
Yáng Shèn's 'Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains'

An Annotated Translation of 杨慎's 《游点苍山记》

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The Yúnnán Papers

This text is part of a series of translations of historical Chinese texts concerning Yúnnán.

This series does not aim to present any new research but to allow an English-speaking audience to better understand Yúnnán's history and culture through original texts. The texts are heavily annotated, giving geographical, historical and cultural background information and references to contemporary academic discussions.

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1 Introduction

The ‘*Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains*’ 《游点苍山记》⁽¹⁾ is a little-known text by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, *1488–†1557, the prodigious, influential and also eccentric⁽²⁾ Míng dynasty literatus banished to Yúnnán in 1524 CE. Also known by his *sobriquet* Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵, he lived and travelled in the province for the remainder of his life⁽³⁾ and became part of a community of local Míng-educated scholar-officials who had begun to take an interest in Yúnnán’s history and geography. Over more than thirty years, he produced a wealth of writings on the province, while also pursuing his interests in philology and poetry.⁽⁴⁾

The ‘*Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains*’ 《游点苍山记》 recounts his trip in 1530 CE along the eastern side of the Diǎncāng Mountains 点苍山, the high range west of Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海, then and now renowned for its temples and vistas. His companion on this forty-day excursion was Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳, a local scholar from Dàlǐ 大理, who would later compile the first gazetteer of the region, the ‘*Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlǐ*’ 《嘉靖大理府志》, published in 1563 CE.⁽⁵⁾ The two had met in 1528 CE and formed a close friendship, resulting in many joyous trips together.⁽⁶⁾

With its focus on the area’s temples and scenic spots – many of which were later included in Lǐ Yuányáng’s 1563 CE ‘*Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlǐ*’ 《嘉靖大理府志》 under the subtitle ‘*Ten Vistas of Yēyú*’ 《叶榆十观》 – the ‘*Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains*’ 《游点苍山记》 may be considered the earliest known travelogue of Dàlǐ. With the many personal details of their trip, including discussions on seemingly esoteric topics and their aspiration to settle as farmers on a small island, the text reveals intriguing aspects of life as literati in the hinterlands of 16th-century China.

2 About this Translation

I became aware of this text through a mention in Ward (2001).

The text is included in the Qīng dynasty ‘*Complete Classics Collection of Ancient China*’ 《古今图书集

⁽¹⁾ Pidhainy (2005) translates the title as ‘Record of Roaming upon Diancang Mountain’.

⁽²⁾ i.e. see the late Míng painting called ‘*Shēngān Wearing Flowers in His Hair*’ 《升庵簪花图》 in illustration 1, the commentary on the image in Yi Lidu (2011), and also Pidhainy (2011).

⁽³⁾ While he was exiled to Yǒngchāng 永昌, today’s Bǎoshān 保山, then a truly remote outpost of the Chinese empire, he actually lived most of the time near Kūnmíng.

⁽⁴⁾ For biographical details, see Schorr (1993) in English and Fēng Jiāhuá 丰家骅 (1998) in Chinese. His works are collected in Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002), his biography is in the ‘*Míng History*’ 《明史》第一百九十二卷. A table listing his travels in Yúnnán can be found in Jiǎng Qián 蒋乾 (2015). Particularly in his home province Sìchuān 四川 and in Yúnnán he later became a folk legend, immortalized abundant stories about his life, some of which are collected in China Folk Literature and Art Research Association (Sichuan Branch) (1986), Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (1982), and Liú Xiānjué 刘先觉 (2015); a summary of these stories in English can be found in Hu (2019).

⁽⁵⁾ In fact, Yáng Shèn had been involved in the compilation of an earlier, lost, version, of the gazetteer, which Lǐ Yuányáng recompiled after the death of his local collaborators, see Wright (2019), pp. 84–85.

⁽⁶⁾ On the two men’s relationship and their travels, see Liú Huiliàng 刘辉亮 (2015), for some more details about this particular trip, see Fēng Jiāhuá 丰家骅 (1998), pp. 91–94.



Illustration 1:

Painting by Chén Hóngshòu 陈洪绶 called 'Shēngān Wearing Flowers in His Hair' 《升庵簪花图》

Source: [https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/File: 升庵簪花图.jpg](https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/File:升庵簪花图.jpg)

成》, see illustration 2,⁽⁷⁾ and in Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵's collected works.⁽⁸⁾ The text is also available online.⁽⁹⁾

Pidhainy mentions that the text has been included in many Chinese travel anthologies, such as Ní Qíxīn 倪其心 (1985), vol. 2, pp. 109–121 (this edition provides annotations and commentary), Ní Zhìyún 倪志云 (1996), vol. 2, pp. 1321–1324, and Zhāng Chéngdé 张成德 (2002), pp. 438–447.⁽¹⁰⁾

After completion of my translation I became aware that some parts of this text are discussed and also translated in Pidhainy (2005). That text also mentions that Riemenschnitter (1998) translated the text into German, however, I have not been able to find a copy of this text.

Note on calendrical calculations: I have translated the dates given in the text into the Julian Calendar as the Gregorian Calendar was not yet in use. This is also the convention used in Hsueh and Ouyang (1940).

⁽⁷⁾ From the 'Complete Classics Collection of Ancient China' 《古今图书集成》《方輿彙編·山川典》第一百九十五卷, for a reproduction see <https://ctext.org/library.pl?file=91584&page=110> (accessed 29th May 2024) and <https://ctext.org/library.pl?file=91584&page=1725> (accessed 29th May 2024). Another copy, from a different source, with digitization, is available at <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:古今图书集成卷之九百九十五.djvu/28> (accessed 29th May 2024).

⁽⁸⁾ in Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002), vol. 4, pp. 65–68.

⁽⁹⁾ <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%B8%B8%E7%82%B9%E8%8B%8D%E5%B1%B1%E8%AE%B0/6181623>. This text has many annotations of unknown provenance, which have greatly assisted this translation.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Pidhainy (2005), p. 206.

3 Annotated Translation

The text begins with Yáng Shèn recounting his passage through a great number of famous Chinese scenic spots on his journey into exile.⁽¹¹⁾ He confesses to being bored by natural beauty until he entered the lands of Yèyú 牒榆 – i.e. the Dàlǐ 大理 plain nestled between the Diǎncāng Mountains 点苍山 mountains to the west and Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 to the east.⁽¹²⁾

游点苍山记

自余为僇人，所历道途，万有余里，齐、鲁、楚、越之间号称名山水者，无不游。已乃泛洞庭，逾衡、庐，出夜郎，道碧鸡而西也。其余山水，盖饫闻而厌见矣。

及至牒榆之境，一望点苍，不觉神爽飞越。比入龙尾关，且行且玩，山则苍龙叠翠，海则半月拖蓝，城郭奠山海之间，楼阁出烟云之上，香风满道，芳气袭人。余时如醉而醒，如梦而觉，如久卧而起作，然后知吾曩者之未尝见山水，而见自今始。

'Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains'

Since I have been dishonoured, I have been on the road, travelling for ten thousand *lǐ*. Of the famous mountains and rivers in Qí, Lǚ, Chǔ, and Yuè – there is none I have not visited. I have drifted on Dòngtíng lake, crossed over Héng and Lú, emerged from Yèláng, took the road to Bìjī and went west from there. Of mountains and rivers – I have heard enough and I am bored of seeing them.

But when I entered the borders of Yèyú, as soon as I saw Diǎncāng in the distance – my spirits soared. I entered Dragon Tail Gate, I walked and wondered, the mountains a green dragon of folded jade, the lake a crescent of sweeping blue, the town set between the mountains and the lake, its towers and pavilions rising above the mist and clouds, fragrant winds filling the alleys, startling my senses. I felt like stirring from a drunken stupor, like waking from a dream, like rising from a long time in bed and setting out for work. Then I realized that I had never seen mountains and rivers before and only began to see them now.

游点苍山记 5

游点苍山记 10

游点苍山记 15

This introduction to the text has also been translated by Julian Ward, for comparison:

r2: Since I have been dishonoured] Yáng Shèn 杨慎 was son of Yáng Tíng hé 杨廷和, a high court official, who got embroiled in a controversy over rituals at the beginning of Jiājìng 嘉靖 period, the so-called *Great Ritual Controversy* 大礼议. Yáng Shèn, then a prodigious scholar who had come first in the imperial examinations and received the *Jinshì* 进士 degree in 1511 CE, took part in protests in 1524 CE, for which he was severely flogged and then banished to Yǒngchāng 永昌 in 1524 CE, see Schorr (1993), pp. 92–94. This first part of the text refers to his journey into exile.

r3: Qí] referring to present-day Shāndōng 山东.

r3: Lǚ] referring to present-day Héběi 河北.

r4: Chǔ] referring to present-day Húběi 湖北.

r4: Yuè] referring to present-day Zhèjiāng 浙江.

r5: Dòngtíng lake] i.e. Dòngtíng lake 洞庭湖 in Húnán 湖南.

r5: Héng] Mount Héng 衡山 in Húnán 湖南.

r5: Lú] Mount Lú in Jiāngxī 江西.

r5: Yèláng] eastern Guìzhōu 贵州, a term used since the *'Records of the Historian'* 《史记》.

r6: Bìjī] Jade Chicken Mountain 碧鸡山 west of Kūnmíng 昆明市.

r8: Diǎncāng] Diǎncāng Mountains 点苍山, the mountain range west of the Dàlǐ 大理 plain.

r9: Dragon Tail Gate] fortification at the southern end of the Dàlǐ plain.

⁽¹¹⁾ His exact route into exile is known from his *'Records of a Journey to Diān'* 《滇程记》, where he also records his suffering along the route, see Pidhainy (2008).

⁽¹²⁾ The term Yèyú 牒榆 first appears in the *'Records of the Historian'* 《史记》 and is later often used as a poetic label for the region.

Since my banishment, I have journeyed over ten thousand *li*, through all the renowned scenery of [the regions of] Qi, Lu, Chu and Yue. I had already crossed [Lake] Dongting, passed over [Mounts] Heng and Lu and left Yelang, before my route took me past [Mount] and on to the west, and I had heard about and seen a surfeit of hills and streams. However, when I arrived in the region of Yeyu and could see [Mount] Diancang, my spirits soared almost without my being aware of any change. By the time I entered Longweiguan, every step was pleasurable: the mountain was a green dragon with folds of azure, the lake a crescent moonshaped slice of deep blue, while, in between, lay the town, its towers and pavilions rising up above the smoky clouds, its roads filled with fragrant balmy breezes which assailed the passer-by. I felt as if I had roused myself from drunkenness or awoken from a dream, as if I had suddenly arisen after lying down a long time. It was only later I realised that formerly I had not appreciated scenery, only starting to do so from this day. (Ward (2001), p. 15, Chinese characters omitted)

It has also been translated by Ihor Pidhainy in his dissertation:

Since I have become a criminal, the roads that I have travelled have exceeded 10,000 *li* and there has not been a mountain or stream of renown in all of Qi, Lu, Chu and Yue that I have not traveled to. I have floated upon Dongting Lake, crossed the mountains of Heng and Lu, traversed the former territories of Yelang, walked upon Biji Mountain and gone further west. As to mountains and streams, my ears have heard their fill and my eyes been sated with their sights. However, arriving in the district of Yeyu and first gazing upon Diancang Mountain, my spirit took flight. Entering Longwei (Dragon Tail) Pass, I mixed traveling with enjoyment. The mountain was a black dragon in layers of greenish blue; the lake was a half-moon covered in blue; the city gates were fixed between mountain and lake; towers and pavilions jutted out above mist and clouds; a fragrant air filled the road, its perfumed essence attacked us. It was as if I were drunk yet sober; in a dream, yet awake; as if I had been long lying down and now suddenly starting to act. Finally I realized that never before had I seen mountains and streams —and only from this day on was I beginning to see them. (Pidhainy (2005), p. 207, Chinese characters omitted)

His companion on the trip in 9th year of emperor Jiājìng 嘉靖's, i.e. 1530 CE, was Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳, here referred to by his *sobriquet* Zhōngxī 中溪, a local scholar who later compiled the first gazetteer for the region, the *Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlǐ* 《嘉靖大理府志》, which was published in 1563 CE.

嘉靖庚寅，约同中溪李公为点苍之游。

In Jiājìng's *gēngyín* year, I made arrangements for a trip to Diǎncāng with Zhōngxī Lǐ.

The first day takes them to Dragon Tail Gate 龙尾关, a historic fortress at the southern end of Ěrhǎi where the Xiě River 西洱河 flows out of the lake and then through a natural arch called Tiānshēng

r18: In Jiājìng's *gēngyín* year] In emperor Jiājìng 嘉靖's 9th reign year, i.e. 1530 CE, see Hsueh and Ouyang (1940), vol. 3, p. 306.

r19: Zhōngxī Lǐ] Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳's *sobriquet* 号 was Zhōngxī.

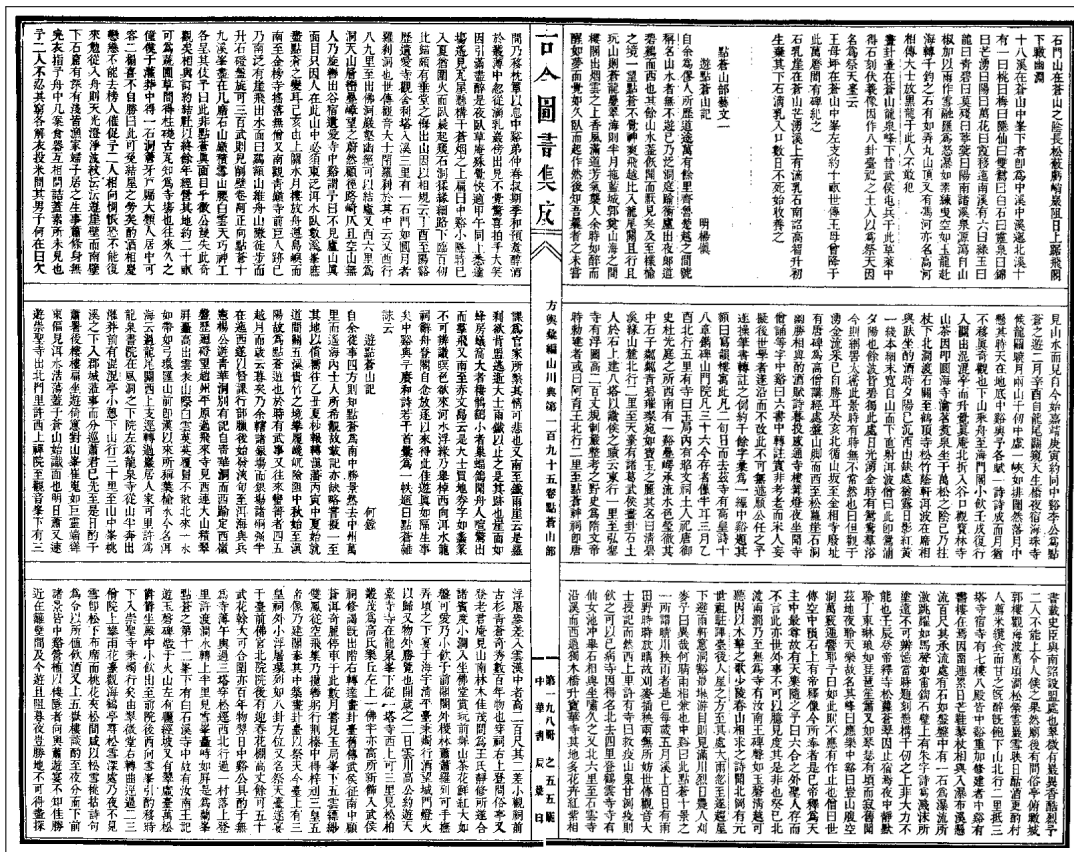


Illustration 2:
The 《游点苍山記》 in the 《古今圖書集成》

Source: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=91584&page=110>.

bridge 天生桥, i.e. 'natural bridge'. They spent the night at Hǎizhū temple 海珠寺, ⁽¹³⁾ which must have been to the southwest, along the Xiě River, to look at the moon setting in the morning ⁽¹⁴⁾ – one of the 'Ten Vistas of Yèyú' 《叶榆十观》. These scenic spots were listed by Yáng Shèn's companion on this trip, Lǐ Yuányáng, in his 'Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlì' 《嘉靖大理府志》, where this vista is called *tiānqiáo xiányuè* 天桥脚月. ⁽¹⁵⁾

二月辛酉，自龙尾关窥天生桥，夜宿海珠寺，候龙关晓月。两山千仞， | In the 2nd month on *xīnyǒu*, from Dragon Tail Gate we glimpsed at Tiansheng bridge and spent the night at Hǎizhū temple wait-

游点苍山记 20

r 20: In the 2nd month on *xīnyǒu*] 27th February 1530 – *xīnyǒu* in that month and year would have been the day before the new moon (actually 农历正月三十, the day before the beginning of the second lunar month, see Hsueh and Ouyang (1940), p. 306 in conjunction with table 18), but as they describe seeing the moon in the morning between the mountains, this is not possible as the waning moon would have been rising over Lake Ērhǎi in the morning.

r 21: Hǎizhū temple] I am not aware of a temple of this name, it could be a literary allusion to a poem of that name by Lǐ Zhēn 李贞.

⁽¹³⁾ I have not been able to find any mention of this temple outside this account.

⁽¹⁴⁾ so looking west, with the moon setting behind the mountains.

⁽¹⁵⁾ see Wright (2019), p. 186.



Illustration 3:
Map of Dàlǐ in the Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳's 《嘉靖大理府志》

Source: Yáng Shiyù 杨世钰 (2007), vol. 4.

中虚一峡，如排闥然。落月是悬，其
时天在地底。中溪与予各赋一诗。诗
成，而月犹不移，真奇观也。

下山乘舟至海门阁小饮。

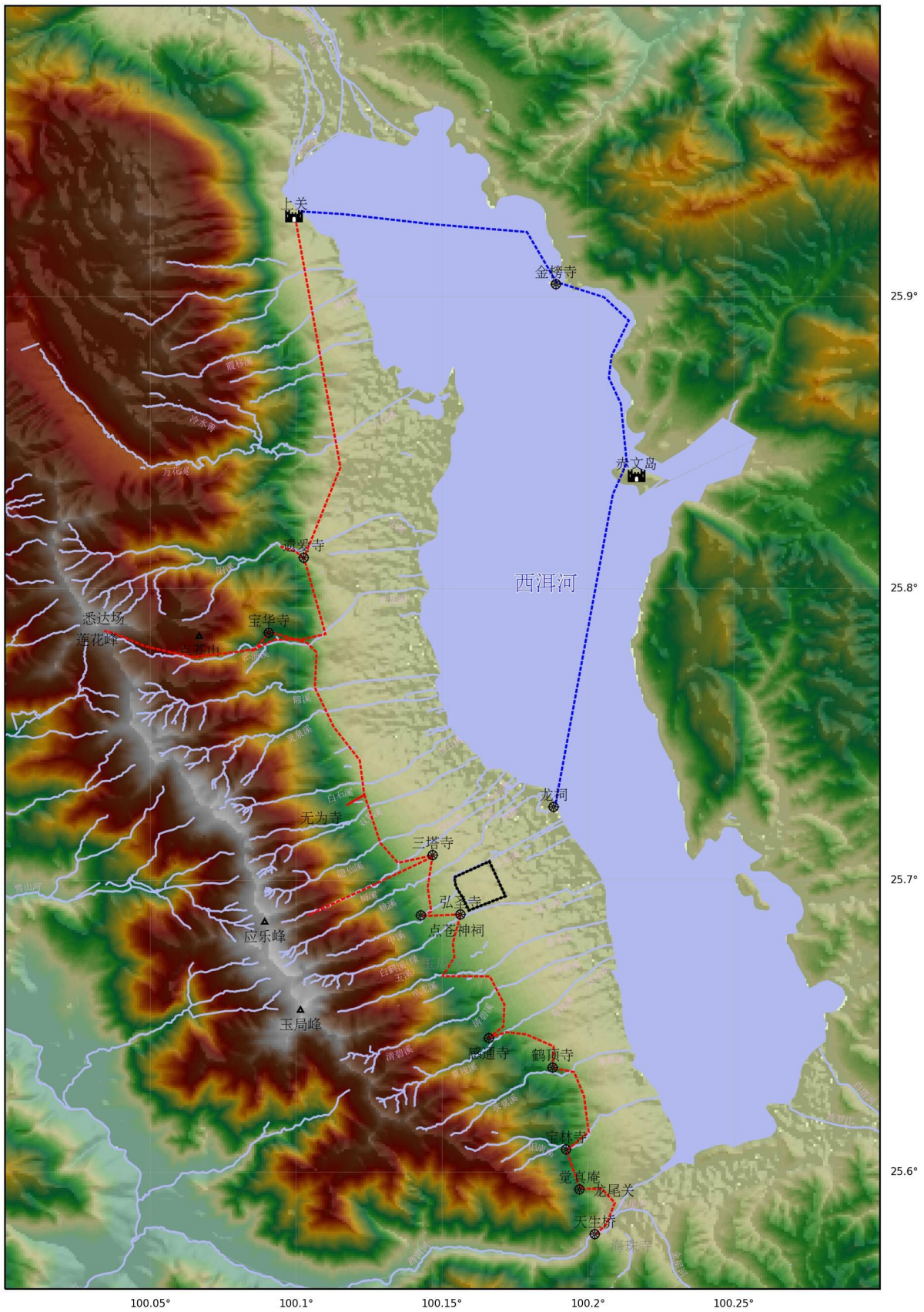
ing for **the morning moon at dragon gate**. The mountains rising a
thousand *rèn*, in their empty midst a gorge like a door ajar. The set-
ting moon suspended, the sky reflected in the water. Zhōngxī and I
each wrote a poem. Our verses completed, but the moon steadfast,
truly a marvellous spectacle.

We descended the mountain and boarded a boat **for a small drink**
at a pavillion at the lake's gate.

The next day, they returned through the gate, walking uphill towards a temple complex which is now known as the General's Cave or Jiāngjūn Dòng 将军洞. Behind it was Juézhēn temple 觉真庵, a retreat that another local scholar, Zhào Xuěpíng 赵雪屏, had sponsored – a plaque bearing its name remains. From there they turned to Bǎolín temple 宝林寺, a temple north at roughly the same altitude as Juézhēn temple, separated by some gullies but then apparently with a path joining

r22: the morning moon at dragon gate] dragon gate is Dragon Tail Gate 龙尾关 referred to earlier, the expression Lóngguān Xiǎoyuè 龙关晓月 is one of scenic spots.

r27: for a small drink] Yáng Shèn 杨慎 had an – apparently not entirely undeserved – reputation for drinking, see Pidhainy (2011).



Map 1:

Yáng Shèn's Route through the Diāncāng Mountains

This map was produced with open source software with publicly available data, including some map data from OpenStreetMap. The boundaries of Ērhǎi have been changed a little to reflect that the lake was considerably larger in the 16th century.

the two temples. They passed Yuánhǎi temple 圓海寺, which does not exist anymore, and, further north, Hèdǐng temple 鶴頂寺, a temple above Tàihé 太和, the first capital of Nánzhào 南詔.

壬戌，复行入关，由混混亭而升觉真庵，北折入谷口，观宝林寺山茶。因叩圆海寺，瀹茗煮泉，坐于万松之阴。

游点苍山记 30

已乃拄杖而下北涧，渡石关，至鹤顶寺，松林荫轩，洱波在席，相与趺坐酌酒，时夕阳已沉西，山缺处犹露日影，红黄一线，本线未宽，自山而下，直射洱波。

游点苍山记 35

僧曰：「此即鸳浦夕阳也。余波皆碧，独此处日光涌金，有鸳鸯群浴。今则网罟大密，此景时有时无，不常然也。」

游点苍山记 45

曰：「但观于涌金流采，已自胜耳。」

On *rénxū*, we returned to enter the gate, and from Hùnhùn pavilion ascended to Juézhēn temple, turning north into the mouth of a gorge so see the camellias at Bǎolín temple. We knocked on Yuánhǎi temple, making tea with its waters, sitting in the shade of the pine trees.

Then we took our staffs and walked down the northern stream, crossed a stone bridge, and arrived at Hèdǐng temple in a shady patch of pine forest with the waves of Ěrhǎi below, sitting together in contemplation sipping wine. The evening sun was already sinking in the west, gaps in the mountain revealing red and yellow rays of light, first thin, then wider, from the mountains down shining on the waves of Ěrhǎi.

A monk said: 'This is the [vista called] mandarin ducks on the riverside in the setting sun. The waves are blue, but where the sun illuminates them golden, with flocks of ducks bathing. Nowadays, the nets are densely spread, so this scene now rarely appears.'

I said: 'Just observing this golden flow is already a splendid vista.'

The next day, they went up to the ruins of Jīnxiāng temple 金相寺⁽¹⁶⁾ and later arrived at Gǎntōng temple 感通寺, a large temple dating back to the Nánzhào 南詔 period and an important temple even today. There they would remain for twenty days.

癸亥，北循山坂，至金相寺废址，有唐碑，为高僧讲经处。盘山脚而西，至松萝崖，石洞幽胜，相与酌酒赋诗。

On *guìhài*, we climbed the mountain slope to the north to the ruins of Jīnxiāng temple, there was a stele from the Táng where an important monk had recited the sutras. We twisted around the foot of the mountains to the west, and arrived a lichen-covered cliff with a secluded cave, had some wine and composed poems.

The passage that follows highlights Yáng Shèn's interest in philology⁽¹⁷⁾ as the two companions

r 29: On *rénxū*] 28th February 1530.

r 41: vista called] I think what the monk refers to is another vista, but it is not included in the 'Ten Vistas of Yēyú' 《叶榆十观》. Note 27 in Ní Qíxīn 倪其心 (1985), p. 111 also suggests that it refers to a vista.

r 46: On *guìhài*] 1st March 1530.

⁽¹⁶⁾ No records of a temple of this name seem to exist.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Yáng Shèn's interest in philology extended to the names of fish: in his 'Commented Atlas of Strange Fish' 《异鱼图赞》 he commented on the writing of a fish found in Ěrhǎi, the gōng yú 弓鱼 or 'bow fish', which is sometimes miswritten as gōng yú 公鱼, meaning 'male fish', writing: 「西洱弓鱼三寸其谁书以公音是字谬又晒多子亦孔之羞 [弓鱼见鱼谱今误作公滇中俗谚既误作公鱼而怪其有子遂缀为谑语云大理公鱼皆有子云南和尚岂无儿]」- 'Ěrhǎi bow fish - three cùn in size. Who writes it as gōng has the right sound, but the wrong character. It mocks many children which is an insult to Confucius. [The bow fish appears in fish compendiums today mistakenly written as "male". There is a saying in Yúnnán as it is mistakenly written as "male fish", it is strange that it has offspring. This has been turned into a jest saying, "All the male fish in Dali have offspring - how come the monks in Yúnnán do not have children?"]' I came across this passage in Schorr (1993), p. 122.

discuss the classification of Chinese characters into six types (*liùshū* 六书) and particularly the *zhuǎnzhù* 转注 type, a term that can maybe be translated as *mutually explanatory signs*.⁽¹⁸⁾

暮投感通寺楼，篝灯夜坐，闻寺僧诵等字。

中溪曰：「六书中转注实非‘考老’，而宋人亡拟。后世学者遂沿而不改。此不可无述，愿公任之。」

予遂操笔书转注之例约千余字，汇成一编。

中溪题其额曰《写韵楼》。寓此凡二旬日而去。

In the evening we took refuge at Gǎntōng temple, sitting in the light of a lantern at night, listening to the temple's monks reciting rhyme charts.

Zhōngxī said: 'In the six principles it is stated whether or not *kǎo* and *lǎo* are *zhuǎnzhù*, the Sòng scholars forgot about it. Later scholars followed them without change. This must not go unmentioned, I hope you will take on this task.'

I then took up my pen to write a list of more than one thousand *zhuǎnzhù*, compiling them into a book.

Zhōngxī suggested 'Tower of Written Rhymes' as its title. We stayed for twenty days before leaving.

游点苍山记 55

游点苍山记 60

The position Yáng Shèn took here regarding the classification of characters is explained by Schorr (1993):

Yang intimates that the ancients should be approached via the scholarship of the Han dynasty, the forgotten roots of Song Confucian learning. Yang makes the argument that one must rely on Han classical commentators since they were closer in time to Confucius. (Schorr (1993), p. 100)

Schorr then refers to another text by Yáng Shèn, called 《日中星鸟》，where he elucidated his position.

r52–53: reciting rhyme charts] The expression *děngyùn* 等韵 refers to a classification of sounds in Chinese phonology, see Ní Qíxīn 倪其心 (1985), p. 112 and also Pidhainy (2005), p. 68.

r54–55: In the six principles it is stated whether or not *kǎo* and *lǎo* are *zhuǎnzhù*] This refers to the introductory passage of the Hàn dynasty 'Writing and Meaning of Characters' 《说文解字》 where it introduces the six principles (*liùshū* 六书) of Chinese characters, introducing the fifth as: 「五曰转注。转注者，建类一首，同意相受，「考、老」是也。」 – 'The fifth is called *zhuǎnzhù* ("evolving and deriving"): as for the *zhuǎnzhù*, one establishes [graphs of] similar categories under one head, by the shared meanings they are mutually (connected =) related. The graphs 考 "deceased father" and 老 "aged" are such.' Translation by Qiú Xíguī 裘锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000), p. 152, who also notes that the term *zhuǎnzhù* 转注 is 'the murkiest', Qiú Xíguī 裘锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000), p. 156. For a discussion of the term, see there.


r59: compiling them into a book] Yáng Shèn 杨慎 wrote a book called 'Tracing the Hidden Meanings of the Six Kinds of Characters' 《六书索隐》，which is no longer extant, see Schorr (1993), but the book they are referring to in this discussion might be his 'Outline of Ancient Pronunciations of *zhuǎnzhù*' 《转注古音略》，which survives as part of the 'Complete Library of the Four Treasuries' 《四库全书》. Qiú Xíguī 裘锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000), p. 159 summarises Yáng Shèn's position on the *zhuǎnzhù* as 'a process involving the alterations of character readings to indicate other meanings.', noting that 'has absolutely nothing to do with the *zhuǎnzhù* as described in the *Shuōwén*'.

r60: Tower of Written Rhymes] Pidhainy (2005), p. 68 translates it as 'The Tower of Transcribing Sounds'.

⁽¹⁸⁾ There is no agreed translation as there is no agreement on what the term *zhuǎnzhù* 转注 means at all. Qiú Xíguī 裘锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000), p. 156 labels the term *zhuǎnzhù* 转注 as the 'murkiest', with its meaning controversial through the ages and concludes at the end of a presentation of the various theories that 'there is no need for us to be drawn into the endless arguments over the meaning of the term *zhuǎnzhù*'.

或问杨子曰：「子于诸经多取汉儒而不取宋儒，何哉？」

日中星鸟 65

答之曰：「宋儒言之精者，吾何尝不取？顾宋儒之失，在废汉儒而自用已见耳。吾试问汝，六经作于孔子汉世，去孔子未远，传之人虽劣，其说宜得其真。宋儒去孔子千五百年矣，虽其聪颖过人，安能一旦尽弃旧而独悟于心邪？六经之奥，譬之京师之富丽也，河南山东之人得其十之六七，若云南贵州之人得其十之一二而已，何也？远近之异也。以宋儒而非汉儒，譬云贵州之人不出里闾，坐谈京邑之制，而反非河南山东之人，其不为之贻笑者几希。然今之人安之不怪，则科举之累，先入之说，胶固而不可解也已。噫！」

日中星鸟 70

日中星鸟 75


Someone asked Yáng Zǐ, 'You often favour the interpretations of the classics by Hàn dynasty scholars over those by Sòng dynasty scholars. Why is that?'

His reply was, 'Why would I not adopt the refined thoughts of Sòng dynasty scholars? However, the flaw with Sòng scholars lies in their abandonment of Hàn teachings in favor of their own insights. Let me ask you, the *Six Classics* were formed during Confucius's time and the Hàn dynasty, not far removed from Confucius himself. Even if the transmitters were inferior, their explanations are likely to be authentic. The Sòng scholars are separated from Confucius by fifteen hundred years. No matter how intelligent they are, how could they possibly discard the old and uniquely comprehend the truth overnight? The profundity of the *Six Classics* is like the splendour of the capital: people from Hénán and Shāndōng could grasp about sixty to seventy percent of it. In contrast, those from Yúnnán and Guìzhōu might only grasp ten to twenty percent. Why is that? It's due to the difference in proximity. Preferring Sòng scholars over Hàn scholars is like people from Guìzhōu who never leave their local area but sit and discuss the policies of the capital, thereby ironically not respecting the people from Hénán and Shāndōng. Isn't it almost laughable? Yet, people today find nothing strange about this, and thus the entanglements of the imperial examination system and the adherence to prior interpretations remain unchallenged and insoluble. Alas!'

The entry for that day concludes with some details about Gǎntōng temple.

兹寺有高皇诗十八章镌碑山门。院凡三十六今存在仅半耳。

This temple has eighteen poems by **our founding emperor** carved into a stele at the mountain gate. In total there were thirty-six courtyards, **only half of them remain**.

l79: ] Source text: [https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%8D%87%E8%8F%B4%E9%9B%86_\(%E5%9B%9B%E5%BA%AB%E5%85%A8%E6%9B%B8%E6%9C%AC\)/%E5%8D%B742](https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%8D%87%E8%8F%B4%E9%9B%86_(%E5%9B%9B%E5%BA%AB%E5%85%A8%E6%9B%B8%E6%9C%AC)/%E5%8D%B742)

l86-87: 兹寺有高皇诗十八章镌碑山门。院凡三十六今存在仅半耳] This passage has different segmentations, this one follows the version in Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002), vol. 4, p. 66. But in Ní Qíxīn 倪其心 (1985), p. 110 the text is segmented as 「兹寺有高皇诗十八章，镌碑山门院，凡三十六今。存在仅半耳。」, which leads to a different meaning, that the eighteen poems were written on thirty-six steles, of which only half remain, see note 42 there. I have chosen this segmentation as there is a related passage in the '*Unofficial Gleanings of the Wànlì Era*' 《万历野获编》 on Gǎntōng temple 感通寺: 「佛堂之外有僧院三十六。...赐御制诗十八章」, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 5, p. 173. This suggests that the text refers to thirty-six halls of which only half remain.

r86: our founding emperor] i.e. the Míng dynasty founding emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng 朱元璋, better known as Míng emperor Hóngwǔ 明洪武.

r88: only half of them remain] Pidhainy (2005), p. 210 takes this as an implicit criticism by Yáng Shèn of the Míng dynasty that lacks strength.

They continue on northwards, crossing Qīngbì stream 清碧溪, to the north of which they encounter Yùjú temple 玉局寺.⁽¹⁹⁾ From there they travelled further north past Hóngshèng temple 弘圣寺 to Three Pagoda Temple 三塔寺, where they stayed for a few days.

An excursion from the temple went to a waterfall scenic spot that Lǐ Yuányáng later described in his ‘Ten Vistas of Yèyú’ 《叶榆十观》.

三月乙酉，北行五里，有寺曰玉局，内有昭文祠，土人祀唐御史杜光庭之所。

西南有一溪，叠嶂承流，水色莹澈，其中石子粼粼，青碧璀璨，宛如宝玉之丽，其名曰清碧溪。

缘山麓北行二里，至天台，有诸葛武侯画卦石，土人于上建八塔，以识侯之迹云。

东行一里，至弘圣寺，有浮图高二百丈，规制严整。考之野史，为隋文

On *yǐyǒu* in the 3rd month, we travelled north for five *lǐ* to a temple called Yùjú, which housed a Zhāowén shrine, where the local people worship the Táng dynasty censor Dù Guāngtíng.

To the southwest, there was a stream with cascading cliffs carrying the flow, the water clear and bright, with stones inside shimmering and sparkling, blue and bright like precious jade, hence named Qīngbì stream.

Following the foothills north for two *lǐ*, we reached a platform for heaven, where there was a stone with Zhūgé Liàng’s divination marks. The locals built a *bāguà* platform there to commemorate his traces.

One *lǐ* east, we reached Hóngshèng temple, which has a pagoda two hundred *chǐ* high, meticulously constructed. According to un-

游点苍山记 90

游点苍山记 95

游点苍山记 100

[197: 八塔] This is most likely a miswriting, the later ‘A Brief Outline of Diān’ 《滇略》第二卷 records this spot as 「点苍山龙泉峰下有诸葛武侯《画卦台》云：世传武侯南征，屯兵于此，披草莱中，得石刻伏羲像，因作八卦台祀之，土人以为祭天」, so this should probably be *bāguàtái* 八卦台.

[101: 丈] This is most likely a miswriting, Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002), vol. 4, p. 66 silently corrects this to *chǐ* 尺.

r89: 三月乙酉] This should be 二月.

r89: On *yǐyǒu* in the 3rd month] 23rd March 1530, but in the 2nd lunar month. This date conforms with the information above that they stayed at Gǎntōng temple for twenty days.

r90: Zhāowén shrine] a shrine to a scholar, praising his literary skills.

r91: Táng dynasty censor Dù Guāngtíng] the Táng dynasty scholar from Sìchuān who is credited with writing the ‘Déhuà Stele’ 《德化碑》, see Jīn Shí 金石 (1985). The ‘Yúnnán General Gazetteer’ 《云南通志》(第九十五卷) confirms that there was a shrine to him below Yùjú peak 玉局峰.

r96–98: a platform for heaven, where there was a stone with Zhūgé Liàng’s divination marks] The fabled Shǔ prime minister Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 made a military excursion into Yúnnán in 225 CE, see Crespigny (1990), p. 447, which was later immortalized in the ‘Romance of the Three Kingdoms’ 《三国演义》. Even though it is highly unlikely that he made it to the Ērhǎi region, many Dàlǐ folk legends revolve around him. In Dali Cultural Association (2002), pp. 88–89 a story mentions this platform, a note to the story adds that Zhūgé Liàng found a statue of Fúxī 伏羲 there and the *bāguà* platform was built in honour of it.

r98: *bāguà*] see note to the Chinese text.

r101: *chǐ*] corrected according to Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002), vol. 4, p. 66, this means roughly fifty metres tall, two hundred *zhàng* would mean several hundred metres tall, impossible and untrue.

r101–103: According to unofficial history, it was decreed to be built during the time of Suí dynasty emperor Wén, or

(19) The name Yùjú temple 玉局寺 suggests that it was built below the peak of the same name (or that the peak was named after the temple), but the peak is actually north of Hēilóng stream 黑龙溪, one stream to the north of Qīngbì stream 清碧溪. Historic records place the temple on the mountains south of Dàlǐ and also record the ancestral hall there, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 6, p. 141. For other mentions of this temple in old records, see Zhāng Zéhóng 张泽洪 (2005), but I think this article mistakes the Dù Guāngtíng 杜光庭 mentioned here with a later Daoist master of the same name.

	帝时敕建者，或曰阿育王。	official history, it was decreed to be built during the time of Suí dynasty emperor Wén, or some say by king Ashoka.
游点苍山记 105	北行二里，至点苍神祠，即唐书载史臣与南诏设盟处也。	Two ǐ north, we arrived at Diǎncāng memorial hall, the very place where, according to the <i>'History of the Táng'</i> , a court official made a pact with Nánzhào.
	翠微有岩，异香酷烈。予二人不能上，令人候之，果然。	In the mountains there was cliff of an unusual fragrance. We could not go up ourselves and had someone have a look for us, he confirmed it.
游点苍山记 110	庙后有问俗亭，俯瞰城郭楼观，海波万顷，涧松萦云，岩雪映日，酤酒更酌，村人荐米缆，食而甘之。既醉既饱，下山，北行二里，抵三塔寺宿。	Behind the temple, there was a pavilion called Wènsú, overlooking the whole town and the lake's boundless waves, the pine trees in the creeks swirling with clouds, rocks and snow reflecting the sun. We drank more wine, and the villagers offered us rice noodles, nutritious and sweet. After eating and drinking to our fill, we descended the mountain and travelled two ǐ north to stay at the Three Pagoda Temple.
	寺有七楼八殿，中溪重加修建者。中溪有书楼在焉。因留连累日。	The temple had seven towers and eight halls, extensively renovated by Zhōngxī. Zhōngxī also had a library there. So we stayed for some more days.
游点苍山记 120	芒鞋、藜杖相与。入瀑布溪，悬流百尺，其承流处有石如盘。盘中有一石，为瀑流所激，跳跃如马，声如雷。石壁上有朱字诗，为溅沫所涂，远不可辨。忆当时题刻悬构千仞之上，非大力不能也。	With straw shoes and a staff, we entered Pùbù stream, where a waterfall hung a hundred feet high, its flow hitting a rock shaped like a bowl. In the bowl was another stone, stirred by the waterfall, jumping like a horse, sounding like thunder. On the cliff were poems written in vermilion, erased by the spray, unreadable from a distance. I remember at that time, inscribing on a scaffold a thousand rèn high was impossible without great effort.
游点苍山记 125		

Then follows a gap of a week, where they apparently did not travel. The Tomb Sweeping Festival 清明节 would have fallen into this period.⁽²⁰⁾

Then they make an excursion to Dìshì temple 帝释寺, a temple according to the description lies below Yìnglè peak, one of the Diǎncāng Mountains peaks.⁽²¹⁾ Yáng Shèn also composed a poem

some say by king Ashoka] Li Zhaozhen (1991), p. 102 notes that this dating is impossible, the pagoda was built during the 12th century, see also Li Cháozhēn 李朝真 and Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (1985), p. 31.

r105-106: a court official made a pact with Nánzhào] this refers to the so-called Diǎncāng Mountains alliance between Nánzhào and the Táng, represented by Cui Zuǒshí 崔佐时, whose title was investigating censor 监察御史, in 794 CE, mentioned in the *'New History of the Táng'* 《新唐书》.

r120: Pùbù stream] the name simply means 'waterfall stream', it is today called Méi Xī 梅溪.

r120-123: where a waterfall hung a hundred feet high, its flow hitting a rock shaped like a bowl. In the bowl was another stone, stirred by the waterfall, jumping like a horse, sounding like thunder] This is another one of the *'Ten Vistas of Yèyú'* 《叶榆十观》, called 「瀑泉丸石」 or 'Falling Waters Rock the Stone'.

⁽²⁰⁾ In the Julian calendar for the year 1530 CE, Chūnfēn 春分 was on 13th March 1530 and Qīngmíng Jié 清明节 on 28th March 1530, see Zhāng Péiyú 张培瑜 (1990), p. 350, note: the astronomical vernal equinox fell on 11th March 1530, but due to mistakes in the *Great Unification Canon* 大统历 then in use, there was a discrepancy of two days.

⁽²¹⁾ I have not been able to find any record of this temple, but north of Dǎlǐ basin and west of Fèngyǔ 凤羽 is a ruin site of several temples of that name, see Wáng Zhēngróng 王峥嵘 (2016), pp. 146-147, which claims a visit by Yáng Shèn. But this trip would have taken more than one day and the site is certainly not part of the Diǎncāng Mountains.

about this mountain.⁽²²⁾

壬辰登帝释寺，松萝苍翠，因止宿焉。夜中静默，聆丁东琳琅，如琵琶笙箫，又如瑟瑟。有顷而寂，旧闻兹地夜聆天乐，故名其峰曰「应乐」。

中溪曰：「岂山腹空洞，万窍递响耶？」

予曰：「如此则不应有作止也。」

僧曰：「世传空中陨石上有帝释像，今所奉者是已。帝释为天主中最尊，故有天乐随之。」

予曰：「六合之外，圣人存而不言，此亦世外事，不可以臆见度其是非也。」

On *rénchén*, we climbed to Dishì temple, with lush lichens, so we decided to stay overnight. At night it fell silent and we listened to the clear and melodious sounds, like a *pípá*, a bamboo flute, or the wind rustling. After a while, it was quiet. Anecdotes say heavenly music can be heard here at night, hence the mountain was named *Yìnglè*.

Zhōngxī wondered, 'Could it be that a hollow inside the mountain resonates through numerous openings?'

I replied, 'If that were the case, there would not be a pause in the sound.'

A monk said, 'It is believed that a meteorite falling from the sky had an image of Dishì on it, and the one we worship now is that very image. Dishì is the most revered among the rulers of heaven, so he is accompanied by celestial music.'

I said, 'Beyond the Six Realms, the sages concede its existence but do not explain. This is a matter outside our world, and we cannot speculate about its truth.'

游点苍山记 130

游点苍山记 135

游点苍山记 140

The two companions continue their journey northwards, arriving at Wúwèi temple 无为寺。

癸巳，北渡两涧，乃至无为寺，有汝南王碑，声如玉磬，清越可听。因以木击之，歌少陵《春山相求》之诗。

闻北冈有元世祖驻蹕台，后人屋之。方至其处，大雨忽至，遂趋屋下避雨。轩窗洞豁，最堪游目，则见满川

On *guǐsì*, we crossed two streams northward and reached Wúwèi temple, where there is a stele to king Rǔnán. It sounded like a jade chime, clear and delightful to listen to. So I struck it with wood and sang Shǎolíng's poem 'Searching in the Springtime Mountains'.

I heard on the ridge north was a platform where Kublai Khan once rested for the night, his descendants live there. Just as we approached, suddenly came heavy rain, and we rushed for shelter.

游点苍山记 145

游点苍山记 150

[141: 六合之外，圣人存而不言] Yáng Shèn paraphrases here a passage from Zhuāngzǐ 庄子, showing his erudition: 「六合之外，圣人存而不论；六合之内，圣人论而不议。」, in the translation by Burton Watson: 'As to what is beyond the Six Realms, the sage admits it exists but does not theorize. As to what is within the Six Realms, he theorizes but does not debate.', Watson (1964), p. 39. This passage has also been translated by Legge: 'Outside the limits of the world of men, the sage occupies his thoughts, but does not discuss about anything; inside those limits he occupies his thoughts, but does not pass any judgments.', Legge (1891), p. 189.

r127: On *rénchén*] 30th March 1530.

r132: *Yìnglè*] *yìnglè* can maybe be translated as 'Echo of Music'.

r144: On *guǐsì*] 31st March 1530.

r145: a stele to king Rǔnán] Half of that stele, called the Yùqìng stele 玉磬碑, is still extant. Yáng Shèn also composed a poem about the stele, it is available online at https://so.gushiwen.cn/shiwenv_90cbd5cf8294.aspx.

r147: Shǎolíng's poem 'Searching in the Springtime Mountains'] Shǎolíng was the *sobriquet* 号 of Dù Fǔ 杜甫, the Táng dynasty poet. He composed a poem called 《题张氏隐居二首》 which begins with the line 「春山无伴独相求」.

r148-149: a platform where Kublai Khan once rested for the night] The Zhùbì Tái 驻蹕台 platform, simply meaning 'resting platform', is still extant.

(22) This poem is available online at https://so.gushiwen.cn/shiwenv_e65a391f0c01.aspx.

烈日，农人刈麦。

予曰：「异哉，何晴雨相兼也。」

游点苍山记 155 中溪曰：「此点苍十景之一，所谓‘晴川秧雨’者是已，每岁五月，溪上日日有雨，田野时时放晴，故刈麦插秧，两处无妨。世传观音大士授记而然。」

游点苍山记 160 西上里许，有寺曰救疫。山泉甘冽，疫则饮之，可以已病，寺因得名。

北去四里，登鹤云寺，寺有仙女池、冲举石，相与坐啸久之。

又北六里，至石云寺。

游点苍山记 165 沿溪而西，过独木桥，升宝华寺，其地多花卉，红紫相间，乃移枕簟以息。

中溪弟仲春、叔齐、季和，预煮醇酒于丛薄中，忽从滴乳岩旁出见，不觉惊喜，拍手大笑，因引满尽醉。是夜塌草庵，殊觉快适。

游点苍山记 170

With open windows and a clear view, I saw the bright sun over the plain and farmers harvesting wheat.

I exclaimed, 'How strange, both sunny and rainy at the same time!' Zhōngxī explained, 'This is **one of Diǎncāng's ten scenes, known as "Sunny Plain and Rainy Fields"**. Every May, there is daily rain over the creeks, while the fields often remain sunny, allowing for both wheat harvesting and rice planting without interference. It is said that Great Being Guānyīn decreed it so.'

One lǐ to the west, there is a **temple called Jiùyì**. Its mountain spring is refreshing and sweet; drinking it during epidemics can cure diseases, hence the temple's name.

Four *lǐ* to the north, we climbed to Hèyún temple, there are Xiānnǚ pond and Chōngjǔ rock, and we sat and whistled for a long time.

Six *lǐ* further north, we reached Shíyún temple.

Following the stream westward, crossing a single-log bridge, and ascending to **Bǎohuá temple**, the area was filled with a variety of flowers, red and purple intermingled, where we rested on mats and pillows.

Zhōngxī's younger brothers, Zhòngchūn, Shūqí and Jìhé, had prepared strong wine among the thickets, and suddenly appeared from beside the Dīrǔ cliff, surprising and delighting us. We clapped and laughed heartily, leading to a full and drunken evening. That night, we collapsed in a **thatched hut**, feeling exceptionally content.

The next day, they climbed up along the Mángyǒng stream to a spot below Liánhuā peak 莲花峰 known as Xídá field 悉达场, which is described in the 'Brief Gazetteer of Diānnán' 《滇南志略》 as a place surrounded by Buddha's light and being a sacred site for Chinese medicine practice.⁽²³⁾

游点苍山记 175 甲午，同上悉达场，遥见瓦屋悬构于苍烟之上，扁曰「中溪小隐」。

On jiǎwǔ, together we climbed to Xídá field, seeing from afar a tiled house suspended above the misty clouds, marked 'Zhōngxī's Hermitage'.

[176: 扁] Ann: 同匾

r154-155: one of Diǎncāng's ten scenes, known as 'Sunny Plain and Rainy Fields'] Another one of the 'Ten Vistas of Yèyú' 《叶榆十观》，in the 'Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlǐ' 《嘉靖大理府志》 recorded as qíngchuān xīyǔ 晴川溪雨。

r159: One *lǐ* to the west] The temples he describes here are just adjacent to the present main temple of Wúwèi Sì 无为寺。

r159: temple called Jiùyì] There is still a spring next to the temple called Jiùyì Quán 救疫泉。

r166: Bǎohuá temple] this is probably the temple now called Bǎohé temple 宝和寺。

r173: a thatched hut] or a thatched temple?

r175: On *jiǎwǔ*] 1st April 1530.

(23) 「放光谷，在茫涌溪深处，亦名达悉场，俗传四围皆有佛光，或圆或长，五色互异，云是药师道场。」，see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 13, p. 77.

时已入夏，犹围火而卧。晨起，窥石洞，猱缘细路，下临百仞。比归，颇有垂堂之悔。

出山因以相规云。

Although it was already summer, we still huddled around a fire to sleep. In the morning, peering into a stone cave, like monkeys on a narrow path, we looked down a hundred *rèn*. On our way back, there were many dangerous spots.

As we left the mountain, we made plans to visit each other again.

游点苍山记 180

They reach the gorge of the Yáng stream 阳溪, where according to local legends told in the 《白国因由》 an evil *rākṣa* 罗刹 terrorizing the population was entombed by Guānyīn 观音. The temple mentioned, Yìài temple 遗爱寺, is today better known as the local Běnzǔ 本主 temple; there is still a building marking the *rākṣa* cave; and upstream, on the southern side, is a cave known as Chūfó cave 出佛洞.

丁酉，至阳溪，历遗爱寺，观舍利塔。

入溪三里，有一石门如圆月者，罗刹洞也。世传观音大士闭罗刹于其中云。

又西行八九里，至出佛洞，岩壑幽绝，可以结庐。

又西六里，为洞天山，层峦叠嶂，望之蔚然。顾经路崎仄，且空山无人，乃旋辔出谷，宿遗爱寺。

中溪谓予曰「不见庐山真面目，只因生在此山中」，必须东泛洱水，卧数溪峰，庶尽点苍之变耳。」

On *dīngyǒu*, we reached the Yáng stream and passed Yìài temple to visit the Shèlì pagoda.

Three *lǐ* into the stream, there was a stone gate shaped like a full moon, called the *rākṣa* cave, believed to be where Great Being Guānyīn trapped the demon.

Further west for eight or nine *lǐ*, we arrived at Chūfó cave, a secluded and beautiful canyon ideal for building huts.

Another six *lǐ* west was Dòngtiān mountain, with layered mountains and steep cliffs presenting a majestic view. However, considering the narrow and rugged path and the deserted mountains, we turned back and stayed overnight at Yìài temple.

Zhōngxī said to me, “One cannot see the true face of Mount Lú while being on the mountain itself.” We must float east on the waters of Ěrhǎi and lie down among the peaks of the waves to fully appreciate Diǎncāng.’

游点苍山记 185

游点苍山记 190

游点苍山记 195

Following Lǐ Yuányáng’s suggestion, the pair then set sail on Lake Ěrhǎi, crossing the lake to what is today Shuāngláng 双廊. On that side of the lake, the mountains come close to the lake shore, with little land suitable for agriculture.

己亥，由上关水月楼放舟遵岛屿而

On *jǐhài*, we set sail from Shàngguān’s Shuǐyuè tower along the

r180: 垂堂] Ann: 堂屋檐下。古人有「坐不垂堂」之说，因檐瓦落下可能伤人， refers to danger from falling roof tiles.

r183: On *dīngyǒu*] 4th April 1530.

r186–187: where Great Being Guānyīn trapped the demon] A legend recorded in the ‘Origins of the Bai Kingdom’ 《白国因由》 tells of the struggle between Guānyīn 观音 and the *rākṣa* 罗刹, an evil being terrorizing the local population before being trapped in a cave.

r194–195: ‘One cannot see the true face of Mount Lú while being on the mountain itself.’] The phrase refers to a famous couplet by the renowned Sòng dynasty poet Sū Dōngpō 苏东坡 in his poem 《题西林壁》(‘Inscription on the Wall of West Forest Temple’): 「不识庐山真面目，只缘身在此山中」.

r198: On *jǐhài*] 6th April 1530.

r198: we set sail from Shàngguān’s Shuǐyuè tower] The text says, they set off from Shàngguān 上关 Shuǐyuè Lóu 水月楼, however the only records that I have been able to find about such a building place this further south, such as the ‘Qīng Unified Gazetteer’ 《清一统志》, which records 「水月楼 [在太和县北龙首，关俯临池水]」, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 13, p. 544. Judging from the map, see map 1, of their travels, it is more likely that they set off from a place further south rather than Shàngguān.

南，至金榜寺，摇落无僧。

又南观青巖寺前巨人迹，已乃南泛，有崖飞出水面，曰鸡额山、维舟山。隙徒步而升，石磴盘旋，可三百武，见削壁卷阿，正向点苍，十九溪峰，尽在几席。石山巖积雪，山腰白云，天巧神工，各呈其伎。

游点苍山记 205

予曰：「此非点苍真面目乎？微公，几失此奇观矣。」

游点苍山记 210

相与订约结社，以终余年。经营其地约二十亩，可为蔬圃。草间得柱础、古瓦，知为寺场也。往来久之。僮仆于灌莽中得一石洞，檐牙户牖，大类人居，中可容二榻，喜不自胜，曰：「此可免结屋之劳矣。」酌酒相庆，恋恋不能去。

游点苍山记 215

榜人催促，予二人相向惆怅，恐不能复来。勉从入舟，则天光澄净，波纹沄沄，遵崖壁而南，壁下石窟，有深有浅，皆渔家妇子居之。生事萧条，身无完衣，指予舟中几案食器，互相问诘，盖素所未见也。予二人不忍其穷，各解衣投食。问其男子何在，早「欠课，为官家所系。」其情可悲也。

游点苍山记 220

游点苍山记 225

又南至铁雨崖，云是罗刹欲背盟逃逝，大士雨铁以止之，是其迹也，崖面如蜂房，大者栖鹞鹞，小者巢蝠鸽。闻舟人喧惊，出而群飞。

游点苍山记 230

又南至赤文岛，云是大士买地券，字如蠹篆，不可辨识。暝色欲来，河

islands heading south, reaching Jīnbǎng temple, which was dilapidated and without monks.

Further south, we looked at a giant's footprint in front of Qīngdiān temple, and then sailed southward, passing cliffs jutting out of the water, known as Jīé and Wéizhōu mountain. We climbed them on foot, following stone steps winding about three hundred paces, and saw the ragged cliffs facing Diǎncāng with the nineteen peaks spread out before us. The snowy peaks at the top of the bare mountains and the white clouds at their waist, heaven's craftsmanship was marvelous, each displaying its own wonders.

I exclaimed, 'Isn't this the true face of Diǎncāng? We almost missed this extraordinary view.'

We agreed to form a society and spend the rest of our years there. We planned to cultivate about twenty acres of land for a vegetable garden. Between the brushes, we found column bases and ancient tiles, indicating it was once a temple site, going back a long time. Our servant discovered a stone cave among the thickets, with eaves, windows, and doors, resembling a human dwelling. It could accommodate two beds. Delighted, I said, 'This spares us the effort of building a house.' We celebrated with wine, reluctant to leave.

The boatman urged us to hurry, and we faced each other in melancholy, fearing we might not return. We reluctantly boarded the boat, and as the sky cleared, the water rippled softly. Following the cliff walls southward, under the rockfaces were caves, some deep, some shallow, where fishermen's wives and their children lived. Their lives were meager, dressed in tattered clothes. They pointed at our boat's few cases of utensils, asking each other in wonder, evidently something they had never seen. Feeling sorry for their poverty, we each gave them clothes and food. Asking where their men were, they said they owed taxes and had been taken away by officials. It was a pitiful situation.

Further south, we reached Tiěyǔ cliff, said to be where the *rākṣa* had broken the pact and tried to flee, and where Great Being Guānyīn rained down iron to stop him, leaving marks on the cliff, which looked like a beehive. Larger holes housed hawks and kites, while smaller ones were home to bats and doves. Startled by the noise of our boat, they flew out in flocks.

Further south, we reached Chìwén island, said to be where the Great Being Guānyīn bought the title for land, the characters re-

r 230: Tiěyǔ cliff] The expression Tiěyǔ cliff means 'iron rain cliff'.

r 230-231: *rākṣa* had broken the pact and tried to flee] another reference to the stories in the 'Origins of the Bai Kingdom'.

r 236: Chìwén island] today a lakeside hill north of Wàsè 挖色, there is still a shrine to Guānyīn, what was once an island became part of the mainland through land reclamation.

水浮绿，乃举棹西向洱水龙祠，辞舟登阁。

sembling ancient script, indecipherable. As dusk approached, the river's waters turned a floating green, and we rowed westward towards the **dragon hall** on Ěrhǎi, disembarking and climbing the tower.

游点苍山记 240

自念放逐以来，得此佳游，真如隔生事矣。中溪与予赓和若干首，汇为一帙，题曰《点苍杂咏》云。

Since my exile experiencing this wonderful journey was just like getting another life. Zhōngxī and I composed several poems together and bound them into a book called 'Various Odes to Diǎncāng'.

游点苍山记 245

4 Glossary

Āyù Wáng 阿育王: king Ashoka, Indian ruler, 268–232 BCE, who promoted the spread of Buddhism across Asia, in early texts from Yúnnán he becomes a mythological figure – see page 16, 21

Báiguó Yīnyóu 《白国因由》: 'Origins of the Bai Kingdom', Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào – see pages 19–21

Bǎohé Sì 宝和寺: Bǎohé temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 (⊕ 25.79N 100.09E) – see page 18, 21

Bǎohuá Sì 宝华寺: Bǎohuá temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, probably a historic name for present-day Bǎohé Sì 宝和寺 – see page 18, 21

Bǎolín Sì 宝林寺: Bǎolín temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 (⊕ 25.61N 100.19E) – see pages 10, 12, 21

Bǎoshān 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page 5, see 永昌

Běnzǔ 本主: Běnzǔ, local protector gods in the Dàilǐ 大理 region, often based on historic personalities – see page 19, 21

Bìjī 碧鸡: jade chicken, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 7, 21

Bìjī mountain 碧鸡山: Jade Chicken Mountain, landmark mountain in the Diānchí 滇池 region, translates as 'jade chicken mountain' – see page 7, 21

Cāngshān 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi – see page 21

Chén Hóngshòu 陈洪绶: late Míng 明 painter –

Chìwén Dǎo 赤文岛: Chìwén island, today a hill on the shore of Ěrhǎi, north of Wāsè 挖色 (⊕ 25.84N 100.22E) – see page 20, 21

Chōngjǔ Shí 冲举石: Chōngjǔ rock, – see page 18, 21

Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺: Chóngshèng temple, main temple north of Dàilǐ 大理, in front of it are the Three Pagodas 三塔 – see page 21

Chūfó Dòng 出佛洞: Chūfó cave, cave in the valley of the Yáng Xī 阳溪 (⊕ 25.78N 100.09E) – see page 19, 21

r 239: river] again, this is Ěrhǎi

r 240: dragon hall] probably what is now Ěrshuǐ Shéncí 洱水神祠, a temple to the Dragon King 龙王.

- Chǔ** 楚: important state before the Qín Cháo 秦朝, in present-day Húběi 湖北 – see page 7
- Chūnfēn** 春分: vernal equinox, one of the twenty-four solar terms, the vernal equinox – see page 16, 22
- Cuī Zuǒshí** 崔佐时: Táng dynasty envoy to Nánzhào in 794 – see page 16
- Dàlǐ** 大理: – see pages 5, 7, 15, 16
- Dàlǐyì** 大礼议: *Great Ritual Controversy*, conflict over ritual at the beginning of the Míng 明 Jiājìng 嘉靖 period, 1521–1524 – see page 7, 22
- Dàtǒng Lì** 大统历: *Great Unification Canon*, calendrical calculation in use from 1385–1644, for a translation of the term see Martzloff (2016), p. 59 – see page 16, 22
- Déhuà Bēi** 德化碑 《德化碑》: *Déhuà Stele*, most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history – see page 15, 22
- Dīrǔ Yán** 滴乳岩: Dīrǔ cliff, – see page 18, 22
- Dìshì** 帝释: a mythological Buddhist deity, ruling over a part of heaven – see page 17
- Dìshì Sì** 帝释寺: Dìshì temple, Buddhist temple – see pages 16, 17, 22
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page see 滇国
- Diān Chéngjì** 《滇程记》: *Records of a Journey to Diān*, Míng 明 period travelogue by Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 7, 22
- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 22
- Diān Lüè** 《滇略》: *A Brief Outline of Diān*, work by Xiè Zhàozhè 谢肇淞, completed in 1621 – see page 15, 22
- Diānnán Zhìlüè** 《滇南志略》: *Brief Gazetteer of Diānnán*, Qīng dynasty text, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 13, p. 35 – see page 18, 22
- Diānzàiji** 《滇载记》: *Historical Records of Diān*, Míng 明 period historical work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, completed 1525 – see page 22
- Diǎncāng Shān** 点苍山: Diǎncāng Mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理 – see pages 5, 7, 8, 16, 18–22
- Diǎncāng Shéncí** 点苍神祠: Diǎncāng memorial hall, Nánzhào temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, where the alliance between Nánzhào and the Táng dynasty was signed in 794 (⊕ 25.69N 100.14E) – see page 16, 22
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 22
- Dòngtiān Shān** 洞天山: Dòngtiān mountain, one of the Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, probably today called Liánhuā Fēng 莲花峰 (⊕ 25.79N 100.03E) – see page 19, 22
- Dòngtíng Hú** 洞庭湖: Dòngtíng lake, – see page 7, 22
- Dù Fǔ** 杜甫: – see page 17
- Dù Guāngtíng** 杜光庭: scholar from Sìchuān who is credited with writing the 《德化碑》, see Jīn Shí 金石 (1985) – see page 15
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xiě 西洱, Xiě Hé – see pages 5, 7–9, 12, 15, 19, 21, 22

- Ĕrshuǐ Shéncí** 洱水神祠: shrine to the Ĕrshuǐ spirit, temple on the western shore of Ĕrhǎi (⊕ 25.73N 100.19E) – see page 21, 23
- Ĕryuán** 洱源: present-day county north of Ĕrhǎi, formerly known as 浪穹 –
- Fèngyǔ** 凤羽: township in present-day Ĕryuán – see page 16
- Fúxī** 伏羲: one of the earliest divine beings in Chinese mythology – see page 15
- Gǎntōng Sì** 感通寺: Gǎntōng temple, important temple on the slopes of 苍山 (⊕ 25.65N 100.17E) – see pages 12–15, 23
- gōng yú** 弓鱼: *bow fish*, fish species in Ĕrhǎi, sometimes miswritten as 公鱼 公鱼 – see page 12, 23
- Gǔjīn Túshū Jíchéng** 《古今图书集成》: ‘*Complete Classics Collection of Ancient China*’, Qīng dynasty library collection, published 1726 – see pages 5, 6, 23
- Guānyīn** 观音: Avalokiteśvara, one of the bodhisattvas, in Chinese also written as Guānshìyīn 观世音, which is a literal translation of the Sanskrit अवलोकितेश्वर. Guānyīn plays a key role in Nánzhào mythology, particularly in the 《南诏图传》 and the 《白国因由》 – see pages 19, 20, 23
- Guānyīn Dàshì** 观音大士: Great Being Guānyīn, honorific for Guānyīn, the ‘Great Being’ translation is taken from Chapin (1944), p. 153, who notes that ‘Tashih stands for the Sanskrit word Mahasattva’ – see pages 18–20, 23
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: province in south-west China – see page 7, 14
- Hǎizhū Sì** 海珠寺: Hǎizhū temple, temple near Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 9, 23
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see pages 13, 14, 23
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty – see pages 14, 22, 23
- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty – see page 23
- Hào** 号: *sobriquet*, assumed literary name – see pages 5, 8, 17, 23
- Héběi** 河北: Chinese province –
- Hénán** 河南: Chinese province – see page 14
- Hèdǐng Sì** 鹤顶寺: Hèdǐng temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, above the ruins of 太和 (⊕ 25.64N 100.19E) – see page 12, 23
- Hèyún Sì** 鹤云寺: Hèyún temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 18, 23
- Hēilóng Xī** 黑龙溪: Hēilóng stream, one of the streams of Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 15, 23
- Héngshān** 衡山: Mount Héng, important mountain in Húnán 湖南 – see page 7, 23
- Hóngshèng Sì** 弘圣寺: Hóngshèng temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 slope, the pagoda is still extant (⊕ 25.69N 100.16E) – see page 15, 23
- Hūbìliè** 忽必烈: Kublai Khan, Mongol leader who conquered Dàlǐ 大理 in 1253 – see page 23
- Húběi** 湖北: Chinese province –
- Húnán** 湖南: Chinese province – see page 7
- Hùnhùn Tíng** 混混亭: Hùnhùn pavillion, – see page 12, 23
- Jiājìng** 嘉靖: emperor Jiājìng, Míng 明 emperor, 1521–1566 – see pages 7, 8, 23

- Jiājìng Dàlǐ Fǔzhì** 《嘉靖大理府志》: *Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlǐ*, first gazetteer of the Dàlǐ 大理 region, compiled by Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳, published 1563, see Sūn Péng 孙鹏 (2014) – see pages 5, 8, 9, 18, 24
- Jiānchá Yùshǐ** 监察御史: investigating censor, ‘the most concentrated, broad-ranging investigative and impeaching officials, members of the Censorate’, see Hucker (1985), 795 – see page 16, 24
- Jiāngjūn Dòng** 将军洞: General’s Cave, temple complex near Xiàguān 下关 (⊕ 25.59N 100.2E) – see page 10, 24
- Jiāngxī** 江西: region of China – see page 7
- jiéqì** 节气: solar term, division of the solar year into twenty-four periods – see page 24
- Jīnbǎng Sì** 金榜寺: Jīnbǎng temple, – see page 20, 24
- Jīnxiāng Sì** 金相寺: Jīnxiāng temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 12, 24
- jìnshì** 进士: *Jìnshì*, ‘a degree or status often compared to the academic doctorate in the modern West, conferred on successful candidates in the highest-level regular civil service recruitment examinations, qualifying them for appointment to government office.’, see Hucker (1985), 1148 – see page 7, 24
- Jiùyì Quán** 救疫泉: Jiùyì spring, spring credited with healing properties at Wúwèi Sì 无为寺 (⊕ 25.73N 100.12E) – see page 18, 24
- Jiùyì Sì** 救疫寺: Jiùyì temple, one of the temples of Wúwèi Sì 无为寺, the name means ‘cure epidemic’ for a spring Jiùyì Quán 救疫泉 there which is credited with healing properties (⊕ 25.73N 100.12E) – see page 18, 24
- Juézhen Ān** 觉真庵: Juézhen temple, a temple sponsored by Zhào Xuěpíng 赵雪屏 near Língruì Ān 灵瑞庵, a plaque is still extant (⊕ 25.59N 100.2E) – see pages 10, 12, 24
- Kǒngzǐ** 孔子: Confucius, – see pages 12, 14, 24
- Kūnmíng** 昆明市: Kūnmíng, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see pages 5, 7, 24, see 拓东
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five Zhào –
- Lǐ Yuányáng** 李元阳: Míng 明 Dàlǐ 大理 scholar, see Xing (2022), Daniels (2020), p. 141 – see pages 5, 8–10, 13, 15–19, 21
- Liánhuā Fēng** 莲花峰: Liánhuā peak, one of the Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 peaks (⊕ 25.79N 100.03E) – see page 18, 24
- Língguì Ān** 灵瑞庵: Língguì convent, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 (⊕ 25.59N 100.2E) – see page 24
- Liùjīng** 六经: *Six Classics*, canon of classic Chinese texts – see page 14, 24
- liùshū** 六书: *six principles*, early classification of Chinese characters, dating back to the 《周礼》, expanded in the 《说文解字》. The translation of this term is taken from Qiú Xíguī 裘锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000), p. 151 – see page 13, 24
- Liùshū Suǒyǐn** 《六书索隐》: ‘*Tracing the Hidden Meanings of the Six Kinds of Characters*’, lost book by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, see Schorr (1993), p. 100 – see page 13, 24
- Lóng Cí** 龙祠: dragon hall, temple on the western shore of Ěrshǎi, probably what is known today as Ěrshuǐ Shéncí 洱水神祠 (⊕ 25.73N 100.19E) – see page 21, 24

- Lóngwáng** 龙王: Dragon King, mythological figure – see page 21, 25
- Lóngwěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěrhǎi – see pages 7–10, 25
- Lú Shān** 江西庐山: Mount Lú, famous mountain in Jiāngxī 江西 – see pages 7, 19, 25
- Lǔ** 鲁: approximately present-day Héběi 河北 – see page 7
- Luōshā** 罗刹: *rākṣa*, mythical demon, mentioned in the 《妙法莲花经》, terrorizing the people before being tamed by Guānyīn, derived from Sanskrit राक्षस. I have chosen the translation from Yü (1991) – see pages 19, 20, 25
- Luōshā Gé** 罗刹阁: *rākṣa* pavilion, temple where according to local legend the evil *rākṣa* was entombed (⊕ 25.81N 100.1E) – see page 25
- Mángyǒng Xī** 茫涌溪: Mángyǒng stream, one of the Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 streams (⊕ 25.78N 100.04E) – see page 18, 25
- Méi stream** 梅溪: one of the eighteen streams flowing down from Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 (⊕ 25.69N 100.09E) –
- Ménggǔ** 蒙古: Mongol, – see page 25
- Miàofǎ Liánhuā Jīng** 《妙法莲花经》: Lotus Sutra, ‘one of the most important and influential of all the sutras or sacred scriptures of Mahayana Buddhism’, Watson (1993), p. ix, translated first into Chinese in the 3rd century – see page 25
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see pages 5, 14, 25
- Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明 – see page 5, 25
- Hóngwǔ** 明洪武: Míng emperor Hóngwǔ, sole reign period of Míng emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng 朱元璋, 1368–1398 – see page 14, 25
- Míng Shǐ** 《明史》: ‘*Míng History*’, one of the official twenty-four histories, covering the Míng 明 – see page 5, 25
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 12, 16, 25
- Nánzhào Túzhuān** 《南诏图传》: ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’, important picture scroll dating back to 898, telling the story of the arrival of Buddhism and the divine appointment of the rulers of Nánzhào – see page 25
- Pùbù Xī** 瀑布溪: Pùbù stream, one of the eighteen streams flowing down from Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 (⊕ 25.69N 100.09E) – see page 16, 25
- Qí** 齐: approximately present-day Shāndōng 山东 – see page 7
- Qín Cháo** 秦朝: Qín dynasty, – see page 25
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see pages 5, 25, 26
- Qīngbì Xī** 清碧溪: Qīngbì stream, one of Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山’s streams – see page 15, 25
- Qīngdiān Sì** 青巔寺: Qīngdiān temple, – see page 20, 25
- Qīngmíng Jié** 清明节: Tomb Sweeping Festival, traditional Chinese day of mourning, fifteen days after Spring Equinox – see page 16, 25

- Qīng Yītǒng Zhì** 《清一统志》: 'Qīng Unified Gazetteer', Qīng dynasty gazetteer, in the Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 13 – see page 19, 26
- Rìzhōngxīngniǎo** 《日中星鸟》: text by Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 13, 26
- Rǔnán Wáng** 汝南王: king Rǔnán, title bestowed on a number of nobles in Chinese history – see page 17, 26
- Sān Guó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 26
- Sānguó Yǎnyì** 《三国演义》: 'Romance of the Three Kingdoms', famous Míng dynasty novel – see page 15, 26
- Sāntǎ** 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 – see page 26, see 崇圣寺
- Sāntǎ Sì** 三塔寺: Three Pagoda Temple, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 (⊕ 25.71N 100.15E) – see pages 15, 16, 26
- Shāndōng** 山东: coastal region in eastern China, now a province – see page 14
- Shàngguān** 上关: gate at the northern end of the Dàlǐ 大理 plain – see page 19
- Shèlì Tǎ** 舍利塔: Shèlì pagoda, – see page 19, 26
- Shēngān** 升庵: temple name of Yáng Shèn 杨慎 –
- Shēngānzānhuātú** 《升庵簪花图》: 'Shēngān Wearing Flowers in His Hair', painting of Shēngān 升庵 by Chén Hóngshòu 陈洪绶 – see page 5, 26
- Shíyún Sì** 石云寺: Shíyún temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 18, 26
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: 'Records of the Historian', – see page 7, 26
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see page 15
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 26
- Shuāngláng** 双廊: present-day town on the eastern side of Ěrhǎi – see page 19
- Shuǐyuè Lóu** 水月楼: Shuǐyuè tower, – see page 19, 26
- Shuōwén Jiězì** 《说文解字》: 'Writing and Meaning of Characters', early Chinese character dictionary – see page 13, 26
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province – see page 5, 15
- Sìkù Quánshū** 《四库全书》: 'Complete Library of the Four Treasuries', Qīng dynasty library collection – see page 13, 26
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see pages 14, 19, 26
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty – see pages 13, 14, 26
- Sū Dōngpō** 苏东坡: Sòng dynasty poet – see page 19
- Suí Cháo** 隋朝: Suí dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 581–618 – see page 26
- Suí Wéndì** 隋文帝: Suí dynasty emperor Wén, Suí dynasty emperor, 581–604 – see pages 15, 16, 26
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào – see page 12

- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see pages 15, 17, 27
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see pages 12, 16, 27
- Tángshū** 《唐书》: ‘*History of the Táng*’, – see page 16, 27
- Tiānshēng Qiáo** 天生桥: Tiānshēng bridge, a natural bridge over the outflow of Ěrhǎi (⊕ 25.58N 100.2E) – see pages 8, 9, 27
- Tiěyǔ Yá** 铁雨崖: Tiěyǔ cliff, – see page 20, 27
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- Wāsè** 挖色: village on the eastern side of Ěrhǎi – see page 20
- Wànlì** 万历: Míng emperor Wànlì –
- Wànlì Yěhuòbiān** 《万历野获编》: ‘*Unofficial Gleanings of the Wànlì Era*’, late Míng 明 text – see page 14, 27
- Wúwèi Sì** 无为寺: Wúwèi temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see pages 17, 18, 27
- Xīdá Cháng** 悉达场: Xīdá field, area below Liánhuā Fēng 莲花峰 of the Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 (⊕ 25.78N 100.04E) – see page 18, 27
- Xīěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi –
- Xīěr Hé** 西洱河: Xīěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake – see pages 8, 9, 27
- Xiàguān** 下关: present-day administrative center of Dàlǐ, literally meaning ‘lower gate’ as this was the southern fortification of the Dàlǐ plain –
- Xiānnǚ lake** 仙女池: Xiānnǚ pond, – see page 18, 27
- Xiè Zhàozhè** 谢肇浙: author of the 《滇略》 –
- Xīn Táng Shū** 《新唐书》: ‘*New History of the Táng*’, major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty – see page 16, 27
- Yáng Shèn** 杨慎: Míng 明 scholar, originally from Sìchuān, exiled to Yúnnán in 1524, compiler of the 《滇载记》 and many other works. His Hào 号 was 升庵 – see pages 5, 7, 9, 10, 12–14, 16, 17, see 滇载记
- Yáng Shēngān** 杨升庵: Hào 号 of Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 5, 6, see 杨慎
- Yáng Tíng hé** 杨廷和: father of Yáng Shèn 杨慎, court official who got embroiled in a dispute over ritual with the Jiājìng 嘉靖 – see page 7
- Yáng Xī** 阳溪: Yáng stream, one of the eighteen streams on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, also a village name – see page 19, 27
- Yáng Zǐ** 杨子: scholar – see page 14
- Yèláng** 夜郎: ancient powerful political entity in the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see page 7
- Yèyú** 叶榆: alternate writing of Yèyú 楛榆, first appearing in the 《汉书》 – see page see 楛榆
- Yèyú** 楛榆: term for the Dàlǐ 大理 plain, first appearing in the 《史记》 – see page 7
- Yèyú Shíguān** 《叶榆十观》: ‘*Ten Vistas of Yèyú*’, ten scenic views in the Dàlǐ 大理 region, first recorded by Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳 in his 《嘉靖大理府志》 – see pages 5, 9, 12, 15, 16, 18, 27

- Yìài Sì** 遗爱寺: Yìài temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, below the Luōshā Gé 罗刹阁 (⊕ 25.81N 100.1E) – see page 19, 27
- Yìyú Túzàn** 《异鱼图赞》: ‘*Commented Atlas of Strange Fish*’, work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 12, 28
- Yìnglè Fēng** 应乐峰: Yìnglè peak, one of the Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 peaks (⊕ 25.69N 100.09E) – see pages 16, 17, 28
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see page 5, 7
- Yóu Diǎncāngshān Jì** 《游点苍山记》: ‘*Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains*’, work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see pages 5, 7, 28
- Yùjú Fēng** 玉局峰: Yùjú peak, one of the peaks of Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 15, 28
- Yùjú Sì** 玉局寺: Yùjú temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 15, 28
- Yùqìng Bēi** 玉磬碑: Yùqìng stele, stele for Rǔnán Wáng 汝南王 at Wúwèi Sì 无为寺 – see page 17, 28
- Yùshǐ** 御史: censor, title, see Hucker (1985), 8167 – see page 15, 28
- Yuánhǎi Sì** 圆海寺: Yuánhǎi temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 12, 28
- Yuán Shìzǔ** 元世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294 – see page 17, 28
- Yuè** 越: Zhōu period state in present-day eastern China – see page 7
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5, 12, 14, 15
- Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《云南通志》: ‘*Yúnnán General Gazetteer*’, generic name for a number of historical works on Yúnnán – see page 15, 28
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 28
- Zhào Xuěpíng** 赵雪屏: Míng 明 Dàlǐ 大理 scholar, he resided in Lóngwěi 龙尾 pass – see page 10
- Zhèjiāng** 浙江: Chinese province –
- Zhōu** 周: Zhōu, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty – see page 28
- Zhōu Lǐ** 《周礼》: ‘*Rites of Zhōu*’, one of the classics of Confucianism, concerned with state administration. For a French translation see Biot (1851) – see page 28
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 15
- Zhū Yuánzhāng** 朱元璋: founding Míng 明 emperor – see page 14
- Zhùbì Tái** 驻辚台: platform at Wúwèi Sì 无为寺, attributed to Hūbìliè 忽必烈 – see page 17
- zhuǎnzhù** 转注: *mutually explanatory signs*, one of the six classes of characters introduced in the 《说文解字》. Qiú Xíguī 裘锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000), p. 156 labels this class as ‘problematical’ and discusses the various interpretations of this class. The translation of the term as *mutually explanatory signs* is taken from Demattè (2022), p. 12, others as Qiú Xíguī 裘

锡圭, Matto and Norman (2000) and Boltz (1994) refrain from translating the term – see page 13, 28

zhù’, work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, survived as part of the 《四库全书》 – see page 13, 28

Zhuǎnzhù Gǔyīn Lüè 《转注古音略》: ‘*Outline of Ancient Pronunciations of zhuǎn-*

Zhuāngzǐ 庄子: Zhuāngzǐ, early Chinese philosopher – see page 17, 28

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