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# Xú Xiákè in Fèngyǔ

*An Annotated Translation of Part of the 《徐霞客游记》*

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## The Yúnnán Papers

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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.

The texts in this series are currently in draft and undergoing revision. Those translations that have reached a certain state of maturity can be found on my website at

<https://www.yunnanexplorer.com/translations/>

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## 1 Introduction

During the last journey of his life, the famous Míng dynasty traveller, geographer, and diarist Xú Xiákè 徐霞客, \*1587–†1641, spent almost two years in Yúnnán 云南, exploring China's still very remote southwestern province. In his posthumously published 'Xú Xiákè's *Travel Records*' 《徐霞客游记》, he left vivid descriptions of its nature, sights, and people.

In 1638 CE, Xú Xiákè entered Yúnnán from Guìzhōu 贵州, first passing through the province's south-east and the region around present-day Kūnmíng 昆明市 before travelling westwards to Chickenfoot Mountain 鸡足山, an important Buddhist temple mountain that was his original destination. He then continued northwards to Lìjiāng 丽江 before heading south to the Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 region, with Dàlǐ 大理 as its centre.

On this journey to Dàlǐ, he passed through Làngqióng 浪穹, modern-day Ěryuán 洱源 county, and took a side trip of several days to the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin 坝子, visiting Dìshì Temple 帝释寺, Qīngyuán Cave 清源洞, and Niǎodiào Mountain 鸟吊山, a mountain first mentioned in the Chinese geographical record 'Commentary on the Water Classic' 《水经注》, compiled during the northern Wèi 北魏 (386–535 CE).

Enjoying the hospitality of the local magistrate, Yǐn Zhōng 尹忠, he extended his stay in the valley to seven days, including Qīngmíng Jié 清明节, the traditional day of remembering deceased ancestors in Chinese culture.

## 2 About this Translation

This translation is based on the 2015 critical edition by Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣, 《徐霞客游记》. Many other editions of 'Xú Xiákè's *Travel Records*' 《徐霞客游记》 exist, but this benefits not only from copious annotations but also from a 'translation' of Xú Xiákè's archaic writing into modern Chinese. 《徐霞客凤羽游记的注释与图解》, compiled by three Fèngyǔ locals – Yǐn Càn sōng 尹灿松, Yǐn Tàisōng 尹泰松 and Yáng Jǐnliàng 杨锦亮 – details the trip through the valley and provides modern photographs of the locations described.

I am not aware of a previous translation. The two English translations of Xú Xiákè's travel diaries that I know of, Li Chi (1974) and Lǐ Wěiróng 李伟荣 (2016), do not cover this part of his journey. A good English-language introduction to Xú Xiákè's writing can be found in Ward (2001). An interesting new take on the history of the diaries is presented in Hargett (2024).

I have tried to identify place names mentioned in his diaries as accurately as possible and match them to modern place names. As I am familiar with the territory, and with the assistance of Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), Wǔ Hǎipíng 伍海萍 (2011), Chǔ Shào táng 褚绍唐 (1991), and modern maps, I added geographic locations and modern names to places mentioned in the text.

Xú Xiákè recorded the dates of his travels according to the version of the Chinese lunar calendar then in use, the *Great Unification Canon* 大统历, which contained an interesting error. For an explanation, see page 14. I have provided a conversion into the Gregorian calendar using Hsueh and Ouyang (1940), p. 328.

### 3 Annotated Translation

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## Yúnnán Diary VIII

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In the 8th part of his Yúnnán diaries,<sup>(1)</sup> Xú Xiákè recorded his journey through the Dàlǐ 大理 region during the third lunar month of 1639 CE.

### 己卯年三月 Jǐmǎo Year, Third Month April/May 1639

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At the end of the second month, Xú Xiákè had arrived in Làngqióng 浪穹, present-day Ěryuán 洱源, from where he set off on a side trip into the nearby Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin. After exploring the basin for seven days, he continued his journey to the Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 region with Dàlǐ 大理 as its centre.

#### The Fèngyǔ Valley

#### 3rd April 1639: Arriving in the Fèngyǔ Valley

Even though the previous entries in his diary are missing, and no name is given for the town Xú Xiákè is leaving from on the first day of the third month, his description makes it easily deducible that he must have been in Làngqióng 浪穹, a county seat now known as Ěryuán 洱源. There, he stayed at the Confucian temple 文庙 – a temple that only a town of significance was permitted to establish.

The geographical details that follow, including the name of the Fèngyǔ stream, leave no doubt that he left Làngqióng for Fèngyǔ, a distance of approximately twenty kilometres.

己卯三月初一日

何长君以骑至文庙前，再馈餐为包，

1st day of the 3rd month in the *jǐmǎo* year

Hé the Elder arrived on horseback at the front of the Confucian

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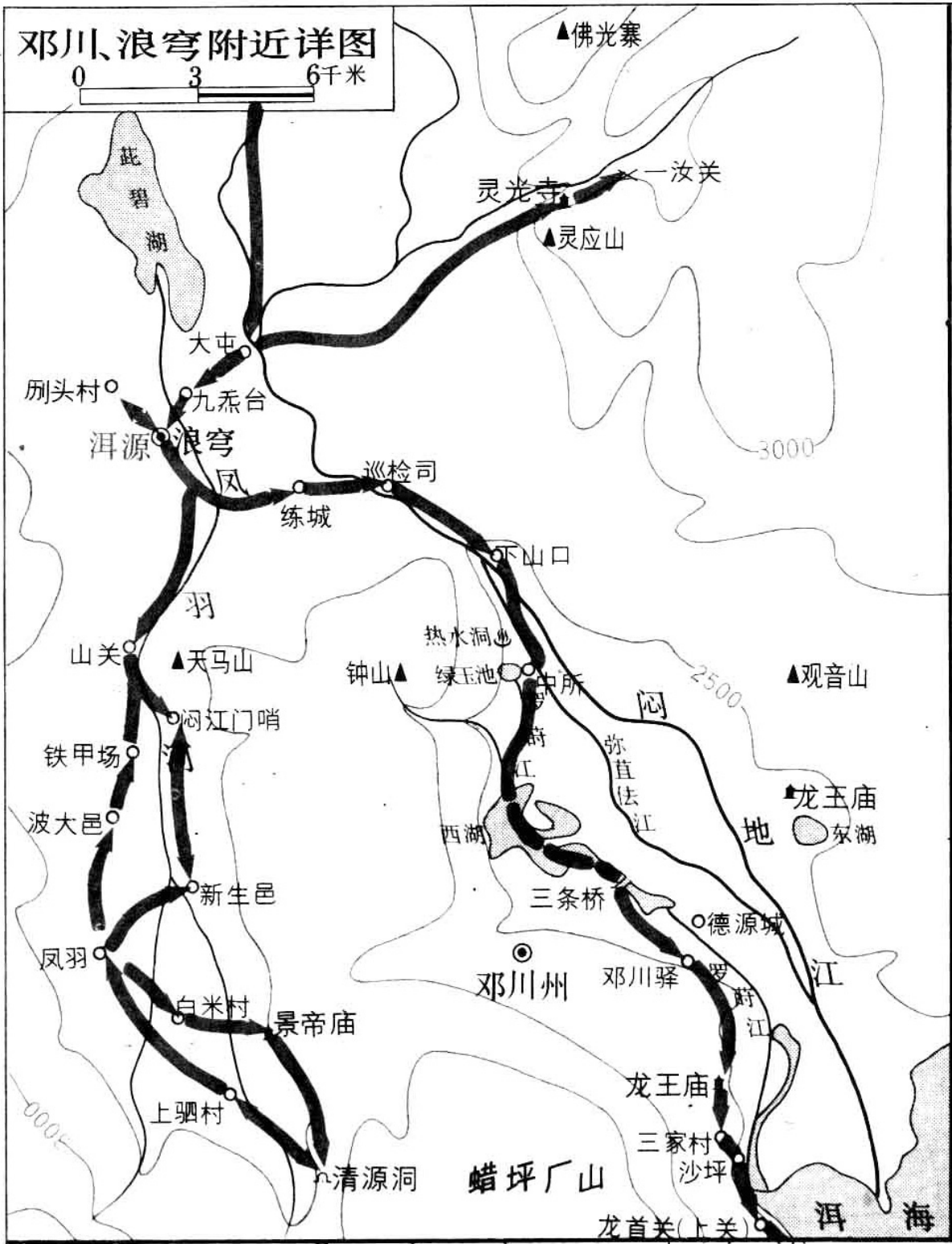
*l*2: 何长君 ] miswritten as Hé Chángōng 何长公, Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015).

*r*1: 1st day of the 3rd month in the *jǐmǎo* year ] 3rd April 1639.

*r*2–3: Confucian temple ] The Wénmiào 文庙 is still extant at 26.11N 99.95E.

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<sup>(1)</sup> In the first block printed edition part 第八册上.



Map 1:  
 Xú Xiákè's Route through Làngqióng  
 Source Chǔ Shàotáng 褚绍唐 (1991), p. 81

乃出南门。一里，过演武场，大道东南去，乃由岐西南循西山行。

**temple** and once again provided me with food for the journey. I then left through the south gate. After one *lǐ*, I passed the military exercise field. The main road continued southeast, but I took a **side road** southwest along the western mountains.

徐霞客 10 四里，西山南尽，有水自西峡出，即凤羽之流也，其水颇大。南即天马山横夹之，与西山南尽处相峙若门，水出其中，东注茈碧湖南坡滕间，抵练城而南入普陀崆。

After four *lǐ*, at the southern end of the western mountains, a stream emerged from a gorge to the west – this was the Fèngyǔ stream. The stream was quite large. To its south lay Tiānmǎ mountain, spanning across and standing face to face with the southern end of the western mountains like a gate. The stream between them flowed east towards Cǐbì Lake through fields along the southern slope, reaching Liànchéng and entering the Pǔtuó narrow.

徐霞客 15 路循西山南尽处溯水而入，五里，北崖忽石峰壁立耸首，西顾其内坞稍开，有村当耸首下坞中，是名山关。耸首之上，有神宇踞石巔，望之突兀甚，盖即县后山，自三台分支南下，此其西南尽处也。其内大脊稍西曲，南与天马夹成东西坞。循溪北崖间又三里余，西抵大脊之下，于是折而南，一里，渡涧，东循东山南行。一里，为闷江门哨，有守哨者在路旁。

I walked upstream following the southern end of the western mountains. After five *lǐ* stone peaks and cliffs rose abruptly on the northern side. Looking west, in a cove at the foot of these towering peaks was a village called Shānguān. Above it stood a temple perched on the rocky peak, strikingly imposing. This was the mountain behind the county seat, branching southward from Sāntái – this was its southwestern end. Inside, the main ridge curved slightly to the west, forming an east-west valley with Tiānmǎ mountain to the south. Following the northern side of the stream below the cliffs I travelled another three *lǐ* westward to reach the base of the main ridge. Then I turned south for one *lǐ*, crossed the stream to the east, and walked southwards along the eastern mountains for one *lǐ*, arriving at Mènjiāng Mén sentry, where a guard was stationed by the road.

徐霞客 30 又南二里，有小山当峡而踞，扼水之吭，凤羽之水南来，铁甲场之涧西出，合而捣东崖下。路乃缘崖袭其上，二里，出扼吭之南，村居当坡东，若绾其口者。

Two *lǐ* further south was a small hill opposite the gorge constricting the stream. There Fèngyǔ stream flowing south and a stream coming from Tiějiǎ in the west merged, hitting the base of the eastern cliff. The road followed the cliff for two *lǐ*, emerging south of this narrow. A **village** was on the eastern slope as if coiled around its mouth.

徐霞客 35 由是村南山坞大开，西为凤羽，东为启始后山，夹成南北大坞，其势甚开。三流贯其中，南自上驷，北抵于此，约二十里，皆良田接滕，绾谷

South of this village the basin opened widely – with Fèngyǔ to the west and its rear mountains beginning to the east forming a large north-south fortress with a wide open landscape. Three streams ran through it. From the south at Shàngsì to the north where I was

r 5–6: a side road ] The main road leads southeast towards the later mentioned Pǔtuó narrow 普陀崆 to enter the Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 plain, the side road followed the mountains to the west into the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley.

r 13: Liànchéng ] This village still carries the same name, ④ 26.1N 99.98E.

r 13: Pǔtuó narrow ] at ④ 26.09N 100.01E.

r 17: Shānguān ] about ④ 26.06N 99.94E, the name means simply 'mountain gate'.

r 26: Mènjiāng Mén sentry ] Mènjiāng 闷江 was another name for the Fèngyǔ stream 凤羽溪, so this simply means a sentry at the outflow of this stream.

r 30: Tiějiǎ ] The village Tiějiǎ 铁甲 is still known by this name, at ④ 26.04N 99.94E.

r 32: village ] present-day Xuělí 雪梨, ④ 26.03N 99.95E.

r 37: Shàngsì ] modern-day Shàngsì 上寺 at ④ 25.96N 99.96E.



成村。

曲峡通幽入，灵皋夹水居，古之朱陈村、桃花源，寥落已尽，而犹留此一奥，亦大奇事也。

循东山而南，为新生邑，共五里，折而西度坞中。截坞五里，抵西山凤羽之下，是为舍上盘，古之凤羽县也。

今有巡司，一流一土，土尹姓。[名忠，号懋亭，为吕挥使梦熊之婿]。吕梦熊先驰使导为居停，而尹以捕緝往后山，其内人出饭待客，甚丰。薄暮尹返，更具酌，设鼓吹焉。是夜大雨，迨晓而雪满西山。

it was about twenty *lǐ*, all good farmland with interconnected dikes and villages in between.

This winding gorge led into a secluded region where spirit mountains flanked the waters. **Zhūchén and Peach Blossom Spring** have long disappeared, but here they remain – a great wonder.

Following the eastern mountain southward for a total of five *lǐ* lay **Xīnshēngyì**. Then, turning west, I cut across the middle of the valley for five *lǐ*, reaching Fèngyǔ below the western mountains, this was **Shèshàngpán**, the location of the former Fèngyǔ county.

There was a **police office with an appointed official and a local one, the local one was called Yīn Zhōng** [his *sobriquet* was **Mào tíng**, the son-in-law of Lǚ Mèngxióng]. Lǚ Mèngxióng had sent a horse messenger ahead to arrange my accomodation. Yīn had left to the mountain behind for an arrest. His family served me a copious meal. Yīn returned at dusk and arranged more drinks and music. Heavy rain fell at night and by dawn the western mountains were covered in snow.

徐霞客 40

徐霞客 45

徐霞客 50

#### 4th April 1639: Fèngyǔ Dishì Temple

On this first day in the Fèngyǔ valley, Xú Xiákè embarked on a day trip on the mountain west of Fèngyǔ, visiting a cluster of temples known as Dishì Temple 帝释寺 on the mountain slope to the west. This temple complex is still extant.<sup>(2)</sup>

初二日

早餐后，尹具数骑，邀余游西山。盖西山即凤羽之东垂也，条冈数十支，俱东向蜿蜒而下，北为土主坪，南为白王寨。

2nd day

After having breakfast, Yīn prepared several horses and invited me to tour the western mountains. These western mountains extend eastwards to Fèngyǔ. From the narrow ridge tens of branches wound down eastwards. In the north was Tǔzhǔ Píng, in the south **Báiwáng** village.

徐霞客 55

徐霞客 60

r 41: Zhūchén and Peach Blossom Spring ] Zhūchén 朱陈 refers to the poem 'Zhūchén Village' 《朱陈村》 by Bái Jūyì 白居易 describing an idyllic village of traditional life and Táohuā Yuán 桃花源 refers to the fable 'Memories of Peach Blossom Spring' 《桃花源记》 by Táo Yuānmíng 陶渊明 of a utopian place, disconnected from the world, where life is in harmony with nature.

r 44: Xīnshēngyì ] still called this name, at ㊦ 26.02N 99.95E.

r 46: Shèshàngpán ] This name does not appear anywhere else but in Xú Xiákè's diaries, it is a peculiar name, there is no explanation for it in Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015), vol. 4, p. 2300, it is also noted as name that has been forgotten in Wǔ Hǎipíng 伍海萍 (2011), p. 17.

r 47-49: police office with an appointed official and a local one, the local one was called Yīn Zhōng [his *sobriquet* was Mào tíng, the son-in-law of Lǚ Mèngxióng] ] Yīn Zhōng 尹忠 was the second generation local ruler of Fèngyǔ, succeeding his father Yīn Shèng 尹胜, who was appointed in 1383 CE. The clan's history is recorded in Míng dynasty compendium 'Files of the Local Rulers' 《土官底簿》, see also Yáng Yíngchuān 杨盈川 (n.d.)

r 55: 2nd day ] 4th April 1639.

<sup>(2)</sup> At ㊦ 25.98N 99.91E

是日饭于白王寨北支中。其支连叠三寺，而俱无僧居，言亦以避寇去也。

That day we had our meal on a spur north of Báiwáng village at Dishì Temple. On this spur were three temples, none inhabited by monks. It was said they had fled to avoid bandits.

徐霞客 65

从土主庙更西上十五里，即关坪，为凤羽绝顶。其南白王庙后，其山更高，望之雪光皑皑而不及登。

Fifteen *lǐ* further west from the Earth God Temple we reached Guānpíng, the highest point of Fèngyǔ. To the south, behind Báiwáng Temple, the mountains were even higher, covered in dazzling snow, so they were too high for us to climb.

It follows an annotation mentioning the Niǎodiào Shān 鸟吊山 in the Hàn dynasty ‘*Commentary on the Water Classic*’ 《水经注》.

徐霞客 70

[凤羽，一名鸟吊山。每岁九月，鸟千万为群，来集坪间，皆此地所无者。土人举火，鸟辄投之。]

[Fèngyǔ is also called Niǎodiào Mountain. Each year in the 9th month, millions of birds gather on the flat land, they are all not local. The local people light fires and the birds hurl themselves into them.]

It is interesting to note that the 1903 CE ‘*Outline of the Làngqióng County Gazetteer*’ 《浪穹县志略》 has a different rendering of Xú Xiákè’s entry for Fèngyǔ, giving an explanation of its name:

徐霞客 75

《徐霞客游记》冈条数十支东下如凤之羽故名凤羽。

‘*Xú Xiákè’s Travel Records*’: Tens of ridges of the mountain extend eastward, resembling the feathers of a phoenix, hence the name Fèngyǔ.

旧为凤羽县今改为凤羽乡旧县址曰舍上盘其地。

Formerly known as Fèngyǔ county, it has now been renamed Fèngyǔ xiāng. The site of the old county is called Shèshàngpán.

四面皆山谿谷成村约径二十里，中皆良田惟，东北闷江哨为出水之口。  
👁️

Surrounded by mountains on all sides, a valley forms with village approximately twenty *lǐ* in diameter, filled with fertile fields. To the northeast is the outlet at Mènjiāng sentry.

### 5th April 1639: Fèngyǔ Qīngyuán Cave

On this day, Xú Xiákè travelled to the southern part of the Fèngyǔ basin to explore Qīngyuán Cave 清源洞, which remains a temple site to this day.

徐霞客 80

初三日  
尹备骑，命四人导游清源洞，晨餐后即行。

#### 3rd day

Yǐn prepared horses and commanded four men to guide me to Qīngyuán and we set off after breakfast.

徐霞客 85

循西山南行五里，过一村，有山横亘坞南，大坞至是南尽而分为二峡，西峡路由马子哨通漾濞，有一水出其中；东峡路由花甸哨出洪珪山，

We travelled south along the western mountains for five *lǐ*, passing a village where there was a mountain spanning across the southern end of the valley. The large valley ended here, dividing into two gorges: the western gorge’s path leading past Mǎzǐ sentry

l78: 👁️ ] ‘*Outline of the Làngqióng County Gazetteer*’ 《浪穹县志略》第二卷, 七 a/b.

r79: 3rd day ] 5th April 1639.

r85–86: the western gorge’s path leading past Mǎzǐ sentry to Yàngbì ] I have not found any record of such a road, the valley exists but even today there does not seem to be a road up the valley into the Yàngbì 漾濞 region.

有二水出其中，其山盖南自马子哨分支北突者。

由其北麓二里，东降而涉坞，过上驷村，渡三涧，三里，东抵一村，复上坡循东山南行。一里余，渡东涧之西，乃南蹶坡冈，则东之蜡坪厂山[其厂出矿，山之东即邓川州。]与西之横亘山又夹成小坞。

南行里余，乃折而东逾一坳，共一里，东向下，忽见一水自壑底出，即东涧之上流，出自洞下者也。亟下壑底，睹其水自南穴出，涌而北流成溪。其上崖间一穴，大仅二三尺，亦北向，上书「清源洞」三字，为邓川缙绅杨南金笔。水不从上洞出。由洞口下降而入，亦不见水。或曰：「行数里后，乃闻水声。」其入处逼仄深坠，恰如茶陵之后洞。

导者二，一人负松明一筐，一人然松明为炬以入。南入数丈，路分为二，下穿者为穴，上跻者为楼。楼之上复分二穴。穿右穴而进，其下甚削，陷峡颇深，即下穿所入之峡也，以壁削路阻不得达。乃返穿左穴而进，其内曲折骈夹，高不及丈，阔亦如之，而中多直竖之柱，或连枝剖榭，或中盘旁丛，分合间错，披隙透窾，颇觉灵异，但石质甚莹白，而为松炬所薰，皆黑若烟煤，着手即腻不可脱。盖其洞既不高旷，烟雾莫散，而土人又惯用松明，便于伛偻，

to Yàngbì, with a stream flowing from it; the eastern gorge's path starting from Huādiàn sentry and emerging at Hóngguī Mountain, from it emerged two streams, this mountain protruded from Mǎzǐ sentry towards the north.

From the northern foothills we descended eastwards for two *lǐ* into the valley, passing Shàngsì village, crossing three streams. After three *lǐ* going east we reached another village. Then we climbed a slope along the eastern mountains going south. After more than one *lǐ*, we crossed to the western side of the eastern stream, then headed south up a slope. To the east was Lápíng Chǎng mountain [with a mine, east of the mountain is Dèngchuān.]. To its west mountains stretched across forming another small valley.

Heading south for just over one *lǐ*, we turned east, crossed a small pass. We had descended eastward for a total of one *lǐ* when we suddenly spotted a stream emerging from the bottom of a ravine. This were the upper reaches of the eastern stream, emerging from the cave below. We quickly descended to the bottom of the ravine, where we saw the water gushing out from the cave in the south, flowing north to form a creek. On the cliff above, facing north, was a cave about two to three *chǐ* wide, with the words Qīngyuán Cave inscribed above. This had been written by the Dèngchuān official Yáng Nánjīn. No water flowed from the cave's upper part and descending through its entrance we did not see any water either. Some say that after a few *lǐ* inside one can hear the sound of water. The entrance was narrow and deep, much like the rear cave in Cháolíng.

We had two guides: one carrying a basket of pine torches, the other lighting the torches to illuminate our path. We entered the cave heading south for several *zhàng*, then the path split into two. The lower path led into a hole, the upper path to a chamber. Above the chamber the path split again. We entered the right hole, which descended steeply with the risk of getting stuck in the narrow. For those who entered the narrow the walls blocked the path, preventing further progress. We turned back and entered the left hole. Inside, the path was twisted and narrow, less than a *zhàng* high and equally narrow in width. The cave was filled with stalacmites, connected branches dissecting the hall, others growing from the middle to the sides, branching and joining intertwined with cracks and crevices creating an eerie atmosphere. The stone was very

徐霞客 90

徐霞客 95

徐霞客 100

徐霞客 105

徐霞客 110

徐霞客 115

徐霞客 120

r 87: Huādiàn sentry ] Huādiàn Bà 花甸坝 is a high-altitude valley connecting to the Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 plain, at 25.88N 100.01E

r 87-88: Hóngguī Mountain ] A mountain near Xǐzhōu 喜洲 on the Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 plain, at 25.84N 100.1E.

r 91: Shàngsì village ] Now called Shàngsì 上寺, at 25.96N 99.96E.

r 110-111: like the rear cave in Cháolíng ] a cave complex in Húnán 湖南 that Xú Xiákè had visited.

徐霞客 125 而益增其煤膩。

徐霞客 130 盖先是有识者谓余曰：「是洞须岁首即游为妙，过二月辄为烟所黑。」余问其故，曰：「洞内经年，人莫之入，烟之旧染者，既渐退而白，乳之新生者，亦渐垂而长，故一当新岁，人竞游之，光景甚异。从此至二月，游者已多，新生之乳，既被采折，再染之垢，愈益薰蒸，但能点染衣服，无复领其光华矣。」余不以其言为然。至是而知洞以低故，其乳易采，遂折取无余，其烟易染，遂薰蒸有积，其言诚不诬也。

徐霞客 135 徐霞客 140

徐霞客 145 透柱隙南入，渐有水贮柱底盘中。其盘皆石底回环，大如盆盎，颇似粤西洞中仙田之类，但不能如其多也。约进半里，又坠穴西下，其深四五尺，复夹而南北，下平上凑，高与阔亦不及丈，南入三丈而止，北入十余丈，亦窘缩不能进。乃复出，升坠穴之上，寻其南隙，更披隘以入。入数丈，洞渐低，乳柱渐逼，俯膝透隙，匍匐愈难。复返而出，由楼下坑内批隙东转，又入数十丈，其内高阔与南入者同，而乳柱不能比胜。既穷，乃西从下坑透穴出。由坑仰眺，其上稍觉崆峒，即入时由楼上俯瞰处。既下穴出，渐见天光，乃升崖出口，满身皆染淄蒙垢矣。乃下，濯足水穴之口，踞石而浣。水从乱穴中汨汨出，遂成大溪北去，清冷澈骨。

徐霞客 150 徐霞客 155

徐霞客 155

bright and white, but blackened by the soot of the pine torches, making it greasy and difficult to wipe off. The cave was not high or spacious, so the smoke did not disperse, and the local people's use of pine torches while bend over added a layer to the soot.

Previously, someone knowledgeable had told me, 'It's best to visit this cave at the beginning of the year, as after the second month it becomes blackened by smoke.' I asked why and he explained, 'Throughout the year, few people enter the cave, so the old smoke stains gradually fade, and the newly formed stalactites also grow longer. So at the start of the new year people flock to visit it and the sight is splendid. From then until the second month, as more visitors come, the newly formed stalactites are broken off, and the renewed staining from the smoke makes it worse. It can still stain clothes, but it lost its original splendor.' I did not believe this at first, but now I understood. The cave, being low, makes the stalactites easy to break off, so none remain. The smoke easily stained everything, accumulating over time. His words were indeed true.

We passed through a gap between the columns towards the south and gradually found water collected in basins at the base of the pillars. These basins, made of stone, were large and round like bowls, somewhat **resembling the immortal fields in the caves of western Guǎngdōng**, but not as numerous. After progressing about half a *lǐ*, we descended into a hole to the west, about four to five *chǐ* deep, narrow from south to north with a flat bottom and the top converging, its height and width less than a *zhàng*. We went south for three *zhàng* and stopped, and then north for over ten *zhàng*, but the path was too narrow to continue. We then came back out and climbed above the hole we had descended, following a narrow gap to the south to re-enter. A few *zhàng* in, the cave became lower, and the stalactites more crowded, making it ever harder to crawl on our knees through the gaps. We turned back and exited, then re-entered through a gap in the pit beneath the loft, turning east for several dozen *zhàng*. The inside was as high and wide as the southern entrance, but the stalactites were incomparable in their magnificence. Reaching the end, we exited west through the hole below the pit, looking up from the pit and feeling as at **Kōngdòng**, the same place we had looked down upon when entering. After exiting the hole, we gradually saw daylight and climbed up to the exit of the cliff, our bodies completely covered in black soot. We then went down to wash our feet at the mouth of the water hole, sitting

r145-146: resembling the immortal fields in the caves of western Guǎngdōng ] This likely refers to experiences he made during his trip in western Guǎngxī 广西, when he visited Zhēnxiān Cave 真仙洞 – maybe there is a transcription error in the text?

r160: Kōngdòng ] A cave complex in Gānsù 甘肃 that he had visited in 1630 CE.

所留二人，炊黄粱于洞外者亦熟。以所携酒脯，箕踞啖洞前，仰见天光如洗，四山如城，甚愜幽兴。

饭后，仍逾西坳，稍南遵花甸路，遂横涉中溪，西上横亘山之东坂。沿山陟陇，五里下，出上驷村之西，仍循西山北行。一里，过一村，遂由小径遵西山陇半搜剔幽奥。上下冈坂十余里，抵暮，还宿于尹宅。

on a rock to rinse. The water gushed out from the chaotic holes, forming a large stream flowing north, cold and bone-chilling.

The two men who had stayed behind to cook millet outside the cave had finished. We sat down on mats to eat, accompanied by the liquor we brought. Looking up from the front of the cave, the sky was clear, and the surrounding mountains stood like a fortress, greatly pleasing our sense of solitude.

After the meal, we crossed the western pass again, slightly south we saw the road to Huādiàn, crossed the middle stream and ascended the eastern slope of the mountain. We followed the mountain ridge for five *lǐ*, descending to the west of Shàngsì village and then continued north along the western mountains. After one *lǐ*, we passed a village and then a small path followed the western mountains with secluded and hidden scenic spots. Up and down a ridge for over ten *lǐ*, we returned to Yǐn Zhōng's residence at dusk.

徐霞客 165

徐霞客 170

徐霞客 175

### 6th April 1639: Around Fèngyǔ

The following day, Xú Xiákè travelled with his companions to the northern side of the Fèngyǔ valley.

初四日

尹备数骑，循西山而北。三里，盘西山东出之嘴。又北半里，忽见山麓有数树撑空，出马足下，其下水声淙淙出树间，则泉穴自山底东透隙而出也。又北半里，有坑自北山陷坠成峡，涉之。

稍东，又盘一嘴，又三里而至波大邑，倚西山而聚庐，亦此间大聚落也。由村北坠坑而下，横涉一涧，又北上逾冈，三里而下，是为铁甲场，有溪自西山东注，村庐夹之。前闷江门南当峡扼水，小山又东踞，为此中水口，南北环山两支，复交于前，又若别成一洞天者。过溪，上北山。

4th day

Yǐn prepared several horses and we travelled north along the western mountains for three *lǐ*, where the basin's western mountains had an eastwards opening. Continuing for another half *lǐ* we suddenly saw several trees at the mountain's base covering a void emerging that appeared below our horses' hooves. There was the sound of water gurgling below the trees – it was a spring coming from the mountain's eastern base passing through the cracks. Another half *lǐ* further north was a depression where the northern mountains dropped, forming a gorge. We waded across.

A bit to the east the basin opened again and after another three *lǐ* we reached Bōdà Yì, one of the largest settlements on the western mountains. North of the village a pit lead downwards, we crossed a ravine and then climbed up another hill for three *lǐ*, then descended again. This was Tiějiǎ. A stream flowed from the western mountains to the east, with the village houses lining it. Ahead, south of Mènjiāng Mén, a small gorge constricted its waters. To its east sat a small mountain in the middle of the stream, which

徐霞客 180

徐霞客 185

徐霞客 190

徐霞客 195

[197: 别成一洞天者] This echoes the phrase 「桃花流水杳然去，别有天地非人间。」 in the poem 'Questions and

r178: with secluded and hidden scenic spots] Translation unclear, this follows the translation into modern Chinese in Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015), vol. 4, p. 2308.

r180: 4th day] 6th April 1639.

r191: Bōdà Yì] now called Bāodà Yì 包大邑, at ㊦ 26.02N 99.93E.

徐霞客 200 北山自西山横拖而来，为铁甲场龙砂，实凤羽第三重砂也，东束溪流，最为坚固，其西南之麓即铁甲，东北之麓即闷江门，凤羽一川，全以此为锁钥焉。骑登其上。

徐霞客 210 还饭于铁甲场居民家。置二樽于架上，下煨以火，插藤于中而递吸之，屡添而味不减。其村氓惯走缅甸，皆多彝货，以孩儿茶点水飧客，茶色若胭脂而无味。

徐霞客 215 下午，仍从波大邑盘泉穴山嘴，复西上探其腋中小圆山。风雨大至，沾濡而返。

flowed north and south around the mountain, flowing back together in front of it, forming a secluded paradise. We crossed the stream and ascended the northern mountain, which stretched from the western mountains at a right angle. This was Tiějiǎ's Lóngshā, Fèngyǔ's third sandbank, constraining the stream in the east particularly strong and stable; its southwestern foothill was Tiějiǎ, and its northeastern foothill was Mènjiāng Mén. The whole of the Fèngyǔ basin was controlled by it, we rode up on our horses. We returned to have a meal at a locals's home in Tiějiǎ. He placed two jars on a rack, heated them from below, inserted a tube in the middle in turn we drank from it, repeatedly adding to it without losing its flavor. The villagers, accustomed to travelling to Miǎndiàn, they all had many wine vessels and served guests *Háier Tea*, made by steeping leaves in water. The tea had a color like Rouge but was tasteless.

In the afternoon we followed from a spring from Bōdà Yì along mountain spur, then went up west to explore a small round mountain on its side. Wind and rain began and drenching us, so we returned.

### 7th April 1639: Tomb Sweeping Festival

Tomb Sweeping Festival 清明节 fell on this day and Xú Xiákè attended the tomb sweeping ceremonies at a grave mound nearby.

初五日  
晨起欲别，尹君以是日清明，留宴于莹山，即土主庙北新莹也。

坐庙前观祭扫者纷纷，奢者携一猪，

#### 5th day

I got up, intending to bid farewell, but Yin pointed out that **the day was Tomb Sweeping Festival**, so I should stay to for a banquet on the burial mountain, i.e. at the new burial ground just north of the Earth God Temple.

Sitting in front of the temple, I watched people busily attending

*Answers in the Mountains'* 《山中问答》 by the Táng dynasty poet Lǐ Bái 李白, which in turn refers to Táo Yuānmíng 陶渊明的 fable 《桃花源记》 mentioned above when he first entered the valley.

l219: 莹山 ] i.e. *mùdì* 墓地, Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015), vol. 4, p. 2310.

r210: *Háier Tea* ] A medicinal tea listed in the 'Compendium of Materia Medica' 《本草纲目》.

r217: 5th day ] 7th April 1639.

r218–219: the day was Tomb Sweeping Festival ] Qīngmíng Jié 清明节 is the *jiéqì* 节气 after the vernal equinox 春分, however the calendar then in use, the *Great Unification Canon* 大统历, was based on the Yuán dynasty *Inception Granting Canon* 授时历, which resulted in a computation for the vernal equinox in divergence from the astronomical vernal equinox (it fell on 23rd March 1639 in the Chinese calendar, two days after the astronomical vernal equinox), making Qīngmíng Jié 清明节 fall on the 7th April 1639 in the Gregorian calendar, see see Zhāng Péiyú 张培瑜 (1990), p. 368. For an explanation how the days were calculated, see Peterson (1986), for more background information, see Martzloff (2016). This discrepancy in the calendar was corrected in the calendar for the Southern Míng, 1644–1662 CE, see Huáng Diǎnquán 黄典权 (1962).

就茔间火炕之而祭；贫者携一鸡，就茔间吊杀之，亦烹以祭。

回忆先茔，已三违春露，不觉恍然！亟返而卧。

to their ancestral graves. The wealthy brought pigs, roasting them over fire pit between the graves to offer them as sacrifice. The poor, on the other hand, brought chickens, hung and slaughtered them there, and cooked them as offering.

Reflecting on my own ancestors' graves, which I had not visited for three springs, I felt a sudden pang of sorrow and quickly returned to lie down.

徐霞客 225

### 8th April 1639: In and Around Fèngyǔ 凤羽

初六日

余欲别，而尹君谓，前邀其岳吕梦熊，期今日至，必再暂停。适村有诸生许姓者，邀登凤羽南高岭，随之。下午返而吕君果至，相见甚欢。

6th day

I wanted to take my leave, but Lord Yǐn mentioned that he had previously invited his father-in-law, Lǚ Mèngxióng, who was expected to arrive that day, so I was bound to stay a little longer. Coincidentally, a scholar from the village with the surname Xǔ invited me to climb the high ridge south of Fèngyǔ, and I accompanied him. In the afternoon, upon returning, Lǚ had indeed arrived, and our meeting was very joyous.

徐霞客 230

徐霞客 235

### 9th April 1639: Trip to Qīngyuán Cave

Xú Xiákè makes another trip to Qīngyuán Cave 清源洞。

初七日

尹君仍备骑，同梦熊再为清源洞之游。先从白米村截川而东，五里，遵东山南行。山麓有骑龙景帝庙，庙北有泉一穴，自崖下涌出，崖石嵌磊，巨木盘纠，清泉漱其下，古藤络其上，境甚清幽。

7th day

Yǐn Jūn, as before, prepared horses and we set out with Mèngxióng for another tour of the Qīngyuán Cave. From Báimǐ village we followed the river on the eastern side. After five *lǐ*, following the eastern mountains going south, we reached the **Temple for the Dragon Riding Emperor Jǐng** at the foot of the mountain. To the north of the temple a spring emerged from a cave, gushing out from beneath a cliff. The cliff was studded with rocks, entwined with huge trees, clear spring water gargling below, old vines ranked above – a serene scene.

徐霞客 240

徐霞客 245

土人之耕者，见数骑至，以为追捕者，俱释耜而趋山走险，呼之，趋益急。

又南五里而抵清源洞。不复深入，揽洞前形势。仍西渡中溪，遍观西山形

The local farmers, seeing several riders approaching, mistook us for robbers, abandoned their plows and fled into the mountains. We called them, but they fled even faster.

Another five *lǐ* south brought us to Qīngyuán Cave. This time we did not venture deep inside but admired the cave's exterior and

徐霞客 250

r 230: 6th day ] 8th April 1639.

r 238: 7th day ] 9th April 1639.

r 240: Báimǐ village ] this village is still called the same, at ㊦ 25.98N 99.95E.

r 242–243: Temple for the Dragon Riding Emperor Jǐng ] temple for the Nánzhào ruler 世隆, see Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015), vol. 4, p. 2311

胜而返。

徐霞客 255 下午，余苦索别，吕君代为尹留甚笃。是日宴张氏两公子。客去，犹与吕君洗盏更酌，陈乐为胡舞，曰「紧急鼓」。

surroundings. Then we crossed the central stream to the west, surveyed the scenic beauty of the western mountains and returned. In the afternoon, I was tired and wanted to take my leave, but Lord Lǚ, on Yǐn Zhōng's behalf, insisted that I stay with them. That day we had a banquet with two sons of the Zhāng family. After the guests left, I shared a few more drinks with Lord Lǚ, for entertainment a *hú* dance was put on, called *jǐnjǐgǔ*.

## To Dàlǐ

### 10th April 1639: Stop in Làngqióng 浪穹

From Fèngyǔ 凤羽, Xú Xiákè walked back to Làngqióng 浪穹, now known as Ěryuán 洱源, where he stayed at the Confucian temple 文庙.

徐霞客 260 初八日  
同梦熊早饭后别尹君。三十五里，抵浪穹南门。梦熊别去，期中旬晤榆城。

徐霞客 265 余入文庙，命顾仆借炊于护明寺，而后往候何六安。何公待余不至，已先一日趋榆城矣。余乃促何长君定夫，为明日行计。

何长君留酌书馆，复汲汤泉为浴而卧。

#### 8th day

After having breakfast with Mèngxióng, I bid farewell to Mr Yǐn and travelled thirty-five *lǐ* to reach the south gate of Làngqióng. Mèngxióng departed, agreeing to meet again mid-month in the walled town of Yú.

I entered the Confucian temple and instructed my servant to borrow cooking facilities from Hùmíng temple before going to wait for Hé Liùān. However, Hé, having waited for me without my arrival, had already gone to the walled town of Yú a day earlier. Thus, I urged the elder Hé to hire porters and arrange the journey for the next day.

Hé invited me to drinks in his study hall, I then fetched water from the hot spring to wash and retired to rest.

r 259: *hú* dance ] the term *hú* 胡 usually refers to non-Hàn people in the northwest, so here it signifies 'native'.

r 259: *jǐnjǐgǔ* ] A Bái ethnic group dance, see Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015), vol. 4, p. 231.

r 260: 8th day ] 10th April 1639.

r 264: walled town of Yú ] another name for Dàlǐ 大理.



## 4 Glossary

- Bàzǐ** 坝子: basin, a local expression for the flat areas between mountains in Yúnnán, – see page 5, 17
- Báiguó Yīnyóu** 《白国因由》: ‘Origins of the Bai Kingdom’, Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào, – see page 17
- Bái Jūyì** 白居易: Po Chū-i, famous Táng dynasty poet, \*772 †846, – see page 9, 17
- Báimǐ** 白米: village on Fèngyǔ 凤羽 plain, (⊕ 25.98N 99.95E) – see page 15
- Báiwáng** 白王: village name, – see page 9
- Báiwáng Miào** 白王庙: Báiwáng Temple, temple in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, – see page 10, 17
- Bái zú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ěrhǎi, – see page 16, 17
- Bāodà Yì** 包大邑: village north of Fèngyǔ 凤羽, (⊕ 26.02N 99.93E) – see page 13
- Běi Wèi** 北魏: northern Wèi, Chinese dynasty, 386–535, 386–535 CE – see page 5, 17
- Běncǎo Gāngmù** 《本草纲目》: ‘Compendium of Materia Medica’, 1590 medical compendium, compiled by Lǐ Shízhēn 李时珍, 卣 <https://www.gushiwen.cn/guwen/book.aspx?id=46653FD803893E4FA8121459333EEB43> – see page 14, 17
- Bōdà Yì** 波大邑: village north of Fèngyǔ 凤羽, now called Bāodà Yì 包大邑, (⊕ 26.02N 99.93E) – see page 13, 14
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi, – see page 17
- Chá líng** 茶陵: county in Húnán 湖南, –
- Chá líng Dòng** 茶陵洞: Chá líng Cave, cave complex in Chá líng 茶陵, – see page 11, 17
- Chūn fēn** 春分: vernal equinox, one of the twenty-four solar terms, the vernal equinox, – see page 14, 17
- Dà lǐ** 大理: , – see pages 5, 6, 16, 22
- Dà tǒng 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 pages 5, 14, 17
- Dà xī** 大厘: earlier name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲, – see page *see* 史城
- Dèng chuān** 邓川: town at the northern end of Ěrhǎi, – see page 11
- Dì shì** 帝释: Śakra, see Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 739, – see page 17
- Dì shì Sì** 帝释寺: Dì shì Temple, Buddhist temple west of Fèngyǔ 凤羽, (⊕ 25.98N 99.91E) – see pages 5, 9, 10, 17
- Dì shì Sì** 帝释寺: Dì shì Temple, Buddhist temple, – see page 17
- 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 Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty, – see page 17

- Diān Zàijì** 《滇载记》: ‘*Historical Records of Diān*’, Míng 明 period historical work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, completed 1525, – see page 18
- Diǎncāng Shān** 点苍山: Diǎncāng Mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理, – see page 18
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xīěr Hé, – see pages 5, 6, 8, 11, 18
- Ēryuán** 洱源: present-day county north of Ērhǎi, formerly known as 浪穹, – see pages 5, 6, 16
- Fèngyǔ** 凤羽: township in present-day Ēryuán, – see pages 5, 6, 8–10, 13–16
- Fèngyǔ Xī** 凤羽溪: Fèngyǔ stream, stream flowing through and out of the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin, – see page 8, 18
- Fèngyǔ county** 凤羽县: Fèngyǔ county, county established at Fèngyǔ 凤羽 during the Yuán Cháo 元朝, – see page 9, 18
- Gānsù** 甘肃: Chinese province, – see page 12
- 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 page 18
- Guǎngdōng** 广东: Chinese province, – see page 12
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province, – see page 12
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: province in south-west China, – see page 5
- Háier Chá** 孩儿茶: *Háier* Tea, a medicinal tea extracted from *Acacia catechu*, documented in the 《本草纲目》 by Lǐ Shízhēn 李时珍 under Wūdīēní 乌爹泥, – see page 14, 18
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220, – see page 10, 18
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty, – see page 16, 18
- hào** 号: *sobriquet*, assumed literary name, – see page 9, 18
- Hé Chángjūn** 何长君: Lord Hé, acquaintance of Xú Xiákè 徐霞客, – see page 6, 18
- Hóngguī Shān** 弘圭山: Hóngguī mountain, mountain near Xǐzhōu 喜洲, (⊕ 25.84N 100.1E) – see page 18
- Hóngguī Shān** 洪珪山: Hóngguī Mountain, mountain near Xǐzhōu 喜洲, now called Hóngguī Shān 弘圭山, (⊕ 25.84N 100.1E) – see page 11, 18, see 弘圭山
- Húnán** 湖南: Chinese province, – see page 11
- Hù míng Sì** 护明寺: Hù míng temple, temple in Ēryuán, – see page 16, 18
- Huādiàn Bà** 花甸坝: Huādiàn valley, high-altitude plain in the northern part of Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, (⊕ 25.88N 100.01E) – see pages 11, 13, 18
- Huādiàn Shào** 花甸哨: Huādiàn sentry, sentry at Huādiàn Bà 花甸坝, (⊕ 25.88N 100.01E) – see page 11, 18
- Jīzúshān** 鸡足山: Chickenfoot Mountain, Buddhist mountain northeast of Ērhǎi, – see page 5, 18
- jiéqì** 节气: solar term, division of the solar year into twenty-four periods, – see page 14, 18

- Kōngdòng** 崆峒: cave complex in Gānsù 甘肃, – see page 12
- Kūnmíng** 昆明市: Kūnmíng, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào, – see page 5, 19, see 拓东
- Làpíng Chǎng** 蜡坪厂: village between Fèngyǔ 凤羽 and Yòusuǒ 右所, (⊕ 25.98N 100.0E) – see page 11
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five Zhào, later a county, now ??, – see pages 5, 6, 16
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- Lǐ Shízhēn** 李时珍: compiler of the 《本草纲目》, \*1518–†1593, 卹 [https://www.gushiwen.cn/authorv\\_2dec524bb93d.aspx](https://www.gushiwen.cn/authorv_2dec524bb93d.aspx) –
- Lì Dàoyuán** 酈道元: compiler of the 《水经注》, –
- Lìjiāng** 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan, – see page 5
- Liànchéng** 练城: village in the southern part of Ěryuán, (⊕ 26.1N 99.98E) – see page 8
- Liùcháo** 六朝: Six Dynasties, period after the Hàn until the Suí dynasty 220–589, – see page 19
- Lóngshā** 龙砂: place name in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, – see page 14
- Lǚ Mèngxióng** 吕梦熊: , – see pages 9, 15, 16
- Mǎtóu** 马头: village in Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, (⊕ 25.98N 99.94E) –
- Mǎzǐ Shào** 马子哨: village in Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, probably Mǎtóu 马头, – see page 10, 11
- Mènjiāng** 闷江: another name for the Fèngyǔ Xī 凤羽溪, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 13, p. 93, – see page 8, 10
- Mènjiāng Mén** 闷江门: locality at the outflow of the Fèngyǔ Xī 凤羽溪 from the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, – see pages 8, 13, 14
- Miǎndiàn** 缅甸: Miǎndiàn, present-day Burma, the lowlands west of Yúnnán, – see page 14, 19
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644, – see pages 5, 9, 19
- Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明, – see page 19
- Mù Zēng** 木增: Tǔsī 土司 of Lìjiāng 丽江, \*1587–†1646 – see page 19
- Nán Míng** 南明: Southern Míng, Chinese dynasty, 1644–1662, 1644–1662 CE – see page 14, 19
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, – see page 19
- Nánzhào Túzhuan** 《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 19
- Niǎodiào Shān** 鸟吊山: Niǎodiào Mountain, legendary term for a mountain in Fèngyǔ 凤羽, the name first appears in the 《水经注》, – see pages 5, 10, 19
- Pǔtuókōng** 普驼崆: Pǔtuó narrow, a narrow through which the waters of the Ěryuán

- basin drain into the Ěrhǎi basin, (⊕ 26.09N 100.01E) – see page 8, 19
- Qílóng Jǐngdì Miào** 骑龙景帝庙: Temple for the Dragon Riding Emperor Jǐng, temple for the Nánzhào ruler 世隆 south of Fèngyǔ 凤羽, see Zhū Huìróng 朱惠荣 (2015), vol. 4, p. 2311, – see page 15, 20
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE, – see page 20
- Qīngmíng Jié** 清明节: Tomb Sweeping Festival, traditional Chinese day of mourning, fifteen days after Spring Equinox, – see pages 5, 14, 20
- Qīngyuán Dòng** 清源洞: Qīngyuán Cave, cave and temple south of Fèngyǔ 凤羽, – see pages 5, 10, 11, 15, 20
- Sān Yuè Jiē** 三月街: Third Month Fair, important annual market, with origins in a festival in honour of Guānyīn, – see page 20
- Shānguān** 山关: village along the Fèngyǔ Xī 凤羽溪, (⊕ 26.06N 99.94E) – see page 8
- Shānzhōngwèndá** 《山中问答》: ‘*Questions and Answers in the Mountains*’, poem by Lǐ Bái 李白, ♣ <https://eastasiastudent.net/china/classical/li-bai-shanzhong-wenda/> – see page 13, 20
- Shàngsì** 上寺: village in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin, (⊕ 25.96N 99.96E) – see page 8, 11
- Shàngsì** 上驷: village in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin, probably Shàngsì 上寺, (⊕ 25.96N 99.96E) – see pages 8, 11, 13
- Shào** 哨: sentry, , – see pages 8, 10, 20
- Shèshàngpán** 舍上盘: village in Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, – see page 9, 10
- Shǐchéng** 史城: ancient name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲, – see page see 大厘
- Shìlóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, \*844, Ψ859, †877, \*844, Ψ859, †877 – see page 20
- Shòushí Lì** 授时历: *Inception Granting Canon*, Chinese calendar, for the translation of the term see Martzloff (2016), p. 58, – see page 14, 20
- Shuǐjīng** 《水经》: ‘*Water Classic*’, early, now lost, geographical work, – see page 20
- Shuǐjīngzhù** 《水经注》: ‘*Commentary on the Water Classic*’, classic text, commentary to the lost 《水经》, compiled during the Běi Wèi 北魏 by Lì Dàojuán 酈道元, – see pages 5, 10, 20
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province, –
- Suí Cháo** 隋朝: Suí dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 581–618, 581–618 CE – see page 20
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, – see page 14, 20
- Táohuā Yuán** 桃花源: Peach Blossom Spring, a fable by Táo Yuānmíng 陶渊明, describing a utopia of life in harmony with nature, disconnected from the world, ♣ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Peach\\_Blossom\\_Spring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Peach_Blossom_Spring) – see page 9, 20
- Táohuā Yuán Jì** 《桃花源记》: ‘*Memories of Peach Blossom Spring*’, work by Táo Yuānmíng 陶渊明, – see pages 9, 14, 20
- Táo Yuānmíng** 陶渊明: Liùcháo 六朝 poet, \*365–†427, ♣ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tao\\_Yuanming](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tao_Yuanming) – see page 9, 14
- Tiānmǎ Shān** 天马山: Tiānmǎ mountain, mountain at the southern end of the Ěryuán basin, – see page 8, 20
- Tiějiǎ** 铁甲: village in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin, (⊕ 26.04N 99.94E) – see pages 8, 13, 14

- Tǔguān Dǐbù** 《土官底簿》: *Files of the Local Rulers*, history of the local rulers, published during the Míng 明, – see page 9, 21
- Tǔsī** 土司: native official, term for Chinese appointed officials from the native population from the Míng 明 onwards, see Daniels (2018), p. 202, – see page 21
- Tǔzhǔ Miào** 土主庙: Earth God Temple, temple to local deities, – see pages 10, 14, 21
- Tǔzhǔ Píng** 土主坪: village name in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 valley, – see page 9
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào, –
- Wénmiào** 文庙: Confucian temple, Confucian temple, only permitted in larger towns, – see pages 6, 16, 21
- Wūdiēní** 乌爹泥: medicinal tea listed in the 《本草纲目》, –
- Xīěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi, –
- Xīěr Hé** 西洱河: Xiěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake, – see page 21
- Xǐzhōu** 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ěrhǎi, about modern location of Dàxī 大厘, – see page 11, see 大厘
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit, – see pages 5, 6, 10, 21
- xiāng** 乡: *xiāng*, low-level administrative region, usually for rural areas, – see page 10, 21
- Xīnshēngyì** 新生邑: village in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin, (⊕ 26.02N 99.95E) – see page 9
- Xú Xiákè** 徐霞客: Míng 明 traveller, – see pages 5, 6, 9–11, 13–16
- Xúxiákè Yóujì** 《徐霞客游记》: *Xú Xiákè's Travel Records*, Xú Xiákè 徐霞客 travel records, published posthumously, – see pages 5, 10, 21
- Xuělí** 雪梨: village in the Fèngyǔ 凤羽 basin, (⊕ 26.03N 99.95E) – see page 8
- Xúnsī** 巡司: police office, ‘unofficial reference to a local Police Chief’, see Hucker (1985), 2760 – see page 9, 21
- Yáng Nánjīn** 杨南金: Míng 明 official from Dèngchuān 邓川, \*1458–†1538 – see page 11, 21
- 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, \*1488–†1557 – see page 21, see 滇载记
- Yàngbì** 漾濞: present-day county west of 苍山, – see page 10, 11
- Yīn** 尹: administrator, ‘Administrator of a Superior Prefecture (fu) and normally its active head’, but also used as ‘common element in merit titles’, see Hucker (1985), 7969 – see page 21
- Yīn Jūn** 尹君: Lord Yīn, acquaintance of Xú Xiákè 徐霞客, – see page 15, 21
- Yīn Shèng** 尹胜: first generation native ruler of Fèngyǔ 凤羽, appointed in 1383, for the history see 《土官底簿》, – see page 9
- Yīn Zhōng** 尹忠: local officer in Fèngyǔ 凤羽, son of Yīn Shèng 尹胜, – see pages 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16
- Yòusuǒ** 右所: township north of Dèngchuān 邓川, –

- Yúchéng** 榆城: walled town of Yú, another name for Dàlǐ 大理, – see page 22
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368, – see page 14, 22
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district, – see page 5, 6
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm, – see page 22
- Zhēnxiān Dòng** 真仙洞: Zhēnxiān Cave, cave complex in Guǎngxī 广西, – see page 12, 22
- Zhūchén** 朱陈: ancient village, appearing in poetry, – see page 9
- Zhūchéncūn** 《朱陈村》: ‘Zhūchén Village’, poem by Bái Jūyì 白居易, – see page 9, 22
- Cǐbì Hú** 苕碧湖: Cǐbì Lake, lake north of Ěryuán, – see page 8, 22

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