 *Jiangyunlou shumu*, pp. 323–5.

110 James C. Y. Watt, "The Literati Environment," in Li and Watt ed., *The Chinese Scholar's Studio*, pp. 1–13 (1).

111 Qian Qianyi, "Xinke Shisanjing zhushu xu" 新刻十三經注疏序, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 28 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 850–2).

112 For biographical details on Liu, see the entry by Fang Chao-ying in *ECCP*, pp. 529–30, and that by Beata Grant in *ICTCL*, Volume 2, pp. 107–9. For a more extensive treatment of Liu's life and work in addition to Chen's *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, see Bian Min 卞敏, *Liu Rushi xinzhuan* 柳如是新傳 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1997).

113 Shen Qiu 沈虯, "Hedongjun ji" 河東君記, reprinted in Fan and Zhou ed., *Liu Rushi shiji*, pp. 18–20.

114 "Thus did I hear" 如是我聞 is a conventional phrase in Buddhist texts.

115 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, p. 230.

116 Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Zhang Hongsheng 張宏生 ed., *Ming Qing wenxue yu xingbie yanjiu* 明清文學與性別研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002); Wai-yee Li, "The Late Ming Courtesan: Invention of a Cultural Ideal," in Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang ed., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 46–73; Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Late-Ming Poet Ch'en Tzu-lung: Crises of Love and Loyalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). See also Robyn Hamilton, "The Pursuit of Fame: Luo Qilan (1755–1813?) and the Debates about Women and Talent in Eighteenth-Century Jiangnan," *Late Imperial China* 18 (1) (1997): 39–71.

117 Niu Xiu's description of the literary partnership between Qian and Liu is a typically male-fantasist image: "In old age, Qian's obsession with reading and with books became even more pronounced and as he went about his editing and his checking of textual variants it was only Liu Shi that he would ever consult. Whenever the slightest furrow crossed his brow or his brush paused as it plied its way down the page, Liu Shi would immediately leap to her feet and proceed upstairs to consult some book or other and although the volumes were stacked as high as the rafters she would soon return with a particular volume of a specific book and would open it up *to point with her slender fingers* to precisely the right passage, never once making a mistake." (Niu, "Hedongjun," translated in Campbell, "Cao Rong (1613–85) on Books," p. 13 [my emphasis].)

118 Qian Qianyi, "Xinsi yuanri" 辛巳元日 and Liu Shi, "Yuanri ciyun" 元日次韻, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 18 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 622–3).

Chapter 2

1 The *Erya* 爾雅 lists the Five Marchmounts 五嶽 as follows: Tai 泰 in the east; Hua 華 in the west; Huo 霍 in the south; Heng 恒 in the north, and Song 嵩 in the centre. Beginning in the Sui period (581–618), Mount Heng 衡, originally recognized as the Southern Marchmount, began to regain that title once again at the expense of Mount Huo. See Xu Chaohua 徐朝華 ed., *Erya jinzhu* 爾雅今注 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1987), p. 238. For a useful discussion of the development of this system, see Aat Vervoorn's "Cultural Strata of Hua Shan, the Holy Peak of the West," *Monumenta Serica* 39 (1990–91): 1–30 (esp. pp. 1–13). I follow here Edward H. Schafer's translation of the term *yue* 嶽 as "Marchmount," explained in his *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977): "My version is based on the ancient belief that these numinous mountains stood at the four extremities of the habitable world, the marches of man's proper domain, the limits of the ritual tour of the Son of Heaven. There was, of course, a fifth — a kind of axial mount in the center of the world" (6).

2 See the "Shun dian" 舜典 chapter of the *Shujing*, rendered into English in James Legge trans., *The Chinese Classics* (rpt.; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), Volume 3 (1), pp. 29–51.

3 Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* (rpt.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), Volume 4, pp. 1355–1404. For a rare first-hand account of these rituals, see the essay by Ma Dibo 馬第伯 entitled "Feng shan yiji" 封禪儀記, in Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 57–62.

4 John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (New York: China House Gallery, 1985), pp. 59–60.

5 Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Reading Chinese Mountains: Landscape and Calligraphy in China," *Orientations* (Dec 2000): 64–9 (65–6). On the rejection of the traditional *feng* and *shan* sacrifices by the Qing emperors, see Dott, *Identity Reflections*, pp. 150–81. Dott cites among other sources a poem composed by the Kangxi Emperor: "I desire, with close officials, to venerate true government; / there is no longer any need for gold seals and jade covers." (179)

6 John Lagerwey ("The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan" in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü ed., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992], pp. 293–332) notes that Daoists "were never entirely successful in pressing this claim, and of the five only Huashan and Taishan, albeit in very different manner [*sic*], play a significant and ongoing role in Daoist religious history" (328 n18, romanization altered).

7 Brook, "Communications and Commerce," p. 629.

8 Brook, "Communications and Commerce," p. 630.

9 Zhang Dai, "Xihu xiangshi" 西湖香市, in Xia and Cheng ed., *Taoan mengyi / Xihu mengxun*, pp. 109–10.

10 In an important study, James Robson ("The Polymorphous Space of the Southern Marchmount [Nanyue 南嶽]: An Introduction to Nanyue's Religious History and Preliminary Notes on Buddhist-Daoist Interaction," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 [1995]: 221–64) cautions against the definitive categorization of sites as uniquely Buddhist or Daoist, showing that the history of Mount Heng 衡 was informed by its involvement with a number of competing religious traditions. See also Vervoorn, "Cultural Strata," p. 23.

11 Guo Xi, "Shanshui xun" 山水訓 in *Linquan gaozhi ji* 林泉高致集, translated as "Advice on Landscape," in Victor Mair, Nancy S. Steinhardt and Paul R. Goldin ed., *Hawai'i Reader in Traditional Chinese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 380–7.

12 Min Linsi 閔麟嗣 comp., *Huangshan zhi dingben* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1990), pp. 80–115. This important gazetteer is discussed later in this chapter.
13 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 457–9.
14 For a note on the term *tujing* 圖經, which "by the Ming dynasty . . . had become somewhat archaic," see Timothy Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), p. 4.
15 Paul W. Kroll, "Verses from on High: The Ascent of T'ai Shan," in Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen ed., *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 167–216 (pp. 186–9).
16 Michael Loewe, *Faith, Myth and Reason in Han China* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1994), pp. 130–6.
17 Anne Swann Goodrich, *The Peking Temple of the Eastern Peak*, cited in Joseph P. McDermott's "The Making of a Chinese Mountain, Huangshan: Politics and Wealth in Chinese Art," *Asian Cultural Studies* 17 (1989): 145–76 (153). See also Naquin and Yü, "Introduction: Pilgrimage in China," in *idem* ed., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites*, pp. 1–38 (17). On religious toponyms at Daoist mountains, see Thomas Hahn's "The Standard Taoist Mountain and Related Features of Religious Geography," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 145–56.
18 The Yuan scholar Wang Zemin 汪澤民, who is introduced later in this chapter, notes the year of his acquisition of the text, the *wuxu* 戊戌 year of the Dade 大德 reign (1298), but provides no other details (*Huangshan zhi dingben* 207). Qian Qianyi, as we will see, makes frequent use of the *Huangshan tujing* in the composition of his own essay, although the only work pertaining to Yellow Mountain listed in the *Jiangyunlou shumu* (345) is "Huangshan Lushan er tu" 黃山盧山二圖 [Maps of Yellow Mountain and Hermitage Mountain].
19 *Huangshan tujing* 1a. My rendering of Huangshan 黃山 as Yellow Mountain (in the singular) throughout this study is based on the way the name is used by the authors on whose essays I focus here, with *shan* 山 as a single entity consisting of a group of *feng* 峰 [peaks]. Strassberg, not unreasonably, renders the name into "Yellow Emperor Mountain" (see his *Inscribed Landscapes*) based on its supposed etymology, but the degree to which the character *Huang* 黃 would have suggested *Huangdi* 黃帝 [Yellow Emperor] to a late-Ming reader is unclear. To my mind, the fact that so many seventeenth-century travellers feel the need to record the origins of the name in their essays, and the fact that uncertainty remains in the minds of some scholars as to this story's legitimacy, argues against Strassberg's extrapolative translation.
20 *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1988), p. 2.
21 *Huangshan zhi* (1988), p. 2.
22 Zhao Fang, "Song Chen Dabo you Huangshan huanshi xu" 送陳大博遊黃山還詩序, in *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 172–3.
23 *Huangshan zhi* (1988) 2; *Lie xian zhuan*, traditionally ascribed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (original *ming* Gengsheng 更生, *zi* Zizheng 子政; 79?–6 BCE), (rpt.; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1990), p. 23. Many scholars in the seventeenth century seem to have preferred the name "Yellow Sea" 黃海 for the mountain, and we find this used particularly in titles and colophons of paintings produced during the early Qing period. Xie Zhaoshen 謝兆申 attributes the name "Yellow Sea" to his friend Pan Zhiheng 潘之恒 (*Huangshan zhi dingben* 247; for Pan's essay on the subject, see *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 479–80). About this name too there is an element of ambiguity — some travellers at least seem to have taken it to refer to a specific site on the mountain rather than the entire range (see, for example, Wang Zhijie's 王之杰 essay in *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 454–5; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 224–7).
24 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 373.

25 Far more difficult to quantify, but even more important in the present context, is the extent to which their observations and experiences of the peaks were informed by the names handed down to Ming and Qing scholars, a theme to which I shall return later.
26 In this respect at least, the definitive listing and mapping in the 1988 edition of the *Huangshan zhi* of all of Yellow Mountain's peaks and their heights is somewhat problematic in my view, implying (at least in the case of the original 36) a thousand-year continuity in the relationship between name and site that, as Qian shows us, is more than a little misleading. After the naming of White Goose Peak in Li Bai's eighth-century poem, it disappears, omitted from the *Huangshan tujing*'s listing of the Thirty-six Peaks, to which is appended the following note: "Apart from these thirty-six, the numerous other peaks that rise to only two or three hundred *ren* high 諸峰高二三百仞者, and the myriad cliffs, caves, streams and springs that are not mentioned in the classics or biographies are not recorded here" (*Huangshan tujing* 10a). Qian Qianyi, as we will see in his essay, draws on this explanation and suggests that Li Bai's peak might be too small to be listed, while less than half a century later, Min Linsi appends to his entry on White Goose Ridge 嶺 the comment that in his poem Li Bai [erroneously] called the ridge a peak (*Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 33). By 1988, however, White Goose Peak "is located to the east of White Goose Ridge . . . and stands at 1768 metres above sea level," a height that ranks it ninth of all the peaks (82 are identified) in Yellow Mountain (*Huangshan zhi* [1988], p. 17).
27 Wang Xuanxi 汪玄錫 refers in his essay of 1532 to the fact that the Huizhou locals held different opinions as to what exactly constituted "Yellow Mountain" ("Huangshan youji" 黃山遊記, in *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 208–9).
28 Observing the economic landscape in *Wuzazu* 五雜俎, Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 claimed: "The rich men of the empire in the regions south of the Yangzi are from Xin'an . . . The great merchants of Huizhou have made fisheries and salt their occupation, and have amassed fortunes amounting to one million taels of silver." See Ping-ti Ho, "The Salt Merchants of Yang-chou: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954): 130–68 (143, romanization altered).
29 Huang, *Yitong lucheng tuji*, p. 246.
30 One can also trace the boom in the Yellow Mountain region by the number of successful *jinshi* candidates in She 歙 County: a total of 188 during the whole of the Ming, of which a disproportionately high 89 date from the Wanli period or later (i.e. after 1573). See *Shexian zhi* 歙縣志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), pp. 505–14.
31 Yang Erzeng, "Huangshan tushuo" 黃山圖說, in *Hainei qiguan*, reprinted in *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan erbian* 中國古代版畫叢刊二編 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1994), Volume 8.
32 Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (rpt.; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1985), p. 273. For a partial reproduction and discussion of this work in English, see John A. Goodall's *Heaven and Earth: Album Leaves from a Ming Encyclopaedia: San-ts'ai t'u-hui, 1610* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1979).
33 References to this work in the present study (excluding that used for the textual analysis of Qian Qianyi's essay; see Chapter Five) are to the Huangshan shushe edition (Hefei, 1990), which at the time I began working on Yellow Mountain was the most easily accessible edition. The recently published Xianzhuang shuju edition (*Zhonghua shanshuizhi congkan* 中華山水志叢刊 [Beijing: 2004] 16: 133–532), also based on the 1686 edition, became available to me too late to be used, but appears to be a far more reliable text, and should now become the standard edition of this work.

34 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 5.

35 The exact date of this work is uncertain. Evidently there were two versions produced, the first compiled by Wang Shihong with the help of Wu Song 吳菘 and Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰 (*zi* Dongyan 東巖, *hao* Genzhai 艮齋; 1657–1735) after 1679 (the date of Min Linsi's work), the second edition revised by Wang Yuanzhi 汪遠志 and Wang Shuqi 汪樹琪 and published no earlier than 1691. The revised edition, upon which the presently existing edition is based (*Anhui congshu* 安徽叢書 Series 5 [Shanghai: Anhui congshu bianyinchu, 1935], Vols. 10–15), contains a preface by Huang Zongxi dated the *xinwei* 辛未 year (1691). Huang also composed a preface to Wang Shihong's poetry, "Wang Fuchen shixu" 汪扶晨詩序, which seems not to have been included in the gazetteer (see *Huang Zongxi quanji*, Volume 10, pp. 86–8). The 1988 edition of the *Huangshan zhi* gives 1686 as the original date of publication (p. 247). Brook (*Geographical Sources*, p. 85) refers to a 1691 edition only, but erroneously dates *Huang Zongxi*'s preface to 1631 (i.e. the previous *xinwei* year). For arguments against the possibility of a "definitive" Yellow Mountain gazetteer, see the prefaces to this collection. For a complete listing of Yellow Mountain gazetteers of the Ming and Qing, see Brook, *Geographical Sources* under She 歙, pp. 84–6.

36 Anlan Chaogang comp., *Huangshan Cuiweisi zhi* (rpt.; Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyinshe, 1996).

37 The *Huangshan song shi pu* appeared in Zhang Chao 張潮 (b. 1650) ed., *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書, first published in 1697 (ed. Yang Fuji 楊復吉 [1747–1820] rpt.; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1990), Volume 1, pp. 52–4.

38 Most of the discussion that follows is based on the essays found in either the *Huangshan zhi* (1667) or the *Huangshan zhi dingben*. Of these, the latter is more reliable in terms of its chronological arrangement. Li Yimang's rather inaptly named *Ming Qing ren you Huangshan jichao*, which somewhat bizarrely includes two essays from the Song and Yuan periods, is a shorter collection of the most important of these essays, in some cases in slightly alternative versions. Li also includes the two essays by Xu Hongzu which are missing from the previous collections. Alternative versions of some essays also appear in the Jiangnan 江南 section of Wu Qiushi 吳秋士 ed., *Tianxia mingshan youji* 天下名山遊記 (Shanghai: Zhongying shudian, 1936). See also Wang ed., *Lidai Huangshan youji xuan*, and for poetry, Huang Songlin 黄松林 ed., *Huangshan gujin youlan shi xuan* 黄山古今遊覽詩選 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1989).

39 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), p. 433; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 204.

40 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 433–5; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 205–7.

41 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), p. 435; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 207.

42 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 435–6; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 208–9.

43 For the Yellow Mountain poems of Jia Dao, see *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 369–70.

44 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 437–9; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 209–12.

45 James Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Pictures," in Naquin and Yü ed., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites*, pp. 246–92 (252).

46 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 439–41.

47 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 444–6; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 212–4. Although Xie himself, as his name implies, was born in Hangzhou. For a brief biography of this man (by Leon Zolbrod and L. Carrington Goodrich), see *DMB*, Volume 1, pp. 546–50.

48 Brook, *Geographical Sources*, pp. 35–6.

49 Zhu Huirong 朱惠榮 ed., *Xu Xiake youji jiaozhu* 徐霞客遊記校注 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1985), Volume 1, pp. 17–23 and 39–42. For a

translation and short discussion of Xu's two essays, see Li Chi trans., *The Travel Diaries of Hsü Hsia-k'o* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1974), pp. 67–83. See also Fang Chao-ying's biography of Xu in *ECCP*, pp. 314–6, Ward, *Xu Xiake* and Andrea Riemenschnitter, "Traveler's Vocation: Xu Xiake and His Excursion to the Southwestern Frontier," in Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt ed., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 286–323.

50 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 97. Qian Qianyi is said to have urged the great bibliophile Mao Jin to publish the collection in the early Qing, although this proved unsuccessful, and the *Xu Xiake youji* was not published until the Qianlong era (see Chaves, "Yellow Mountain Poems," pp. 465–6).

51 The fact that in his Yellow Mountain essay Qian Qianyi himself does not mention Xu's successful ascent of Heavenly Capital certainly accords with Chang Chun-shu's view that when he wrote his biography of Xu, Qian had not yet seen the *Xu Xiake youji* (Chang, "An Annotated Bibliography on Hsü Hsia-k'o," cited in Chaves, "Yellow Mountain Poems," p. 465). For Qian's biography of Xu, "Xu Xiake zhuan" 徐霞客傳, see *QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 1593–6.

52 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 455–6; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 215.

53 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 450–2; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 215–7.

54 For Pan's essays, see *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 479–80.

55 See, for example, the 1610 essay of Zou Kuangming (*Huangshan zhi* [1667], pp. 471–4).

56 The number of named monastic buildings on Yellow Mountain that date back to the early seventeenth century (see *Huangshan zhi* [1988], pp. 218–32) is a strong indication that this period was one of high religious activity, although literary conventions dictate that monks still feature only infrequently in the travel accounts of the age.

57 On the Empress Dowager Cisheng, see the entry by Chou Tao-chi in *DMB*, Volume 1, pp. 856–9.

58 See Else Glahn's biography of Fudeng in *DMB*, Volume 1: 462–6, and Ray Huang, *1587: A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 14–5.

59 Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 154.

60 McDermott, "Making of a Chinese Mountain," p. 157.

61 It seems likely also that imperial support of Pumen and his monks should have created an interest in the mountain among those outside of the Huizhou region, investing the landscape with empire-wide political and cultural importance, although the relatively small number of extant written accounts by seventeenth-century visitors from further afield argues against this.

62 Bai, *Fu Shan's World*, p. 128.

63 In aesthetic terms, there are clear parallels here between the formalistic ideals of the late Ming and those of the Romantic movements in the West. This can be seen particularly in the interest shown during both periods in the kinds of grotesque forms that would not have conformed to earlier aesthetic ideals. The types of dense cloud forms that late-Ming travellers found so fascinating at Yellow Mountain and that would have their praises sung by the Western Romantics, existed, of course, long before they began to attract popular attention. Three years after Qian Qianyi visited Yellow Mountain, the diarist John Evelyn (1620–1706) described his crossing the Alps into Italy in a particularly "late-Ming" fashion: "As we ascended, we enter'd a very thick, soled and darke body of Clowds, which look'd like rocks at a little distance, which dured us for neere a mile going up; they were dry misty

Vapours hanging undissolved for a vast thicknesse, & altogether both obscuring the Sunn & Earth, so as we seemed to be rather in the Sea than the Clowdes, till we having pierc'd quite through, came into a most serene heaven, as if we had been above all human Conversation, the Mountaine appearing more like a greate Iland, than joynd to any other hills; for we could perceive nothing but a Sea of thick Clowds rowling under our feete like huge Waves . . ." (E. S. de Beer ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], Volume 2, pp. 207–8). The diary, significantly, was not published until 1818, the height of Romanticism in the West, and a period that also boasts works of visual art that (in a thematic sense at least) would not be out of place in early seventeenth-century Jiangnan, or indeed, at Yellow Mountain. See, for example, Caspar David Friedrich's (1774–1840) *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* of 1818 (Hamburg: Kunsthalle).

64 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 471–4.

65 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 452–5; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 221–7.

66 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 459–63; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 232–6.

67 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 489–94 in five parts; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 247–52 (in a condensed form).

68 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 253–8.

69 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 474–9; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 241–6.

70 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 433–5; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 205–7.

71 *Huangshan zhi* (1988), pp. 218–32.

72 *Huangshan zhi* (1988), pp. 232–40.

73 Nor can this golden age of Buddhism on the mountain, and indeed, throughout China during the Wanli reign, be attributed to state financial support alone. The Buddhist revival in the late Ming, as Chün-fang Yü reminds us, was one of a range of developments that characterized "the general intellectual and religious dynamism of the period" (see "Ming Buddhism," in Twitchett and Mote ed., *Cambridge History of China Volume 8*, pp. 893–952).

74 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 266–77.

75 For Yang's essay, see *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 277–85.

76 It is possible, in fact, that the name of the tree was given incorrectly, as no such pine appears listed in the standard reference works, including the important early Qing catalogue by Min Linsi, *Huangshan song shi pu* (1697).

77 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 512–8; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 286–94.

78 For a note on the practice, see Kroll, "Verses from on High," pp. 201–2. Kroll's discussion is based on Li Bai's ascent of Taishan: "At Heaven's Gate, one long whistle I give / And from a myriad *li* the clear wind comes 天門一長嘯 / 萬里清風來" (200). See also Paul Demiéville's "La Montagne dans l'art littéraire chinois," in *France-Asie/Asia* 20 (1) (1965): 7–32: "le sifflement (*xiao*) était une pratique taoïste à laquelle on attribait une sorte d'efficacité cosmique" (18, romanization altered), and Susan E. Nelson's "The Piping of Man," in Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang ed., *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 283–310.

79 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), p. 466.

80 See Qian's Poem #14, "Chushiri cong Wenshuyuan guo Heshian dao Yixiantian xia Baibu Yunti jing Lianhuafeng qi Tianhai" 初十日從文殊院過喝石菴到一綫天下百步雲梯逕蓮華峰憩天海 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 648–9). For a note on my system of numbering Qian's Yellow Mountain poems, see Chapter Four.

81 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 294–7.

Chapter 3

1 Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 83.
2 Ye, *Vignettes from the Late Ming*, p. 16.
3 McDermott, "Making of a Chinese Mountain," pp. 161–3. See also Hay, *Shitao*, pp. 42–6.
4 One can trace the shift in scholarly approach to this issue in treatments of the life and career of the calligrapher Fu Shan, who, according to his 1944 biography by C. H. Ts'ui and J. C. Yang (*ECCP*, pp. 260–2) "never wrote or painted for money, preferring to rely on his wide knowledge of medicine, and his practical ability as a physician to make a living." Qianshen Bai's recent study is a much more extensive and sophisticated treatment of artistic practice during the Ming-Qing transition, showing clearly that Fu, in his own words, "suffer[red] the burden of writing calligraphy for an income" (*Fu Shan's World*, p. 86). For other recent critical examinations of the role of the marketplace in late-imperial art production and consumption, see James Cahill, *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Hay, *Shitao*; and Craig Clunas, *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming, 1470–1559* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004).
5 Chin and Hsü, "Anhui Merchant Culture," p. 23; Ellen Johnston Laing, "Sixteenth-Century Patterns of Art Patronage: Qiu Ying and the Xiang Family," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1) (1991): 1–7.
6 Qian Qianyi, "Ba Qian Hou Hanshu" 跋前後漢書, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 85 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 1780–1) and "Shu jiu cang Song diao liang Hanshu hou" 書舊藏宋雕兩漢書後, in *Muzhai youxueji* 46 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 6, pp. 1529–30). In the former Qian gives the original purchase price as 1000 *jin* 金, but in the latter this has increased to 1200 *jin*.
7 It was noticeable that both of the two major recent exhibitions of Yellow Mountain art, "Dreams of Yellow Mountain: Landscapes of Survival in Seventeenth-Century China" (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 2003–February 2004) and "Yellow Mountain: China's Ever-Changing Landscape" (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, May–August 2008) concentrated on post-1644 works.
8 Julia Andrews and Haruki Yoshida, "Theoretical Foundations of the Anhui School," in Cahill ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, pp. 34–42 (34).
9 Adapted from Andrews and Yoshida, "Theoretical Foundations," p. 34.
10 James Cahill, "Introduction," in *idem* ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, pp. 7–15 (10).
11 McDermott, "Making of a Chinese Mountain," pp. 157–61.
12 Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih ed., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 224.
13 Craig Clunas makes the point that "élite theory, and in particular its counter-representational rhetoric, only begins to make some kind of sense when we consider that it operated in a climate of picture-making that was in the main entirely '*within* representation,' satisfying customers who required images for reasons very different from those proposed by the theorists whose views had come to seem normative by the present century." See *Pictures and Visuality*, p. 45.
14 Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, p. 109.
15 McDermott, "Making of a Chinese Mountain," p. 150. This work is reproduced as Figure 2 圖二 in Zhou Wu 周蕪 ed., *Huipai banhuashi lunji* 徽派版畫史論集 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1983).
16 Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, p. 36.
17 Cahill ("Huang Shan Paintings," p. 273) cites the anonymous handscroll on silk (his Figures 6.3 and 6.4) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA) as the earliest

known extant painting of Yellow Mountain. The work bears the spurious signature of Xu Ben 徐賁 (1335–93?), although as Cahill notes, a dating by style would place it in the early sixteenth century. This date would still make it the earliest extant Yellow Mountain painting, if indeed that were its subject, but an examination of the entire work, particularly the scene to the far left of the scroll, argues against this. The MFA now identifies the work (08.87) as *Yandangshan zhenxing tujuan* 雁蕩山真形圖卷 [The True Form of Geese Pond Mountain].

18 Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings," pp. 286–8.

19 Both series are reproduced in full in Xu Hongquan's 許宏泉 *Dai Benxiao* 戴本孝 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), pp. 130–57.

20 Hui Zou, "The *Jing* of a Perspective Garden," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22 (4) (2002): 293–326 (298–300).

21 Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, p. 98.

22 Wang Xinyi, "Guitianyuan ju ji" 歸田園居記 cited in Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, pp. 98–100.

23 Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, pp. 100–1. For a discussion of the concept, see Wai-kam Ho's "The Literary Concepts of 'Picture-like' (*Ju-hua*) and 'Picture-Idea' (*Hua-i*) in the Relationship between Poetry and Painting," in Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong ed., *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 359–404, and on the idea of "pictorialism" in the novel *Hongloumeng*, see Xiao Chi's *The Chinese Garden as Lyric Enclave: A Generic Study of the Story of the Stone* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, Michigan University, 2001), pp. 177–89.

24 Zhao Nong 趙農 ed., *Yuan ye tushuo* 園冶圖說 (Ji'nan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2003), p. 217.

25 Yuan Mei, "Suiyuan wuji" 隨園五記 in Wang Yingzhi 王英志 ed., *Yuan Mei quanji* 袁枚全集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1993), Volume 2, p. 208. See also my translation of this essay, in "In Lieu of Flowers: The Transformation of Space and Self in Yuan Mei's (1716–1798) Garden Records," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 3 (2) (2001): 136–49 (147–9).

26 Yi-fu Tuan describes the West Lake landscape thus: "The landscapes surrounding the lake, and the lake itself, are largely artificial. The natural scene of the Hangzhou area was a deltaic flat, sluggishly drained by a few streams. Out of the flat alluvium, islands of bedrock obtrude. When the streams were dammed, perhaps as early as the first century AD, a lake collected behind the dyke so that the basic elements of the Chinese landscape — mountains juxtaposed against alluvial banks and water — were formed" (*China* [Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1969], pp. 124–5, romanization altered).

27 Li Rihua, *Weishuixuan riji* 味水軒日記 (rpt.; Tu Youxiang 屠友祥 ed. Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe, 1996), pp. 130–1.

28 McDowall trans., *Four Months of Idle Roaming*, p. 5.

29 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 289.

30 Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 133. See also Tuan's "Foreword" to Kenneth Robert Olwig's *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. xi–xx.

31 The Republican-era scholar Lu Xun 魯迅 (original name Zhou Shuren 周樹人, *zi* Yucai 豫才; 1881–1936) later referred to what he called the "ten-sight disease," which, he claimed, "reached epidemic proportions in the Qing dynasty" (Lu, "More Thoughts on the Collapse of Leifeng Pagoda," in Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang trans., *Selected Works* [Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980], Volume 2, pp. 113–8).

32 Ho, "Literary Concepts," p. 366.
33 Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings," p. 281.
34 Gao Juhan 高居翰 [James Cahill], "Lun Hongren *Huangshan tuce* de guishu" 論弘仁《黃山圖冊》的歸屬, *Duoyun* 朵雲 9 (1985): 108–24. The album is usually attributed to Hongren. Based on an analysis of seals and brush technique, Cahill argues that the album, painted by Xiao, may have been modelled on an earlier, and no longer extant, album by Hongren. For an alternative view, see Xu Bangda 徐邦達, "*Huangshan tuce* zuozhe kaobian" 《黃山圖冊》作者考辨, in the same volume of *Duoyun*: 125–9.
35 Hsu Wen-Chin, "Images of Huang-shan in Shih-t'ao's Paintings," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* [Taipei] 27 (1/2) (1992): 1–37 (5–6).
36 Shitao, *Dadizi tihua bashi* 大滌子題畫跋詩, edited by Wang Yichen 汪繹辰 (rpt.; Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987), p. 23.
37 *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* 梅清黃山圖冊 (rpt.; Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980).
38 Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, p. 114.
39 Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings," p. 253.
40 McDermott's claim ("Making of a Chinese Mountain," p. 148) that "[Yellow Mountain] prose accounts of the late Ming and Qing rarely repeat the description or emotional reaction of earlier travellers" loses its validity when one examines in detail the development of the prose tradition surrounding the site. Essays of the period, on the contrary, seem to build on existing literature in ever more complex ways as appropriate responses become standardized.
41 Qian Qianyi, "Nanjing guozijian chajiu Fenggong muzhiming" 南京國子監察酒馮公墓誌銘, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 51 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 1299–1302).
42 Qian Qianyi, "Zhang Muhuang ruren muzhiming" 張母黃孺人墓誌銘, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 59 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 1441–4).
43 Qian Qianyi, "Zhuijian wangyou Suian Xie Erbo shu" 追薦亡友綏安謝耳伯疏, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 81 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 1733–4). Xie is also mentioned in the biography 行狀 [Record of Conduct] of Guan Zhidao 管志道 (*zi* Dengzhi 登之, *hao* Dongming 東溟; 1536–1608) Qian composed in 1628, "Huguang tixing anchasi qianshi jinjie chaolie dafu Guangong xingzhuang" 湖廣提刑按察司僉事晉階朝列大夫管公行狀, in *Muzhai chuxueji* 49 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 1252–67).
44 Qian Qianyi, "Ming chushi Yang jun Wubu muzhiming" 明處士楊君無補墓誌銘, in *Muzhai youxueji* 32 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 6, pp. 1165–6).
45 Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, pp. 34–5.
46 Qian Qianyi, "He Wen sili shice xu" 賀文司理詩冊序 (for Wenli) in *Muzhai chuxueji* 35 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 999–1000) and "Wu Mucheng ruren qishi xu" 吳母程孺人七十序 (for Dazhen), in *Muzhai chuxueji* 38 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 1052–3).
47 The second appendix (pp. 279–86) to Cai's *Shengping yu zhushu* provides a list of Qian's known associates (over 900 are listed), although its value is limited somewhat by its use of sobriquets (*zi*) rather than given names (*ming*), and the fact it provides no references. Cai lists Pan Jingsheng (i.e. Pan Zhiheng) as another acquaintance of Qian.
48 Fung uses the term in reference to garden writing and garden making, for which see "Word and Garden in Chinese Essays of the Ming Dynasty: Notes on Matters of Approach," *Interfaces: Image, texte, language* 11–12 (June 1997): 77–90.

Chapter 4

1 Chaves, "Yellow Mountain Poems," p. 468. Chaves' total of 25 accords with Li Chi's assessment (*Travel Diaries of Hsü Hsia-k'o*, p. 71). *Juan* 19 of the *Muzhai chuxueji* ("Dongshan shiji" 東山詩集 2) actually contains a total of 32 poems: 25 Yellow Mountain poems composed by Qian; a set of four quatrains by Liu Shi that respond to those of Qian numbered #2–5, and three further poems composed by Qian in the days following his descent off the mountain proper. I would be inclined to include the final three poems in any discussion of the set, particularly as they involve a visit to Cheng Jiasui, an important metaphorical presence in the journey. For convenience, I have adopted Chaves' system of numbering the poems (a chronological sequence from the beginning of the *juan* but excluding the four by Liu Shi).

2 Chaves, "Yellow Mountain Poems," pp. 468–70: "The very fact that the first group of poems by Qian on his trip to the Yellow Mountains can be said to have a 'dynamic' aspect, being replete with verbs descriptive of the poet's movement through the landscape, is an indication of how far Qian has gone in moving *shi* poetry in the direction of the *youji* genre" (romanization altered). Craig Clunas, who draws on the discussion in Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, identifies a similar distinction between the "map" and the "tour" in his treatment of Ming garden accounts, for which see *Fruitful Sites*, p. 141.

3 Taken out of context, this change in voice is perhaps more difficult to discern. The only existing translation (of which I am aware) of any section of Parts VII–IX is by Yang Qinghua (whose translation is of Yu Kwang-chung's "Sensuous Art"), in which Yu cites the passage (making up approximately half of Part VIII) as part of a discussion of descriptions of pine trees in travel essays. Removed from its original context, the passage is rendered by Yang into a sequential narrative, beginning with "The top of Old Man Peak was gained." With the narrative having ended at Part VI, Qian is here reflecting more generally on a site he visited in Part III, and I therefore render the line into "When one climbs Old Man Peak . . ." (see Chapter Five).

4 One might also read significance in the number of sections to the essay — nine — a mirror perhaps of the traditional nine divisions of the ordered empire, as set out in the "Tribute of Yu" 禹貢 section of the *Shujing*.

5 Cheng Jiasui, *Ougengtang ji* 耦耕堂集, cited in Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, Volume 1, pp. 221–2.

6 Qian Qianyi, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* 列朝詩集小傳 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1959), Volume 2, pp. 576–9.

7 Cheng, *Ougengtang ji*, cited in Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, Volume 1, pp. 221–2.

8 Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, Volume 2, pp. 615–31.

9 My edition of Liu Shi's collected works is Zhou Shutian 周書田 and Fan Jingzhong 范景中 ed., *Liu Rushi ji* 柳如是集 (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 1999). An alternate edition of the poems Qian and Liu composed together during this period may be found in Zhou Fagao 周法高 ed., *Qian Muzhai Liu Rushi yishi ji Liu Rushi youguan ziliao* 錢牧齋柳如是佚詩及柳如是有關資料 (Taibei: self-published, 1978).

10 Accepting on face value the date of the trip given in Qian's essay was, indeed, an error that I myself made when this project was in its early stages [see my "Qian Qianyi's (1582–1664) Reflections on Yellow Mountain," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 7 (2) (2005): 134–52].

11 Keith Hazelton, *A Synchronic Chinese-Western Daily Calendar, 1341–1661 A.D.* (Revised ed.; Minneapolis: Ming Studies Research Series, University of Minnesota, 1985), p. 301.

12 Following the preface date, James Cahill incorrectly dates the trip itself to 1642 ("Huang Shan Paintings," p. 277).
13 Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 95–9. In his *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), Denis Porter asserts that "the most interesting writers of nonfictional travel books have managed to combine explorations in the world with self-exploration." (5)
14 Michelle Yeh, *Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice Since 1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 8.
15 Hans H. Frankel, "The Contemplation of the Past in T'ang Poetry," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett ed., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 345–65, and *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Verse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 113–27. The French critic Roland Barthes similarly observes ("The Eiffel Tower," in *The Eiffel Tower and other Mythologies*, translated by Richard Howard [New York: Hill and Wang, 1979], pp. 3–18) that "to perceive Paris from above is infallibly to imagine a history; from the top of the [Eiffel] Tower, the mind finds itself dreaming of the mutation of the landscape which it has before its eyes; through the astonishment of space it plunges into the mystery of time . . ." (11)
16 *Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao*, Volume 1, pp. 457–9. In a recent study, Judith Zeitlin highlights a significant distinction between writing on walls and writing on cliff faces, an important consideration here, as Qian Qianyi's various collections are replete with poems written on walls 題壁. See Zeitlin, "Disappearing Verses: Writing on Walls and Anxieties of Loss," in *idem* and Lydia H. Liu ed., *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 73–132.
17 Pei-yi Wu, "An Ambivalent Pilgrim to T'ai Shan in the Seventeenth Century," in Naquin and Yü ed., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites*, pp. 65–88 (77).
18 Ward, *Xu Xiake*, p. 177.
19 Kathlyn Maurean Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician's Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 36–7.
20 Fang Bao, "You Yandang ji" 遊雁蕩記 in *Fang Wangxi xiansheng quanji* 方望溪先生全集 (Shanghai: *SBCK* edition), Volume 1, p. 211. This essay is also translated in Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 400–1.
21 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 512–6; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 286–90.
22 *Huangshan zhi* (1988), pp. 107–25.
23 Helen Leach, *Cultivating Myths: Fiction, Fact and Fashion in Garden History* (Auckland: Random House, 2000), pp. 97–8.
24 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 247.
25 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 29. For Wang's travel essay, see *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 441–4.
26 Sun Yiyuan 孫一元 (*zi* Taichu 太初; 1484–1520), "Huangshan ge er shou" 黃山歌二首 (*Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 413–4).
27 Yuan Mei, "You Huangshan ji" 遊黃山記 in *Yuan Mei quanji*, Volume 2, pp. 514–5. The translation is that of Strassberg, for which see *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 406–10.
28 On life-expectancy in the Ming dynasty, see Heijdra's "Socio-Economic Development," pp. 435–7.
29 *Liu Rushi ji*, p. 145. Chaves ("Yellow Mountain Poems," p. 467) and Ding (*Wenxue sixiang*, p. 115) speculate that the inclusion of these quatrains in Liu's collected

works and the fact that she composed a corresponding set of her own indicates her presence at the hot springs, for a discussion of which, see my note to Part II of Qian Qianyi's essay.

30 The praise of Yellow Mountain at the expense of White Mount had already become fairly common by Qian's time. Most memorably perhaps, Huang Ruheng claims in his essay of 1610 (*Huangshan zhi* [1667], pp. 459–63; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 232–6) that to compare the two was like comparing Yi Guang 夷光 (a famous courtesan, also known as Xi Shi 西施) with the Luo River Nymph 洛神 (a mythical divinity).

31 Wu notes the broad range of meanings encompassed by the term *xue* 學, but leaves it untranslated (*Confucian's Progress*, pp. 96–7). In choosing here to render the concept into "self-cultivation" I particularly have in mind the brief note appended to his recent translation of the *Daxue* 大學 by Andrew Plaks, who explains: "The educational process enjoined by the second word *xue* through its paradigm of moral fulfilment in every phase of human capacity is of an order that can only partially and misleadingly be expressed in the narrow sense of the English 'learning'. Rather, the word *xue* in Confucian discourse covers a full spectrum of personal accomplishment from the active to the contemplative spheres, centring [*sic*] upon the core concept of the perfection of the individual character, a notion that precisely matches the scope and meaning of the central idea of 'self-cultivation'." (Plaks trans., *Ta Hsüeh* and *Chung Yung [The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean]* [London: Penguin Books, 2003], p. 3 [romanization altered]). For further discussion of the life as journey metaphor, see Riemenschnitter, "Traveler's Vocation." Wu gives 贊 for 讃 in the name Deng Yi*zan*, which I believe to be an error.

32 Naquin and Yü, "Introduction: Pilgrimage in China," pp. 11–2.

33 Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 353.

34 Timothy Brook, "At the Margin of Public Authority: The Ming State and Buddhism," in *idem*, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), pp. 139–57, and *Praying for Power*.

35 Qian had apparently been particularly influenced by the monk Deqing 德清 (*zi* Chengyin 澄印, *hao* Hanshan 憨山; 1546–1623). See Sun, *Ming mo Qing chu wenxue*, pp. 203–42.

36 Brook, *Praying for Power*, p. 65.

37 Huang, *Year of No Significance*, p. 8.

38 Gu, *Rizhilu jishi*, Volume 2, pp. 823–4.

39 Li Rihua, *Zitaoxuan zazhui* 紫桃軒雜綴, cited in Watt, "Literati Environment," p. 6.

40 Qian Zhongshu argues against Qian Qianyi's being a devout Buddhist, claiming that the latter's conversion to Buddhism later in life was intended as penance for his betrayal of the Ming ruling house. For this position and a convincing argument against it, see Xie Zhengguang [Andrew Hsieh] 謝正光, "Qian Qianyi fengfo zhi qianhou yinyuan ji qi yiyi" 錢謙益奉佛之前後因緣及其意義, in *Qinghua daxue xuebao* 清華大學學報 [*zhexue shehui kexue ban* 哲學社會科學版] 3 (21) (2006): 13–30.

41 On pilgrimage at Taishan, see Dott, *Identity Reflections*, pp. 79–100 and Wu, "Ambivalent Pilgrim." Although, of course, the relative inaccessibility and lesser spiritual significance of Yellow Mountain suggests that any organized pilgrimage activity would have occurred on a much smaller scale than it did at Taishan.

42 Wu, "Ambivalent Pilgrim," p. 66: "There have been hardly any accounts of a pilgrimage by the participants themselves if we define such an account as a prose narrative in which the author describes *unambiguously* his participation in a sequence of events that he himself *explicitly* recognises as a pilgrimage." See also, pp. 82–5.

43 In this respect I am inclined to feel that Julian Ward overstates somewhat the

significance of Buddhism in the travel diaries of Xu Hongzu, whose "desire for the company of monks" (*Xu Xiake*, p. 173) while on his journeys seems better understood as typical of the educated men of his age.

44 McDermott, "Making of a Chinese Mountain," p. 146.
45 Ward, *Xu Xiake*, p. 177.
46 Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings," p. 277. On the applicability of the concept of the Sublime to Chinese literary and aesthetic theory, see Kin-yuen Wong's "Negative-Positive Dialectic in the Chinese Sublime," in Ying-hsiung Chou ed., *The Chinese Text: Studies in Comparative Literature* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1986), pp. 119–58, and Rickett trans., *Jen-chien Tz'u-hua*, pp. 13–7.
47 Robert MacFarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination* (London: Granta Books, 2003), p. 158.
48 Ge Hong, *Baopuzi neipian* 抱朴子內篇, translated in Kroll's "Verses from on High," p. 168.
49 Naquin and Yü, "Introduction: Pilgrimage in China," p. 27.
50 Ann Bermingham, "Reading Constable," in Simon Pugh ed., *Reading Landscape: Country — City — Capital* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 97–120 (101–2).
51 Jonathan Rée, *Philosophical Tales: An Essay on Philosophy and Literature* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 67.
52 Li Bai, "You Taishan liu shou" 遊泰山六首, in *Li Taibai quanji*, Volume 2, pp. 921–6. For an excellent discussion of this set of poems in the context of the literary depiction of Taishan, see Kroll's "Verses from on High."
53 For a discussion of which, see Naquin and Yü, "Introduction: Pilgrimage in China," pp. 11–2.
54 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), pp. 512–8; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, pp. 286–94.
55 Qian Qianyi, "Shierri fa Taoyuanan chu Tangkou jing Fangcun di Qiankou" 十二日發桃源菴出湯口逕芳村抵瀶口 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 652–3).
56 *Xu Xiake youji jiaozhu*, Volume 1, p. 22.
57 Sima, *Shiji*, Volume 1, p. 242 and Volume 4, pp. 1366–7.
58 Dwight C. Baker, *T'ai Shan: An Account of the Sacred Eastern Peak of China*, cited in Dott, *Identity Reflections*, p. 55 (romanization altered).
59 *Kangxi qiju zhu* 康熙起居注, translated by Dott in *Identity Reflections*, p. 171 (adapted).
60 Li, "You Taishan liu shou," pp. 925–6; Kroll, "Verses from on High," pp. 212–5.
61 Dott, *Identity Reflections*, pp. 90–1.
62 Alan Morinis, "Introduction," in *idem* ed., *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 1–28 (10).
63 Morinis, "Introduction," pp. 13–4.
64 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, pp. 42–3.
65 See Pierre Francastel, "Problèmes de la sociologie de l'art," in Georges Gurvitch ed., *Traité de sociologie* Tome II (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960), pp. 278–96 (284).
66 *Huangshan zhi* (1667), p. 434; *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 206.
67 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 275.
68 *Mengzi* 孟子, 7A.24. For an English rendition of this passage, see D. C. Lau trans., *Mencius* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 187.
69 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 257.
70 Alan J. Berkowitz, "The Moral Hero: A Pattern of Reclusion in Traditional China," *Monumenta Serica* 40 (1992): 1–32.
71 For a useful list of secondary literature dealing with Chinese eremitic traditions, see Alan J. Berkowitz, "Reclusion in Traditional China: A Selected List of References," *Monumenta Serica* 40 (1992): 33–46.

72 *Huangshan zhi dingben*, p. 45.

73 Tao Qian, "Taohuayuan ji" 桃花源記, in Lu Qinli 逯欽立 ed., *Tao Yuanming ji* 陶淵明集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), pp. 165–7. On Tao and the development of the Chinese eremitic tradition, see A. R. Davis, "The Narrow Lane: Some Observations on the Recluse in Traditional Chinese Society," *East Asian History* 11 (1996): 33–44.

74 James was referring to the travels of Edith Wharton (1862–1937); cited in Julian Barnes' *Something to Declare* (London: Picador, 2002), p. 67. Even the car in which the Whartons travelled was fitted, in her husband's words, with "every known accessorie and comfort" (R. W. B. Lewis, *Edith Wharton: A Biography* [New York: Harper and Row, 1975], p. 177).

75 Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠, *Yueshi bian* 閱世編 (rpt.; Lai Xinxia 來新夏 ed.; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 153; *Shexian zhi*, p. 108.

76 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, p. 237.

77 Steven D. Carter, "Bashō and the Mastery of Poetic Space in *Oku no hosomichi*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120 (2) (2000): 190–8 (191).

78 Handlin-Smith, "Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World," p. 66.

79 The idea of the garden in the West likewise carries a connotation of paradise, of course, most obviously discernable from the etymological derivation of the latter from its post-classical Latin form *paradisus*, originating from the ancient Greek παράδεισος, a Persian enclosed park, orchard, or pleasure ground, from the Old Iranian *pairidaēza*, meaning enclosure (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

80 There is a further parallel evident here between the *youji* and landscape art of both China and the West, in that we are frequently aided in our readings of landscape paintings by additional information, such as (in the case of Constable, for example) the personal communications of the artist. See Bermingham, "Reading Constable." Readings of Joyce's (1882–1941) novel *Ulysses* were likewise often filtered through the author's letters, and subsequent editions were of course informed by his own compilation of lists of errata (see Jeri Johnson, "Composition and Publication History," in *idem* ed., *Ulysses: The 1922 Text* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], pp. xxxviii–lvi).

81 See Duncan Campbell trans., *Notes Made Whilst Travelling and at Repose (Book One)* (Wellington: Asian Studies Institute Translation Paper #2, 1999), p. 1.

82 Qu Shouyuan 屈守元 ed., *Hanshi waizhuan jianshu* 韓詩外傳箋疏 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1996), p. 656.

83 Chaves, "Yellow Mountain Poems," pp. 471–2.

84 Yim, *Poetics of Historical Memory*. See also Chen Bo 辰伯 (Wu Han 吳晗 [1909–69]), "Qian Muzhai zhi shixue" 錢牧齋之史學, in *Wenshi zazhi* 文史雜誌 4 (7/8) (1944): 57–9.

85 See Susan Sontag, "A Poet's Prose," in *idem*, *Where the Stress Falls: Essays* (London: Vintage, 2003), pp. 3–9.

86 Qian Qianyi, "Shao Youqing shicao xu" and "Shao Liangqing shicao xu," in *QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 934–6. The second of these is in fact undated, but as they appear together it seems reasonable to assume that they were both composed in the twelfth month of 1641 (the date on the first piece).

87 A kind of mystical stone bridge spanning 20 to 30 *zhang* between two peaks is recorded in the *Huangshan tujing* (10a) as having been seen in the Kaiyuan 開元 reign of the Tang (713–42) but never found again.

88 Reading *gong* 公 for *xi* 溪. On Master Ruan 阮公, see Chapter Five.

89 According to the *Huangshan tujing*, the Green Ox 青牛 was once seen at Verdure Temple 翠微寺 (7a). The Green Ox is the creature on the back of which Laozi 老子 is traditionally said to have flown (*Lie xian zhuan*, p. 3).

90 On the Wild Man 毛人 of Yellow Mountain, see Chapter Five.
91 For Qian's poem, "Sanyue qiri fa Qiankou jing Yanggansi yu Shizhenling chu Fangcun di Xiangfusi" 三月七日發潛口徑楊干寺踰石�york嶺出芳村抵祥符寺 (Poem #1), see *QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 641–2.
92 Qian, "Sanyue qiri," in *QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 641–2.
93 Julia Kristeva, *Σημειωτική [Sēmeiōtikē]: Recherches pour une sémanalyse* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969), p. 146.

Chapter 5

1 I borrow here, of course, the words of Don Quixote (or rather, the words of his translator). See Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, John Rutherford trans. (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 915.
2 See John Minford's "Pieces of Eight: Reflections on Translating *The Story of the Stone*," in Eugene Eoyang and Lin Yao-fu ed., *Translating Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 178–203.

Conclusion

1 Yuan, "You Huangshan ji," in *Yuan Mei quanji*, Volume 2, pp. 514–5.
2 John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (rpt.; Alastair Fowler ed., 2nd edition [revised], Harlow: Pearson, 2007), p. 547.
3 Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, p. 56.
4 Li trans., *Travel Diaries of Hsü Hsia-k'o*, p. 264, n. 43 (romanization altered); Zhang Juzheng, "You Hengyue ji" 遊衡嶽記, in Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 ed., *Zhang Juzheng ji* 張居正集 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1987), Volume 3, pp. 541–6.
5 Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1970), pp. 22–7.
6 Simon Pugh, "Introduction: Stepping out into the Open," in *idem* ed., *Reading Landscape*, pp. 1–6 (2–3).
7 Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind*, pp. 18–9.
8 John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 8.
9 Li, "Artistic Theories," p. 18.
10 Roger V. Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
11 W. J. T. Mitchell, "Introduction," in *idem* ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 1–4.
12 Jonathan Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb in Early Qing Jiangning: Dynastic Memory and the Openness of History," *Late Imperial China* 20 (1) (1999): 1–48 (17).

Epilogue

1 *Muzhai chuxueji* 34 (*QMZQJ*, Volume 2, pp. 927–8).
2 Goodrich, *Literary Inquisition*, pp. 102–3 (romanization altered).

Appendix A

1 Qu Shisi, "Muzhai xiansheng Chuxueji mulu hou xu" 牧齋先生初學集目錄後序, in *Muzhai chuxueji* (*SBCK* edition, Volume 1, pp. 26–7; *QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 52–4) and in *Qu Shisi ji* 瞿式耜集 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 303–5. Among 1643 datings of the collection, see the *SBCK* edition, Volume 1: reverse title page; *QMZQJ*, Volume 1, pp. 1–9; *ECCP*, p. 149; *ICTCL*, Volume 1, p. 278 and Karl Lo, *A Guide to the Ssŭ Pu Ts'ung K'an* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1965), p. 38. Goodrich (*Literary Inquisition*, p. 106, n. 20) bizarrely claims that the work was "completed in 1621 and printed in 1643."

2 Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, pp. 218–9; Wilhelm, "Bibliographical Notes," p. 199.

3 Qian Qianyi, "Jiashen yuanri" 甲申元日, in *Muzhai chuxueji* (*SBCK* edition, Volume 2, p. 225; *QMZQJ*, Volume 1, p. 743).

4 Pan Zhonggui 潘重規, *Qian Qianyi toubiji jiaoben* 錢謙益投筆集校本, cited in Cai, *Shengping yu zhushu*, p. 157. The preface written by Cheng Jiasui, "Muzhai xiansheng chuxueji xu" 牧齋先生初學集序, dated the winter of 1643, also refers to a 100-*juan* collection (*QMZQJ*, Volume 3, pp. 2224–5).

5 For a short biography of Qian Zeng, see that by Tu Lien-chê in *ECCP*, pp. 157–8.

6 Qian Zhonglian, "Chuban shuoming" 出版說明, in *QMZQJ*, Volume 1, p. 4.

7 On the problematic textual transmission issues concerning the *Muzhai youxueji*, see Zhu Zejie's 朱則杰 "Qian Qianyi Liu Rushi congkao" 錢謙益柳如是叢考 in *Zhejiang daxue xuebao* 浙江大學學報 [*renwen shehui kexue ban* 人文社會科學版] 32 (5) (2002): 13–8.

8 I am indebted here to the work of Susan Cherniack, who, in her extensive treatment of Song textual criticism, documents many more types of textual error found in classical Chinese literature, and from which my brief list here is adapted. See the appendix (pp. 102–25) to her "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54 (1994): 5–125.

9 Li Yangbing, "Shang Li dafu lun guzhuan shu" 上李大夫論古篆書, in *juan* 81 of Yao Xuan 姚鉉 (*zi* Baozhi 寶之; 968–1020) ed., *Tang wen cui* 唐文粹, first printed in 1039 (rpt.; Shanghai: *SBCK* edition), p. 540. Even the use of stone was not enough to prevent the alteration of texts though, as Wang Anshi discovered in 1054. Finding a stele at Baochanshan 褒禪山 (also called Huashan 華山), Wang is surprised to read the character *hua* 花 instead of *hua* 華, suggesting an alteration in the name based on confusion over homophones: "When I considered the fallen stele, I felt sorry that such an ancient inscription had not been preserved, that later generations have misinterpreted what it transmits and none could identify the correct name." See Wang, "You Baochanshan ji" 遊褒禪山記 in Ning Bo 寧波, Liu Lihua 劉麗華 and Zhang Zhongliang 張中良 ed., *Wang Anshi quanji* 王安石全集 (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 872–3. The translation is that of Richard Strassberg, for which see *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 175–7.

10 Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission," p. 49.

11 Chen Jiru, *Taiping qinghua* 太平清話 (rpt.; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), p. 40. For a more recent Western example of concern about inaccurate textual transmission, one need look no further than James Joyce: "Since the completion of *Ulysses* I feel more and more tired but I have to hold on till all the proofs are revised. I am extremely irritated by all those printer's errors. Working as I do amid piles of notes at a table in a hotel I cannot possibly do this mechanical part with my wretched eye and a half. Are these to be perpetuated in future editions? I hope not." (Letter of November 1921, cited in Jack P. Dalton's "The Text of *Ulysses*," in Fritz Senn ed., *New Light on Joyce from the Dublin Symposium* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972], pp. 99–119 [118 n. 35].)

12 Fredson Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 4.

13 I am inclined to think that the pejorative evaluation of textual variance that characterizes the Greg/Bowers approach to textual criticism is a fairly unhelpful one in most contexts, and its advocates continually fail to engage adequately with the arguments not only of the New Critics (see especially W. K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley's "The Intentional Fallacy," in Wimsatt's *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* [Kentucky: Kentucky University Press, 1954], pp. 3–18), but also with those, like D. F. McKenzie, who see text production as a social process (see "The Sociology of a Text: Orality, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand," *The Library*, Sixth Series 6 [4] [1984]: 333–65). In a Chinese context, Susan Cherniack's claim that "the traditional interpretation of Confucius's textual work as an act of transmission suggests that the Chinese understanding of transmission includes a concept of collaborative authorship that is excluded from the modern Western term" ("Book Culture and Textual Transmission," p. 17) is important here, as is her observation, that Song editors often explained emendations by the fact that a text "did not conform with human nature" 不近人情 or was "unreasonable" 無理 (p. 87). That our understanding of Qian Qianyi's text will be greatly enhanced if we view variants as products of social and historical contexts (rather than "inexcusable corruptions"), can easily be seen in the case of excisions made from the MLS texts, where Qian's words seem to have been deemed detrimental to the promotional purposes of the gazetteer.

14 "If we were to put on miraculous spectacles that allowed us to detect every piece of retouching on an Old Master painting, a trip to any of our great galleries would give us a shock." See James Fenton, "Vandalism and Enlightenment" (Review of "Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century," an exhibition at the British Museum), *New York Review of Books* 51 (3): August 12, 2004: 51.

15 In this regard, the Shanghai guji chubanshe's 2003 edition of the *Qian Muzhai quanji* has been something of a disappointment, the vast majority of the *Muzhai chuxueji* having been reprinted without annotation or other scholarly appendage.

Index

Adshead, S. A. M. 24
albums. *See under* paintings
Alchemists' Peak 煉丹峰 36, 78, 120, 124n124, 137, 139
Alchemists' Terrace 煉丹臺 80, 118, 120–2, 136
Alms Bowl Peak 鉢盂峰 108, 111, 137n182
Amalfi (Italy) 23
Amethyst Peak 紫石峰 107, 111, 119n102, 125, 137n182
Amidst the Clouds Peak 雲際峰 137n182
Analects 論語. See *Lunyu*
Anlan Chaogang 安懶超綱 (*fl.* 1691) 40
antiques 13, 15, 20, 27
ao 奥 [confined] 121
Appadurai, Arjun 20
Ascension Peak 上昇峰 36, 132n166, 137n182
Auspicious Emblem Temple 祥符寺 42, 47–8, 73, 105, 111, 121, 129, 134
autobiography 15–6, 75, 91
Avalokiteśvara Crag 觀音崖 89, 112–3
Avalokiteśvara 觀音 34, 82, 112n59, 126n138, 138n189
Avatamsaka sūtra 華嚴經 82

"Bifa ji" 筆法記 (Jing Hao) 1, 5, 143
Baha 叭哈 (*Bahaga tuoershan* 巴哈噶托爾山) 101
Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) 93
Bai, Qianshen 17, 26, 45, 183n4
bamboo 58, 93, 105, 108–9, 113, 116n85, 128n149, 132
Baochanshan 褒禪山 192n9
Barthes, Roland 145, 187n15
bathing 48, 73–4, 78, 89, 106, 107n39, 108–10, 129, 133
Bencao gangmu 本草綱目 (Li Shizhen) 81, 110n50
Berger, John 145
Beyond the Clouds Peak 雲外峰 137n182
biji 筆記 [notes] 15
Bird's Eye Hill 鳥目山. *See* Yushan
birds 41–2, 83, 108n43, 129, 132. *See also* divine crows
Blackmount 黟山. *See under* Yellow Mountain
Blue Phoenix Peak 青鸞峰 108, 111, 125, 137n182
Bo Yi 伯益 (*fl.* c. 2000 BCE) 141
boats 21, 23, 53, 91, 112, 122n118, 123n119, 132
bonsai 52, 58, 136
book nest 書巢 141
Book of Changes 易經. See *Yijing*
Bowers, Fredson (1905–91) 155, 193n13
Bracing Mountain 清涼山. *See* Wutaishan
Bray, Francesca 170n47
Brien, Alan 23

Brodsky, Joseph (1940–96) 92
Brook, Timothy 23, 30, 81, 180n35
brush techniques 1, 18, 51, 59, 185n34
Buddha figure, construction of 48, 61, 126
Buddhism 7, 76–7, 80–2, 102n11, 114n74, 121n108–9, 122, 139n192, 182n73, 188n43; imperial sponsorship of 35, 44–7, 125–8; mountain systems of 34–5; Qian Qianyi as believer in 82, 188n40
Bunyan, John (1628–88) 83
Butor, Michel 22

Cahill, James 42, 56, 60–1, 183n17, 185n34
calligraphy 21, 58, 110n52, 183n4
cannibalism 90
Cao Rong 曹溶 (1613–85) 28–9, 122n118, 174n96, 175n100
Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1715?–63) 4
Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 (1574–1647) 149
Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232) 36
caves 23, 36, 111, 132, 138n186, 179n26
ceramics 13, 51–2. *See also* antiques
Chang'an 長安 (modern Xi'an 西安) 107n39
Changshu 常熟 (Jiangsu) 24, 27, 29–31
Chaos 混沌 120
Chaves, Jonathan 71, 92, 108n40, 186n1–2, 187n29
Chen 陳氏 (d. 1658), wife of Qian Qianyi 24, 31
Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) 15, 155
Chen Renyu 陳仁玉 (*js.* 1259) 22
Chen Yao 陳堯 (*js.* 1536?) 13
Chen Yinke [Chen Yinque] 陳寅恪 72
Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 (1565–1644) 28, 49, 62, 72–4, 79, 100, 102, 117, 186n1, 192n4
Cheng Jibai 程季白 18
Cheng Yuanfeng 程元鳳 (1200–69?) 60
Chenghua 成化 reign (1465–87) 13
Cherniack, Susan 192n8, 193n13
Chess Rock Peak 棊石峰 137n182
Chin, Sandi 14–5, 19–20
Chiyang 池陽 (Anhui) 120
Chongzhen 崇禎 Emperor (r. 1628–44) 12
Chongzhen 崇禎 reign (1628–44) 13, 27, 47, 105n30, 170n39
Chou Tao-chi 126n139
Chrysanthemum Pool 菊潭 109–10
Chuci 楚辭 116n86, 129n155
Cinnabar Hermitage 硃砂菴 111
Cinnabar Peak 硃砂峰 125, 137
Cisheng 慈聖, Empress Dowager (1546–1614) 44, 81, 125–6
civil bureaucracy. *See* government service
Classic of Mountains and Seas 山海經. See *Shanhaijing*
Classic of Waterways 水經. See *Shuijing*
cleansing process 54, 85, 140
Clear Pool Peak 青潭峰 137n182
cloud chariot 雲車 132–3
Cloud Gate Peak 雲門峰 38, 44, 125, 137
Cloud-Level Mountain 齊雲山. *See* Qiyunshan
Clunas, Craig 3–4, 13–4, 16, 21, 56, 60, 110n52, 183n13, 186n2
Coleman, Simon 4
collections, collecting 7, 16–7, 19–20, 43, 45, 49–50, 51–2, 81, 110n52; of books 28–31, 61, 174n96, 175n100; seals 印 of 29, 175n101
colophons 18–20, 50, 53, 62, 91, 144, 174n96, 178n23
Compassionate Radiance, Temple of 慈光寺 48, 74, 80, 111, 125–8, 130
Condition humaine, La (Magritte) 1
Confucianism, Confucian ritual 7, 30, 34–5, 80–1, 94, 106n35, 144, 188n31
Confucius 87, 91, 121n112, 193n13. See also *Lunyu*
connoisseurship 7, 14–24, 28–9, 45
Constable, John (1776–1837) 83, 190n80
Convenient Pine 方便松 48
courtesanship 30–1
Creator of All Things 造物者 120, 122n118, 136–7
Cundi 準提 126

Dai Ao 戴澳 47, 87, 107n38
Dai Benxiao 戴本孝 (1621–93) 54, 56, 66
Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) 21, 83
Daodejing 道德經 134n171
Daoism 7, 35–7, 53–4, 82, 101; appropriation of Marchmount system 34–5, 177n6; in late-Ming culture 81; in Qian Qianyi's account 80–1, 94, 144; significance

in early travel accounts 41–6
Daoyun 島雲 37
Daxue 大學 188n31
de Certeau, Michel 186n2
de 得 [attainment] 91
déjà lu 145
Deng Yizan 鄧以讚 (1542–99) 79, 188n31
Dharma Sea Hermitage 法海庵 45
dianfu 甸服. *See* imperial domain
Dili xinfa 地理新法 (Hu Shunshen) 104n23
Ding Du 丁度 (990–1053) 109n49
Ding Gongyi 丁功誼 108n40
Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547–1621?) 54, 67
Divina Commedia, La (Dante) 21, 83
divine crows 神鴉 115–8
Dizang 地藏. *See* Ksitigarbha
Don Quixote (Cervantes) 99, 191n1
Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) 15, 18–9, 27, 50–1
Donglin Party 東林黨 27
Dott, Brian 6, 85, 177n5
dragons 5, 103n16, 109, 110n50, 135, 136n80, 168n12
Drinking Rocks Retreat 喝石居 117–8
Du Fu 杜甫 (712–70) 29, 93, 138n187, 175n107
du 度 [crossing] 89, 113n68

Eastern Marchmount 東嶽. *See* Taishan
Elephant Rock 象石 114
Eliot, T. S. 22
Elixir Valley 藥谷 92–4, 106, 110
elixir vitae 35
Elsner, John 4
Emeishan 峨嵋山 34
England 76–7
enlightenment. See *zhi* (知)
Erchen zhuan 貳臣傳 24–6
eremiticism 75, 81, 88–91
Erya 爾雅 104 n.19, 106 n.32, 113n67, 177n1
Evelyn, John (1620–1706) 181n63
examinations 12, 24, 27, 49, 62, 81
exceptionality 奇 5, 16–7, 43–6, 87, 112, 135, 146

factionalism 6, 12, 30
famine 6, 12, 90, 127
fang 訪 [to pay a visit] 91
Fang Bao 方苞 (1668–1749) 76
Fang Dazhi 方大治 42, 103n15
Fang Gongqian 方拱乾 48, 87
fans 49, 117, 132
fashion. *See* taste
feng 封 rituals 32, 84, 177n3, 177n5
Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎 (1546–1605) 18–9, 23, 44, 46, 62, 136n179, 137n184
Feng Wenchang 馮文昌 18–9, 62
Fenton, James 155, 193n14
fires 28–9, 47, 80, 121, 128n149, 174n96
fish bells 77, 127, 147
Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries 五山十刹 34
Five Terraces Mountain 五臺山. *See* Wutaishan
Flew Here Peak 飛來峰 (West Lake) 58
Flew Here Peak 飛來峰 (Yellow Mountain) 120
Flew Here Rock 飛來石 87, 120n107
Flower Harbour 花港 58
flowering plum. See *prunus*
Flying Dragon Peak 飛龍峰 137n182
Folding Screen Peak 疊嶂峰 114, 125, 137
Fong, Wen 169n34
Four Famous Mountains 四大名山 34
Four Perfections of Yellow Mountain 黃山四絕 4, 112n62
Fragrance Creek 芳溪 105
Fragrance Hamlet 芳村 43, 47–8, 92–4, 105, 130
Fragrant Spring Brook 香泉溪 107
Frankel, Hans 75–6
Friedrich, Caspar David (1774–1840) 181n63
Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China (Clunas) 3–4, 165n7, 186n2
Fu Shan 傅山 (1607–84?) 26, 183n4
Fudeng 福登 (1540–1613) 44
Fujian 福建 42, 46, 170n37
Fung, Stanislaus 62
Fuqiu 浮坵 35, 41, 119
Fuqiu Peak 浮坵峰 137n182

gao shi 高士 [lofty scholar] 76
Gaozong 高宗. *See* Qianlong Emperor
Garden of Accommodation 隨園 58
gardens 3–4, 90, 185n48, 186n2, 190n79; in Luoyang 128; of Qi Biaojia 17,

90; scenes 景 in 56–8
gazetteers and route books 22, 43, 51, 81; as sources of Yellow Mountain history 35–40; heightened popularity of 21, 23, 53
Gazing at Immortals Peak 望仙峰 137n182
Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–344?) 83
Geese Pond Mountain 雁蕩山. *See* Yandangshan
Gell, Alfred 17
gender distinctions 30
Genesis 144
geomantic principles 37, 80, 103–4
Gombrich, E. H. (1909–2001) 1–2, 9
Gongan School 公安派 28, 143
Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳 139n194
government service 12, 22–3, 27
Graham, A. C. 123n119, 123n121, 130n158
Grand Prospect Garden 大觀園 4
Great Pity Cloister 大悲院 87, 117
Great Pity Crest 大悲頂 87, 117, 138n189
Great Screen 大鄣 93, 140–1
Green Ox 青牛 92, 190n89
Greg, W. W. (1875–1959) 193n13
Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (345?–407?) 59
Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (1565–1628) 16–7, 43
Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550–1612) 172n70
Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–82) 23, 81, 173n80
guai 怪 [bizarre] 16–7, 45–6, 61, 146
Guan Zhidao 管志道 (1536–1608) 185n43
Guang Qingliang zhuan 廣清涼傳 (Yanyi) 125n128
Guanyin 觀音. See Avalokiteśvara
guides 21, 41, 44–6, 47–8, 62; divine crows as 115–6
Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) 117n89
Guo Xi 郭熙 (1020?–1100?) 34, 49
Guoyu 國語 80, 104
Gushi tanyuan 古史談苑 (Qian Shiyang) 27, 173n83

Hainei qiguan 海內奇觀 (Yang Erzeng) 40, 53–4, 63
Han Xianzi 韓獻子 104n21
Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) 93, 95, 120n103, 130n158
Handlin-Smith, Joanna 90
Hangzhou 杭州 13, 17–8, 38, 58, 72–3, 79, 91, 100, 184n26; famine in 90; spring fair at 34
Hanlin Academy 翰林院 24, 27
Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623) 188n35
Hanshu 漢書 29, 85, 110n52
Hanyu da cidian 漢語大詞典 153
Hargett, James 2, 22
Hawkes, David 116n86, 129n155
Hay, Jonathan 13–4, 146
He Liangjun 何良俊 (1506–73) 14, 49, 168n12
He Xiu 何休 (129–182 CE) 139n194
Heaven 天 58, 84–5, 118, 131, 143
Heaven's Eyes Mountain 天目山 102–3
Heaven's Gate Peak 天門峰 83–4, 106, 182n78
Heaven's Terrace Mountain 天台山 102–3
Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰 38, 41, 48, 54–5, 59, 67, 80, 83, 87, 93; in Qian Qianyi's account 73, 103–4, 106, 108–9, 111, 113–5, 117, 125, 129–31, 134, 137, 141; relative height of 44, 103; Xu Hongzu's ascent of 43, 181n51
Heavenly Sea Hermitage 天海菴 74, 117–8, 139
Heijdra, Martin 167n1
Hengshan 恒山 32, 177n1
Hengshan 衡山 32, 101, 145, 177n1
Hermitage Mountain 盧山. *See* Lushan
Ho, Wai-kam 59
Hong Chengchou 洪承疇 (1593–1665) 26
Hongloumeng 紅樓夢 (Cao Xueqin) 4
Hongmei 弘眉 (fl. 1667) 40, 98, 152
Hongren 弘仁 (1610–64) 36, 51, 56, 185n34
Hot Springs 湯泉 (also 湯池) 42, 74, 78, 85, 89; in Qian Qianyi's account 104, 106–9, 129, 133–4
Hsü, Ginger 14–5, 19–20
Hu Shunshen 胡舜申 (d. 1162?) 104n23
Huai 淮 (river) 124
Huainanzi 淮南子 117n89, 124n122–3, 139n194
huang 皇 [imperial] 44–5
huang 黄 [yellow] 37, 44
Huang Bian 黃汴 (*fl.* 1570) 21, 38

Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354) 51, 58
Huang Liuhong 黃六鴻 (b. 1633) 21
Huang Peilie 黃丕烈 (1763–1825) 29, 175n101
Huang Ruheng 黃汝亨 (1558–1626) 17, 35 46, 62, 132n165, 188n30
Huang Xiyuan 黃習遠 (fl. 1613) 115n82
Huang Zhaomin 黃肇敏 126n134, 126n137, 127n140
Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–95) 5, 28, 172n71, 173n81, 180n35
Huangshan 黃山. See Yellow Mountain
Huangshan Cuiweisi zhi 黃山翠微寺志 (Anlan Chaogang) 40
Huangshan sijingtu 黃山四景圖 (Dai Benxiao) 56
Huangshan song shi pu 黃山松石譜 (Min Linsi) 40, 180n37, 182n76
Huangshan tu 黃山圖 (Shitao) 56
Huangshan tujing 黃山圖經 5, 35–8, 40–2, 46, 53–5, 61, 77, 80, 92, 94, 110n51, 132n165–6, 137n182, 179n26; in Qian Qianyi's account 103–5, 111, 119, 131, 133–4, 137–8
Huangshan zhi 黃山志 (Hong Mei; 1667) 40, 98, 152, 180n38
Huangshan zhi 黃山志 (Lü Qiushan et al.; 1988) 76, 99, 103n18, 136n180, 156, 179n26, 180n35
Huangshan zhi dingben 黃山志定本 (Min Linsi) 34, 40, 43, 98–9, 152
Huangshan zhi xuji 黃山志續集 (Wang Shihong) 40–1, 61
Huankong 幻空 (*fl.* 1641) 117
Huaqing 華清 (hot springs) 107n39
Huashan 華山 32, 76, 115n81, 139, 177n1, 177n6
Huayanjing 華嚴經. See *Avatamsaka sūtra*
Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) 102n11
Huizhou 徽州 (Anhui) 19, 38, 50, 53, 61–2, 93, 105, 139, 142n204, 179n27–8
Hundred-Step Cloudladder 百步雲梯 88, 117–8, 124, 135–6
Hung, William 175n107
Huoshan 霍山 32, 177n1

Illumination Crest 光明頂 87–8, 118, 120n107, 139
Immortals Peak 仙人峰 36, 119n102, 137n182
Immortals' Capital Peak 仙都峰 137n182
imperial courier system 12, 20–1, 23, 167n2
imperial domain 甸服 93, 104
incense 香 13, 80, 82, 168n12
inkstones 16–7, 20, 21
inscriptions 20, 22, 76–7, 79, 101, 126, 139, 145–6, 148, 192n9; on paintings 20, 50–4, 60
Isles of the Immortals 53–4, 56, 122–3
itineraries 7–8, 42, 56, 61, 72–5, 86–7, 105n30, 118n96, 144

Jade Realized One 玉真. *See* Yang Guifei
Jade Screen Peak 玉屏峰 55–6, 114n75
Jade Screen Tower 玉屏樓 113n65
James, Henry (1843–1916) 90
jerboa. See *jue* 蟨
Ji Cheng 計成 (b. 1582) 58
Ji yun 集韻 (Ding Du) 109n49
Jia Dao 賈島 (779–843) 42, 180n43
Jia Zheng 賈政. See *Hongloumeng*
Jiading 嘉定 (Jiangsu) 28
Jiajing 嘉靖 Emperor (r. 1522–66) 81
Jiang Guan 江瓘 (1503?–65?) 42–3, 129n154, 131n159, 134n173–4
Jiang Zhu 江注 (b. 1623?) 36
Jiangshan xueji 江山雪霽 (Wang Wei) 18–20, 44, 50–1, 74, 91, 169n34
Jiangxi 江西 41–3
Jiangyunlou 絳雲樓. *See* Tower of Crimson Clouds
jie 皆 [each, every] 74–5, 101
Jin 晉 dynasty (265–420) 104n21
jin 金 (unit of currency) 110, 183n6
Jin Hechong 金鶴沖 73, 171n68
Jin shu 晉書 170n38
jing 景 [scenes, views] 7, 52, 55–9, 136n179, 137n181
Jing Hao 荊浩 (*fl.* 907–23) 1, 5, 143, 145
jinshi 進士 examinations 24, 49, 62, 179n30
Jiuhuashan 九華山 34, 87, 102, 115n81
"Jiyou yin" 紀遊引 (Wang Siren) 171n53
Joyce, James (1882–1941) 190n80, 192n11
jue 蟨 [jerboa] 117
junks. *See* boats

kalpa fires 劫火 80, 121
Kangxi 康熙 Emperor (r. 1662–1722)

33–4, 85, 146, 177n5
Kangxi 康熙 reign (1662–1722) 40, 55, 61
kasāya 袈裟 80, 114, 145
Kristeva, Julia 94–5
Ksitigarbha 地藏 34
kuang 曠 [open] 121
Kuangs' Hermitage 匡廬. *See* Lushan
Kunlunshan 崑崙山 103n16
Kuoan 闊菴 131

Lagerwey, John 177n6
Leading Mountain 率山 93, 140–1
Legge, James (1815–97) 99, 104n20, 116n84, 141n199
Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) 1
letters 18–9, 62, 74, 79, 100–2, 190n80, 192n11
Level with Heaven Promontory 平天矼 117–8, 139
Li Bai 李白 (701–62) 29, 42, 93, 120n103, 127n147, 145; Huangshan poems of 37–8, 62, 78–9, 138, 179n26; Taishan poems of 84–5, 106n34, 182n78
Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527) 140
Li Gefei 李格非 (1041?–1101) 128
Li He 李賀 (791–817) 93
Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575–1629) 100n1
Li Rihua 李日華 (1565–1635) 58, 81
Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813?–58) 93
Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–93) 81, 110n50
Li Yangbing 李陽冰 (*fl.* 765–80) 154
Li Yimang 李一氓 166n20, 180n38
Li, Chu-tsing 145, 167n6
Li, Wai-yee 15–6
liang 兩 (unit of currency) 110n52
Liaoyang 遼陽 (Liaoning) 21
libraries 28–9, 81, 122n118, 147, 174n96, 175n100
Lie xian zhuan 列仙傳 (Liu Xiang) 37
Liechao shiji 列朝詩集 (Qian Qianyi) 28, 72, 174n92
Liezi 列子 80, 122–3, 133
Lingying Taishan niangniang baojuan 靈應泰山娘娘寶卷 83
Linquan gaozhi ji 林泉高致集 (Guo Xi) 34
Lion Rock 獅石 114
Lions' Grove 師子林 118–9, 139
Lions' Peak 獅子峰 137n182
Liu Dakui 劉大櫆 (1697?–1779) 61
Liu Kanzhi 劉戡之 (*fl.* 1597?–1620?) 28
Liu Shi 柳是 (1618–64) 30–1, 72–3, 78, 91, 102n14, 107n39, 108n40, 176n117, 186n1, 187n29
Liu Xiang 劉向 (79?–6 BCE) 178n23
Liu Xiu 劉秀 (53 BCE–23 CE) 141n199
Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842) 115n81
Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819) 95, 108n45, 112n63, 113n66, 116n85, 120n103, 121n115, 134n175, 145
Long Pond 長潭 47, 105
long whistling 長嘯 48, 182n78
longevity 54, 110
Longqing 隆慶 reign (1567–72) 16, 171n68
Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 38, 54–5, 59, 65–6, 87, 103n118, 115, 117–8, 124–5, 129–30, 132n165, 137
Lotus Blossom Ravine 蓮華溝 117
Lotus Blossom Throne 蓮花坐 126
Lotus Peak 芙蓉峰 137n182
Lotus Summit Hermitage 蓮頂庵 47
loyalty. *See under* Ming-Qing transition
Lü Dalai 吕大來 132n164
Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (1509–1605) 16–7, 20, 49
Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936) 184n31
Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) 141n202
luan 鸞 (mythical bird) 108n43
Lunyu 論語 106n35, 121n112
Luo Qinceng 駱駸曾 (*fl.* 1612) 48
Luo River Nymph 洛神 59, 188n30
Luoyang 洛陽 77, 127–8
Luoyang mingyuan ji 洛陽名園記 (Li Gefei) 128
Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記 (Yang Xuanzhi) 127
Lushan 盧山 87, 93, 102, 140–1, 178n18
luxury consumption 3, 15, 20–1, 45
lyric voice 71

Ma Dibo 馬第伯 (*fl.* 56 CE) 177n3
MacCannell, Dean 24, 86–7
Macfarlane, Robert 145
Magritte, René (1898–1967) 1
Mahāyāna pantheon 34
Mandate of Heaven 12, 85
Mañjuśrī 文殊 34, 82, 125n128, 138n189
Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院 47–8, 54–6, 59, 73–4, 80–1, 113–4, 117, 121, 130, 135, 138–9, 145
Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599–1659) 30, 122n118, 181n50

Mao Yi 毛扆 (1640–1713) 122n118
Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893–1976) 34
Marchmounts 嶽 32–4, 49, 101, 177n1
marriage 24, 31, 107
“Master of Tranquillity” 安公 114, 125, 138
Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–94) 90
McDermott, Joseph 51, 82
McKenzie, D. F. 193n13
McMahon, Keith 107n39
medicinal herbs 41–2, 77, 130, 131n159
mei 梅. See *prunus*
Mei Qing 梅清 (1623–97) 36, 54, 56, 60, 65, 88
Meinig, Donald 4
Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751–814) 93
merchants 13–5, 19–22, 38, 50, 142n204, 179n28
metre, poetic 28, 71, 94
Meyer-Fong, Tobie 26, 173n79
Milky Water Source 乳水源 133
Milton, John (1608–74) 144
Min Linsi 閔麟嗣 (1628–1704) 40, 43, 89, 98–9, 120n107, 126n137, 129n154, 152, 179n26, 182n76
Minford, John 99
Ming-Qing transition 30, 144, 183n4; issues of dynastic loyalty 5–6, 24–7, 51, 147–8
Mingshan tu 名山圖 39–40
Mitchell, W. J. T. 4, 146
monasteries 34, 45, 77, 80–1, 118–9, 125, 127–8, 139
Morinis, Alan 86
Morning Sun over Heavenly Capital 天都曉日. See *Tiandu xiaori*
mortality 75–9
Mountain Singing Thrush 山樂鳥 129
movement, requirement for production of text 91
Muzhai chuxueji 牧齋初學集 (Qian Qianyi) 8, 75, 90, 92, 98, 102n12, 144, 149–54, 186n1, 193n15
Muzhai chuxueji shizhu 牧齋初學集詩註 (Qian Zeng ed.) 150
Muzhai quanji 牧齋全集 (Xue Fengchang ed.) 150–2
Muzhai youxueji 牧齋有學集 (Qian Qianyi) 150, 174n90, 192n7

Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 (1866–1934) 169n34
names, naming 36–8, 40–4, 46, 61, 77, 81, 86–9; discussed in Qian Qianyi’s account 78–9, 137–42; in visual arts 53–5; tablet bestowed by Wanli Emperor 125–6
Nanjing 南京 23–4, 27, 58, 76, 146
Nanping 南屏 17
“Nanshan shi” 南山詩 (Han Yu) 130n158
narrative voice 71, 135n176
nationalism 146
Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301?–74) 51, 53, 55, 60, 64
nianpu 年譜 [chronological biographies] 73, 171n68
nine 九, possible significance of 186n4
Nine Blossoms Mountain 九華山. *See* Jiuhuashan
Nine Dragons Pool 九龍潭 46
Ninth Dragon Peak 九龍峰 137n182
Niu Xiu 鈕琇 (d. 1704) 28, 176n117

objectivity in travel writing 2–3, 6, 8, 91, 144
obsession 癖 16–7, 21, 28–9, 45, 176n117
Oku no hosomichi 奥の細道 (Bashō) 90
Old Man Peak 老人峰 73, 88, 111–3, 115, 129, 134–5, 137–8
“On Seeing Wen the Recluse Back to his Former Residence at Yellow Mountain’s White Goose Peak” 送溫處士歸黃山白鵞峰舊居 (Li Bai) 37–8, 62, 78–9, 138, 179n26
Orchid Pavilion 蘭亭 22
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72) 16
Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (*fl.* 620 CE) 139n193

paintings 1, 5, 15, 34–5, 83, 101, 117, 190n80, 193n14; albums of 54, 56, 60, 65–6, 69, 88, 185 n.34; by Wang Wei 18–20, 44, 50–1, 74, 91, 169n34; of Yellow Mountain 49–59, 183n17; relationship to gardens 58
Palace of Eternal Faith 長信宮 127
Pan Dan 潘旦 (*fl.* 1519) 42, 48
Pan Zhiheng 潘之恒 (1556?–1621) 44, 46, 178n23, 185n47
panjing 盤景. *See* bonsai
patronage 14–5, 35, 44, 47, 49–51, 81, 125–6
Peach Blossom Peak 桃花峰 115, 125, 137n182

Peach Blossom Source 桃花源 (Tao Qian) 89, 110n50
Peach Blossom Source 桃花源 (Yellow Mountain) 133
Peach Blossom Source Hermitage 桃源菴 48, 73–4, 89, 106, 108, 113, 129, 133
Peach Blossom Stream 桃花溪 133
Pei Shijun 裴世俊 101n8, 166n20
photography 8
pi 癖. *See* obsession
pictorialization 4, 184n23
Picturesque Movement 77
pilgrimage 4, 6–7, 32–4, 75, 79–86, 144–6, 188n41–2
Pine Forest Peak 松林峰 166n14, 137n182
Pine Valley 松谷 120
pines 松 4–5, 44–6, 48, 52–5, 61, 79, 86, 101, 112–4, 119, 125, 133–7, 143–6
Plaks, Andrew 188n31
Pleasure in Snow Hall 快雪堂 19
poetry, relationship to *youji* 3, 71–2, 91–4, 102, 186n2; system of numbering 186n1
Poplar Trunk Temple 楊干寺 46, 105
porters 21, 38, 77, 90, 146
Potaraka 普陀山. *See* Putuoshan
Precious Stone Peak 采石峰 137n182
prices 13, 90, 110n52, 183n6
Provender Hill 料山 124
prunus 梅 73, 100, 137
pseudonyms. *See* sobriquets
public service. *See* government service
publishing industry 15, 21, 23, 91
Pugh, Simon 145
Pumen 普門 (1546–1625) 44–8, 61, 76–7, 80, 89, 114, 125–8, 131, 132n165, 138–9
Pure City 清都 123
Pure Nymph 素女 107
Purple Star 紫微 123
Putuoshan 普陀山 34, 102
Puxian 普賢. *See* Samantabhadra

qi 奇. *See* exceptionality
Qi Biaojia 祁彪佳 (1602–45) 17, 90
Qian Baichuan 錢百川 (*fl.* 1571?) 138n187
Qian Muzhai quanji 錢牧齋全集 (Qian Zhonglian ed.) 98, 150, 152, 193n15
Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664): account of Yellow Mountain 71–95, 100–42; accusation of corruption against 27; and Buddhism 82, 188n40; and Daoism 80–1, 94, 144; and *Gushi tanyuan* 古史談苑 27, 173n83; and *Jiangshan xueji* 江山雪霽 18–20, 44, 50–1, 74, 91; and Liu Shi 30–1; and naming 78–9, 137–42; book collection of 28–30, 50, 122n118, 174n96, 175n100; concept of *shishi* 詩史 92; denunciation by Qianlong Emperor 5–6, 24–6, 147–8; early life of 24; *Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集 28, 72, 174n92; literary pre-eminence of 5; literary theory of 28; *Muzhai chuxueji* 牧齋初學集 8, 75, 90, 92, 98, 102n12, 144, 149–54, 186n1, 193n15; *Muzhai youxueji* 牧齋有學集 150, 174n90, 192n7; official career of 27; "Shao Liangqing shicao xu" 邵梁卿詩草序 73, 92–4, 109; "Shao Youqing shicao xu" 邵幼青詩草序 72–5, 92, 109; social networks of 61–2; *Toubiji* 投筆集 150; use of Xie Zhaoshen's 謝兆申 travel account 105–6, 112, 114–5 124–5, 127, 130, 135, 138; "Yuedong youcao yin" 越東遊草引 147
Qian Shiyang 錢世揚 (d. 1610) 24, 27, 172n70
Qian Shunshi 錢順時 (b. 1532) 24
Qian Sun'ai 錢孫愛 (*jr.* 1646) 24, 172n71
Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1700?) 150–2
Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 149–52
Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910–98) 82, 188n40
Qiankou 灊口 (Anhui) 46, 73–4
Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor (r. 1736–96) 5, 24–6, 34, 147, 150, 172n75
Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1736–96) 26, 143, 172n76, 181n50
Qilianshan 祁連山 128
Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (r. 221–210 BCE) 84–5
qing 清. *See* cleansing process
Qingshi liezhuan 清史列傳 26
qiongqiong juxu 蛩蛩駏驉 (mythical animal) 117
Qiyunshan 齊雲山 38, 72–3, 76, 79, 100–

1, 109, 188n30
qu 取 [selection] 1, 145
Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 (1590–1650) 27, 102n14, 149–52
Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 131n163

Receiving Pine 接引松 119, 135
reclusion. *See* eremiticism
recumbent travel 臥遊 49, 132n164
Red Cliff 赤壁 34, 121n114
Rée, Jonathan 83
religion. *See* pilgrimage
Returning to the Fields Garden 歸田園 58
Rêveries du promeneur solitaire, Les (Rousseau) 89–90
Rivers and Mountains after Snow 江山雪霽. See *Jiangshan xueji*
Romanticism 82, 91–2, 181n63
Rong Brook 容溪 46–7
Rongcheng 容成 35, 41
Rongcheng Peak 容成峰 137n182
Rongcheng Terrace 容成臺 105
Rosy Cloud Peak 丹霞峰 87, 137n182
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–78) 89–90
route books. *See* gazetteers and route books
Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–63) 132n166
Ruan, Master 阮公 92, 132
rúshì 儒士 [Confucian scholar] 30

Sacred Spring Peak 聖泉峰 137n182
Samantabhadra 普賢 34, 138n189
Sancai tuhui 三才圖會 (Wang Qi 王圻) 40
Sang Qin 桑欽 141
Scattered Blossom Dell 散花塢 118
scenes 景. See *jing*
Scentgrass Stone 薌石 47, 77, 105
Schafer, Edward H. 120n103, 177n1
Schama, Simon 4
scholarly community 27, 59–62
Scissors Peak 剪刀峰 44, 137
sea 海, as description of mountains 78, 139–40, 178n23
Sea of Clouds 雲海 45–6, 53, 56, 59, 61, 112, 115, 130, 134; in Evelyn 181n63
sedan chairs 21, 23, 90
Seething Dragon Pine 擾龍松 118, 135, 136n180
self-representation 3, 6, 13–24, 29
servants 23, 76, 90, 99
shan 禪 rituals 32, 177n5
Shang Hill 商山 72–3, 104–5
Shanhaijing 山海經 78, 108n43, 117n89, 138n186, 140–1
"Shao Liangqing shicao xu" 邵梁卿詩草序 (Qian Qianyi) 73, 92–4, 109
"Shao Youqing shicao xu" 邵幼青詩草序 (Qian Qianyi) 72–5, 92, 109
She 歙 (Anhui) 61, 40–5, 48, 103
She Shusheng 佘書升 (fl. 1620–35) 48, 108–9
Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792–1822) 82, 133n167
Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578–1642) 13–5
Shen Fu 沈復 (b. 1763) 136n179
Shengzu 聖祖. *See* Kangxi Emperor
Shenzong 神宗. *See* Wanli Emperor
shepherds 38, 137
Shexian zhi 歙縣志 55, 57, 90, 142n204
Shiji 史記 (Sima Qian) 29, 32, 102n14, 123n119, 124n123
Shijing 詩經 116n84, 128n149
Shitao 石濤 (1641–1718?) 55–6, 60, 68–9, 88, 132n164
Shizong 世宗. *See* Jiajing Emperor
Shuijing 水經 (Sang Qin attrib.) 78, 140–1
Shuijing zhu 水經注 (Li Daoyuan) 140–1
Shujing 書經 32–3, 80, 141n199; "Yu gong" 禹貢 chapter of 104n20, 114n73, 186n4
Shun 舜, Emperor 32
Siku quanshu 四庫全書 26
Sitwell, Osbert (1892–1969) 23
Six Bridges 六橋 58
Sizong 思宗. *See* Chongzhen Emperor
sobriquets 16–7, 30, 55, 99, 107n39, 170n37, 171n68, 185n47
social networks 24, 27, 61–2, 172n70, 173n79
social status 7, 12–6, 50, 62, 76, 81
Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) 2, 5, 38, 54, 78, 111n54; significance for development of *youji* 22, 145, 170n47; textual criticism in 154, 192n8, 193n13
song 松. See pines
song 送 [to see off] 91
Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81) 52
Song shu 宋書 129n153

Song Yingxing 宋應星 (1587?–1666?) 21
Songshan 嵩山 32, 177n1
Southern Marchmount 南嶽. *See* Hengshan (衡山)
Southern Ming 南明 (1644–62) 27
Southern Screen 南屏. *See* Nanping
Southern Shore 南浦 129
space, organization of in painting 7, 51, 53, 55–6, 88
Splendour, Mount 華山. *See* Huashan
sponsorship. *See* patronage
Spreading Sea 鋪海. *See* Sea of Clouds
Springs Cloister 湯院. *See* Auspicious Emblem Temple
Springs Temple 湯寺. *See* Auspicious Emblem Temple
Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼 87, 118–9, 122, 136
stalagmites 119–20
Start to Believe Peak 始信峰 87, 118–9, 135, 138
Stone Anvil Ridge 石碪嶺 47, 105
Stone Bed Peak 石床峰 137n182
Stone Gate Peak 石門峰 38, 78, 83, 106, 131–2, 137n182
Stone House 石屋 23
Stone Man Peak 石人峰 137
Stone Pillar Peak 石柱峰 137n182
Strassberg, Richard E. 22, 111n53, 116n85, 117n89, 123n119, 145, 166n20, 178n19
studio names. *See* sobriquets
stūpas 48, 77, 80, 128, 131
Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) 16, 21, 34, 52, 110n50, 121n114, 144
Sublime, Romantic ideal of 82, 189n46
Sui 隋 dynasty (581–618) 177n1
Suihanzhai 邃漢齋. *See* Xue Fengchang
Sullivan, Michael 169n34
sumptuary restrictions 13, 16–7, 167n6
Sun-Gazing Peak 日觀峰 83–4, 106
Sunüjing 素女經 107n39
Supreme, Mount 泰山. *See* Taishan
Surpassing Lotus Peak 勝蓮峰 114n75, 137
sūtras 44, 81–2, 122n118, 126
Suzhou 蘇州 13, 21

Taishan 泰山 6, 32–3, 36, 76, 82–5, 87, 101, 106n34, 177n6, 182n78, 188n41, 189n52
Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907) 7, 18, 36–7, 41–2, 75, 78, 93–4, 103n16, 107n39, 111n54, 128n149, 131, 132n165, 154, 190n87
Tang Binyin 湯賓尹 (*js.* 1595) 47, 62, 121n110
Tang Shu 唐樞 (1497–1574) 43–4
Tang wen cui 唐文粹 (Yao Xuan ed.) 192n9
Tangchi 湯池. *See* Hot Springs
Tangkou 湯口 (Anhui) 42, 105
Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427) 89, 110n50, 141n201
taste 13–6, 23, 45, 76, 167n6
tea 27, 38, 48, 81, 175n103
temporality 75–6
textual variance 149–64
Thirteen Classics 十三經 30
Thirty-six Peaks 三十六峰 36–8, 40, 43, 54, 73, 78, 80–1, 87, 89, 92–4, 111, 113, 116, 119, 125, 130, 132–3, 137–9, 179n26
Thread of Heaven 一線天 70, 88, 117–8
Three Contemplations Ridge 三觀嶺 138
Three Heavenly Sons Capital 三天子都 103, 140
Three Heavenly Sons Screen 三天子鄣 140
Thus Did I Hear Studio 我聞室 30, 176n114
Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (*js.* 1526) 22, 58
Tiandu xiaori 天都曉日 (Ding Yunpeng) 54, 67
Topographical Classic of Yellow Mountain 黄山圖經. See *Huangshan tujing*
Toubiji 投筆集 (Qian Qianyi) 150
tourism 20, 23–4, 42, 45, 47, 76, 85–9, 105n30, 139
Tower of Crimson Clouds 絳雲樓 28–9, 50, 122n118, 174n96, 175n100
Travel Diaries of Xu Hongzu 徐霞客遊記. See *Xu Xiake youji*
travel guides. *See* gazetteers and route books
"Tribute of Yu" 禹貢. See under *Shujing*
Tuan, Yi-fu 59, 184n26
tujing 圖經, use of the term 178n14
Tushita 兜率 127
Tushita Hermitage 兜率庵 47
Twenty-four Streams 二十四溪 133–4
twice-serving officials 貳臣 24–6, 174n96

Ulysses (Joyce) 190n80, 192n11
Ulysses. *See* Dante
Unyielding Terrace 強臺 124

Vairocana 毘盧遮那 126n136
Verdant Peak 翠微峰 38, 120, 137n182
views 景. See *jing*
Vinograd, Richard 169n33
Violet Cloud Peak 紫雲峰 137n182

Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer, Der (Friedrich) 181n63
Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–86) 21, 192n9
Wang Daokun 汪道昆 (1525–93) 77
Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) 8
Wang Keqian 王克謙 98, 152, 166n20
Wang Lü 王履 (b. 1332) 76
Wang Qi 王圻 (*fl.* 1565–1614) 40
Wang Qi 王琦 (1696–1774) 29, 138n187
Wang River 輞川 34
Wang Shihong 汪士鋐 (1658–1723) 40–1, 180n35
Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680) 149–50, 170n37
Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–90) 50–1
Wang Shuqi 汪樹琪 (*fl.* 1691) 180n35
Wang Siren 王思任 (1575–1646) 132n164, 171n53
Wang Siyi 王思義 (*fl.* 1609) 40
Wang Tong 王通 (580–617) 141n200
Wang Wei 王維 (701–61) 18–20, 34, 44, 50–1, 74, 89, 95, 108n41, 144
Wang Xinyi 王心一 (1572–1645?) 58
Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303?–61?) 22, 110n52
Wang Xuanxi 汪玄錫 (*fl.* 1532) 42, 140n198, 179n27
Wang Xun 汪循 140n198
Wang Yuanzhi 汪遠志 (*fl.* 1691) 180n35
Wang Zemin 汪澤民 (1273–1355) 40–2, 47, 87, 129, 131n59, 134n174, 178n18
Wang Zhijie 王之杰 (*fl.* 1606–8) 45–6, 109n46, 121n111, 178n23
Wanli 萬曆 Emperor (r. 1573–1620) 125–6, 131
Wanli 萬曆 reign (1573–1620) 3, 7, 16–7, 19, 22, 24, 42–7, 61–2, 77, 125–6, 131, 155, 179n30, 182n73
Waterfall Peak 布水峰 137n182
Watson, Burton 109n48
Watson, Philip 128n149
weather, as sign of divine favour 84–5, 87, 118, 130
Welcoming Guests Pine 迎客松 4
Wen Tiren 溫體仁 (d. 1638) 27
Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585–1645) 15, 23
Wenshu 文殊. *See* Mañjuśrī
West Lake 西湖 17, 22–3, 58, 184n26
West, Stephen H. 165n1
Western Creek 西溪 73, 100, 137n181
Wharton, Edith (1862–1937) 190n74
White Cloud Stream 白雲溪 133
White Dragon Pool 白龍潭 108–9, 129–30, 133, 145
White Goose Peak 白鵞峰 37–8, 78, 88, 138, 179n26
White Mount 白嶽. *See* Qiyunshan
Wild Man 毛人 92, 132
Wilhelm, Hellmut 172n75
Wilkinson, Endymion 153
wind carriage 飈輪 132
wolfberry water 杞水 110
Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759–97) 133n167
woodblock illustrations 33, 39, 51, 53–5, 57, 63
world of men 人世 42, 48, 85, 89, 93–4, 106, 113, 123n121, 127–8
Wu 吳 family 49–50, 62, 74, 101
Wu Boyu 吳伯與 (*js.* 1613) 118n98, 124n124
Wu Daozi 吳道子 (*fl.* 710–60) 58–9
Wu Dazhen 吳大震 (*fl.* 1641) 62, 74, 101
Wu Du 吳度 37
Wu Longhan 吳龍翰 (*fl.* 1268) 41
Wu, Nelson 27
Wu, Pei-yi 75, 79, 82
Wu Rixuan 吳日宣 (*fl.* 1609) 132n164, 135n178, 136n180
Wu Shi 吳栻 (*fl.* 1641) 49, 73–5, 88, 91–2, 101
Wu Shixian 吳時憲 (*fl.* 1641) 79, 140–1
Wu Song 吳菘 (*fl.* 1679?) 180n35
Wu Tingjian 吳廷簡 (*fl.* 1635) 48, 59, 62, 76, 84, 101n6, 119n100, 130n156
Wu Wenli 吳聞禮 (*fl.* 1641) 62, 74, 101
Wu Yi 吳逸 (*fl.* 1690) 55, 57
Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰 (1657–1735) 180n35
Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354) 60
Wu Zihan 吳子含 (*fl.* 1641) 74, 101
Wudi 武帝 (r. 140–87 BCE) 36, 85

Wulin 武林. *See* Hangzhou
Wutaishan 五臺山 34, 125
Wuzazu 五雜俎 (Xie Zhaozhe) 43, 179n28

Xi Shi 西施. *See* Yi Guang
Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525–90) 110n52
Xiangfu 祥符 reign (1008–16) 111n54
Xianjizhu 仙記注 119n102
Xiao Chen 蕭晨 (*fl.* 1677–99) 60
Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從 (1596–1673) 60
xiaopin 小品 [vignettes] 15–6, 20, 168n23, 169n25
Xie Sanbin 謝三賓 (*js.* 1625) 50
Xie Zhaoshen 謝兆申 (d. 1640?) 46, 62, 77, 86, 126n139, 127n141, 145, 178n23; travel account used by Qian Qianyi 105–6, 112, 114–5 124–5, 127, 130, 135, 138
Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1567–1624) 42–3, 179n28
Xihu youlanzhi 西湖遊覽志 (Tian Rucheng) 22
Xin'an 新安 (Anhui) 18–20, 38, 51, 79, 140, 142, 179n28
xingling 性靈 [natural sensibility] 28, 174n88
Xiongnu 匈奴 (people) 128n151
Xixiang ji 西廂記 53
Xu Ben 徐賁 (1335–93?) 183n17
Xu Chu 許楚 (*fl.* 1635) 48, 116n83
Xu Hongzu 徐弘祖 (1586–1641) 43, 61, 76, 82, 84, 103n18, 111n56, 115n81, 119n100, 135n178, 145, 170n43, 188n43
Xu Zhiyuan 徐之垣 (*fl.* 1641) 74, 79, 100–2
Xuande 宣德 reign (1426–35) 13
Xuanyuan 軒轅. *See* Yellow Emperor
Xuanzhou 宣州 (Anhui) 120
Xuanzong 玄宗, Emperor (r. 713–56) 36, 78, 107n39
xue 學 [self-cultivation] 79, 188n31
Xue Fengchang 薛鳳昌 (1876–1943) 150
Xueqiao 雪嶠 (*fl.* 1630s) 47
Xuezhuang 雪莊 60

Yandangshan 雁蕩山 76, 183n17
Yang Bu 楊補 (1598–1657) 48, 62, 132n165
Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾 (*fl.* 1609) 40, 63
Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–56) 78, 107–8
Yang Lianmin 楊連民 166n18
Yang Qinghua 135n176, 166n20, 186n3
Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) 141n200
Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (d. 555? CE) 127–8
Yang Yi 楊益 (834–904) 103n16
Yangzi River 長江 3, 28, 31, 87, 102–3, 124, 140n196, 146
"Yanshi ji" 硯室記 (Lu Shusheng) 16
Yanshou 延壽 (904–75) 122n118
Yanyi 延一 125n128
Yao Wenwei 姚文蔚 (*js.* 1592) 35
Yao Xuan 姚鉉 (968–1020) 192n9
Ye Mengde 葉夢德 (1077–1148) 154
Ye, Yang 15–6
Yeh, Michelle 75
Yellow Emperor 黃帝 35–6, 41, 77–8, 83, 106–7, 110, 119–20
Yellow Emperor Peak 軒轅峰 137n182
Yellow Mountain 黃山: as nationalistic symbol 146; development in Wanli era 3; early textual sources on 35–40; early travellers to 41–4; *Huangshan* translated as 178n19; imperial support for Buddhist institutions at 44–7; in post-Wanli era 47–8; in Qian Qianyi's account 71–95, 100–42; in Qianlong era 143–4; in visual arts 50–60, 63, 65–9; Kangxi-era sources on 40; relatively late development of 34; use of *Yishan* 黟山 [Blackmount] 36–7, 80, 93, 131, 137, 140–1
Yellow Mountain Tower 黃山樓 131
Yi 益. *See* Bo Yi
Yi Guang 夷光 188n30
Yijing 易經 29
yimin 遺民 [leftover subjects] 51
Yin Gonghong 尹恭弘 168n23
Yishan 黟山 [Blackmount]. *See under* Yellow Mountain
Yitong lucheng tuji 一統路程圖記 (Huang Bian) 21, 38, 170n44
Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 (Ouyang Xun) 139n193
Yoon, Hong-key 103n16, 104n23
youji 遊記 [travel account] genre 1–2, 7, 20, 22, 24, 59, 71, 82, 87, 91, 186n2, 190n80
Youju feilu 遊居柿錄 (Yuan Zhongdao) 91

Youzhi 遊志 (Chen Renyu) 22
Yu Dehui 于德晦 (*fl.* c. 840–55) 78, 131
“Yu gong” 禹貢. See under *Shujing*
Yu Kwang-chung 166n20, 186n3
Yu the Great 大禹 (r. 1989–81 BCE) 58, 114n73, 141n199
Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907) 122n118
Yu Zhong 虞仲 102n14
Yu’s Hill. *See* Yushan
Yuan 元 dynasty (1279–1368) 28, 37, 40, 51, 53, 87, 129, 169n33, 180n38
Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610) 21–3, 28, 58, 76, 81, 122n118, 139n192
Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–98) 58, 61, 77, 120n103, 143–4, 146
Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831) 93
Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570–1624) 91, 113n64
Yuanji 原濟. *See* Shitao
yue 嶽. *See* Marchmounts
Yü, Chün-fang 44, 182n73
Yunnan 雲南 21, 76
Yunwai 雲外 (*fl.* 1630s) 47
Yushan 虞山 24, 30, 64, 78, 102

Zeitlin, Judith T. 169n27, 187n16
Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597–1689?) 17, 34, 76, 90, 137n181
Zhang Fu 張敷 129n153
Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139) 141n200
Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–82) 24, 126n139, 145
Zhang Tao 張濤 (b. 1560?) 13, 142n204
Zhang Xu 張旭 (*fl.* 742–55) 58
Zhanghan Hill 長翰山 74, 102
Zhangwu zhi 長物志 (Wen Zhenheng) 15, 23, 76
Zhanjin tie 瞻近帖 (Wang Xizhi) 110n52
Zhao Fang 趙汸 (1319–69) 37
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) 58
Zhao Yuan 趙園 172n76
Zhaowei 炤微 (*fl.* 1620–41) 117
Zhejiang 浙江 27, 43, 73, 102n11
Zheng Yuanxun 鄭元勳 (1603–44) 16, 28, 30, 168n22
Zheng Zhong 鄭重 (*fl.* 1590–1630) 36, 39–40, 60
Zhenzong 真宗, Emperor (r. 998–1022) 85
zhi 志. *See* gazetteers and route books
zhi 知 [understanding] 79–85, 92–4, 106, 131n162
zhilong 枝隴 [connections between mountains] 103, 125
Zhong shuo 中說 (Wang Tong) 141n200
Zhou shu yiji 周書異記 110n51
Zhu Bao 朱苞 (*fl.* 1630) 137n184
Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) 101n5
Zhuang, King of Chu 楚莊王 123–4
Zhuangzi 莊子 80, 109n48, 115n81, 120n104, 122n117–8, 141n201, 144
Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443) 49, 132n164
Zongjinglu 宗鏡錄 (Yanshou) 122n118, 175n100
Zou, Hui 56
Zou Kuangming 鄒匡明 (fl. 1610) 21, 45
Zuozhuan 左傳 29, 80, 104n21, 118n95, 118n97
Zurndorfer, Harriet 19