

QIAN QIANYI'S (1582-1664) REFLECTIONS ON YELLOW MOUNTAIN

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Translator's Introduction

In the southwest corner there was a crevice through which light penetrated. A person could edge into it sideways. I told my servant boy to squeeze himself through this crack. When he was halfway into the fissure, he could see treetops tossing back and forth beyond it. Reflections of sunlight flowed into the crevice, which made it somewhat less dark inside. It was dripping from above so much that it seemed to be raining. Gusts of wind carried on cold air currents from within the rift struck the boy, moistening his clothes and kerchief. Further down, it was too damp to proceed. My servant boy told me, "There are four columns of characters." Since he cannot read, he could not tell what it said.

Wang Lü 王履 (b. 1332),
'Record of Climbing South Peak [of Mount Hua 華]'²

As the Ming Dynasty drew on, an ever-increasing number of men (and a few women) would find themselves with wealth and freedom enough to roam amongst the Empire's great peaks.³ Even in the final century of Ming rule, as the official courier system fell into decline, the commercial services available

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² Wang made the trip in 1381. See Kathlyn Maureen Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician's Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 36-37.

³ On the travel habits of women in the Jiangnan region, see Dorothy Ko's *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994) 219-26.

to travellers – boats, horses, sedan chairs, porters and carts – allowed easy access to most of the important tourist sites to anyone prepared to pay for them.⁴ But real travel took more than wealth; it required knowledge, not only of routes, but of a site's literary history. To the scholar, therefore, travel embodied always a temporal as well as a spatial dimension. At Mount Hua, Wang Lü would have considered his servant illiterate in two senses. Not only was he unable to read the characters literally inscribed on the cliff face, but he would also have been denied access to the myriad poems, records and historical anecdotes that filled the collected works of ancient men-of-letters, a far more serious consequence of being illiterate. Text was the medium by which any meaningful engagement with landscape would have to take place, an engagement that would ideally work both ways, affording the scholar the opportunity to achieve immortality by inscribing something of his self into the permanent literary history of a certain location. If we seldom read much of meals, routes or lodgings in the travel essays of late-Ming scholars it is because these details were considered subordinate to the cultural response. For most, the 'record' 記 provided an occasion to turn inwards, with the landscape inscriptions (both real and metaphoric) of those who had gone before giving impetus to new compositions.

In this regard, the poet, historian and official Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (*zi* Shouzhi 受之, *hao* Muzhai 牧齋, *Muweng* 牧翁, Yushan laomin 虞山老民; 1582-1664) was representative of his time.⁵ Having graduated as *jinshi* with high honours in 1610, Qian had quickly established himself as one of the leading cultural and literary figures of his Jiangnan society, and some sort of

⁴ On the decline of the official courier system and corresponding availability of private travel services in the late Ming, see Timothy Brook's *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 173-79.

⁵ For biographical details of Qian in English see the essay of L. Carrington Goodrich & J. C. Yang in Arthur W. Hummel ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1943; hereafter *ECCP*) 148-50, and that of Ming-shui Hung in William H. Nienhauser Jr. ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) 1: 277-79. A more thorough treatment of Qian is found in Chen Yinke's (Chen Yinque) 陳寅恪, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn* 柳如是別傳 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1980) in three volumes, and Jin Hechong's 金鶴沖 *Qian Muzhai xiansheng nianpu* 錢牧齋先生年譜, included in the recently-published *Qian Muzhai quanji* 錢牧齋全集, Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 ed. (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2003) 8: 930-52. Among the most important recent literary studies of Qian are: Jonathan Chaves, 'The Yellow Mountain Poems of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664): Poetry as *Yu-chi*' in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48 (2) 1988: 465-92; 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 in *Fudan xuebao* (sheke ban) 復旦學報 (社科版) 1989 (1): 37-43; Pei Shijun 裴世俊, *Qian Qianyi shige yanjiu* 錢謙益詩歌研究 (Ningxia: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1991) and *Qian Qianyi guwen shoutan* 錢謙益古文首探 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1996); Sun Zhimei 孫之梅, *Qian Qianyi yu Ming mo Qing chu wenxue* 錢謙益與明末清初文學 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1996), and Cai Yingyuan 蔡營源, *Qian Qianyi zhi shengping yu zhushu* 錢謙益之生平與著述 (Miaoli: Fuhua shuju, 1977). A useful overview of Qian's works is found in Hellmut Wilhelm's 'Bibliographical Notes on Ch'ien Ch'ien-i', *Monumenta Serica* 7 (1942): 196-207.

composition to mark his travels at Yellow Mountain 黃山 in 1641 would have been expected from one of his status. Qian also had the benefit of owning one of the period's great collections of books, a collection that included the histories and topographies of all of the important sites down through the ages.⁶ Having initially planned to travel with Anhui poet and painter Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 (*zi* Mengyang 孟陽; 1565–1644),⁷ he eventually made the trip with another friend, Wu Shi 吳棫 (or 拭, *zi* Quchen 去塵), also a native of the area.⁸ If literary production was at least in part the reason for making the journey, it worked; the travels produced a series of 25 poems marking his sights and experiences on the Mountain.⁹ In the first month of the following year (1642), Qian complemented these with a nine-part prose 'Record of My Travels at Yellow Mountain' 游黃山記, an essay dense in diction and rich in literary allusion.¹⁰ The final three parts of this essay (the more reflective portion) are presented in translation here.

⁶ Qian's great collection would later be housed in the Tower of Crimson Clouds (Jiangyun lou 絳雲樓), the library that was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1650. For the collection see the *Jiangyun lou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2002, a facsimile reprint of the 1820 edition housed at the Beijing Library). See also Jian Xiujuan's 簡秀娟 *Qian Qianyi cangshu yanjiu* 錢謙益藏書研究 (Taipei: Hanmei, 1991).

⁷ For a short biography of Cheng in English, see that of J. C. Yang in *ECCP* 113-14. Cheng lived most of his life in Jiading, Jiangsu, but retired to Xiuning in the year Qian undertook his Yellow Mountain journey. Cheng records the Yellow Mountain trip as having been agreed to in the final month of the previous year, 1640 (see Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn* 1: 220-1). Yellow Mountain would have presented a daunting challenge indeed to a man of 77 *sui*, and one is tempted to think of Cheng's proposed participation in the trip more in terms of metaphor than of physical presence.

⁸ Wu Shi, according to Qian's report, "loved to roam the famous mountains and rivers 好游名山水" (see Qian, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* 列朝詩集小傳 [rpt; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1983] 2: 636). Wu is, in fact, not mentioned at all in Qian's lengthy essay (with the exception of the preface), although his presence is confirmed in another essay of the same period, 'Preface to the Poetic Drafts of Shao Youqing' 邵幼青詩草序 (see *juan* 32 of the *Muzhai chuxueji* 牧齋初學集 [Shanghai: SBCK edition] 2: 347-48).

⁹ See *juan* 19 of the *Muzhai Chuxueji*. The use of travel as an impetus for the production of text is suggested by the preface to Qian's essay, in which he uses the character *de* 得 (to obtain, to gain, to result in) with regard to his set of poems. This appears to have been a fairly common position in the late Ming – Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (*zi* Xiaoxiu 小修; 1570-1624), for example, was quite explicit about the need for travel in his *Youju feilu* 遊居柿錄: "If when studying at home I can understand not a word of what I happen to be reading, on board a junk I become intoxicated with the copiousness of my reading notes." See Duncan Campbell trans., *Notes Made Whilst Travelling and at Repose (Book One)* (Wellington: Asian Studies Institute Translation Paper #2, 1999) 1.

¹⁰ James Cahill ('Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Pictures' in Susan Naquin & Chün-fang Yü eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992] 246-92) dates the trip itself to 1642, and indeed, the preface to Qian's essay is ambiguous in this regard. We can, however, fairly confidently date the trip to the second month of the Xinsi 辛巳 year (1641), by Qian's preface to Shao Youqing's poetry (see above). The distinction here is important, in that some eleven months had passed by the time Qian produced his prose record, composed not (like his poems) on the Mountain, but in his study.

Throughout his Record, Qian relies heavily on information provided by the *Topographical Classic of Yellow Mountain* (*Huangshan tujing* 黃山圖經), an anonymous Song Dynasty (960-1127) work that places the Mountain firmly within a Daoist mythological tradition, and provides the first (extant) listing of the famous ‘Thirty-six Peaks’.¹¹ Although the extent to which the editor of the *Topographical Classic* relied on existing peak names is difficult to gauge, one imagines that the gazetteer’s role was in this regard as much prescriptive as it was descriptive. Certainly the relative prominence ascribed to the various peaks by the Song text was crucial, for the sequence came to be reproduced as standard in all subsequent works.¹² Even the most cursory glance through the poetic and prose accounts of Ming and Qing travellers reveals the comparative frequency of references to peaks numbered from one to ten in the Song sequence. In the present case, Qian Qianyi’s lengthy record is limited, with just three exceptions (Verdure 翠微 [19], Stone Gate 石門 [24] and Cloud Gate 雲門 [27]), to descriptions of the first twelve.¹³

One explanation for this tendency to focus only on a certain selection of peaks was the difficult issue of identification. For Qian and his contemporaries the Thirty-six Peaks that existed in the Song gazetteer were in practice not easily identifiable as viewable sites. The major peaks, such as Heavenly Capital 天都峰 and Lotus Blossom 蓮花峰 were well known, and these could be recognised and named by porters, monks, or residents of the Huizhou area. But, as Qian points out, these known peaks numbered no more than one third of the original list. One almost detects in Qian’s account a sense of anxiety about the reception of textual sources associated with the site. Why had no traveller ever examined the Stone Gate Peak, even after its inscription into poetry? And what of Li Bai’s 李白 (*zi* Taibai 太白, *hao* Qinglian jushi 青蓮居士; 701-762) famous White Goose Peak 白鵝峰,¹⁴ in cultural terms surely one of the most important sites on the Mountain, and yet now missing entirely from the sources?¹⁵ Given what we know of the

¹¹ Reprinted as volume one of the *Anhui congshu* 安徽叢書 Series 5 (Shanghai: Anhui congshu bianyinchu, 1935). The original accompanying pictures have been lost, and were replaced at some point for the existing edition by works from seventeenth-century artists.

¹² Min Linsi 閔麟嗣 (1628-1704), for example, reproduced the Song gazetteer’s sequence in his *Huangshan zhi dingben* 黃山志定本, first published in 1679. References to this important work given below are to the Huangshan shushe edition (Hefei, 1990), based on Min’s corrected text of 1686. For Yellow Mountain gazetteers published during the Ming and Qing periods, see Timothy Brook’s *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002) under She 歙, 84-86.

¹³ Far more difficult to quantify is the extent to which Ming and Qing scholars’ observations and experiences of the Mountain were shaped by the peak names handed down to them from the Song period, one of the critical issues in my ongoing study of Qian’s essay.

¹⁴ For a short biography in English, and a list of further works on and by the great Li Bai, Yellow Mountain’s most famous visitor, see that of Stephen Owen in Nienhauser’s *Indiana Companion* 549-551.

¹⁵ In this respect at least, the definitive listing and mapping by the 1988 edition of the *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe) of all of Yellow Mountain’s peaks and their heights is somewhat problematic in my view, implying (at least in the case of the

tendency of late-Ming travel writers to focus more on themselves than on their landscapes,¹⁶ it is tempting to read in Qian's concerns a certain uneasiness about his own future textual reception.¹⁷ How, when textual sources pertaining to Yellow Mountain had been so flagrantly misinterpreted and disregarded, could one's own textual legacy be secured?

In the end, Qian Qianyi's essay joined those of the dozens of scholars who wrote of their experiences on Yellow Mountain during the final decades of Ming rule, when the site was enjoying its height of popularity among the Jiangnan élite. Much of this popularity was due to the efforts of the monk Pumen 普門 (original surname Xi 奚, *ming* Huaian 淮安 [or Weian 惟安]; 1546-1625), who arrived at the Mountain in 1606, and initiated the construction of stairways and monasteries, the latter providing both guides and lodgings for weary travellers. Pumen was able to secure the vital patronage of the Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (Wanli 萬曆; r. 1573-1620) and the Empress Dowager Cisheng 慈聖 (original surname Li 李; 1546-1614), who, somewhat controversially, had opened the imperial treasury to sponsor the monastic projects of the monk Fudeng 福登 (original surname Xu 續; 1540-

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 *Topographical Classic'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 below, draws on this explanation and suggests that Li Bai's peak is 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* 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] 17). White Goose Peak is but one example of an identity crisis that further investigation would probably prove true of at least ten of Yellow Mountain's major peaks. In my view, the chance that the White Goose Peak of Li Bai's poem, if indeed there ever was such a site, is in fact the same peak of 1768 metres currently identified by that name is so remote as to have crossed into the realms of fantasy. Its inclusion in the 1988 gazetteer of the Mountain is an interesting conclusion to a long and problematic relationship between text and site, a conclusion that in cultural terms, given Li Bai's status in literary history, had to occur.

¹⁶ On the relationship between travel writing and autobiography in China see Pei-yi Wu's *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). For a European perspective see Denis Porter's *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991): "the most interesting writers of non-fictional travel books have managed to combine explorations in the world with self-exploration." (5).

¹⁷ In 1642 Qian would already have been in the process of preparing for the publication of his first collection of works, the *Muzhai chuxueji*.

1613) some years earlier.¹⁸ The number of monasteries and temples on Yellow Mountain that date back to the early seventeenth century is a strong indication that this period was one of high religious activity, even if the monks themselves appear only infrequently throughout the written accounts of the site.

So Yellow Mountain was linked to the Ming state politically, but it was also linked to late-Ming society in cultural terms. Most of the characteristics for which Yellow Mountain became known reflect late-Ming aesthetic sensibilities and an artistic movement that, in the words of Qianshen Bai, had begun to prize the concepts of “deformation, fragmentation and awkwardness.”¹⁹ The bizarre rocks, the dense ‘sea’ of cloud and the grotesque pines were particular favourites of late-Ming viewers. For Qian, the Yellow Mountain pines are alive; serpentine in their movements and as much the observers as the observed. The key concept in part eight is *qi* 奇 (exceptional, odd, remarkable, rare, bizarre), a term Qian employs no less than nine times, and one that would have had a particular resonance for late-Ming readers. Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (*zi* Taichu 太初; 1565-1628) had commented at the start of the Wanli era that the relaxation of sumptuary laws had allowed people to “present their exceptionality 獻奇.”²⁰ In the case of the Yellow Mountain pines, it was precisely this ill-defined concept that created their demand as luxury items, to be consumed by a society in which the concepts of taste and fashion effected frequent changes to the way the wealthy participated in their sophisticated world.²¹

That world, of course, would cease to exist a few short years after Qian Qianyi’s Yellow Mountain excursion, and even on the Mountain itself there were signs already that all was not well. “With military unrest daily more worrying, and famines raging year after year, the tolling of the great fish bells [that announce meal times to the monks] has all but ceased,” Qian notes in part six of his essay. “Counting up the monasteries that once stood in Luoyang, one cannot but sigh for one’s own ruined and disordered age.”²²

¹⁸ See Else Glahn’s biography of Fudeng in L. Carrington Goodrich & Chaoying Fang eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970) 1: 462-66.

¹⁹ Qianshen Bai, *Fu Shan’s World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003) 128.

²⁰ *Lanzhen caotang ji* 懶真草堂集, cited in Bai, *Fu Shan’s World* 19.

²¹ See Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure* 218-33, and Craig Clunas’ *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

²² *Muzhai chuxueji* 3: 488. The allusion here is to Yang Xuanzhi’s 楊銜之 (d. 555 CE?) *Record of the Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang* 洛陽伽藍記, completed in 547 CE. The city of Luoyang was the Northern Wei capital between 493 and 534 CE, and, at its peak, was home to over a thousand Buddhist monasteries, the positions and histories of which were later recorded by Yang. For full translations of this important text, see W. F. J. Jenner’s *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493-534)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) and Yi-t’ung Wang trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

For Qian, the Qing era would present fresh challenges, and a century later would result in his (posthumous) denunciation by the Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (Qianlong 乾隆; r. 1736-1796), on the grounds of his alleged disloyalty to both the Ming and the Qing ruling houses.²³ This challenge, the greatest yet to Qian's inscription of his self into the cliffs of Yellow Mountain, was ultimately unsuccessful.²⁴

The 'Record of My Travels at Yellow Mountain' first appeared in the *Muzhai chuxueji*, Qian Qianyi's first set of collected works, published by his friend and pupil Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 (*zi* Qitian 起田; 1590-1651) and prefaced 1643.²⁵ After Qian's death the essay was included in Min Linsi's 1679 gazetteer *Huangshan zhi dingben*, a work that was corrected and republished in 1686. The present translation of parts seven, eight and nine is based on the text found in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan) of the *Muzhai chuxueji*, a facsimile reprint of the original Qu edition.²⁶

²³ Of the many proclamations against Qian made by the Emperor over a period of a number of years, is the following of 1778: "Qian Qianyi's character was unworthy. When the Ming house was losing power he was one of the first to turn to us for orders, yet in his poetry and prose he dared secretly to vilify us. He had no principles to guide him in taking office or in retiring, and was something less than a man." See Luther Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966) 100-7 (romanisation altered).

²⁴ Emperor Gaozong had issued the following decree in 1769: "Now Qian Qianyi is already dead, 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 *Chuxueji* and *Youxueji* 有學集 [Qian's second set of collected works published in 1664]. In addition let orders be dispatched 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." (ibid. 102-3, romanisation altered).

²⁵ For a short biography of Qu Shisi see that of J. C. Yang & T. Numata in *ECCP* 199-201. 1643 (the *Guiwei* 癸未 year) has been adopted as the conventional date of the *Muzhai chuxueji*'s publication, following Qu's own preface to the collection (see *SBCK* edition 1: 26-27; reproduced in a slightly altered form in the *Qu Shisi ji* 瞿式耜集 [Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981] 303-5), which is dated that year. The preface of Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 (1574-1647), however, is dated the *Jiashen* 甲申 year (1644), and, as Hellmut Wilhelm notes, the collection contains a poem from the same year ('甲申元日') attached to *juan* 20 下, not mentioned in the table of contents. Wilhelm's suggestion that the scope of the project was increased during the printing process, and that the collection was not finally published until 1644 seems a likely one, although it appears thus far to have been ignored. See Wilhelm, 'Bibliographical Notes' 199. For the poem, see the *Muzhai chuxueji* (*SBCK* edition) 2: 225.

²⁶ In addition to the essay found in the *Huangshan zhi dingben* 298-307, reference has been made to the versions of the text found in Qian Zhonglian ed., *Qian Muzhai quanji* 2: 1147-59, and Li Yimang 李一氓 ed., *Ming Qing ren you Huangshan jichao* 明清人游黃山記鈔 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1983) 40-52. Annotated versions of part eight may be found in Bei Yunchen 貝運辰 ed., *Lidai youji xuan* 歷代游記選 (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1980) 291-97, and Ni Qixin 倪其心 ed., *Zhongguo gudai youji*

xuan 中國古代游記選 (Beijing: Zhongguo youji chubanshe, 1985) 259-64, and a partial translation of this section of the essay appears in Yang Qinghua's translation of Yu Kwang-chung's 余光中 'The Sensuous Art of the Chinese Landscape Journal' in Stephen C. Soong & John Minford eds., *Trees on the Mountain: An Anthology of New Chinese Writing* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1986) 23-40. A close analysis of the available editions reveals a considerable degree of textual variation, much of which is obscured in translation. I hope to be in a position to present these results as part of my wider study in the future.

Record of My Travels at Yellow Mountain 游黃山記
by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664)

Seven

When I arrived to ascend this Mountain, I first bathed at the Hot Pools and rested at the Peach Blossom Source Hermitage. That night brought heavy rain, and seated in the small tower at White Dragon Pool I was able to follow the progress of the waters as they fell from Heavenly Capital Peak. The rains abated and I began my ascent, with the dense cloud vapours still filling the air, so that as I reached Old Man Peak I could turn and watch the Spreading Sea.²⁷ Then for three days I roamed this Mountain, while the firmament remained boundless and clear, and as on a crisp mid-autumn morning, one could take in a thousand *li* with one glance. In the past, every traveller who climbed Yellow Mountain in spring or summer had the vapours and mists press in all around him, and he could never make out more than a *zhang* from his face. The mountain monks all sighed with wonder at the open skies that greeted us, something they had never seen before. No sooner had I left the Mountain, than the heavy rains returned to saturate everything through, and seeing this, my companions and I congratulated each other even more.²⁸

Afterwards, a traveller asked me: “Did you take pleasure in travelling at Yellow Mountain?” I replied, “I took pleasure indeed, but this was not ‘travel’.” As far as prominence is concerned amongst the Thirty-six Peaks,

²⁷ The ‘Spreading Sea’ 鋪海 of clouds, pierced by the protruding peaks, continues to fascinate tourists at Yellow Mountain today. Three years after Qian’s visit, on the other side of the world, the diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706) described a similar sight while crossing the Alps into Italy: “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] 2: 207-8). It is perhaps worth noting here that Evelyn’s diary was not published until 1818, placing its reception firmly within the Romantic movements of Europe, during which aesthetic sensibilities (an interest in the grotesque, for example) might be said to mirror more than any other period those of the late Ming.

²⁸ There is a sense throughout Qian’s essay (see especially parts one and five) that the understanding he gains from his engagement with the Mountain is being made available to him as a worthy subject, an idea we find also in Dante’s *The Divine Comedy*, and one that would be echoed later by Constable: “the landscape painter must walk in the fields with a humble mind. No arrogant man was ever permitted to see nature in all her beauty.” See Ann Bermingham, ‘Reading Constable’ in Simon Pugh ed., *Reading Landscape: Country – City – Capital* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) 97-120 (101-2). Previous travellers had clearly not been so worthy. On his journey of 1616, Xu Hongzu 徐弘祖 (*zi* Zhenzhi 振之, better known by his *hao*, Xiake 霞客; 1586-1641) found his own sightseeing plans “thwarted by Heaven” 竟為天奪, when he was enveloped by the mists. See Zhu Huirong 朱惠蓉 ed., *Xu Xiake youji jiaozhu* 徐霞客游記校注 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1985) 1: 22.

none can compare with Heavenly Capital and Lotus Blossom. Leaving Fragrance Hamlet, one sees Lotus Blossom Peak standing alone, and reaching White Dragon Pool one sees Heavenly Capital standing right in the centre like a screen. But then one climbs to the Temple of Compassionate Radiance, nestled in between Heavenly Capital and Lotus Blossom, and sees that the separate are in fact connected, introducing themselves like lodgers in an inn.²⁹ When one rests at Mañjuśrī Cloister, Heavenly Capital arches in from the east like a banner, while Lotus Blossom perches on the right, like a flower unfurling its petals; from here the faces of the two peaks are seen in full. Continuing on, one starts in a new direction, while the shapes of the peaks, like reflections plucked from a mirror, change with every step one takes, their twisting faces becoming the *profils perdus* one could never glimpse by sitting still and merely looking them up and down. The effect of movement cannot be replicated, so there can be no idleness in this type of travel.

Men of former times would say that those gathering medicinal herbs could reach the summit of Heavenly Capital with three days worth of wrapped provisions.³⁰ Then, during the reign of the Wanli Emperor, the monks Pumen and Kuo'an made the climb one after the other,³¹ and their stone stūpas, flags and lanterns still stand imposingly there today. Is it, then, that only those beyond this decaying flesh and these rotting bones can scale these heights, up to which Heaven has not provided a way?³²

Stone Gate is the central peak of Sable Mountain.³³ The Yellow Mountain Tower in She Prefecture looks north towards this peak, in the

²⁹ 顧若宿留 A phrase borrowed from Han Yu's 韓愈 (768-824) 'The South Mountains' 南山詩, a poem of 102 couplets, which reads, in A. C. Graham's translation: "The road dips in front, the vista opens / Far and wide over crowded bumps and wrinkles, / Lined up in files like processions / Or crouched like grappling fighters, / [...] Side by side like friends and equals, / Ranked as though in due degree, / Shooting apart like falling spray / Or introducing themselves like lodgers in an inn 或顧若宿留." (*Poems of the Late T'ang* [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965] 77-79).

³⁰ 昔人言採藥者裹三日糧達天都頂 The Yuan traveller Wang Zemin 汪澤民 (*zi* Shuzhi 叔志) records in his essay on Yellow Mountain a conversation with a monk, who tells him: "Heavenly Capital Peak is the particularly high one [of a group of three peaks]. At the top there are many well-known medicinal herbs, and those who collect them wrap up provisions and ascend, reaching the summit in three days 採者裹糧以上三日達峰頂." (*Huangshan zhi dingben* 205).

³¹ The Shaanxi monk Kuo'an 闍菴 is said to have assisted Pumen in the founding of the monasteries built during the Wanli period. See *Huangshan zhi dingben* 106, *Huangshan zhi* [1988] 234.

³² 夫獨非腐肉朽骨而遂如天之不可升耶 The entry in the *Huangshan zhi dingben* (106) records that Pumen and Kuo'an said of the difficult Heavenly Capital: "Man originally had no desire to climb [this peak], but now that a will exists it must be satisfied, so how could Heaven not provide the steps upwards 何天之不可階升?"

³³ 石門為黟山之中峰 The original name for Yellow Mountain was Sable 黟 Mountain, supposedly due to its lustrous black rocks visible from afar. Qian once again draws here from the *Topographical Classic of Yellow Mountain*, which reads: "[Peak] Number 24: Stone Gate Peak is the central peak of Sable Mountain 第二十四石門峰即黟山之中峰." (*Huangshan tujing* 8a). The fact that Qian chose to leave the name 'Sable' here suggests

contours of which runs a split that resembles a great gate. A poet of the Tang Dynasty once said: “In idle moments I rest against the vermilion balustrade gazing to the northwest, / The only fitting name for this is Stone Gate Tower.”³⁴ So the height and shape of Stone Gate Peak has been seen since Tang times from the tower in She Prefecture, but no traveller ever went to investigate, and now even the mountain monks do not know this Peak’s exact location. Can this really be called ‘travel’?

To *travel* at Yellow Mountain, one would have to wrap up provisions, pull on a pair of silvergrass sandals, and pass away the months and the years with just the mountain monks and the fuel gatherers for travelling companions. Only then might one truly grasp the character of the hills and streams, and know fully the contours of the ridges and peaks.³⁵ Even then, though, the steepest cliff walls, the stalactite caves, the violet beds of cloud and their azure pillows, the places where the Wild Man drinks,³⁶ and where Master Ruan sings,³⁷ would be inaccessible. The peach blossoms flutter as

that he prefers the sentence to be read as a quote. It is possible, also, that this first use of Yellow Mountain’s former name is meant as a marker of the writer’s new understanding of the site, accompanying the slightly more reflective mood of this seventh part of the essay.

³⁴ 歙郡黃山樓北瞰此峰峰勢中坼若巨門唐人有詩曰閒倚朱欄西北望只宜名作石門樓 A reference to a poem by Yu Dehui 于德晦, for which see *juan* 6 of the *Huangshan zhi dingben* 370. Qian also makes use of the rather lengthy title of the poem (‘In She Prefecture There is a Yellow Mountain Tower, which Looks North Towards Yellow Mountain, in the Contours of which Runs a Split that Resembles the Form of a Great Gate, So I Composed this Poem to Mark it’ 歙郡有黃山樓北瞰黃山山勢中坼若巨門狀因題一絕). Yu’s original line uses the name ‘Great 巨 Gate Tower’, and both Min Linsi and Li Yimang emend Qian’s text to correct the misquotation. This solution, though, seems to me to nullify the argument of the passage, which requires the identification of the ‘Stone’ Gate Tower as early as the Tang period. I have therefore followed the *SBCK* text and let 石門樓 stand.

³⁵ 游茲山者必當裹餼糧曳芒屨經年累月與山僧樵翁為伴侶庶可以攬山川之性情窮峰巒之形勝 This sense of the need to spend time learning to understand the Mountain echoes Wang Siren’s ‘Preface to a Record of My Travels in Southern Brilliance Mountain’ 南明紀游序: “Lü Dalai 呂大來 of Southern Brilliance ... dwelt beside this mountain and within this mountain too he travelled. By analogy, he may be said to have painted life portraits of his neighbours to the east or the household opposite, having fully understood their personalities over the course of the days and years.” I am grateful to Duncan Campbell for making his draft translation of this preface available to me.

³⁶ 毛人之所飲 Attached to the entry on Stone Gate Peak in the *Topographical Classic* (8a) is the story that a ‘wild man’ (literally: ‘hairy man’ 毛人) was found and killed at the foot of the Peak during the reign of the Dali 大歷 Emperor of the Tang (766-779). The possibility of a wild man roaming around the more inaccessible peaks of Yellow Mountain is hinted at in a few early works, but there exists also a suggestion that the term may point to the ‘immortal gibbons’ 仙猿 seldom seen by travellers, and listed in the ‘Animals’ section of the *Huangshan zhi dingben*. The white gibbon was reputed to have been dubbed the ‘snowman’ 雪翁 by the monk Pumen (61).

³⁷ 阮公之所歌 The *Topographical Classic* notes that the seventeenth peak of Yellow Mountain was given the name Ascension, after a certain Master Ruan 阮公 ascended to the heavens from its summit, giving rise to the ‘sounds of immortal music’ 仙樂之聲 that have been heard there ever since (6b).

large as fans, the pine flowers wave like banners, the bamboo leaves sit like brimmed hats, and the lotus flowers drift like boats, but one who has not held to an ascetic life will never encounter them.

On the summits of the Thirty-six Peaks, where the vegetation has disappeared without trace, even the gibbons and birds tremble with fear; only those who drive a wind carriage or ride a cloud chariot can reach them.³⁸ The *Book of Liezi* tells of those five mountains across the seas, “the men who dwell on which are all of the race of immortal sages, who fly, too many to be counted, back and forth between the mountains in a day and a night.”³⁹ How do I know that a race of ‘immortal sages’ is not flying back and forth between these Thirty-six Peaks, just as if they were walking the crisscrossed paths between fields? If one day I retire to Peach Blossom Source Hermitage, bathe morning and night at the Hot Pools and live out my life in asceticism, then, perhaps, the spirit of Yellow Mountain might permit me to put on my travelling shoes once again.

Eight

The extraordinary sights of Yellow Mountain are its springs, its clouds and its pines. Of extraordinary ponds, there is none to match White Dragon Pool, and of extraordinary springs, there is none to match Hot Springs. Both of these are situated in the foothills of Yellow Mountain. The waters of Peach Blossom Source and Peach Blossom Stream flow down into Hot Springs, and the waters of Milky Water Source and White Cloud Stream flow east into Peach Blossom Stream;⁴⁰ indeed, all of the Twenty-four Streams flow down

³⁸ 唯乘飄輪駕雲車可以至焉 The cloud chariot was traditionally considered to be a vehicle used by the immortals. One is reminded here of Mary Wollstonecraft’s observation in her 1797 essay ‘On Poetry, And Our Relish for the Beauties of Nature’: “The imagery of the ancients seems naturally to have been borrowed from surrounding objects and their mythology. When a hero is to be transported from one place to another, across pathless wastes, is any vehicle so natural, as one of the fleecy clouds on which the poet has often gazed, scarcely conscious that he wished to make it his chariot?” See Janet Todd & Marilyn Butler eds., *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft Vol. 7* (London: William Pickering, 1989) 8. Wollstonecraft anticipated by some 20 years Percy Bysshe Shelley’s declaration: “O that a chariot of cloud were mine! / I would sail on the waves of the billowy wind / To the mountain peak and the rocky lake” (‘O that a Chariot of Cloud were Mine’ in Neville Rogers ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley Vol. 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) 316.

³⁹ 列子言海外五山所居之人皆仙聖之種一日一夕飛相往來者不可數 Qian draws directly from the ‘Questions of Tang’ 湯問 chapter of the *Liezi* 列子, for a translation of which see A. C. Graham’s *The Book of Lieh-tz* (London: John Murray, 1960): “Within [the deep ravine] there are five mountains, called Daiyu, Yuanjiao, Fanghu, Yingzhou and Penglai [...] The men who dwell there are all of the race of immortal sages, who fly, too many to be counted, to and from from [sic] one mountain to another in a day and a night.” (97, romanisation altered).

⁴⁰ 桃源溪水流入湯泉乳水源白雲溪東流入桃花溪 For the direction of watercourses Qian appears to have borrowed again from the *Topographical Classic*, which tells us:

and converge at Yellow Mountain's foot.⁴¹ In the hollows of the Mountain it is water that fills its belly,⁴² and the waters that shoot out and connect with each other always do so from the belly downwards, so there are springs to be found on the Mountain's lower slopes, but none on its upper slopes.

Yellow Mountain is so extremely high that thunder-showers occur in its lower regions.⁴³ The gathering and dispersing of cloud, the scattering and returning of cloud, all occurs around the Mountain's waist. Whenever one observes Heavenly Capital and the other peaks, clouds rise to their waists like belts, but they can never reach the summits. After a while, one is enclosed on all sides, and the lower parts of the peaks are screened by cloud and mist, while all the time their crests remain beyond the reach of the cloud. The clouds that form the Spreading Sea fill the eyes like a rising tide, then suddenly they scatter, like startled ducks or fleeing hares. From the upper regions of Yellow Mountain's peaks, which protrude above the cloud, the firmament seems boundless, as the clouds have nothing to which they can attach themselves.

From the Springs Temple upwards, Yellow Mountain is covered with pines and well-known trees, the juniper, the yew, the cedar and the catalpa, entwined with vines and covered in flatsedge,⁴⁴ with everything hidden in the shade of luxuriant foliage.⁴⁵ When one climbs Old Man Peak, one finds on the overhanging cliffs many strange pines,⁴⁶ all protruding from the faces of

“Below Peach Blossom Peak is Peach Blossom Source and Peach Blossom Stream 有桃花源桃花溪.... In the third month...the Stream turns red with blossoms as it flows into the Hot Springs 水紅流入湯泉” (4a), and later: “Milky Water Source's waters taste like milk, and drop down into White Cloud Stream 乳水源味如乳下有布下水落白雲溪... the waters [of which] flow east into Peach Blossom Stream 水向東流入桃花溪 (5a).

⁴¹ 二十四溪皆流注山足 For Yellow Mountain's Twenty-four Streams 二十四溪, see the *Huangshan zhi dingben* 14-17.

⁴² 山空中水實其腹 An interesting way of phrasing this concept – probably meant as a playful allusion to Book 1 of the *Daodejing* 道德經: “In governing the people, the sage empties their minds but fills their bellies 實其腹, weakens their wills but strengthens their bones.” See D. C. Lau trans., *Tao Te Ching* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963) 59.

⁴³ 山極高則雷雨在下 The *Topographical Classic* observes (1a-1b): “This Mountain is tall enough to brush the heavens and touch the sun...[so] thunder showers occur in its lower regions 雷雨在下.”

⁴⁴ 山皆直松名材 ... 藤絡莎被 Qian copies directly here from the essay of Wang Zemin (substituting only *cai* 材 for Wang's *sha* 杉 [firs]). See *Huangshan zhi dingben* 205.

⁴⁵ 幽蔭蒼蔚 A phrase borrowed directly from Liu Zongyuan's 柳宗元 (*zi* Zihou 子厚; 773-819) ‘Record of the Eastern Mound at Yongzhou's Longxing Temple’ 永州龍興寺東丘記, for which see Wu Wenzhi 吳文治 ed., *Liu Zongyuan ji* 柳宗元集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 3: 748-49. For a translation of this essay see H. C. Chang's *Chinese Literature 2: Nature Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977) 123-24: “I then had ornamental plants and rocks laid out in criss-cross patterns all over the mound. The ground was now a carpet of green grass, and the trees provided shade and seclusion 幽蔭蒼蔚.” Phrases from Liu's Yongzhou records occur frequently (and without attribution) throughout the earlier parts of Qian's essay.

⁴⁶ 陟老人峰懸崖多異松 The phrase 懸崖多異松 has probably been taken from Xie Zhaoshen's 謝兆申 ‘You Huangshan ji’ 游黃山記, an essay from which Qian borrows extensively for the earlier parts of his essay. Xie's collected works, *Xie Erbo xiansheng*

the rocks. From there on, there is no tree that is not a pine, and no pine that is not extraordinary.⁴⁷ There are those with trunks no larger than a man's shin, but with roots that twist and coil across a whole *mu*. There are those with roots no longer than a *zhang*, but with branches luxuriant and wide-reaching enough to provide shade for the adjacent paths. There are those that follow the cliffs across gullies, their boughs extending as though suspended in mid air. There are those that penetrate the fissures in the cliff rocks, bursting out as if they were growing horizontally. There are those that flicker and wave like delicate feather canopies, and those that writhe about like powerful flood dragons. There are those that lie near to the ground, then rise, only to fall back to the ground again. There are those that run sideways, are cut off, and then start to run sideways once more.

To the left of the Mañjuśrī Cloister, behind the Cloudladder, the hill drops sharply away, and is covered with pines. Bending this way and that, circling around and back again, they bow to passing travellers, and are a particularly remarkable sight. At the northern cliff of Start to Believe Peak, a pine stretches out towards the southern cliff, allowing travellers to pull themselves across by its branches. This tree is commonly referred to as the 'Receiving Pine'. To its west a great rock stands like a screen, and with it sits a pine, about three *chi* high, but with branches that stretch for a *mu*. Its twisted trunk bores into the rock face and bursts out again, fracturing the stone from top to bottom and creating a crack that runs down its centre. The branches of this tree intertwine and grab at each other; it is known as the 'Seething Dragon Pine'.

At the peaks of Stalagmite Promontory and the Alchemists' Terrace the rocks stand up proudly, connected neither by ridge nor mound of earth. Every rock is crowned by a single pine, like a pin on a head of hair, or a canopy sitting above its carriage. Viewed from afar, they look like the tiny blades of shepherd's purse, pointing this way and that into the clouds. So remarkable, so extraordinary is the scene, that words alone could never describe it.

The Yellow Mountain pines need no earth, and take no more than the bare rock as their soil, while their trunks and bark are also all made from stone. Nourished by rain and clouds, and battered by frost and snow, these pines date back to the very birth of heaven and earth, and flourished throughout the days of antiquity. They really belong with the legendary ointments and jades, with the elixirs and herbs of immortality, for they are

chuji 謝耳伯先生初集 is prefaced the thirteenth year of the Chongzhen 崇禎 Reign (1640), a date that may well have placed them on Qian's desk as he composed his own Yellow Mountain travelogue. For Xie's record, see *Huangshan zhi dingben* 247-52.

⁴⁷ 無樹非松無松不奇 Even today various forms of the phrase "No tree is not a pine, no rock is without a pine, and no pine is not extraordinary 無樹非松無石不松無松不奇" are used to describe the pines on Yellow Mountain, although its precise origin is unknown. Xu Hongzu was similarly impressed with the pines on his 1616 visit, remarking: "Who would have expected that this extraordinary mountain had on its slopes something equally extraordinary 不意奇山中又有此奇品也?" (see Zhu ed., *Xu Xiake youji jiaozhu* 1: 19.

certainly no ordinary trees. To think that there are those who want to hack down these trees and shove them into dishes for their own amusement – is this not the vilest of practices?⁴⁸

To the east of the Cloudladder wriggles a long prostrate pine, once hobbled by a thunderbolt. Spanning several dozen *zhang*, its scales and mane writhe about helplessly, and everyone who passes pities it its present state. When I saw it, however, I laughed, saying: “The Creator of All Things directed this piece of theatre, obstructing and bending the pine as He saw fit.⁴⁹ In centuries to come, who knows what kind of extraordinary sight all these forks and bends will have created? The flower sellers of Wu take old *prunus* branches, bend them, bind them, and at the first sign of spring, show them off as being especially peculiar among their arrangements. Has not this pine simply had its branches bent in the same way by the Creator?” A thousand years from now, there is bound to be someone who will verify these words of mine and laugh about it.

Nine

The Thirty-six Peaks of Sable Mountain were all carefully recorded in the *Topographical Classic*,⁵⁰ but these days, scholars and officials are unable to

⁴⁸ 顧欲斫而取之作盆盎近玩不亦陋乎 On the use of mountain pines as bonsai, see H. L. Li's *Chinese Flower Arrangement* (Mineola: Dover Publications inc., 2002) 64-65. As noted above, the twisted, gnarled character of Yellow Mountain pines made them particularly prized for use in bonsai arrangements. The Qing writer Shen Fu 沈復 (*zi* Sanbai 三白, *hao* Meiyi 梅逸; b. 1763) remarked of a visit to Renli 仁里, Anhui: “We went into the temple and found that the pots of flowers and fruits that had been placed in the main worship hall and the courtyard had been selected for their unique natural shapes 盡以蒼老古怪為佳, instead of having been trimmed and pruned. Most were pines from Yellow Mountain.” See Leonard Pratt & Chiang Su-hui trans., *Six Records of a Floating Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983) 115.

⁴⁹ For an interesting discussion of the concept of the Creator of All Things 造物者, see Edward H. Schafer's ‘The Idea of Created Nature in T'ang Literature’ in *Philosophy East & West* 15, 1965: 153-60. Schafer cites several writers who speculate about the existence and purpose of the Creator (the ‘Fashioner of Creatures’ in Schafer's terms), including Han Yu, Li Bai and Liu Zongyuan. See also Yuan Mei's 袁枚 (*zi* Zicai 子才, *hao* Jianzhai 簡齋; 1716-1798) opinion on the Creator's methods in his 1782 essay ‘Record of My Trip to Yellow Dragon Mountain’ 游黃龍山記, translated in Richard E. Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 403-5.

⁵⁰ 黟山三十六峰詳載圖經 The *Topographical Classic* records Yellow Mountain's ‘Thirty-six Peaks’ as follows: (1) Alchemists' 煉丹峰; (2) Heavenly Capital 天都峰; (3) Phoenix 青鸞峰; (4) Amethyst 紫石峰; (5) Alms Bowl 鉢盂峰; (6) Peach Blossom 桃花峰; (7) Cinnabar 朱砂峰; (8) Lion's 獅子峰; (9) Lotus Blossom 蓮花峰; (10) Stone Man 石人峰; (11) Amidst the Clouds 雲際峰; (12) Folding Screen 疊障峰; (13) Fu Qiu 浮丘峰 [Fu Qiu was reputed to have assisted the Yellow Emperor]; (14) Rong Cheng 容成峰 [Rong Cheng was another of the Yellow Emperor's assistants]; (15) Yellow Emperor 軒轅峰 [after the original name (*ming*) of the Emperor]; (16) Immortals 仙人峰; (17) Ascension 上昇峰; (18) Clear Pool 青潭峰; (19) Verdure 翠微峰; (21) Gazing at

settle on all of their names, while monks and shepherds are unable to point out all of their locations. Those peaks that are known, such as Heavenly Capital, Lotus Blossom, Alchemists' and Cinnabar, number no more than ten or so. Stone Man Peak has been mistaken for Old Man Peak, Cloud Gate Peak for Scissors Peak, Folding Screen Peak for Surpassing Lotus Peak, and then there is that tiny mound that has assumed the name of 'peak' - Start to Believe Peak. There is a poem by Li Bai titled 'On Seeing Wen the Recluse Back to Yellow Mountain's White Goose Peak',⁵¹ but today this peak is not listed as one of the Thirty-six. Those that are part of the Thirty-six Peaks are all at least seven hundred *ren* high, while the numerous other peaks that rise to only two or three hundred *ren* are not accorded this placement, and White Goose Peak may well be one of these others.⁵²

When Pumen and Master An fulfilled the destiny offered them in their vision by establishing the Mañjuśrī Cloister,⁵³ they gave the ridge behind Old Man Peak the name Three Outlooks Ridge. After this, those sites that had been given names – such as Illumination Crest, Heavenly Sea and Lions' Forest – became numerous, all taking their names in accordance with the wishes of the Mañjuśrī Cloister monks. After Pumen had established his

Immortals 望仙峰; (22) Ninth Dragon 九龍峰; (23) Sacred Spring 聖泉峰; (24) Stone Gate 石門峰; (25) Chess Rock 棋石峰; (26) Stone Pillar 石柱峰; (27) Cloud Gate 雲門峰; (28) Waterfall 布水峰; (29) Stone Bed 石床峰; (30) Rosy Cloud 丹霞峰; (31) Beyond the Clouds 雲外峰; (32) Pine Forest 松林峰; (33) Violet Cloud 紫雲峰; (34) Lotus 芙蓉峰; (35) Flying Dragon 飛龍峰, and (36) Precious Stone 采石峰. The *Huangshan zhi dingben*'s listing of the peaks agrees with that of the *Classic*, with the addition of Immortals' Capital 仙都峰 at number 20, strangely omitted from the earlier text.

⁵¹ 李太白有詩送溫處士歸黃山白鵝峰 The poem, 'On Seeing Wen the Recluse Back to his Former Residence [舊居 is omitted by Qian here] at Yellow Mountain's White Goose Peak', while not one of Li's major works, is still considered one of the most important poems in the literary history of Yellow Mountain. See Wang Qi 王琦 (1696-1774) ed., *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集 1761; (reprint; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 2: 770-73 (the poem is also included in the *Huangshan zhi dingben*, 367). Interestingly, Li refers in the poem to thirty-two peaks, rather than the now famous Thirty-six.

⁵² 李太白有詩送溫處士歸黃山白鵝峰今不在三十六峰之列蓋三十六峰皆高七百仞以上其外諸峰高二三百仞者不與焉白鵝峰或亦諸峰之一也 Wang Qi cites these lines, emended slightly, as part of his annotations to Li Bai's poem (see *Li Taibai quanji* 2: 770), but attributes them to Qian Baichuan 錢百川, a fascinating example of the effects of Qing censorship policies on literary criticism. The 1977 editor of the collection notes in the Publisher's Introduction 出版說明 that the first (1758) version of Wang's preface acknowledged that Qian Qianyi's commentaries on Du Fu's works had informed his own study of Li Bai's poetry, but that in the subsequent edition (1761), Qian's name had been removed (see Introduction 9-10). The attribution of Qian Qianyi's comments on Li Bai's Yellow Mountain poem to Qian Baichuan is most likely the product of an expedient alteration made during the production of the later edition of the text, on which the present Zhonghua shuju edition is based. Although many corrections were made to the text during the preparation of the 1977 edition, this erroneous attribution seems to have gone unnoticed.

⁵³ Master An 安公 is most likely a reference to Yu An 寓安 (original surname Yu 余, *ming* Guangji 廣寄; 1574-1621), the Zhejiang monk who arrived at Yellow Mountain in 1610 (see *Huangshan zhi dingben* 106).

monastery, the people of Huizhou began to use Yellow Mountain to seduce tourists, and the carriages now pass each other in an endless procession to and from the Mountain.⁵⁴ Wherever the tourists go every tree has a carved tablet, and every cliff face has been inscribed with a name.⁵⁵ The green peaks and the white rocks have suffered the grief of having their skin stripped and faces branded,⁵⁶ and indeed, in the future even the Thirty-six Peaks will lose the ability to protect their former selves.⁵⁷

The crests of Yellow Mountain are referred to as ‘seas’, and the *li* or so from Level with Heaven Promontory around to Alchemists’ Peak is called Sea Gate. Illumination Crest is called the Anterior Sea, and Lions’ Forest the Posterior Sea, stretching for perhaps several *li* in area. If it were the height and sheerness of this Mountain that caused its lowlands to be called ‘seas’, then would not the top of Splendour Mountain, “enclosed by high cliffs, one stunning ridge rising above the last,”⁵⁸ be called ‘Splendour Sea’? Or if it were the rising vapours, filling the eyes with waves of cloud that have been called a ‘sea’, then would not the cloud at Mount Supreme, “pounding the rocks and rising, pressing together in a tiny mass”⁵⁹ be called the ‘Supreme

⁵⁴ 普門開山之後徽人以黃山媚客輶車輜軒至止相望 Min Linsi omits Qian’s clause about the ‘seduction’ of tourists (徽人以黃山媚客), a somewhat unflattering description that the editor understandably felt inapposite to the purpose of his gazetteer.

⁵⁵ For a list of the inscriptions on Yellow Mountain, some of which are no longer extant, see *Huangshan zhi* [1988] 107-25.

⁵⁶ 青峰白石有剝膚黥面之憂 Qian borrows here from Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (*zi* Zhonglang 中郎; 1568-1610), who opines, in a 1597 essay on Cloud-Level Mountain (Qiyunshan 齊雲山): “The Buddha speaks of every evil deed receiving retribution....What crimes have the green hills and the white rocks committed, that their faces are branded and their skin slashed 青山白石有何罪過無故黥其面裂其膚? The practice is truly inhumane.” See Qian Bocheng 錢伯城 ed., *Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao* 袁宏道集箋校 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981) 1: 457-59. 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 collected works is replete with poems written on walls 題壁. See Zeitlin, ‘Disappearing Verses: Writing on Walls and Anxieties of Loss’ in Zeitlin & Lydia H. Liu eds., *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003) 73-132.

⁵⁷ By 1743 the Nanjing scholar and official Fang Bao 方苞 (1668-1749) was able to write that of all the mountains he had visited, only Geese Pond Mountain had preserved its “ancient appearance” 太古之容色 by escaping inscription (‘You Yandang ji’ 遊雁蕩記 in *Fang Wangxi xiansheng quanji* 方望溪先生全集 [Shanghai: SBCK edition] 1: 211). This essay is translated in Strassberg’s *Inscribed Landscapes* 400-1.

⁵⁸ 華山之頂高巖四合重嶺秀起 A direct quote from the ‘Record of Splendour Mountain’ 華山記, an otherwise unknown work cited in *juan 7* of the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 [A *Categorised Collection of Literary Writing*], compiled by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 around the year 620. See Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹 ed., *Yiwen leiju* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982) 1: 132.

⁵⁹ 泰山之雲觸石而出膚寸而合 Another direct quote, this time taken from *juan 5* (僖公三十有一年) of the *Gongyang Commentary* 公羊傳 on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*: “Pounding the rocks and rising, pressing together in a tiny mass 觸石而出膚寸而合, and raining down on the world before the day is out; it can only be [the clouds of] Mount Supreme.” See He Xiu’s 何休 (129-182 CE) *Chunqiu Gongyang jingzhuan jiegou* 春秋公羊經傳解詁, (Shanghai: SBCK edition) 47. The phrase also appears in *juan 13* of the

Sea'? To call a mountain a sea, and to call a sea yellow, are errors that have no canonical basis. These should be excised from all texts, so that the spirit of Yellow Mountain may be cleansed through.

Ever since it was recorded in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* and in the *Classic of Waterways*⁶⁰ that Three Heavenly Sons Screen is also called Three Heavenly Sons Capital,⁶¹ the compilers of the gazetteers have held many varied and conflicting views.⁶² There was one commentator who made sense of it all by saying that “Leading Mountain acts as the head, Sable Mountain acts as the spine, and Great Screen Mountain acts as the rump”,⁶³ and this, indeed, is how it appears. Wu Shixian, an old man from Xin'an, says: “The highest peak of Yellow Mountain is called Three Heavenly Sons Capital, and in every direction it is protected by a screen. In the Wu District of Zhejiang there is a Three Heavenly Sons Screen, which is the southern screen. Hermitage Mountain is also called Three Heavenly Sons Screen, so this is the western screen. In Jixi County there is Great Screen, which is the northeast screen. So Heavenly Capital acts as the capital for the sons of Heaven, while Leading Mountain, Hermitage Mountain and Great Screen act

Daoist classic *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (see *Huainanzi yizhu* 淮南子譯注, edited by Chen Guangzhong 陳廣忠 [Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1990] 661).

⁶⁰ Li Yimang's punctuation (《山海經·水經》) is slightly misleading here, suggesting that the *Classic of Waterways* 水經 is a chapter of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經. These are, of course, two distinct texts. For English translations of the latter, see Anne Birrell trans., *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1999) and Richard E. Strassberg trans., *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways Through Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

⁶¹ 自山海經水經紀三天子鄩亦曰三天子都 The relevant passage in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* occurs in the 'Eastern Regions Within the Seas' 海內東經 chapter, and reads: “The River Lu 廬 comes out of Three Sons of Heaven Capital 三天子都 and enters the Yangtze west of Peng Marsh 彭澤. One author says that [Three Sons of Heaven Capital] is [Three] Sons of Heaven Screen 一曰天子鄩.” (see Yuan Ke 袁珂 ed., *Shanhaijing jiaozhu* 山海經校注 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1980) 332). The *Classic of Waterways* records the following entry: “The waters of the River Lu 廬 come out of Three Sons of Heaven Capital 三天子都, flow north through the west of Peng Marsh County 彭澤縣, and continue north into the Yangtze,” while Li Daoyuan's 酈道元 (*zi* Shanchang 善長; d. 527) annotation in the *Commentary on the Classic of Waterways* 水經注 cites the relevant passage (above) from the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (See Tan Shuchun 譚屬春 & Chen Aiping 陳愛平 eds., *Shuijing zhu* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995) 575). On the separation of text and commentary in the *Classic* (a work not independently extant), see Hu Shih's 'A Note on Ch'üan Tsu-wang, Chao I-ch'ing and Tai Chên: A Study of Independent Convergence of Research as Illustrated in Their Works on the *Shui-ching chu*' in *ECCP* 970-82.

⁶² 地志家紛紛聚訟 For a sense of the scholarly reaction to this passage by various annotators of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, see the Yuan Ke edition of the text 268, 332-34, 458-59.

⁶³ 有疏通之者曰率山為首黟山為背大鄩為尻 The commentary referred to here is unknown to me, but resembles in theme an essay written in the early sixteenth century by Wang Xun 汪循, in which these three mountains are identified as being of the same branch. See 'You Shuaishan ji' 遊率山記 in Lao Yi'an 勞亦安 ed., *Gujin youji congchao* 古今遊記叢鈔 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) 3: 26-29.

as that capital's screens. This is what was meant by the commentaries of both Bo Yi and Sang Qin,⁶⁴ and by the historical anecdotes of Sable Mountain.”

Wu Shixian is indeed the most extraordinary of men.⁶⁵ He dwells in a little four-walled⁶⁶ nest of books,⁶⁷ and when he sees a wealthy man from Xi'nan,⁶⁸ he spits in his face and sends him off.⁶⁹ I was but a traveller in

⁶⁴ 此伯益桑欽之疏義 Authorship of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* was traditionally ascribed to Yu 禹 (traditionally r. 1989-1981 BCE) and his assistant Yi 益 (fl. c. 2000 BCE; later usually Bo Yi 伯益 as Qian has it here, the term *Bo* 伯 probably originally being meant as a title), after this view was put forward by the Han editor of the text, Liu Xiu 劉秀 (Liu Xin 劉歆; 53 BCE – 23 CE). Bo Yi is a somewhat problematic figure in Chinese mythology, problematic because he seems to have become at some point a fusion of at least two different mythological figures, for a discussion of which see Anne Birrell's *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993) 58-59, and the brief note in James Legge's translation of the *Shujing* 書經 in his *The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 3 (1): 46. For a more extensive treatment of the authorship of the text, see Birrell's *Mountains and Seas* xxxviii-xlii, and Strassberg's *Chinese Bestiary* 3-13. The Han scholar Sang Qin 桑欽 (zi Junchang 君長) was traditionally considered to be the author of the *Classic of Waterways*, although the work is now more often listed as 'author unknown', after Qing critics raised doubts as to Sang's involvement.

⁶⁵ 時憲振奇人也 Probably an allusion to the 'Heaven and Earth' 天地 chapter of the *Zhong shuo* 中說, a work apparently compiled by the disciples of Wang Tong 王通 (zi Zhongyan 仲淹, posthumous hao Wenzhongzi 文中子; 580-617): "Someone asked about Yang Xiong 揚雄 and Zhang Heng 張衡. The Master [Wang Tong] said: 'They were the extraordinary men of ancient times 古之振奇人也. Their thought was exhaustive and their speech was deliberate.'" See Zheng Chunying 鄭春穎 ed., *Wenzhongzi Zhong shuo yizhu* 文中子中說譯注 (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2002) 42.

⁶⁶ 所居環堵 A reference to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (庚桑楚 chapter), which reads: "[Master Gengsang said:] I have heard that the Perfect Man dwells corpse-like in his little four-walled room 尸居環堵之室, leaving the hundred clans to their uncouth and uncaring ways, not knowing where they are going, where they are headed." See Burton Watson trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968) 248-49. The phrase came to be synonymous with the poor but virtuous scholar, most famously used by Tao Qian 陶潛 (original ming Yuanming 淵明, zi Yuanliang 元亮; 365-427) in his 'Biography of the Master of the Five Willows' 五柳先生傳: "the walls of his bare rooms 環堵蕭然 had ceased to shelter him from wind and sun." See Tan Shilin trans., *The Complete Works of Tao Yuanming* (Taipei: Bookman Books Ltd., 1993) 134.

⁶⁷ 巢書 An allusion to Lu You's 陸游 (zi Wuguan 務觀, hao Fangweng 放翁; 1125-1210) "book-nest" 書巢, described by Lu in his essay 'Record of the Book-nest' 書巢記: "Within [my room], whether set out on shelves, ranged in front of them, or propped on the bed, whichever way you look, it's all books. Whether I'm eating, drinking, moving about or in repose, even moaning in illness or sighing with depression, I'm always amongst my books. No guests or visitors reach me, my wife and children see nothing of me; I'm even unaware of the variations in wind and rain, or thunder and hail. And when, in the midst of all this, I want to get up I'm surrounded by a wild disorder of books, like piles of dry twigs, to such an extent that I can't go anywhere. Then I always laugh at myself and say: "Isn't this what I'd call 'a nest'?" See Philip Watson trans., 'Prose Writings of Lu You' in *Renditions* 62 (2004): 7-23 (10).

⁶⁸ Xi'nan 溪南 and Xin'an 新安 were two distinct districts of old Huizhou.

Xin'an, and yet the people of Xin'an did not know this man's name. It is for this reason that I have chosen to use Shixian's words to complete my record of Yellow Mountain.

⁶⁹ 見溪南富人則唾面去之 Again, Min Linsi felt it necessary to remove this fact from his version of the text. The Li Yimang text, rather curiously, has been emended to read: "...and he doesn't like seeing wealthy men 不喜見富人." The most famous articulation of concerns about the wealthy merchants of Huizhou had come, of course, from Zhang Tao 張濤 (*jinshi* 1586), author of the *She County Gazetteer* 歙縣志 of 1609, in which he lamented (in Brook's translation): "One man in a hundred is rich, while nine out of ten are impoverished. The poor cannot stand up to the rich who, though few in number, are able to control the majority. The lord of silver rules heaven and the god of copper cash reigns over the earth. Avarice is without limit, flesh injures bone, everything is for personal pleasure, and nothing can be let slip. In dealings with others, everything is recompensed down to the last hair. The demons of treachery stalk." See Brook's *Confusions of Pleasure* 238-39. The original essay is reprinted in the 1995 edition of the *Gazetteer* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju) 798.