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Scenic Beauty outside the City:
Tourism around Hangzhou's West Lake in the Southern Song (1127-1276)

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the development of tourism around West Lake during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and its impact on urban space, popular religion, and visual culture. It aims to join the conversation about the Chinese medieval urban revolution and contribute to the discussion of tourism in pre-modern contexts.

Tourism is a key cultural practice that involves temporary physical movement and mental escape from normal daily life. Scholars in diverse disciplines have shown tourism's powerful role in shaping and reflecting the creation of identity, the accumulation of knowledge, and the consumption of visual and material culture.

West Lake became the premier tourist site outside Hangzhou when it was the capital of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1276), and the lake has remained a cultural landmark ever since. Situated just outside the city wall, West Lake attracted the imperial family, literati, painters, merchants, and ordinary people with its beautiful scenery and rich cultural traditions.

Literature about touring around the lake—from elegant poems written by literati while boating to amusing anecdotes about uncanny experiences of tourists—reveal layers of meanings attached to the lake. The lakeshore was crowded with shops, restaurants, and peddlers, possible because the government was lax in its regulation of commercial activities outside the city walls. Temples that dotted the hills around the lake attracted pilgrims and tourists alike, especially during annual festivals. The Ten Views of West Lake became a popular subject for poets and painters, whose works show their emotional attachment to nature and continue to shape the gaze of tourists to the present.

This dissertation examines how West Lake became a popular tourist site in the Southern Song, documenting the emergence of a wide range of services offered to sightseers, including food and drink, boat rental, and souvenir shopping. A second goal of the dissertation is to explore the complexity of West Lake as an interactive space where political ideals, economic concerns, spiritual pursuits, and cultural desires came into contact. Asking how a tourist center functioned forces one to consider space, place, and landscape as interrelated.

Mass-tourism at West Lake was a multi-faceted phenomenon. It brought people into contact with nature and shaped the ways they conceptualized the natural landscape. Socially, the lake served as a watering hole of sorts, bringing different classes of people together. Tourism at the lake acted as a bridge and intermediary between elite and popular culture, as well as sacred and secular experiences. The features of tourism that were established during the Southern Song were appropriated by tourists in later periods in their own pursuits of local fame, security, social relationships, cultural capital, and commercial profit.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the course of history, from trips around Mt. Fuji in Tokugawa Japan to the wine tourism in the Napa Valley, from the Grand Tour of Italy to Caribbean cruises, tourism has developed from the occasional excursion to a global industry. As a key cultural practice that involves temporary physical movement and mental escape from normal daily life, tourism has attracted scholars from the fields of anthropology, cultural studies, history, sociology, geography, religious study, and others. This interdisciplinary body of research reveals tourism's powerful role in shaping and reflecting the creation of identity, the accumulation of knowledge, and the consumption of visual-material culture. Indeed, tourism does not merely “represent” cultural difference or “reflect” relations between cultures; rather, it is instrumental in producing the very culture that attracts tourists, and in (re)shaping interactions between individuals, communities, and countries.

This dissertation examines the development of tourism around West Lake during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Situated just outside the city wall of Hangzhou, the capital of the country, West Lake attracted the imperial family, literati, painters, merchants, and ordinary people with its beautiful scenery and rich cultural traditions. Poems, paintings, anecdotes, and gazetteers all made reference to excursions to and around West Lake. Trips discussed in this dissertation usually lasted a day or half a day, and at most two or three days when the travelers went deep into the surrounding mountains. While at the lake, visitors would enjoy the scenery, meet friends, go for a boat ride, participate in a festival, or attend the seasonal markets. This kind of pleasant, relaxing trip was referred as *you* 遊 or *youye* 遊冶 (strolling/roaming for pleasure) in

traditional Chinese as opposed to *xinglü* 行旅 (travel with luggage) or *zhuangyou* 壯遊 (grand travel).

How people spend their free time may seem a minor concern, but studying it offers a way to explore the interconnections between culture and practice and to examine cultural change over time. It also provides insight into the life of ordinary city-dwellers, a group poorly documented in most sources, written as they were by the educated elite. Exploring the nature, evolution, and functions of excursion activities to and around the lake, this dissertation has two major goals. The first is to demonstrate that West Lake became a popular tourist site in the Southern Song, with the emergence of sightseeing activities practiced among a wide range of people, mainly urban residents. This role has largely defined the lake's later history. The other is to explore the complexity of West Lake as an interactive site where political ideals, economic concerns, spiritual pursuits, and cultural desires shaped each other. Asking how a tourist center was created forces one to consider space, place, and landscape as interrelated.

This dissertation contends that the emerging mass tourism during the Southern Song was significant geo-historically: environmentally, tourism expanded urban space and linked it to the suburban religious landscape; socially, it served as a watering hole of sorts, bringing different classes of people together; culturally, it acted as a bridge and intermediary between elite and popular culture, as well as sacred and secular experiences. Empowered by the development of tourism, West Lake therefore acquired comprehensive and complex functions and meanings. This site was where physical landscape and symbolic space overlapped, where aesthetic imagination conflicted with practical considerations, where elite interpretation and popular concepts coexisted, where leisure activities interrupted serious business, where secular desires coexisted with sacred experiences.

A Brief History of West Lake

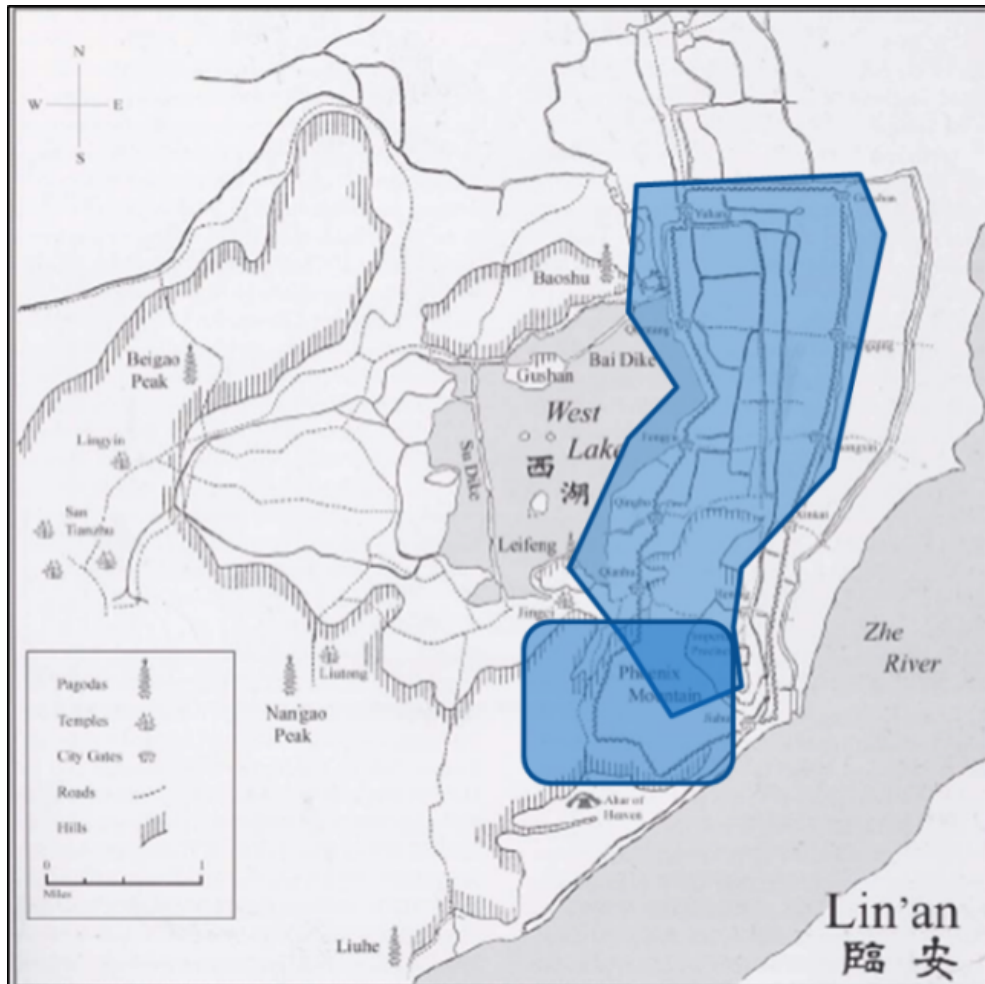


Figure 1: Map of West Lake and Hangzhou in the Southern Song, with the Hangzhou city and imperial city noted. After Hui-shu Lee, *Exquisite Moments: West Lake and Southern Song Art* (New York: China Institute Gallery: Distributed by Art Media Resources, 2001), 21.

Located on the west side of the city of Hangzhou (Fig. 1), West Lake is surrounded by mountains on three sides. Two thousand years ago, it was still part of the *Zhe* River, which flows on the southeastern side of the city as shown in Fig. 1. Due to soil sedimentation, the lake gradually acquired its shape and location around the time of the Qin Dynasty, second century

BC.¹ The building of the Grand Canal during the Sui Dynasty (581-619) boosted the development of Hangzhou, the south end of the canal. Though the formation of West Lake was a long-term natural process, it was because of the enduring state-sponsored preservation project that the lake could continue through the history. From 780 to 783, the Regional Inspector Li Mi 李泌 (722-789) opened six wells, which enabled Hangzhou dwellers to drink clean lake water. From then on, local officials kept managing the lake water. The famous poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) was also known for controlling the lake water while acting as the magistrate in Hangzhou.

After the fall of the Tang Dynasty, Hangzhou, known also as Qiantang, was chosen as the capital of the Wuyue Kingdom (907-978). This was also the time when the demographic center of China began to shift to the lower-Yangzi provinces. Hangzhou then entered its first period of rapid development and thus jumped from a third-rank city to one of the most important economic and cultural centers in south China. The King of Wuyue was known for his Buddhist devotions, and during his reign, monasteries were built in the surrounding mountains around West Lake. This area remained the primary pilgrimage center for the Guanyin cult until the Ming Dynasty, when Mount Putuo developed into the new center.² Both Tianzhu and Soul's Retreat Monasteries flourished during this time. The Wuyue Kingdom also showed that the state took a role, if not the most important one, in promoting the lake as a "sight." The process of the landscape being regarded as a scenic spot was by no means a spontaneous one, but was very much depended on the sponsorship of the state, including both the excursion model established by imperial family

¹ The formation of West Lake took place approximately during the Qin and Han Dynasties. *Han shu* 漢書 documents West Lake as "Wulin shui" (武林水, Martial Grove Water). Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書, SKQS, 28 shang: 46b. Late Ming literatus Zhang Dai 張岱 indicated in his *Xihu mengxun* that Qin Shihuang went to the sea via West Lake and tied his boat to a huge rock, which was located near the Ming Dynasty Big Stone Buddha Monastery. Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi Xihu mengxun* 陶庵夢憶 西湖夢尋 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 163.

² Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-Yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). See especially the chapter "P'u-t'o Shan."

and the encouragement of the government. This phenomenon reached its zenith during the Song Dynasty.

During the Northern Song (960-1127), West Lake became a major concern of many Hangzhou magistrates, for the fact that the lake functioned as water resource for drinking, irrigation, wine making, shipping and also regarded as “releasing-life pond” in the Buddhist sense.³ The most well known local official was the literatus Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). During his second term as the Hangzhou prefectural magistrate (1089-1091), he found that the lake had significantly shrunk due to excessive weeds and silt. In his memorial, “A Request to Dredge West Lake,” he urged the court to preserve the lake by explaining the importance of the lake to Hangzhou city, which will be further discussed in Chapter II. This was the first official document in which the name “West Lake” appeared.⁴

The fame of West Lake’s scenery even contributed to the choice of Hangzhou as the capital city after the Song lost the north to the Jurchen and retreated to south of the Yangzi River in 1127. As Jacques Gernet notes, “Hangzhou, apart from its convenient distance from the area threatened by invasion, had only one trump: the charm and attractiveness of its scenery.”⁵ During the Southern Song, the beautiful scenery and rich cultural traditions of West Lake attracted the imperial family, literati, painters, merchants, and ordinary people. Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), the thirteenth century literatus, recorded, “the scenery of West Lake is famous country-wide: at dawn or dusk, when sunny or rainy, through all four seasons the lake scenery is always excellent. Hangzhou residents visit the lake year-round...” (西湖天下景，朝昏晴雨，四序總宜。杭人

³ “Releasing-life pond” is a very common practice in traditional China, encouraged by both Buddhist teaching and local governments. People would release live fish and turtle into the pond as a symbol of accumulating merits.

⁴ Su Shi 蘇軾, “Hangzhou qi dudie kai xihu zhuang” 杭州乞度牒開西湖狀, in Su Shi 蘇軾, *Dongpo Quanjì* 東坡全集, 57: 1-5.

⁵ Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China, On the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250-1276* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1962), 23.

亦無時而不遊...)⁶ Along with the prosperity of sightseeing came the development of the infrastructure for tourism. Tourist maps, guides, souvenirs, rental services, seasonal events, and accommodations all previously believed to be the production of modern tourism, became common in Southern Song West Lake. Sightseeing maps, with a number of places of interest marked, were included in the local gazetteer.⁷ Several sets of miscellanies (*biji*, literally “(trivial) brush notes”) included detailed information regarding seasonal sightseeing activities, festivals celebrated on the lake, and well-known tourist routes.

The development of tourism at West Lake during the Southern Song has long been recognized among scholars of Song history, but it has rarely been made a central focus of research.⁸ Discussions of excursions around West Lake generally stop with mention of their popularity or Su Shi’s role in enhancing it.⁹ This dissertation, by contrast, brings the perspectives of recent scholarship on tourism and “place studies” to probe more deeply the development of West Lake tourism.

⁶ Zhou Mi 周密, *Wulin Jushi* 武林舊事(WLJS), “Xihu youxing” 西湖游幸 (Excursion around West Lake), in Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing menghua lu (wai si zhong)* 東京夢華錄 (外四種) (DJMHL), anno., Zhou Feng 周峰 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1998), 353.

⁷ Qian Yueyou 潛說友, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (XCLAZ), in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志叢刊 (SYFZ), Zhonghua shuju bianjibu 中華書局編輯部 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 33: 6a.

⁸ For general discussion of the popularity of tourism, see Lin Zhengqiu 林正秋, *NanSong gudu Lin'an* 南宋故都臨安 ([Zhengzhou]: Zhongzhou shuhuashe, 1984). Xu Jijun 徐吉軍, *NanSong ducheng Lin'an* 南宋都城臨安 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2008). Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China*; Kaoru Umehara 梅原郁, *Chūgoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* 中國近世の都市と文化 (Kyōto-shi: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1984).

Some other Chinese theses also touch this topic: Song Renzheng 宋仁正, “Songdai de xihu yu Hangzhou” 宋代的西湖與杭州, (M.A. thesis, National Chengchi University, 2004); Dai Huafen 戴華芬, “Xihu de meili yu aichou: shilun NanSong shiqi xihu luyou huodong de geshi fengmao” 西湖的美麗與哀愁——試論南宋時期西湖旅遊活動的各式風貌 (M.A. thesis, Tsinghua University, Taiwan, 2000); ZhuanSun Zhangjie 顛孫張傑, “Lin'an de fosi yu luyou wenhua yanjiu” 臨安的佛寺與旅遊文化研究 (M.A. thesis, Shanghai Shifan Daxue, 2005); Cheng Meng 成蔭, “Nansong Lin'an xihu jingqu jieri youle chutan” 南宋臨安西湖景區節日遊樂初探, *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao*, Jan. 2008; Cheng Meng 成蔭, Wang Xi 王曦, “Guanfang gonggong fuwu yu NanSong xihu luyou” 官方公共服務與南宋西湖旅遊, *Yibin xueyuan xuebao*, Aug. 2005.

⁹ For the discussion of tourism and painting, see Lee Hui-shu, *Exquisite Moments*; Jin Wenjing 金文京, “Xihu zai Zhong Ri Han: luetan fengjing zhuan yi zai dong ya wenxue zhong de yi yi” 西湖在中日韓——略談風景轉移在東亞文學中的意義, Shi Shouqian 石守謙, Liao Zhaozheng 廖肇亨, *Dong Ya wenhua yixiang zhi xingsu* 東亞文化之形塑 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2011), 141-166; Miyazaki Noriko 宮崎法子, “Saiko wo meguru kaiga” 西湖をめぐる絵画, in Kaoru Umehara 梅原郁, *Chūgoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* 中國近世の都市と文化 (Kyōto-shi: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1984), 199-246. For literati’s activities around West Lake, see Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2011); Benjamin B Ridgway, “Imagined Travel: Displacement, Landscape, and Literati Identity in the Song Lyrics of Su Shi (1037--1101)” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2005).

Pre-modern Tourism

The rich body of scholarship on tourism, though mainly focusing on modern western places, offers insight and comparative perspectives. In particular, the concept of “corporeal mobility” brings attention to the way landscapes are incorporated into the social and cultural frameworks through the movement of bodies. According to Gareth Shaw and Allan Williams, tourism involves mobility in many necessarily interrelated forms: “goods, information, services, and financial transactions are all mobile over space, as are people.”¹⁰ It was the mobility of people that made possible tourism around West Lake in the first place. Such movement of people was certainly accompanied by the moving of money, goods from the city and the mountains, knowledge of the inhabited areas, as well as the interweaving of varying cultural and social desires.

These movements crossed geographical, social and cultural boundaries and enriched the meanings of the tourist destination as a place. In addition, as sociologist Erik Cohen argues, tourism is an experience that different people seek in order to connect with their own life, so not everyone has the same experience at the tourist site.¹¹ During an excursion, emperors would seek an opportunity to demonstrate their filial piety and their concern for the commoners; officials visited the lake to remember important moments in their lives; monks at their lake side temples would recall their religious training; merchants would notice opportunities to make a profit; and literati would enter into a dialogue with the lake’s cultural past. This was made possible by diverse sights at the lake and the multiple traditions attached to them. Moreover, by moving in space, people begin to see new elements in the environment, and they keep processing and

¹⁰ Gareth Shaw and Allan M. Williams, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces* (London: SAGE, 2004), 2-3.

¹¹ Erik Cohen, “A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences,” *Sociology* 13(2): 179-201.

evaluating the information they take from the landscape. Their perception of nature is enriched and sometimes altered during this process. The stress on mobility, in this sense, is a reminder that tourism cannot be understood as an independent or abstract phenomenon, but is intimately woven into the fabric of daily lives, the construction of communities, the cultural mentality of the time, and the commodification of space.

Although most scholarship on tourism concentrates on modern developments, tourism was by no means a modern invention. As Loykie Lomine shows in his short but stimulating article on Augustan tourism, contrary to common assumptions, “tourism existed long before the famous Grand Tour of Mediterranean Europe by English aristocrats.” Lomine argues that “the modernity of Augustan tourism is reflected in the way in which the development of tourism reflected society as a whole.” At the end of the article he suggests the possibility of well-developed tourism in other sophisticated pre-modern societies, such as China and Japan.¹² In the field of Chinese history, several studies have been published on the general development of travel, travel writings, and paintings of trips.¹³ Cong Ellen Zhang’s book provides a comprehensive examination of travels and presents travel as an integral part of Song social-cultural integration.¹⁴ Though focusing on literati travelers, Zhang does mention the emergence of non-literati participants in tourism. These non-literati participants were in general called “people of the capital” (*duren* 都人) in Song miscellanies. As Stephen West notes, this was a group that was largely silent in extant literary texts and government documents.¹⁵ He thus regards these

¹² Loykie Lomine, “Tourism in Augustan Society 44 BC-AD 69,” in John K Walton, *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 86.

¹³ Wang Fuxin 王福鑫. *Songdai lüyou yanjiu* 宋代旅遊研究 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2007). James M Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989). James Cahill, *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School* (Berkeley [Calif.]: University Art Museum, 1981).

¹⁴ Zhang, *Transformative Journeys*.

¹⁵ Stephen West, “Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relations: Song of Heaven, Citizens, and Created Space in Imperial Gardens in the Northern Song,” Michel Conan, *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005), 316.

miscellanies as offering an “alternate historicity that is created by a special class of city dweller.”¹⁶ This group—the “people of the capital”—is a major focus of this study. Studies of tourism in Edo Japan have given special attention to the ways the participation of commoners challenged regulations by the Tokugawa government.¹⁷ This study shares their concern with the interaction between state and society and popular and elite culture.

As will be shown in later chapters, visitors to the lake came from all social levels. At the top of the social pyramid sits the imperial family and central government officials. They were the major power holders who controlled, enjoyed, and patronized the physical space. Literati, religious clerics (especially those in powerful temples) and court painters constituted the main body of this pyramid, as they recorded, pictured and left imprints on this space. At the bottom of the pyramid were small merchants, ordinary urban residents and craftsmen, who ventured into this space on special occasions and provided labor for the excursions conducted by the top two groups of people.

Whereas Cong Zhang focuses on nationwide, long-distance travel, which was usually motivated by official assignments, this study analyzes leisure-oriented, short-distance excursions or outings to a nearby lake. This new type of day trip did not become prominent until the Song Dynasty. It constructed, as Laura Nenzi points out in her discussion of excursions in Edo Japan,

¹⁶ For example, the encounter between the emperor and the fish soup seller Song Fifth Sister-in-law was included in three of the four miscellaneous notes on Hangzhou. Such communication was hardly seen in the Northern Song. *WLJS*, “Qianchun fengqin” 乾淳奉親 (Serving Parents during Qiandao and Chunxi Reign), 7: 427.

¹⁷ See Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), and Nam-lin Hur, *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000). Since Vaporis's two works on travel and state in Edo Japan, Japanese studies have paid much more attention to different types of travel, including religious, recreational and political travels. For more works, see D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2005). Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: the Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008). Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

“a conscious social cultural act, undertaken not out of practical necessity but from the simple desire to break with the ordinary space and time.”¹⁸

Why did day trips to and around the lake gain popularity in the Southern Song? Although it is not surprising that the lake could attract a great number of visitors with its beautiful natural scenery and rich cultural tradition, it was the result of a variety of contingencies that it became a tourist center during the Southern Song. The Southern Song is usually viewed as the final phase of China's medieval transformation.¹⁹ This century and a half between the Jurchen conquest of north China in 1127 and the Mongol defeat of south China in 1276 witnessed dramatic changes. Southern China housed probably for the first time the majority of the Chinese population; the numerous rivers facilitated transportation across regions; the booming of agriculture and interregional trade paved the way for accelerated urbanization. The development of the economy and the improvements in the standard of living gave city dwellers extra time and money. The mobility of people in the Jiangnan region, which very much benefitted from the expanding waterways, added to the fame of West Lake. What distinguishes West Lake from many other southeastern places was the cultural tradition gifted to the lake by renowned literati who wrote

¹⁸ Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity*, 2, 71.

¹⁹ The general discussion of the Tang-Song Transition and its great historical significance were first brought up in the 1920s by the Japanese scholar Naitō Kōnan (1866-1934). Since then, the differences as well as continuities of the Tang, Northern Song, and Southern Song Dynasties continues to be a center of academic discussion. For some brief reviews of American discussions focusing on the Tang-Song transformation, see Robert Hartwell, “A Revolution in the Chinese Iron and Coal Industries in the Northern Sung, 960-1126 A.D.,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 21.1(1962), 153-62; Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1992); Beverly Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status and the State in Sung China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University Press, 1998), 237-238; Robert Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsu in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-11; Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1-20. John Lee, “Recent Studies in English on the Tang-Song transition: Issues and Trends,” *Guoji Zhongguo xue yanjiu* 2(1999. 12), 365—383. For Japanese discussions, see Ikeda Makoto 池田誠, “TōSō no henkaku ni suite no saikento 唐宋の变革についての再検討,” *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 24 (1948); Osawa Masaaki 大沢正昭, “Tōdai henkakuki no rekishiteki igi” 唐代变革期の歴史の意義, *Rekishi hyōron* 歴史評論 357 (1980). For Chinese discussions, see Qian Mu 錢穆, “TangSong shidai de wenhua” 唐宋時代的文化, *Shijie wenhua de qiantu* 世界文化的前途 15 (1947); Qiu Tiansheng 邱添生, “Lun TangSong biange qi de lishi yiyi: yi zhengzhi, shehui, jingji zhi yanbian wei zhongxin” 論唐宋變革期的歷史意義: 以政治、社會、經濟之演變為中心, *Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi xuebao* 國立臺灣師範大學歷史學報 7 (1979); Lin Ruihan 林瑞翰, “Zhuanbian yu dingxing: Songdai zhengzhi, shehui de lishi tese” 轉變與定型: 宋代政治、社會的歷史特色, *Zhuanbian yu dingxing: Songdai shehui wenhua shi xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 轉變與定型: 宋代社會文化史學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue lishixi, 1990).

about it. The history of royal patronage of Buddhism, which started during the Wuyue Kingdom and was enhanced by the Southern Song imperial family, also enhanced West Lake's identity as a religious center. The combination of lake, mountain, architecture, commercial activities, literary depictions, and religious practices made possible West Lake's standing as a premier tourist site. Through history, most of the places were only benefitted from one or two historical forces while lack of others, some places even witnessed the conflicting and contradiction among varying forces. West Lake, however, was one of a few sites where political, commercial, cultural, religious and environmental elements converged, collaborated and balanced with each other to facilitate its developing role as tourist center.

The Southern Song witnessed the emergence of many "modern" features of tourism, but it is important to recognize the differences between modern tourism and West Lake tourism in Song times. Modern tourism is a product of capitalism, pre-modern tourism bore more connection with religious purposes and the power of elite examples. Furthermore, unlike modern tourists who usually do not know each other and will very likely remain strangers after their trips, tourists in the Song Dynasty either came from Hangzhou city or from the circle of literati or merchants who sojourned there. The fact that these tourists already had some connection beyond their sightseeing interactions helped build tourism into the daily life of the community and construct tourists' identities in a broader sense.

"Place Study" and the Meaning of Studying West Lake

Historians of tourism emphasize the function and meaning of tourist destinations.²⁰ As Shaw and Williams point out, tourism is “both place-shaped and place shaping.”²¹ In the field of imperial Chinese history, many scholars have conducted research on specific prefectures and their local elites.²² For example, Tobie Meyer-Fong’s work on several scenic spots in Yangzhou reveals the process of identity creating among early Qing literati; and Susan Naquin’s discussion of sightseeing at Peking temples in the Ming-Qing period reveals the interaction between tourists and hosts.²³ While these works focus on a city, a village, or a county, some recent scholars have narrowed the focus to a single place, such as a mountain or even a pavilion, thus starting the trend toward “place studies,” a term I have borrowed from James Robson.²⁴ This dissertation

²⁰ One good example of tourism study and local history is Dona Brown’s study of middle-class tourism on the crossing of nineteenth century and the New England region. Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

²¹ Shaw and Williams, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, 186. As a sub-field of microhistory, local history usually concentrates on a local community. Edward Fox is generally credited with bringing the geographical perspective into historical study in the early 1970s. In his introduction, Fox calls for repairing the breach between history and geography and emphasizes the determinism of geographical perspective. See Edward Whiting Fox, *History in Geographic Perspective; the Other France* (New York: Norton, 1971). This geo-historical approach was further developed by Eugene Genovese and Alan Baker in the last twenty years. See Eugene D. Genovese, Leonard Hochberg, and Edward Whiting Fox, *Geographic Perspectives in History* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1989). Alan R. H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For the studies on places, see the introduction of Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996).

²² For example, Hugh R. Clark, *Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Published by Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2002).

²³ Meyer Fong’s study of early Qing Yangzhou discusses the process through which sightseeing destinations were created, refigured, transformed and recorded in literati’s writings. Tobie S Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003). When Susan Naquin investigates the Peking temples and urban life, she pays special attention to the excursions and temples visits during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

For other works on sightseeing, see Ronald Egan, *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006). Egan’s writing on Luoyang peony viewing provides an example of how a place became famous due to discourses about aesthetic. Wu, Renshu 巫仁恕, *Pinwei shehua: Wan Ming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu 品味奢華：晚明的消費社會與士大夫* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Lian jing chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 2007). Wu Renshu has published a fair number of articles on sightseeing during the Late Ming, and gives special attention on literati’s travel writings and the consumptions of material culture. Also, Chen Xiyuan 陳熙遠 has an article on the cultural formation of the Yellow Crane Building, which analyzes the cultural and historical process of the formation of a sightseeing place. Chen Xiyuan 陳熙遠, “Huanghe lou: renqu loutan shuiziliu—yige lou de wenhuashi” 黃鶴樓：人去樓塌水自流——一個樓的文化史, Li Xiaodi 李孝悌 and Wang Fansen 王泛森 ed., *Zhongguo de chengshi shenghuo: shisi dao ershi shiji 中國的城市生活：十四到二十世紀* (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 2005).

²⁴ In his recent book on Mount Heng, James Robson emphasizes the “rapprochement between geographical and historical modes of analysis,” thus calling attention to the importance of “place studies” in medieval China. See James Robson, *Power of Place: the Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue) in Medieval China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009). Also see Wei-Cheng Lin, *Building a Sacred Mountain: The Buddhist Architecture of China's Mount Wutai* (Seattle:

shares with those place and urban studies a view of particular places as multifaceted, requiring an approach both contextual and interdisciplinary to uncover its complexity. Compared to previous studies of local history, place studies direct more attention to the centrality of physical environments, both natural and man-made. This approach explores how humans record, present, make use of, and conceptualize the physical environment and its spatial meaning. Place is no longer regarded as merely context for the discussion of other historical issues; rather its own meanings and functions become the research topic.

Is there anything universal about the appreciation of natural scenery? Certainly people around the world become emotionally attached to particular places, a feeling termed *topophilia* by humanistic geographer Yi-fu Tuan.²⁵ In ancient China, people's concept of nature was closely connected with their cultivation of land for agriculture and their practical observation of the physical environment. The elite's concept of landscape was in addition highly colored by the correlative cosmology of Confucianism and naturalism of Daoism. The aesthetic appreciation of natural landscape in China, as Tuan suggests, had its early beginnings in the fourth century AD, when large numbers of people migrated to the hilly southern parts of the country.²⁶ Mountains came to be associated with magical power and beings who transcended ordinary humanity.²⁷ The interpretation of landscape in this period, as Curie Virag argues, proceeded along two lines, one the psychology of escapism, the other religion.²⁸ The early medieval period witnessed the emergence of landscape poetry, which expressed an aesthetic appreciation of landscape. By Song times, as Wolfgang Kubin argues, such appreciation of landscape was widely circulated,

University of Washington, 2014). In this book, Lin focuses on the discussion of monastic architecture in order to investigate the building of a sacred mountain.

²⁵ Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 4.

²⁶ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 71.

²⁷ Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: an Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), xxi.

²⁸ Curie Virag, "The Ethics of Visualization: Structure and Feeling in Song Landscape Aesthetics," Presented at Conference on Middle Period China, 800-1400, Harvard, June 2014.

popularized and commercialized.²⁹ Enjoying nature with a group of tourists further supplemented and sometimes even shifted the practical, philosophical, and aesthetic perceptions of the environment and popularized elites' artistic interpretations.

What makes West Lake a good choice for the study of tourism? This site is not only well documented, but also is an excellent case for showing how men shape nature. "To the casual visitor," as Tuan claims, "the West Lake region may appear to be a striking illusion of how the works of man can be blended modestly into the magisterial context of nature. However, the pervasiveness of nature is largely an illusion induced by art. Some of the islands in the lake are man-made. Moreover, the lake itself is artificial and has to be maintained with care."³⁰ The history of adding to and repairing West Lake is therefore a testament to how people, motivated by their perception of nature, work on the natural landscape via their social-cultural activities, which in turn are rooted in their perception of nature. West Lake has long been praised by Chinese literati for uniting heaven and humankind, a phrase recently used as a major feature in the application for classification as an Intangible Cultural Heritage. This very feature, as argued by Tuan, is what differentiates China's adaptive concept of environment from its western counterpart.³¹ Exploring West Lake therefore provides a lens through which we can examine the ways in which an individual landscape has been brought under conceptual, religious and aesthetic control, a process Mark Elvin highlights in his study of Chinese environmental history.³²

²⁹ For the Chinese concept of natural landscape, especially its development in early medieval period literature, see Wolfgang Kubin, *Zhongguo wenren de ziran guan* 中國文人的自然觀, trans., Ma Shude (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1990), from the German, *Der durchsichtige Berg: die Entwicklung der Naturanschauung in der chinesischen Literatur* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985).

³⁰ Yi-fu Tuan, "Discrepancies between Environmental Attitude and Behavior: Examples from Europe and China," *Canadian Geographer* v.12 n.3 (1968), 177.

³¹ Tuan, "Discrepancies between environmental attitude and behavior: examples from Europe and China," 176-9.

³² Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: an Environmental History of China*, xix.

West Lake and Hangzhou

Borrowing W.J. T. Mitchell's distinction, this dissertation looks into not only what West Lake "is" or "presents," but what it does.³³ One key factor in understanding its function is the lake's unique geographical location with Hangzhou city. Su Shi, in his memorial urging the court to authorize a water project at West Lake, says, "West Lake is to Hangzhou just as eyes and eyebrows are to a person."³⁴ West Lake is what made Hangzhou beautiful. Because of its close proximity to the highly developed city of Hangzhou, tourism around West Lake was integrated into urban culture, and acquired a great many functions via urban development.

From the second half of the eighth century to the Southern Song, China's major cities underwent rapid development, well known as "the medieval urban transformation," which gave rise to fundamental changes in urban spatial organization.³⁵ This urban revolution reached an extraordinary level in Southern Song Hangzhou. Located near the Zhe River and on the southeast coast, Hangzhou benefitted from both domestic waterway transportation and international maritime trade. More importantly, Hangzhou as the capital city of the Southern Song received increasing political support and attracted merchants from across the country. The rapid development of Hangzhou city continued even after the Southern Song. When Marco Polo visited the city at the end of the thirteenth century, though the city had already lost some of its glamour after losing its status as capital, he was very much impressed by its grandeur:

The city is greater than any in the world, and is quite 100 miles round; nor is there any span of ground that is not well inhabited, and often there will be a house with ten or twelve families. This city has also great suburbs containing more people than the city itself contains. It has twelve principal gates; and at each of these gates at about eight miles are

³³ W.J. T. Mitchell ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1. Mitchell in the introduction has called to shift "landscape" from a noun (which suggests a stable, taxonomic category or, as art history might name it, a genre in painting) to a verb (which makes overt the cultural work that takes place in creating a discursive object, a painted representation of a place).

³⁴ Su Shi, "Hangzhou qi dudie kai xihu zhuang," 57: 1.

³⁵ Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past: A Social and Economic Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973). Edward L. Dreyer, Yinong Xu, and Chye Kiang Heng, "The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou," *The American Historical Review*. 106, no. 3, (2001). 69.

cities larger than Venice or Padua might be, so that one will go about one of those suburbs for six or eight days and yet will seem to have travelled but a little way.³⁶

In the field of urban history, one common approach is to treat the city as a unit and to investigate its social structure and economic development within the city limit. But Hangzhou's history is unique because, while West Lake is one of the city's best-known features, it is a natural space linked to the city but not within its walls. The complexity of the city wall to a Chinese city has already been pointed out by Frederick W. Mote in his discussion of the historical development of Suzhou. "City walls," he says, "could be both the most prepossessing physical feature in the form of a city, and a meaningless item in the city's organizational life..."³⁷ The interaction between West Lake and Hangzhou city provides a perfect example to study the ambiguity carried by the city walls. Eleven and half miles in length, thirty feet high, and thirty-five feet wide at the top, the city wall effectively blocked the view of West Lake from most parts of the city, and thus symbolized a closed urban space. However, people's trips to West Lake seemed to break such separation intentionally and regularly. How does West Lake fit into our understanding of the Song urban transformation? In this dissertation, I show that urban development both fostered city-dwellers' embrace of the natural landscape and enhanced their sensual enjoyment of it. Thus tourism was part and parcel of the urban revolution.

Liping Wang has studied how tourism to West Lake contributed to the development of Hangzhou into a modern tourist city in the twentieth century.³⁸ Though sharing the focus on the interaction between the lake and the city, my research differs from Wang's work in the foci of the two studies. Wang's emphasis is on Hangzhou, and West Lake gets attention as a sightseeing

³⁶ Quoted by A.C. Moule in his *Quinsai, with Other Notes on Marco Polo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 2.

³⁷ Frederick W. Mote, "A Millennium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow," *Rice University Studies*, 59, no. 4 (Fall 1973), 38

³⁸ Wang Liping. "Paradise for Sale: Urban Space and Tourism in the Social Transformation of Hangzhou, 1589-1937" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 1997).

destination, while this dissertation's emphasis is on West Lake. This is why I would categorize this research as belonging to the study of place, rather than urban history.

Written and Visual Sources

As tourism was shaped by a variety of social forces, the study of it involves varied types of sources. In the Song period that textual records about everyday life increased dramatically: daily jottings, collections of anecdotes, tales, and local gazetteers supply us with “a mass of precise and picturesque details.”³⁹ The major source for this research is “miscellanies,” which belonged to a type of Chinese literature called *biji*. These *biji*, as Cong Ellen Zhang points out, not only featured the staple topics in earlier works, but also demonstrated the increasing attention to “regional conditions, everyday material culture, local practices and customs, and interesting personalities of more diverse backgrounds.”⁴⁰ Their “miscellaneous content, accommodative structure, and flexible form” offer challenges to our use of these sources.⁴¹ She encourages us to regard these records as writing about *wenjian* 聞見, literally, “things heard and seen.” The way the authors represented information demonstrates a new emphasis on the role of personal and hands-on experience in learning, accumulating, and circulating knowledge.⁴² This feature of *biji* colors records on Hangzhou and West Lake.

³⁹ Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, 19-20.

⁴⁰ Cong Ellen Zhang, “To Be ‘Erudite in Miscellaneous Knowledge:’ A Study of Song (960-1279) *Biji* Writing,” *Asia Major*, Vol. XXV, part 2, 2012, 44.

⁴¹ The term *biji* has been translated differently into English, such as “random jottings,” “note-form literature,” “occasional notes,” “desultory notes,” “miscellanies” and so on. For more discussion on *biji*, see Liu Gang, “The Poetics of Miscellaneity: The Literary Design of Liu Yiqing’s *Qiantang Yishi* and the Historiography of the Southern Song” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 13.

The difficulty of understanding these texts was also pointed out by James Hargett, “It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to define *pi-chi* [*biji*] in precise terms because there are no hard-and-fast rules governing its style and content. This also explains why *pi-chi* does not fit into any single Chinese bibliographic category. Such works are usually assigned to either the *tsa-chia* [*zajia*] (miscellaneous schools) or the *hsiao-shuo* [*xiaoshuo*] (fiction) sections in the traditional bibliographies. Since there are no strict prosodic or genre rules governing *pi-chi*, the number of extant *pi-chi* collections in China could easily number in the thousands. The total would vary greatly depending on how one defines the genre.” See James M. Hargett, “Sketches,” in Victor H. Mair ed. *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 560.

⁴² Cong Ellen Zhang, “To Be ‘Erudite in Miscellaneous Knowledge:’ A Study of Song (960-1279) *Biji* Writing,” 43-77.

Four miscellanies on Southern Song Hangzhou are extant today and they constitute the main body of primary sources used in this research. These records are, in roughly chronological order, *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (*Record of the Splendors of the Metro Capital*) written by an author self-described as The Codger Who Irrigates His Own Garden (guanpu naide weng 灌圃耐得翁), with a preface dated 1247. The second one is The Old Man of West Lake's 西湖老人 *Fansheng lu* 繁盛錄 (*Record of Multitudinous Splendors*), dated 1250. Known for the use of colloquial language, these two works are relatively short compared to the next two lengthy works. The third one, which strictly followed the style of its Northern Song counterpart, is Wu Zimu's 吳自牧 *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (*A Record of the Millet Dream*), dated 1274.⁴³ The fourth one is the only one undoubtedly written by a literatus—Zhou Mi's *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (*Old Affairs of the Martial Grove*), composed between 1280 and 1290. In addition, some Ming Dynasty works preserved extensive records of the Song, among which *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (*Gazetteer of Sightseeing around West Lake*) and *Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志余 (*Supplemented Gazetteer of Sightseeing around West Lake*) by Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503-1557) provided detailed records for West Lake. Following the style of Zhou Mi's book, Zhu Tinghuan's 朱廷端 (?-1644) *Zengbu wulin jiushi* 增補武林舊事 (*Supplemented Old Affairs of the Martial Grove*) offers a Ming comparison.

Before the Song Dynasty, people were not motivated to write much about city scenery, not even the grand metropolitan capital city of the Tang Dynasty. Instead, “Tang-dynasty poets confined their gaze to strictly natural sites such as urban gardens or the willows blossoming

⁴³ Stephen West mentioned the possibility that this book is dated to 1334. In this dissertation, I tend to believe that the earlier date is more plausible. Stephen West, “Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relations: Song of Heaven, Citizens, and Created Space in Imperial Gardens in the Northern Song,” 320-321.

along the Imperial Canal.”⁴⁴ By the mid Song dynasty, the city emerged into writing, and the most famous example is Meng Yuanlao’s *Dongjing menghua lu* on the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. Meng’s book provided the model for the four books on Hangzhou.⁴⁵ In spite of their varied length, they are all very descriptive in providing us a picture of Hangzhou urban life that is colorful, vivid, and seemingly objective. Things like shops and goods, seasonal activities, temples, storytelling and theatrical performance in the entertainment quarters, and anecdotes within and around the city can all be found in these books.⁴⁶ Though usually written in a casual or informal style, these books are meticulous in what they detail. These miscellanies, as Christian de Pee argues, used the new literary tropes that accommodated the centralizing of palace/imperial events and the massive scale of the cities, the profusion of commodities, amoral consumption, and “the proliferation of things overwhelms reasoned discourse.”⁴⁷ On the one hand, the annual cycle of festivals that coordinates with the rites of the imperial court remains a prominent organizing principle in the urban texts of the Southern Song. On the other hand, however, the writers found things that could not fit perfectly into such a structure. Therefore, in the middle of the annual cycle recorded in *Wulin Jiushi*, Zhou Mi suddenly moved to a general depiction of West Lake. This inconsistent structure indicates an attempt to build the newly emerged information into the long-standing hierarchical, imperial-centered cosmology.

Sometimes the seeming casualness of *biji* compilers is used to “show off” their modesty and prudence. Furthermore, as Liu Gang argues in his discussion of one Hangzhou focused *biji* compiled in the Yuan Dynasty, such miscellaneous style is also used to “call for a less

⁴⁴ de Pee, “Nature’s Capital: The City as Garden in The Splendid Scenery of the Capital (Ducheng jisheng, 1235),” As de Pee argues based on his detailed analysis of *Ducheng jisheng*, the writing of cities was not “a creation of human artifice, but rather as an extension of nature.” While his research focuses on how Song dynasty literati wrote the city in the framework of nature, this dissertation directs more attention to how the same group of literati observed and recorded the natural landscape outside the city wall from a very urbanized point of view.

⁴⁵ Stephen West, “The Interpretation of a Dream: The Sources, Evaluation, and Influence of the *Dongjing meng hua lu*,” *T’oung Pao*, LXXI, 1985.

⁴⁶ Liu, “The Poetics of Miscellaneousness,” 76.

⁴⁷ de Pee, “Nature’s Capital: The City as Garden in The Splendid Scenery of the Capital (Ducheng jisheng, 1235),” 6.

conventional but more versatile way of reading, which fits better not only the complexity of the texts themselves but also to the special kind of literariness of the genre.”⁴⁸ Equally important, we must bear in mind that these records were subjective books of remembrance, and in this sense, are imbued with the emotion of nostalgia.

Local gazetteers are the best source for the engineering construction of West Lake, as well as government regulations of it. Three gazetteers survive from the Southern Song, compiled during the Qiandao 乾道 (1165-1173), Chunyou 淳佑 (1241-1252), and Xianchun 咸淳 reigns (1265-1274). The earliest one has three out of fifteen chapters extant, which include the earliest information concerning the gardens added to the lake. The second one has five out of fifty-two chapters preserved, with more detailed records on historical relics and scenic spots.⁴⁹ The last one includes the earliest extant sightseeing map of West Lake, with all the sightseeing spots noted (Fig. 2).⁵⁰ This map is the major source for spatial information about sightseeing routes and scenic spots.

⁴⁸ Liu, “The Poetics of Miscellaneousness,” 13.

⁴⁹ Lin, *NanSong gudu Hangzhou*, 359.

⁵⁰ This map was collected in the local gazetteers as one of the four maps. The other three are regular ones for Hangzhou city, the province of Zhejiang and the map of imperial city.



Figure 2: Map of West Lake. From Qian Yueyou ed., *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 1:9.

While the local gazetteers were written from the perspective of the government and local elite, fictional stories and anecdotes provide a necessary and important source for the popular perspective. The circulation and acceptance of miracle and strange stories at the time, such as the ones included in Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123-1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (*The Story of the Listener*), conveys something of the way commoners viewed West Lake and how tourism shaped their mentalities. The discussion of the tourism business and accommodations provided by temples draws occasionally on fiction, especially Zhou Qingyuan's 周清源 *Xihu erji* 西湖二集 (*Two Anthologies on West Lake*). Although compiled during the Ming Dynasty, some of the stories included were already circulating orally during the Song and Yuan.⁵¹ Additionally, some

⁵¹ For a list of stories available during the Song and Yuan, see Hu Shiying 胡士瑩, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun* 話本小說概論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980).

monasteries, such as Jingci Temple, Soul's Retreat Monastery and Tianzhu Monastery, preserved records of their interactions with the local community in the form of stone carvings, historical relics, and temple gazetteers. Though published after the Song, the gazetteers preserved detailed records of Song Dynasty buildings, developments and even anecdotes. The Japanese record of the “*wushan shisha*” 五山十刹 (Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries, made around 1248 by Japanese monks who have been to Hangzhou) also provides valuable sources for the material appearance of the Soul's Retreat and Jingci Temples.⁵² These sources are analyzed to explore the relationship between temple visits and excursions.

To explore the cultural imagination of the lake, this study digs into the collected works of literati for the poems they wrote about their trips. Chinese literati wrote poems constantly, covering a wide range of topics. Many were on mundane themes, such as their sensual enjoyment of West Lake. Because they record everyday life and express feelings, poems usually contain information not available elsewhere. Over 1000 lyric songs about West Lake, written by about 200 poets, are included in *Quan Songci* 全宋词 (*Complete Compilation of Song Lyric Songs*). Collected works of some important historical figures, such as Su Shi and Lin Bu 林逋 (967-1028), contain rich materials. As they spent quite some time around the lake, their works often mention sightseeing. These were reread during the Southern Song and helped shape the experience of later sightseers.

The most productive way of reading these travel accounts, as Stephen McDowall proposes in his discussion of a late Ming text, is “achieved by reading this landscape not so much as an empirically verifiable fact, but as a product of a system of representational practices that

⁵² “*wushan shisha*” refers to fifteen most important monasteries in the Jiangnan area, three among which were located around West Lake. Chapter III will discuss this in more detail. For easy access and architectural analysis of this book, see Zhang Shiqing 张十庆. *Wushan shicha tu yu nan Song Jiangnan chansi* 五山十刹图与南宋江南禅寺 (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2000).

developed within the specific social, political, cultural and economic context.”⁵³ Reading and analyzing these poems and literary essays, one needs to be cautious of the potential for distortion. It is necessary to remember that poems are literature. They were partly defined by the particular genre they are written in and its conventions. No poems is a simple reflection of a person traveling in a natural landscape. The same concern is valid for the use of visual images. While landscape paintings provide straightforward evidence of how tourism influenced the way that West Lake was depicted and appreciated, it was also highly colored by the contemporary aesthetic standards.

Though there are written records of paintings of West Lake from as early as the Northern Song, the earliest extant painting of West Lake was produced during the Southern Song Dynasty. Most of the paintings of West Lake we have today were produced by court painters. Famous court painters, such as Li Song 李嵩(1166-1243), Chen Qingbo 陳清波 (fl. 1253-1258) and Xia Gui 夏圭(around 1190-1230), all painted the lake. One undated painting entitled *Xihu qingqu tu* 西湖清趣圖 (*Scenic Attractions of West Lake*) depicts the scenery around West Lake in clockwise order, focusing on various buildings, boats, and people along the lake bank. Although formerly attributed to Li Song, art historians today believe that this scroll was done in the Yuan Dynasty as a nostalgic work, which faithfully represents the Southern Song scenery.⁵⁴ All these paintings play an important role in my discussion of the material culture of tourism and the aesthetic appreciation of natural scenery.

This dissertation is, in a sense, a study of writing and painting about the lake, mostly written by literati or people closely related to the imperial family. Occasionally, women appear

⁵³ Stephen McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain: Traces of a Late-Ming Hatchet and Chisel* (Hong Kong: London: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 144.

⁵⁴ For information on the dating of this scroll, see Chapter IV.

in these sources, giving us glimpses of their participation in the tourism market and their involvement in religious activities. These records not only enrich but also further complicate the picture of West Lake.

Structure

This dissertation has five chapters. The first chapter examines the complex and often ambivalent imaginations of West Lake through and even after the Southern Song, hoping to construct a general picture of how West Lake was placed in a broader social and cultural context. How were varying imaginations of West Lake built up through history? In what ways was West Lake woven into the fabric of state politics and local identities?

Chapter II turns to how tourism was structured and made possible by government sponsorship and commercial development. It treats boat renting, wine and food consumption, and souvenir shopping. Who were the participants, and how did they conduct their business? How did such commercial ventures shape social communication among tourists? In what ways was the state involved?

Chapter III is an attempt to see West Lake as a religious center in the Southern Song. The mountains that embraced the lake, especially on the south and west sides, were dotted with numerous religious buildings, including Buddhist monasteries, Daoist palaces, temples for local gods and shrines for military heroes. Both regular temple visits made by Hangzhou locals and sojourners, and the religious festivals celebrated on West Lake are discussed. Were there any tensions between visits for religious purposes and visits to have fun? Did tourism facilitate communication between the sacred and secular worlds?

The fourth chapter deals with visual culture. It discusses the extant pictorial images of West Lake and related written sources to investigate how natural landscape was depicted, represented, and encoded with the development of tourism. How did political ideology, cultural context, and aesthetic taste contribute to artistic styles? How did painting influence the way people imagined and appreciated scenery?

The last chapter focuses on Ten Views of West Lake, which refers to the ten best-known scenic spots around the lake, each known by a four-character poetic title. Elaborated and circulated in poetic works, paintings, anecdotes, and gazetteer records, these ten views pushed people to perceive nature through a cultural lens. The discussion of naming conventions and other related topics after the Southern Song is continued in the epilogue, which also treats different attitudes toward and appropriations of West Lake in the late imperial period.

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Ever since the Southern Song, West Lake has been imagined as a landscape imbued with extraordinary natural beauty and refined culture. I visited West Lake in 2011 for the first time. When I actually wandered along the causeway that still bears the name of Su Shi and floated on the lake surface on a traditionally decorated boat, I found that one could not escape the impact of Southern Song memories. The famous Ten Views of West Lake, created during the Southern Song, are noted with plaques around the lake, although some of the sites have already disappeared. Signs point out Southern Song archeological sites, including imperial gardens, stone carvings, and temple sites, reminding visitors to imagine the scenery as people did a thousand years ago. One goal of this dissertation is to vividly reconstruct this remote, blurred, but still vigorous and alluring imagery.

CHAPTER I

Conceptualizing West Lake: Landscape with Ambiguous Meanings

West Lake is located in the west of the county. Originally called Qiantang Lake, it originates from Martial Grove Spring [*wulin quan*, 武林泉] and has a circumference of thirty *li* [approximately nine miles]. Since the Tang and Song Dynasties, it has been known as “a spectacular place for sightseeing.”

西湖在郡西，舊名錢塘湖，源出於武林泉，周回三十里，自唐及國朝號游觀勝地。
55

— *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*

Here [West Lake] one may see the inhabitants of the capital contract marriages or celebrate the end of the year, gather with their families or send off the dead to be buried, discuss sutras or sacrifice to the gods. One may see arrangements for an appointment to an official post or for a bestowal of imperial grace, commissions by the imperial court or by the central government, noble eunuchs and prominent officials, great merchants and powerful persons, a companion bought for a thousand pieces of gold and gamblers staking a million. One may even see smitten lads and lovesick girls, and secret assignations and illicit gatherings.

而都人凡締姻、賽社、會親、送葬、經會、獻神；仕宦恩賞之經營、禁省台府之囑託；貴璫要地，大賈豪民，買笑千金，呼盧百萬，以至癡兒呆子，密約幽期，無不在焉。⁵⁶

— *Wulin jiushi*

Above are two records about West Lake, one from the 1268 gazetteer and the other from an account recorded by Zhou Mi shortly after the fall of the Southern Song: the first one highlights the position of West Lake as a spectacular place for people from all over the country to go sightseeing; and the second emphasizes the crucial role West Lake played in the daily lives of

⁵⁵ *XCLAZ*, 32:1a.

⁵⁶ *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 352. Translation from de Pee, “Nature’s Capital: The City as Garden in The Splendid Scenery of the Capital (Ducheng jisheng, 1235),” 1.

Hangzhou residents. Because it was a “spectacular place for sightseeing” and an integral part of Hangzhou people’s life, West Lake is well documented. A diverse array of sources enable one to analyze the layered meanings attached to West Lake, which by no means appears as a homogeneous place with a continuous and unified history. It was simultaneously represented as part of a distinctive local culture and as part of the national history; it was treated both in individual stories and in the collective imagination; it was connected with both abstract symbols and concrete pleasures.

The main approach adopted in this chapter is to take the diverse accounts of landscape as both the very product of the Southern Song cultural and aesthetic values, and at the same time also as the means by which the natural landscape was conceptualized and represented through tourist interactions. The reasons I examine these sources are two-folded in this chapter: first, and also directly related to the goal of this dissertation, is to understand how people during the Southern Song thought and felt about West Lake. This would help us to build this landscape into the social and cultural dynamics at the time. This also enables me to continue the discussion of features of different sources in order to lay the ground for further use of various texts. The second reason is that West Lake provides a perfect model of how various sources recorded one single place from diverse perspectives and how the story of tourists were told by multiple voices. Tackling the diverse body of sources and trying to sort the layered meaning given to West Lake could reveal the unique features of diverse sources as well as distinct motivations of different authors.

This chapter discusses five types of conceptualization of West Lake, which coexisted and spoke to each other through the time. I shall treat them in chronological order. The first and second parts present a contrast between elite and popular interpretations of West Lake during the

early years of the Southern Song. Connecting this encounter with the psychological mood during this unstable period, I explore how the two interpretations were formed and developed. The third and fourth parts move to the relatively stable period after the signing of Song-Jin Treaty in 1141 and before the onslaught of the Mongol threat beginning in the 1230s. It investigates the motivations for and functions of two different but related modes of depicting West Lake: in the light of the dynastic politics and in terms of local history. The last part examines nostalgic writings about the lake, which pervaded throughout the Southern Song and reached its zenith around the end of the dynasty. It is important to note that although the lake was imbued with different meanings at different times, they tended to intertwine as time passed. These meanings have shifted over time and remain contested. Multiple voices could coexist during a given period and one person could hold multiple understandings of the lake. More important than the complex nature of writings on West Lake was the effect of such ambiguity. It was due to such ambiguity in the meaning of West Lake that this place could be manipulated and appropriated by different tourists for different purposes, and therefore maintains its vitality through different times and spaces.

West Lake in the Eyes of Literati

Drinking one *dou* of wine and eating a shoulder of pork, it would be really wonderful if I could go across the river in the wind and the rain.

However, I was stopped, by Fragrance Mountain Kulapati [Bai Juyi], who invited Lin Hejing and the Old Immortal Dongpo.

Dongpo says, “West Lake could be properly compared to the [always beautiful] Lady of the West, who approaches the altar with lightly or thickly layered powder.”

The other two, turn away without paying

斗酒彘肩，風雨渡江，
豈不快哉。

被香山居士，約林和靖，
與坡仙老，勒駕吾回。

坡謂西湖，正如西子，
濃抹淡妝臨照台。

二公者，但掉頭不顧，

attention to Su's words, only passing wine cups.

White clouds are moving back and forth near the Tianzhu Monastery, [we are] watching the grand gold and green buildings.

Open and spacious towers and palaces are spread out east and west of the two creeks; water flows around the southern and northern hills, which pierce high into the clouds.

[Lin] Bu says, "As for the flowing of subtle fragrance, [nowhere else] could compare to Solitary Mountain.

Let's go visit plums first, [as we] need to do this during sunny days.

It is will not be too late to visit Jiakuan [Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (1140-1207)] after that, just stay and linger here."

只管傳杯。

白雲天竺去來，看金碧
崔巍。

樓觀開況，縱橫二澗東
西，水繞兩山南北，高
下雲堆。

逋曰：不然暗香浮動，
何似孤山。

先探梅，須晴去。

訪稼軒未晚，且此徘徊。⁵⁷

In the year of 1203, Xin Qiji invited Liu Guo 劉過 (1154-1206) to visit Shaoxing 紹興. Liu was in Hangzhou and could not come due to another commitment, so he replied with the above poem. The poem begins by expressing the author's willingness to visit Shaoxing. From the second sentence, however, Liu created an imagined conversation with three historical figures to explain the reason why he could not leave Hangzhou: he needed to go sightseeing around West Lake accompanied by Bai Juyi, Lin Bu, and Su Shi.

It was not surprising that Liu would list these three figures in his depiction of touring around the lake. Bai Juyi, a literatus and prefectural magistrate of Hangzhou from 821 to 824, was known for both his regulation of West Lake and for the cultural memories he created. Bai was among the first group of literati who portrayed the beauty of West Lake.⁵⁸ It was in his poems that West Lake was referred to by that name for the first time.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Liu Guo 劉過, "Qin yuan chun" 沁園春, in *XCLAZ*, 33: 23a.

⁵⁸ In his poem, he claimed that he could never take enough trips to the White Sand Dyke in the shade of the green willow. See Bai

Like Bai Juyi, Su Shi was a talented literatus who carried out another notable water management project. During his second term as the Hangzhou administrator (1089-1091), he used the mud dug from the lake to build a causeway with six bridges for water flowing through. This causeway is still in use today and considered a model of public work carried out by a scholar-official. Su also helped to spread the fame of West Lake by the metaphors he used to refer to it. He compared West Lake to the Lady of the West (Xi Shi 西施), “If you wish to compare the lake in the west to the Lady of the West, either lightly powdered or thickly make-up is just as apt.”⁶⁰ West Lake thus became known as “Lake of Lady of West” (*Xizi hu* 西子湖) which encouraged much dreaming and many actual visits to the lake. Su Shi’s connection with West Lake, well studied by other scholars, is concisely captured in the record below:⁶¹

When Su Shi took charge of Hangzhou, he sometimes went sightseeing on West Lake. He often asked the attendants with banners and flags to go out through the Qiantang Gate, and he crossed the lake by boat from the Pouring Gold Gate [*yongjin men* 湧金門], with one or two old soldiers. He would have a meal in the Pu An Temple [*puan si* 普安寺] and travel around Tianzhu and Soul’s Retreat Monasteries. He brought the necessary paperwork with him and made judgments at his desk in the Cold Spring Pavilion [*lengquan ting* 冷泉亭]. He wrote as quickly as the wind and rain to give judgment on the lawsuits. Cases could be solved with ease while he was laughing and chatting. After finishing his business, he drank with colleagues and subordinates, and went back to the city by horse in the early evening. Along the street, people in the city watched him, the grand administrator.

東坡鎮餘杭，偶遊西湖，多令旌旗導從出錢唐門，坡則自湧金門從一二老兵，泛舟絕湖而來，飯於普安院，倘佯靈隱、天竺間。以吏牘自隨，至冷泉亭則據

Juyi 白居易. “Qiantang hu chunxing” 錢塘湖春行 (Traveling to the Qiantang Lake in the Spring), in Gu Xuejie 顧學頤, *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo faxing, 1979), 439.

⁵⁹ Bai Juyi, “Xihu wangui huiwang gushan si zeng zhuke” 西湖晚歸回望孤山寺贈諸客 (Bestowed on Guests as Returning from West Lake in the Evening and Looking back to Solitary Mountain Monastery), *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏長慶集, *SKQS*, 20:13a-b.

⁶² Su Shi, “Yin hushang chu qing hou yu,” 飲湖上初晴後雨 (Drinking by the Lake: Clear Sky at First, then Rain), in Su Shi 蘇軾, Wang Shipeng 王十朋 anno., *Dongpo shiji zhu* 東坡詩集註, *SKQS*, 17:10b.

⁶¹ For more discussion on Su Shi and West Lake, see Ridgway, “Imagined Travel: Displacement, Landscape, and Literati Identity in the Song Lyrics of Su Shi (1037--1101).”

案判決，落筆如風雨，分爭辨訟，談笑而辦。已乃與僚吏劇飲，薄晚則乘馬而歸，夾道縱觀太守⁶²

A similarly vivid description of Su Shi's sightseeing activities and how he finished his political tasks was later included in encyclopedic books to exemplify the ideal poet-official.⁶³ While the way Su went boating without other attendants and drank freely was in accordance with Daoist standards, his talent at dealing with official cases made him the perfect Confucian. No matter whether this account is exaggerated or not, it does capture literati admiration of a balance between work and play.

The third literatus connected to West Lake was Lin Bu, who was remembered as someone who practiced Daoist principles, enjoying nature and avoiding vulgar things. He lived alone on the lake's Solitary Mountain (*gushan* 孤山). Known for his affinity with cranes and plum blossoms, Lin has long been regarded as a model hermit. In the anecdote below, he was depicted in a way comparable to prominent literati of the Wei and Jin Dynasties (220-420):

Lin Bu lives in seclusion at Solitary Mountain in Hangzhou. He raised two cranes, which when released would fly around in the sky for a long time and finally come back to their cage. Lin Bu often visited the temples around the lake by boat. When a guest would arrive at his house, Lin's young attendant would receive him and open the cage to set the cranes free. Some time later, Lin Bu would return by boat, because the flight of the crane was a signal [that a guest had come].

林逋隱居杭州孤山，常蓄二鶴，縱之則飛入雲霄，盤旋久之，復入籠中。逋常泛小艇，遊西湖諸僧寺。有客至逋所居，則一童子出應門，延客坐，為開籠縱鶴。良久，逋必棹小舟而歸，蓋以一鶴飛為驗也。⁶⁴

⁶² Fei Gun 費袞, "Dongpo xihu liao guanshi" 東坡西湖了官事 (Dongpo finish Official Affairs on West Lake), *Liangxi manzhi* 梁溪漫志, SKQS, 4: 1b.

⁶³ Xie Weixin 謝維新, "Dongpo Xihu" 東坡西湖 (Dongpo West Lake), *Gujin hebi shilei beiyao qianji* 古今合璧事類備要前集, SKQS, 8:4a.

⁶⁴ Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, SKQS, 10: 85.

Stories like this, especially the detailed depiction of the crane, the boy, the small boat, and the manner of welcoming a guest made Lin Bu's life an edifying myth. Lin was thus remembered as a model whose unhurried manner stood in contrast to the busy city life of his time.

In these records, West Lake contributed to the construction of these historical figures, and was also enriched by their purported life style. These stories very likely encouraged literati to go for short trips around West Lake, so that they could embody their values and communicate with them in their imagination. In addition, all three literati wrote extensively about their trips around West Lake, their writings already in circulation during their lifetime and gaining more influence with the passage of time. Visiting famous landscapes that were valued by or associated with historical figures, as Cong Zhang argues, "allowed scholars to claim that they had established the most intimate emotional connection with their cultural past via physical traces left by former worthies."⁶⁵ Already in the Southern Song, a Three Worthies Hall was built in memory of Bai Juyi, Su Shi, and Lin Bu. There is no doubt that these three celebrated figures are the main reason West Lake remains a cultural landmark in China today. The phenomenon that the city memory was passed on and accumulated through famous landmarks was commonly seen in other cities as well. In his discussion of the Maple Bridge in Suzhou, Frederick W. Mote points out that the later poems on the bridge were by no means merely referred to the physical presence, but resonated with earlier poems and captured personal reflections involving the bridge.⁶⁶

Writing about sightseeing trips seems to have carried much more significance to literati than sightseeing itself.⁶⁷ Later literati left behind a huge number of poems and essays on West Lake, most of which featured references to historical figures. Su Shi became a symbol of West Lake,

⁶⁵ Zhang, *Transformative Journeys*, 178.

⁶⁶ Mote, "A Millennium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow," 52.

⁶⁷ Wang, "Paradise for Sale," 45. One author even claimed that poems would naturally emerge on arrival of the lake and that no poem could possibly be composed without West Lake. Xu Lun 許綸, "Meihua shishou 梅花十首," *Shezhai ji* 涉齋集, SKQS, 18:3a.

and was made reference in a huge number of traveling poems composed in the Southern Song. Lin Bu was referred to frequently as the West Lake Hermit 西湖處士.⁶⁸ Such reaffirmation of historical figures in later writings, as Stephen Owen points out, was a fundamental rule for Chinese traditional literature.⁶⁹ This emotional consciousness of being in a cultural lineage was clearly stated from fairly early time: “as I remember, so may I hope to be remembered. (後之視今，尤今之視昔。)” This feature of remembrance in literary creation was further enhanced in the writing of the landscape, as the physical sites would naturally evoke recollections of past visits and encourage one to believe that his own writing would be passed down much as the physical sites would endure. The relationship between landscape and literary writing was one of reciprocal enhancement: the landscape served as a lasting reminder of the history it had witnessed, and the writing imbued the landscape with fame and rich meaning.

The association of Su Shi and Lin Bu with West Lake, though begun in the Northern Song, did not reach their peak and become a trope until the Southern Song. This was partially due to the simple fact that Hangzhou was made as the new capital and thus brought more literati to the Lake. The civil service examinations, which were held every three years, meant that Hangzhou was filled with educated people on a regular basis. These examination-takers would usually visit West Lake to enjoy the scenery and consult fortunetellers in the lakeside temples. Those who passed the examination would either serve in the central government or be appointed to serve in another province. For the former group, visiting West Lake was an extremely popular activity on their days off every ten days.⁷⁰ For the latter group of officials, every time they finished a term they needed to return to the capital to wait for the next appointment. It was not uncommon for

⁶⁸ Chen Si 陳思, Chen Shilong 陳世隆, *LiangSong mingxian xiaoji* 兩宋名賢小集, SKQS, 162:12a-b.

⁶⁹ Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986), 1.

⁷⁰ Chen Zao 陳造, *Jianghu changweng ji* 江湖長翁集, SKQS, 5: 24a-b.

these officials to visit and revisit West Lake every time they were in Hangzhou and leave poems that compared what they saw with the scenery they remembered from earlier visits.⁷¹

These literati, especially those who had experienced the turmoil during the transitional period between the Northern and Southern Song, lacked a sense of belonging as they were forced to leave their previous homes. The feeling of being cut off from the cultural center in Northern China would be reconciled by their construction of a new identity connected to Hangzhou. The cultural tradition of West Lake imbued by Su Shi and Lin Bu provided a ready vehicle for such desires. Therefore, the Northern Song West Lake was taken as a cultural ideal that encapsulated romanticized literati lifestyle, represented by either Su Shi's relaxed way of dealing with official documents or Lin Bu's reclusive style. Writing on these figures, or the objects and places mentioned in their poems, or inventing imaginary conversations with them, enabled Southern Song literati to build themselves into their cultural lineage.

Literati identity was also maintained and confirmed via the regular gatherings on West Lake and especially their writings about such gatherings. Hangzhou literati formed poetry clubs that included local residents, officials, refugees and sojourners. They followed the literary traditions of holding poetry gatherings on spring days, they played poem rhyming games while attending boating parties, and they compiled anthologies of their writings and had them published.⁷² These activities served to create and confirm their membership in literati circles. The most famous poetry clubs had West Lake in their names. Wu Zimu had a very high opinion of one club: "The literati have their West Lake Poetry Club, which is composed of officials in the capital and visiting Confucian scholars from all around the country. Putting mood and feeling into their

⁷¹ For an example, see Li E 厲鶚, *Songshi jishi* 宋詩記事, *SKQS*, 50:26a-b.

⁷² For example, Chen Qi was a well-known publisher who published anthology for the Jianghu Poetry Club. See Liu Fang 劉方, *Shengshi Fanhua: Songdai jiangnan chengshi wenhua de fanrong yu bianqian* 盛世繁華: 宋代江南城市文化的繁榮與變遷 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2011), 168.

poems, their poems were circulated widely. Other societies and associations cannot compete with this. (文士有西湖詩社，此乃行都縉紳之士及四方流寓儒人，寄興適情賦詠，膾炙人口，流傳四方，非其他社集之比。)⁷³ Scholars who have studied the West Lake Poem Club have found that there were several clubs that shared the same name because they always met and discussed poems on the lake.⁷⁴ One of them was organized by Yang Zan 楊瓚 and Zhou Mi, who once recorded a gathering in “Cai lü yin” 采綠吟 (Poem of Picking up Green):

In the summer of 1264, Xiaweng [Yang Zan 楊瓚] met friends in the poetry club in the Bracelet Green Garden [*huanbi yuan* 環碧園] near West Lake to escape from the heat. Supplied with zither, wine cups, pens and ink-stones, wearing short clothes made by coarse hemp and kerchief made with sackcloth, we drifted among the deep lotus and thick willows. As for the shadow of dancing and dust of singing, we keep them from eyes and ears ... Enjoying the wine, we picked lotus leaves and searched for topics for poems.

甲子夏，霞翁會吟社諸友逃暑于西湖之環碧，琴尊筆研，短葛練巾，放舟于荷深柳密間。舞影歌塵，遠謝耳目。酒酣，採蓮葉，探題賦詞。⁷⁵

In this passage, the club prepared a variety of things used for an elegant gathering, and its members composed poems in a quiet place on the lake while sightseeing. We can also imagine that West Lake’s scenery must have been referred to in their poems many times. Poetry club excursions blurred the boundary between Hangzhou locals and immigrants, between officials who served the court and those who sojourned in Hangzhou for the civil service examinations.⁷⁶ The lake scenery, for these literati, was more an anchor to which they tied their own identities than a mere physical site.

⁷³ Wu Zimu 吳自牧, “Shehui” 社會, *Mengliang lu (MLL)*, DJMHL, 19: 292.

⁷⁴ See Ouyang Guang 歐陽光, *Songyuan shishe yanjiu congbian* 宋元詩社研究叢編 (Guangzhou: Guangzhou gaodeng jiaoyu, 1996); Xiao Peng 蕭鵬, “Xihu yinshu kao” 西湖吟社考, *Cixue* 詞學 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989), 7: 88-99.

⁷⁵ Zhou Mi, *Pinzhou yudi pu* 蘋洲漁笛譜, *SKQS*, 1:16a.

⁷⁶ Other examples also show that people who traveled outside of Hangzhou sometimes also composed poems and sent them back to their poetry clubs. See Deng Mu 鄧牧, “Xihu xiuqi xu” 西湖修禊序, *Boya qin* 伯牙琴, *SKQS*, 1: 28b-29b.

West Lake in the Popular Imagination

While the huge body of poems and essays romanticize the beauty and wonder of West Lake, anecdotes and popular stories suggest an alternative image of West Lake, perhaps reflecting the changing political circumstances. Most of the stories circulated orally at the time and were collected in *Yijian zhi*. Ronald Egan analyzes several stories about Hangzhou city in this collection, and argues that these revealed that life in Lin'an "has more of the feel of nightmare...."⁷⁷ Some of the dangerous elements he discusses were also seen around West Lake. The nature of the book has been discussed by many other scholars, so I am not going to repeat much except two points that are especially relevant to my use of the anecdotes: what factors constituted the strangeness and the degree of reliability of these stories.⁷⁸ As Alister D. Inglis brings up, these stories were found worth recording, not because the phenomenon itself was strange, but because "such phenomenon transcend the line separating the mundane realm from that of the spirit world and interacted with the living."⁷⁹ This characteristic was particularly evident in the stories of West Lake, as the lake itself was an ambiguous space open to both spiritual and secular worlds, as will be discussed in the chapter on temple visits. In addition, Inglis also argues for the historical reliability of *Yijian zhi*, as the "reported events either actually took place or were likely to have taken place according to the Chinese religious system."⁸⁰ In another words, the strange things recorded as taking place on and around West Lake were things people at the time could choose to believe.

⁷⁷ Ronald Egan, "Crime, Violence, and Ghosts in the Lin'an Stories in *Yijian zhi*," presentation at the conference of Southern Song Art and Culture "When Shall West Lake be Without Song or Dance?" University of Michigan, Oct. 2011.

⁷⁸ For discussion on the writing nature of *Yijian zhi*, see Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 21-23. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 10-17. Edward L Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 18.

⁷⁹ Alister David Inglis, *Hong Mai's Record of the Listener and Its Song Dynasty Context* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 114-115.

⁸⁰ Inglis, *Hong Mai's Record of the Listener and Its Song Dynasty Context*, 24

These stories portrayed West Lake as a place crowded with demons and ghosts. As in many other stories from *Yijian zhi*, women, both female ghosts and vulnerable wives, played a crucial role in building the imagination of West Lake by adding the sense of uncertainty. In the story “Gu Duanren,” Scholar Gu had a romantic relationship with a lady before his father warned him of the possibility of her being a ghost. Once he walked around the lake and encountered the lady again, so he asked the lady to enter into the Four Guardian Sages Hall, hoping to be able to determine her real identity. The story remained open as to whether the lady was a ghost or deity, but did highlight the sense of strangeness that took place on the lake.⁸¹ Meanwhile, while traveling around the lake, women seemed to face more potential dangers than men. It was recorded that a beautiful wife of a local official in Hangzhou was trapped by a nun from West Lake into having a relationship with a young man who had a crush on her. When the wife woke up from drunkenness, she saw the young man dead lying next to her, because he had been extremely delighted with her and died just at the height of his enjoyment. This affair was later uncovered and investigated by the government.⁸² This story, like many others in Hong Mai’s books, is open to multiple understandings. It certainly testifies to the worry about close interaction between elite women and nuns, but it also conveys the concern of increasing mobility women acquired during the Southern Song and the accompanied anxiety among literati. In the patrilineal society like China, as Patricia Ebrey argues, “women will always be more associated with discontinuity than men.” Such discontinuity was rooted in the expected change of household and moving of women, and was further enhanced in the Song Dynasty due to the

⁸¹ “Gu Duanren” 顧端仁, *YJZ, zhi yi zhi* 1, 3: 1526. Another story recorded that a Scholar Wu stayed in a temple by the lake for one night and a beautiful woman knocked on his door and seduced him. The next day, a monk told the scholar that there were no unmarried females near the temple, except for the tomb of a newly deceased daughter of an official. After that day, Scholar Wu became very sick and had to leave the temple. Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘 (*XHYLZY*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1980), 26: 415.

⁸² “Xihu an’ni” 西湖庵尼 (West Lake Nun), *YJZ, zhi hai* 10, 3: 1726.

tendency of come and go carried by the monetary economy and rapid shift of social classes.⁸³

The stories concerning West Lake further attests that the moving of women between the city and the lake increases the potential danger.

Though what was recorded in these stories was usually far from reality and was not even regarded as totally true by all the people at the time, the importance of these stories lies in the fact that they reveal how knowledge from different traditions can be creatively (re) interpreted via diverse channels. They could inspire and open new possibilities for the ways people interact with West Lake and conceptualize their interactions. Compared with the imagination of West Lake seen from literati's cultured eyes, these anecdotes enrich our picture of other ways West Lake could be interpreted, especially useful for excavating "aspects of a society that are not fully reflected in prescriptive texts."⁸⁴ Meanwhile, they direct our attention to the complex relationship between the urbanized and natural factors that were both intrinsic to West Lake.

Despite the fact that many places were recorded as the setting for strange things in *Yijian zhi*, two factors particularly contributed to the close connection between West Lake and strange things. One underlying concern in *Yijian zhi*, as discussed by many other scholars, was the uncertainty aroused by the growing interaction among strange people. Egan convincingly argues that the gathering and mixing of people from various places in the city of Hangzhou caused the increasing worries in public space.⁸⁵ Although it is hard to argue that West Lake was a more dangerous place for women than Hangzhou city, it is without doubt the most dangerous suburb of the city. As Yoshinobu Shiba points out, north of the city were military garrisons, east were

⁸³ Patricia Ebrey, "Women, Money, and Class: Sima Guang and Song Neo-Confucian Views on Women," *Women and the Family in Chinese History* (Routledge, 1992), 21.

⁸⁴ Hsiao-wen Cheng, "Traveling Stories and Untold Desires: Female Sexuality in Song China, 10th -13th Centuries" (PhD. Diss., University of Washington, 2012), 31

⁸⁵ Egan, "Crime, Violence, and Ghosts in the Lin'an Stories in *Yijian zhi*."

vegetable lands, and south were imperial gardens.⁸⁶ As more people visited the lake, it became a favored stage for supernatural stories. Encountering people who were not familiar in people's daily life enhanced their feeling of danger and uncertainty. As an increasing number of women were attracted by the natural beauty and religious institutions, they were imagined to be at the risk of losing their chastity.

Another factor was the continuing idea of wildness related to the natural environment of West Lake. The geographical fact that West Lake was located just outside the city boundary imbued the lake with not only the feature as a busy place, but also the characteristic of a wild landscape. Since early in history, the constant interaction between people and the surrounding nature generated the sense of unfamiliarity and led to the recognition of landscape as a wild realm. This concern of the wildness could explain the fact that most of the supernatural beings recorded in these stories took the shape of a fish. The court storyteller in the Southern Song told a story titled “shuangyu zhuiji” 雙魚墜記 (The Fan Pendant in the Shape of Twin Fish), in which two demons, one a white snake and the other a green fish, were mentioned as swimming in the lake.⁸⁷ Stories about these supernatural beings added a certain sinister coloring to the popular imagination of the lake. Furthermore, although the lake itself was frequently visited by literati during the Northern Song, the surrounding mountains were still largely unexplored in the

⁸⁶ Shiba Yoshinobu, “Sō to kōshū no shōgyō kaku, 宋都杭州の商業核,” in Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, *Chūgoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* 中國近世の都市と文化 (Kyōto-shi: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1984), 42.

⁸⁷ The other Song Dynasty story, titled “Xihu santa ji” 西湖三塔記 (Story of West Lake Three Pagodas), mentioned building pagodas to ward off the devils in the lake. It was not until the Qing Dynasty that this anecdote became a romantic story about the love between a secular scholar and a white snake. This anecdote was later applied in story writings and the green fish became a green snake. The earliest story that centered on these two devils was in Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言, which aims to educate male not to be seduced by beauty. The story was said to have occurred during the Southern Song, and the white snake played an evil role. In the records of *Huru zaji*, this story began to involve elements of Leifeng Pagoda, and Guanyin's saying “only when the pagoda fall down and the lake water is all gone can the two (devils) come out.” These two elements continued in later versions of the story. See Lu Ciyun 陸次云, *Huru zaji* 湖儒雜記, in Wang Guoping 王國平 ed. *Xihu wenxian jicheng* (XHWXJC) (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2004), 8: 27. It was not until Huang Tubi 黃圖秘 that the two devils began to play positive roles.

In another story, after the merchant who monopolized the business of selling loach fish died, his tomb was transformed strangely into a fish cave. *YJZ*, jia juan 4, 1:10.

early decades of the Southern Song. This less-cultivated landscape was thus regarded as an unfamiliar and sometimes even wild place. For those who had just moved to Hangzhou after the fall of Kaifeng, especially the garrison armies that were stationed in the southern mountains, it was not impossible to imagine that the remote hilly areas outside the city wall were mysterious or threatening.⁸⁸ This phenomenon became relatively rare as time passed, for urban residents' knowledge of the mountains grew as excursions there became more common.

The above stories of West Lake suggest a very different possibility of viewing West Lake from the one constructed from literati's poetry. West Lake could be considered not only as a place where one could communicate with men of high cultural repute, but also as a place where one could be hurt by ghosts and demons. While West Lake was seen as a place that provided support to literati identity, in popular conceptualizations it possibly also generated concern over potential dangers, as people might be trapped, kidnapped, or even raped when they visited the temples around the Lake. No matter whether these stories were based on fact or not, their popularity spoke to the possible subtle concerns of the people who lived in Hangzhou during the beginning decades of the Southern Song. The underlying reasons for such insecurity were probably the growing city crowded with unfamiliar people from different places in north China. These new immigrants shared their experiences of instability and turmoil, and they themselves were also startled by the unfamiliar landscape outside the city wall.

West Lake as the Symbol of the State

⁸⁸ For example, one story suggested that the surrounding mountains of West Lake were even more dangerous, as even people who served in the army would be eaten by ghosts. "Ma jun jiang Tian Jun" 馬軍將田俊 (General Tian Jun in Cavalry), *YJZ*, zhi yi zhi juan 1, 3: 1532.

During the first two decades of the Southern Song, the court didn't pay much attention to Hangzhou, which was still called *xingzai* 行在 (temporary stop). It was not until 1141 when the Song court signed a peace treaty with the Jin Dynasty that the imperial family could seriously consider settling down in Hangzhou. Imperial palaces were constructed and city infrastructure was expanded. Meanwhile, in contemporary writings the sense of danger that had permeated earlier works subsided and the cultural prestige of West Lake came to the fore. People began to shift their attention from military crisis to their pleasant surroundings.

The relatively stable period between 1141 and 1234 engendered two different but intertwined modes of depicting West Lake: some authors engaged in depicting the beautiful scenery and elegant sightseeing on the lake; others focused their attention on meticulously recording geographical information about the lake. While the former sang the praises of the central government by regarding West Lake as mirroring the general prosperity of the country, the latter forged a strong bond with the local place. This and the following sections investigate state and local discourses respectively in order to illustrate how West Lake was constructed by Southern Song literati both as a symbol of peace and prosperity achieved by the government and as a pillar for local identification.

After being uprooted for several years due to political turmoil after 1127, both the imperial court and the officials had a strong desire to settle down. They projected their yearning for a home onto their writings about Hangzhou generally and West Lake in particular. It did not take long before West Lake acquired a high position in Southern Song political discourse. Scholars began to place West Lake in the context of the imperial capital; many poems collected in the

gazetteers confirmed this conceptualization. For instance, an Official Wang from Jinhua county wrote,⁸⁹

Southeast of Wu Mountain,	吳山東南季，
The imperial city is blanketed in luxuriant green.	蔥鬱盤帝城。
West Lake lies at its feet,	西湖據其趾，
The waves are permeated by the imperial spirit.	禦氣通波心。

In this poem, Wang promoted the status of West Lake by highlighting its geographical proximity to the imperial city. West Lake was thus believed to be connected with and even blessed by the energy (*qi* 氣) of the imperial house.

Such praise was welcomed by the new court, which wanted to affirm its legitimacy through the prosperity it had brought about. The government, which was dominated by the chief minister Qin Kui 秦檜(1091-1155) and his followers, certainly wanted to regard the prosperity as a result of maintaining peace with the Jurchens. Zhu Dunru 朱敦儒 (1081-1159), who in 1135 was Judicial Commissioner of the East Route in the two *Zhe* region, was a follower of Qin Kui. One of his poems is a perfect example of the type of writing praising the court:

Nowadays the true environment around West Lake, is the revitalization of the sagely rulership.	此日西湖真境，聖治中興。
One only needs to listen to the music and watch the dancing; the fragrances linger, and deep cups are filled with wine.	直須聽歌按舞，任留香，滿酌杯深。
Celebrating the good years, and the peace that pervades the country is the best part.	最好是，賀豐年，天下太平。 ⁹⁰

This poem starts with the praise of the restoration and ends by naming the period as peaceful times. Such celebratory feeling infused many poems about West Lake. The word “*zhongxing*” 中興 (restoration) in the Southern Song embodied people’s wishes to recover from warfare and

⁸⁹ Wang Zhili 王執禮, “Hushan jiyou” 湖山紀游, *XCLAZ*, 33: 22a.

⁹⁰ Zhu Dunru 朱敦儒, “sheng sheng man xue” 勝勝慢雪, Tang Guizhang ed., *Quan song ci* 全宋詞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 2: 839.

regain the strength of the Northern Song. People's enjoyment of the lake was taken as a vivid illustration of the country's recovery. Comparing the new capital with the old one was an important aspect of this. In the preface of The Codger's *Ducheng jisheng* (which is introduced in the introduction), for instance, comments that "After Emperor Gaozong halted his carriage at Hangzhou, the city—because of the bright elegance of the landscape and the peaceful prosperity of the people—was perceived to surpass the capital [at Bian] by a tenfold." (自高宗皇帝駐蹕於杭，而杭山水明秀，民物康阜，視京師其過十倍矣。)⁹¹ The goal of promoting Hangzhou as a better capital was further elaborated in Lin Yede's 林曄德 essay on the Harvest and Joy

Tower (*fengle lou* 豐樂樓):

No dust [for the ruler] in the court and
commonalty, this is the right time to enjoy the
pleasure with the people;

朝野無塵，當與時而同樂；

Lake and mountain resemble paintings; usually
people project their emotions onto the scenery.

湖山如畫，多對景以舒情。

Luxuriant is the old capital of Qiantang; grand is
the new government in Lin'an.

錢塘故地之豪奢，臨安新府之
雄壯，

Three thousand alleys are filled with flowers and
willows that compete for beauty;

三千巷陌兮，叢花柳以競妒。

Tens of thousands of households lay out silk to
show off.

十萬人家兮，列綺羅而誇尚。

Flutes and songs are the best of the whole
country; the scenery astonishes the whole human
world.

笙歌極天下之選，風物駭人間
之望。

Since ancient times to the present, traditions are
prominent around the two *Zhe* areas;

流傳今古，只誇兩浙之間。

How much prosperity, all gather on West Lake

多少繁華，盡簇西湖之上。

... It is lucky that peaceful and secure days
lasted for so long, it is proper to share pleasure

.....幸太平之日久，宜行樂以
民同。⁹²

⁹¹ 耐得翁, *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (DCJS), "Zhouchuan 舟船" (Boat and Ship), *DJMHL*, 75. Translation from de Pee, "Nature's Capital: The City as Garden in The Splendid Scenery of the Capital (Ducheng jisheng, 1235)," 27.

⁹² 林曄德, "Zhuanfu yi loucheng hushing yuzhong tongle wei yun" 撰賦以樓成湖上與眾同樂為韻, *XCLAZ*, 33: 23b.

with commoners.

In this *fu*, by using gorgeous words and parallel sentences, Lin conveyed the delights of Hangzhou, showing how well it deserved to be the new capital of the recently revived dynasty. West Lake was taken as a major symbol of such prosperity, with its own beauty and the sightseeing activities that took place in and around it. Its splendor was attributed to the political achievements of the government.

The theme of rulers sharing pleasures with the commoners, a Confucian ideal brought up by Mencius, was very much emphasized. In 1227, when Cheng Mi 程秘 and other scholars gathered on the lake to celebrate the Double Third Festival (*xiuqi* 修禊), Cheng recorded the event by admiring the harmony between officials and commoners. He gave a special depiction of how the vendors gathered around the prefectural magistrate, trying sold him food and small artifacts, and the pleasure boats provided music and dance unsolicited. This, he explains, is because of “the benevolence of the local governor and the harmony of the people of the capital,” which again reinforced the atmosphere of peace and security.⁹³

West Lake as Built into the Local History

Praise of the imperial court also made its way into the record of West Lake in the three local gazetteers and four miscellanies written about Hangzhou.⁹⁴ However, unlike the scholars who treated West Lake as a marker of dynastic development, these authors maintained a relatively objective tone in most of their descriptions of local history. The Song Dynasty witnessed a growing interest in geographical knowledge. The development of transportation and official

⁹³ Cheng Mi, however, except for praising the peaceful atmosphere, expressed at the end of the essay his desire to recover the lost territory and reconstruct the connection with the cultural heartland of the Tang and the Northern Song. Cheng Mi 程秘, *Mingshui ji* 泂水集, *SKQS*, 7:37-8.

⁹⁴ Zhou Mi in his *Wulin jiushi* also begins with description of the imperial visit during the Chunxi reign with a tone of admiration. *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 352.

appointments that required regular long-distance relocations led to a proliferation of geography books. This phenomenon has been studied in detail by James Hargett, Aoyama Sadao, and Peter K. Bol, who demonstrate that the writing of these local histories promoted local pride as well as systematized new knowledge.⁹⁵ These two trends also influenced the development of writing about West Lake. In the Southern Song, due to the increasing popularity of excursions around West Lake, the local government invested substantial sums in constructing sightseeing-related projects. Meanwhile, local elites gained growing geographical knowledge concerning West Lake that they wanted to record. The following discussion will focus on both the representation of local pride and the new way of categorizing available geographical knowledge.

Appreciation of government-sponsored projects is evident in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, which provided detailed information on how the local government added and repaired scenic sites for the tourists.

Xiaoxin Causeway: In 1242, Commissioner Zhao constructed a causeway connecting the second bridge of Northern Hill and the Qu Garden. Along the banks of the causeway, willows were planted as on the Su Causeway. [This causeway] reached to Soul's Retreat and Tianzhu Monasteries. Halfway across the causeway [the government] built a hall that opens to four directions and three pavilions, for tourists to take a rest. In 1269, the local government launched another renovation project, piling earth on the causeway and made the height more than two *chi* [half meter]. The length was approximately 250 *zhang* [833 meters] and the width was about 25 *chi* [eight meters]. The funding was all provided by the court.

小新堤：淳佑二年，趙安撫懇築，自北山第二橋至麴院，步夾岸植柳如蘇堤。路通靈竺，半堤作四面堂一，亭三，以憩游人。咸淳五年，並行修築，聚土增高，通二尺

⁹⁵ See Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄, *Tō Sō jidai no kōtsū to chishi chizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌地圖の研究 (Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1963), 465-72; Peter K. Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jun., 2001), 37-76; James M. Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Dec., 1996), 405-442.

The prosperity of local history was notably influenced by James T.C. Liu's argument on the "inward-turning" of Chinese civilization, which he believes took place during the 11th to 12th centuries. See James T.C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 10.

許，袤凡二百五十丈，廣皆二十五尺。其費亦朝廷所給賜也。⁹⁶

This credit given here to the local government's can be attributed to two factors: the desire of the municipal government to show off in front of the court, sometimes also to prove their fulfillment of the court order; and their motivation to promote local pride.⁹⁷

Objective description of sites like Xiaoxin Causeway was also pervasive in other types of records, especially in the miscellanies centering on Hangzhou, including *Ducheng jisheng*, *Fansheng lu*, *Mengliang lu* and *Wulin jiushi*. Even in *Fansheng lu*, which was known for recording the luxury of urban life in colloquial language, the author occasionally changed to factual language to provide information on scenic sites available at a given place. For example, in the record of an imperial visit to the lake, West Lake Old Man recorded how the emperor took the boat and went into the Four Guardian Sages Hall before returning to the palace. While the whole record follows the style of travel records, the author included a one-sentence introduction to scenic spots inside the Four Guardian Sages Hall by saying, “scenic sites in the garden include: Agate Hillside [*manao po* 瑪瑙坡], Qin Dynasty Junipers [*qinchao hui* 秦朝檜], Six One Spring [*liuyi quan*, 六一泉] and Lin Bu's Tomb.(園內景物有:瑪瑙坡、秦朝檜、六一泉、和靖先生墓。)”⁹⁸ Such a remark, although seemingly a bit out of place, is not the only case in either this book or other records. It seems that the author tried to include detailed information on the scenic sites as a way to provide as much information as possible.

⁹⁶ *XCLAZ*, 32:7a-b.

⁹⁷ For the discussion of the audiences of these local histories, see James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing,” 427. “The numerous extant prefaces to Southern Song gazetteers make it abundantly clear that the audience for local history, which in Northern Song times was confined largely to government officials, now extended to virtually everyone who was literate and interested in local affairs. The careful records of detailed numbers were probably for the use of later local officials, or simply to serve the curiosity of local elites who read and circulated such writings.”

⁹⁸ Xihu Laoren 西湖老人 (West Lake Old Man), *Fansheng lu (FSL)*, *DJMHL*, 99. Six One Spring was named after Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072).

Such meticulous recording of scenic sites attests to the new geographical interest and also represents a new framework for categorizing local history. The most complete record of scenic sites around West Lake that was available at the time was probably the map in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* (Fig. 3), on which more than 300 sites were noted, including official bureaus, religious sites, entertainment quarters, pagodas, towers, pavilions, altars, military garrisons, tombs, and so on. Most of the sites labeled on the map were recorded by Zhou Mi in his *Wulin jiushi*, and I have underlined those that are important to this research. Among all these sites, about fifty manmade places have rough dates. Chart 1 indicates that nearly half of the sites were added during the Southern Song, and a majority of them were contributed by government or patronized by the imperial family. Five Dynasties was featured for the construction of a large number of religious sites, while the Northern Song sites were more for practical reasons, such as the six bridges connecting the Su Causeway.

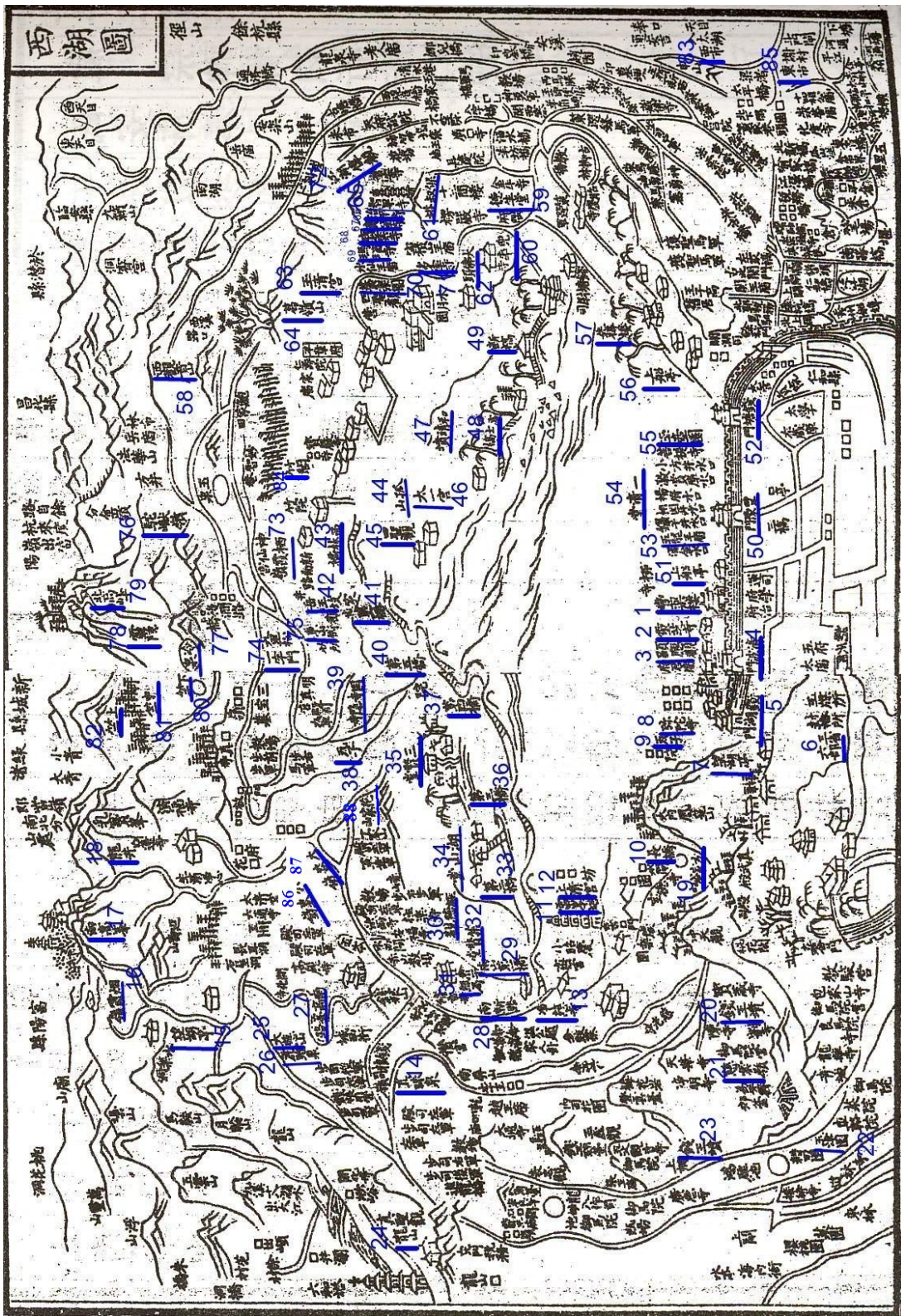
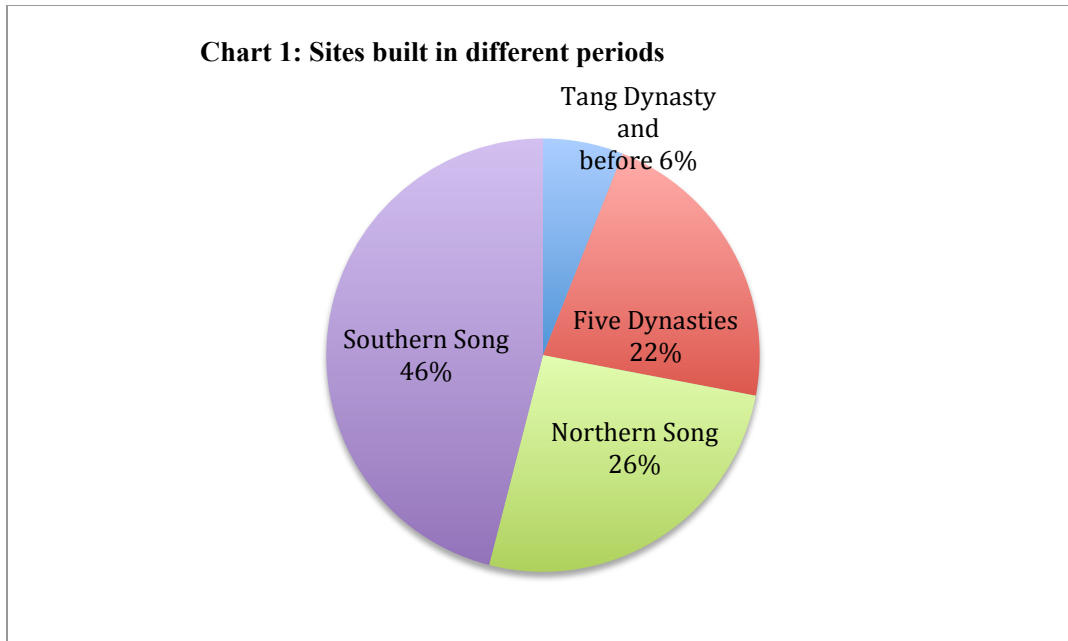


Figure 3: Map of West Lake (west up), with names of sites labeled.

Table 1: Site Names labeled on the Map of West Lake:

1、豐樂樓 Harvest and Joy Tower	2、靈芝寺 Lingzhi Mushroom Monastery	3、顯應觀 Displaying Sympathy Temple	4、清波門 Clear Wave Gate	5、錢湖門 Qian Lake Gate
6、三省六部 Three Departments and Six Ministries	7、望湖亭 Watch Lake Pavilion	8、彌陀寺 Mituo Monastery	9、瓦子 <i>Wazi</i> (entertainment quarter)	10、長橋 Long Bridge
11、雷峰塔 Leifeng Pagoda	12、上清宮 Upper Purenness Temple	13、淨慈寺 Purity and compassion Monastery	14、真珠泉 Authentic Pearl Spring	15、望湖亭 Watch Lake pavilion
16、棲霞嶺 Resting Sunset Hill	17、南高峰 Southern Hill	18、龍井 Dragon Well	19、方家峪 Fangjia Valley	20、錢王墳 Tomb of King Qian
21、慈雲嶺 Compassion Clouds Hill	22、玉津園 Jade Ferry Garden	23、錢王墳 Tomb of King Qian	24、龍山 Dragon Mountain	25、大慈山 Great Compassion Mountain
26、虎跑泉 Tiger Jump Spring	27、南高峰路 Route of Southern Hill	28、南新路 Nanxin Road	29、第一橋 The First Bridge	30、旌德觀 Praising Virtue Temple
31、會子紙局 Paper Money Bureau	32、先賢堂 Previous Worthies Hall	33、第二橋 The Second Bridge	34、湖山堂 Lake and Mountain Hall	35、三賢堂 Three Worthies Hall
36、第三橋 The Third Bridge	37、第四橋 The Fourth Bridge	38、瓦子 <i>Wazi</i> (entertainment quarter)	39、相國隱寺 Chief Minister's Retreat Monastery	40、第五橋 The Fifth Bridge
41、第六橋 The Sixth Bridge	42、岳王墳 Tomb of King Yue	43、西林橋 West Forest Bridge	44、孤山 Solitary Mountain	45、四聖觀 Four Guardian Sages Temple
46、太一宮 Supreme Oneness Temple	47、和靖墳 Lin Bu's Tomb	48、處士橋 Reclusion Bridge	49、斷橋 Broken Bridge	50、豐豫門 Prosperous and Peace Gate
51、上船亭 Boat Boarding Pavilion	52、錢塘門 Qiantang Gate	53、龍王寺 Dragon King Monastery	54、一清堂 Oneness Pure Hall	55、玉壺園 Jade Pot Garden

56、上船亭 Boat Boarding Pavilion	57、先得樓 Xiande Tower	58、西觀音山 West Guanyin Mountain	59、德生堂 Virtue Growing Hall	60、兜率宮 Tushita Palace
61、保叔塔 Baochu Pagoda	62、大佛頭 Big Buddha Head	63、玉清宮 Jade Pure Palace	64、葛嶺山 Geling Mountain	65、智果寺 Wisdom Retribution Temple
66、治平寺 Peaceful Administration Monastery	67、壽星寺 God of Longevity Monastery	68、寶雲寺 Treasure Clouds Monastery	69、瑪瑙寺 Agate Monastery	70、養樂園 Cultivating Pleasure Garden
71、多寶寺 Many Jewels Monastery	72、江湖偉觀 Great View of River and Lake	73、栖霞嶺 Qixia mountain	74、一字門，九里橋 One Character Gate, Nine Li Bridge	75、東山衙口 East Mountain Alley
76、駝巘嶺 Hump Hill	77、冷泉 Cold Spring (Pavilion)	78、靈隱 Soul's Retreat(Monastery)	79、北高峰 Northern Hill	80、下竺 Lower Tianzhu (Monastery)
81、中竺 Middle Tianzhu (Monastery)	82、上竺 Upper Tianzhu (Monastery)	83、西市 West Market	84、竹閣 Bamboo Chamber	85、東市 East Market
86、小麥嶺 Small Wheat Hill	87、大麥嶺 Big Wheat Hill	88. 花家山 Huajia Mountain		



Although *Wulin jiushi* was compiled shortly after the fall of the Southern Song, the geographical information recorded in it must have circulated in Zhou Mi's early years. A number of Song and Yuan popular stories preserved in the Ming collections indicate that these places were well known in the popular world as well. Sightseeing was a very common theme in many stories of the time, and a number of location names were mentioned without any special notations, as seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Sites names around West Lake included in Song-Yuan fiction

西湖三塔記	Pouring Gold Gate, Qiantang Gate, Four Guardian Sages Temple, Broken Bridge
西山一窟鬼	Jingci Monastery, Su Causeway, Jade Creek, Dragon Well, Nine-li Pine, Qu Winery
白娘子永鎮雷峰塔	West Lake, Baochu Pagoda, Su Causeway, Bai Causeway, Broken Bridge, Lin Bu's Tomb, Four Guardian Sages Hall, Solitary Mountain Road, Six One Spring, Harvest and Joy Tower, Pouring Gold Gate, Purity and compassion Monastery, Leifeng Pagoda, Stone Case Bridge
碾玉觀音	Qiantang Gate,
錢塘夢	West Lake, Four Guardian Sages Hall, Broken Bridge, Willow Pavilion, Harvest and Joy Tower, Nine-li Pine,

	Soul's Retreat Monastery, Su Causeway,
裴秀娘夜遊西湖記	Pouring Gold Gate, Su Causeway, West Lake, Broken Bridge, Leifeng Pagoda, Clear Wave Gate
沈小官一鳥害七命	Pouring Gold Gate, Southern Hill, South Screen Mountain
菩薩蠻	Soul's Retreat Monastery, Qiantang Gate, Big Buddha Head
俞仲舉題詩遇上皇	Pouring Gold Gate, West Lake, Harvest and Joy Tower, Soul's Retreat Monastery, Cold Spring Pavilion,

The story “Lady Bai being Suppressed Forever under Leifeng Pagoda” (*Bai niangzi yongzhen Leifeng ta* 白娘子永鎮雷峰塔) included Scholar Xu’s sightseeing route: starting from the Qiantang Gate on the east of the Lake, Xu passed Stone Case Bridge (*shihan qiao* 石函橋) and Virtue Growing Hall (*desheng tang* 德生堂), and then he walked through Solitary Mountain Road, Four Guardian Sages Hall, Lin Bu’s Tomb, Six One Spring. At last he boarded on a boat and headed for Harvest and Joy Tower, where he met Lady Bai. Audiences for these stories were expected to know not only the sites, but also be able to map Scholar Xu’s outing in their mind. The direction Xu followed was apparently a very common sightseeing route at the time, as Zhou Mi recorded.

Zhou Mi in *Wulin jiushi* devoted a whole chapter titled “Scenic Spots of Lake and Mountain” 湖山勝概 to the detailed and very objective records of sites, organized by different sightseeing routes, which are drawn on the sketch-map of sightseeing routes and the table below (Fig. 4). While other chapters included beautiful and even exaggerated descriptions of Hangzhou daily life and imperial events, in this chapter Zhou Mi adopted a style far more common in gazetteers in order to list all 453 sites, with very brief notations on the sub-sites housed in the palace or temples. Some featured sightseeing areas could be discerned in Zhou Mi’s writing. The Northern/Southern Mountains Route and Geling Route featured religious sites. West Lake Three

Causeway Route and Solitary Mountain Route are distinguished for natural scenery and famous historical figures. These two routes constituted the major part of Scholar Xu’s sightseeing.

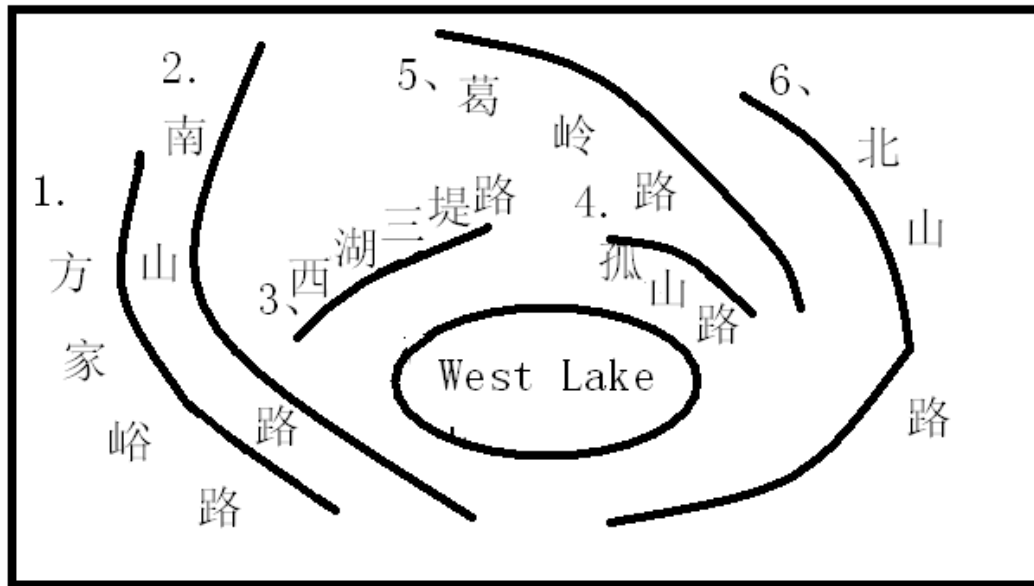


Figure 4: Sketch-map of Sightseeing Routes around West Lake

Table 3: Statistics of Sightseeing Routes

No.	Sightseeing Route	Total number of sightseeing spots	Sites included
1	Fangjia Valley Route 方家峪路	50	Includes sites with Number 19-21, 23-26 in Fig. 2.
2	Southern Mountain Route 南山路	66	Include sites with Number 1, 2, 3, 5, 10-14, 16-18 in Fig.2.
	Attached: Xiaomai Hill 小麥嶺	38	
	Damai Hill 大麥嶺	14	
3	Three Dykes Route 西湖三堤路	26	includes sites with Number 28-42 in Fig. 2.
4	Solitary Mountain Route 孤山路	9	includes sites with Number 43-49 in Fig.2.
5	Geling Route 葛嶺路	121	includes sites with Number 60-82 in Fig. 2.
6	Northern Mountain Route 北山路	111	include sites with Number 51-58 in Fig. 2.
	Attached: Three Tianzhu Route 三天竺路	17	

Gazetteer-style writing was so influential in people's conceptualization of West Lake that it was evidently adopted in the compilation of poet Dong Sigao's 董嗣杲 (fl. 1260-1276) *Xihu baiyong* 西湖百詠 (*One Hundred Poems on West Lake*).⁹⁹ Following the standardized way of recording sites, Dong gave each site a brief history and then elaborated on its natural beauty or historical background in a poem. Almost all one hundred sites were noted on the above map of West Lake (Fig. 5). In contrast to his Northern Song peers who also composed one hundred poem collections on West Lake (such as Yang Pan 楊蟠 and Guo Xiangzheng 郭祥正), Dong's compilation of the one hundred poems were put into a sequence that resembled a counter-clockwise tour around the lake (noted on Fig. 5). Dong's annotation of different sites was distinguished by his attention to relative positioning. In this sense, the anthology also functioned as a catalogue of sites visited, with the feeling and observing process minimized and reduced to the process of recognition. What is seen was not merely the site itself, but the historical and especially cultural memory carried by the place.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The tradition of compiling poems according to the places of interest started early in the Northern Song Dynasty. Mei Xun's 梅詢 "Wulin shan shiyong" 武林山十詠 (Ten Poems on Mountain Wulin) included ten connected poems focusing on the Tianzhu Mountain and Lingyin Mountain. Though only slightly touched on West Lake, its importance lies in the fact that this is the first literary work that combined poems on a series of scenic sites around this lake.

¹⁰⁰ The similar feature was also discerned from Qian Qianyi's travel writing on Yellow Mountain, as discussed in McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain*, 86.

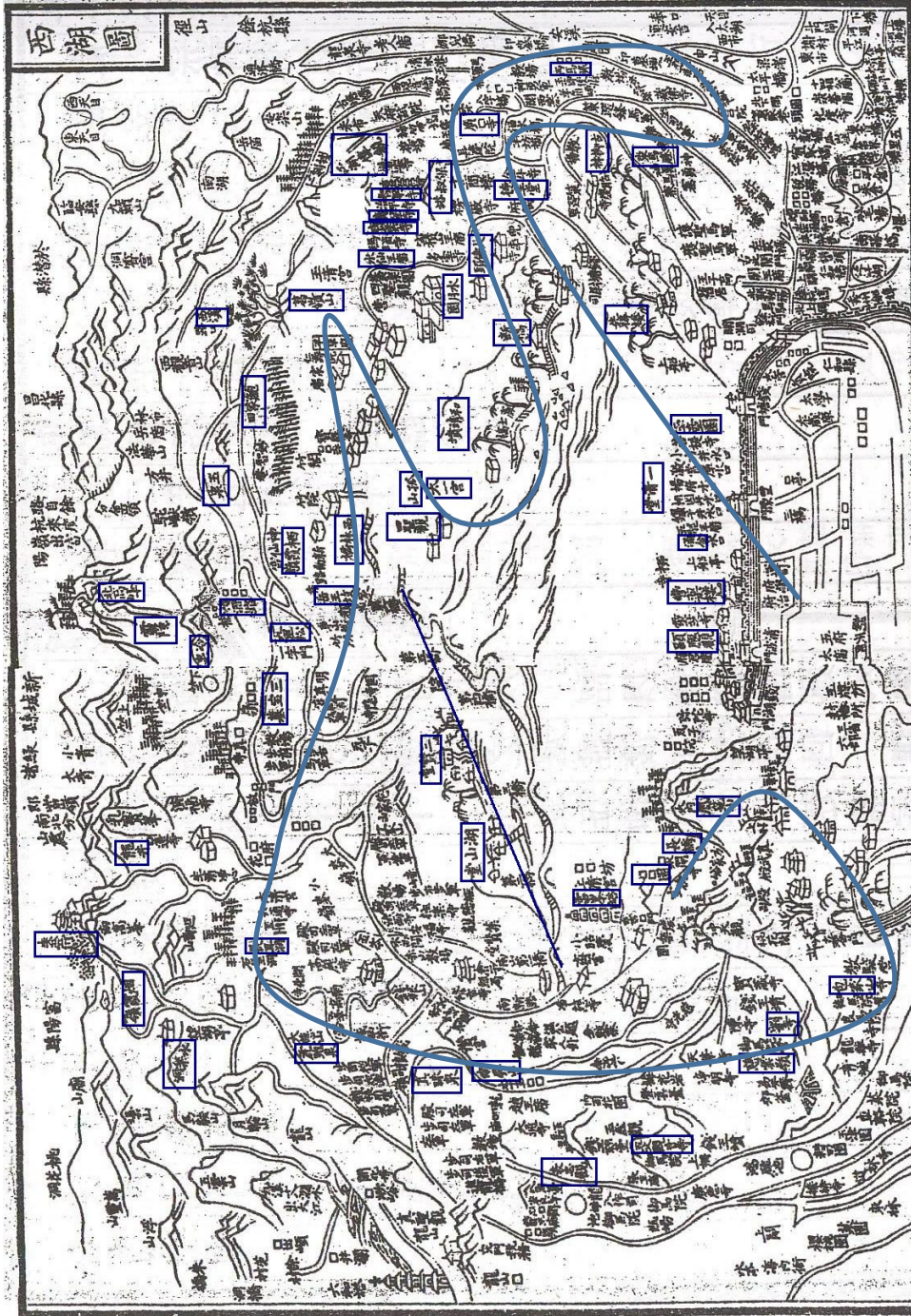


Figure 5: Sites included in Dong Sigao's *Xi hu baiyong*

This was also a prominent feature in other records, such as *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (*Record of the Best Site in the Realm*) by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之 (1163-1230). The broad scope covered in this

geographical work precluded the author from elaborating much on the cultural history of the different sites around West Lake. The information he paid most attention to, however, is the relative positions of these sites.¹⁰¹ Reading through his records, one is almost forced to draw a mental map.

Such detailed records of so many sites manifested not only the unprecedented mastery of geographical locations, but also the extent of shared knowledge within the local community. Mapping and reading places that are recorded in a neat spatial structure required the writers to have the talent for abstraction and symbolization, but further required a comparable ability among the readers, who are expected to know how to translate the twinkled lines and complex dots back into the real geographical settings.¹⁰² The conversation formed regarding the local scenic sites not only contributed to both the writers' and the readers' self-identifications as members of the local community, but also encouraged them to display their knowledge of the historical and literary traditions of these sites, a talent that was culturally valued. When Cong Zhag investigated the making of sites during the Northern Song, she found that the famous sites of one place was actually invented and accumulated by the effort of elite from other places. During the Southern Song, however, as seen from the example of West Lake, it was the local elite who contributed the most to the creation of local history.¹⁰³ This shift could probably be explained by the increasing attention of the Southern Song elites given to the local affair, especially the building up of local fame and their self-identification via the local scenery icons.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝, SKQS.

¹⁰² Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 76-77.

¹⁰³ Zhang, *Transformative Journeys*, 175-180.

¹⁰⁴ For discussion on the development of local elites during the Southern Song, see Liu, *China Turning Inward*.

In the process of writing and mapping, either mentally or physically, the abstract space around West Lake was transformed into a collection of sites with layered historical and cultural meanings. These locations are thus not merely physical places, but were built into a framework and a vocabulary with which West Lake could be understood and narrated as an essential component of Hangzhou's collective memory. In their attempt to faithfully and precisely record these locations, literati were grasping the stable elements in the spatial environment as opposed to the temporal changes. From their knowledge of the Northern Song history, the elite were highly conscious of the fact that dynasties have limited lives.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, they concentrated on the recording of places, which have a natural and cultural history of their own, hoping to dilute the potency of the dynastic cycle by emphasizing the continuities of local history and its geographical permanence.

West Lake as the Target of Nostalgia

The image of West Lake in literature in the years leading up to the fall of the dynasty seemed to be dominated by nostalgia, a theme that continued long after the Southern Song's collapse. Before moving to the next chapter, I want to briefly discuss the accumulation of West Lake nostalgia from the 1230s to the 1270s, while saving the discussion of its post-Song development for the epilogue. The importance of nostalgia lies in the fact that the majority of detailed records regarding tourism around West Lake were the product of a concern that all these qualities would disappear soon. This, ironically, also motivated the literati to grasp whatever stable elements they can to maintain their memory of the life they were living. Although the authors of these records tried to be objective, this concern inevitably colors our knowledge of West Lake.

¹⁰⁵ Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou," 61.

Nostalgia, although first coined by the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer for analysis of Western literature, was by no means a foreign concept to China.¹⁰⁶ Throughout the history of traditional China, authors never stopped their effort to explore the implications of and project their emotions onto the past.¹⁰⁷ As Philip Alexandra Kafalas argues, both Confucianism and Daoism provided a philosophical foundation for seeking meaning in the past.¹⁰⁸ Beth Notar also points out that the concept of *huaigu* 懷古 (thinking of ancient persons and events) has long been a central theme in literature since the Han Dynasty and the idea of *huaixiang* 懷鄉 (thinking of one's old hometown) appeared way earlier before the Song Dynasty.¹⁰⁹ The forced movement from north China to south China at the end of the Northern Song motivated literati to combine together their longings for the dynasty and their personal homes.

From the beginning of the Southern Song, writers evoked Northern Song prosperity. While the memory of the Northern Song capital Kaifeng dominated nostalgic writings, the wonderful scenery of West Lake also inspired such longing for the past. In the year 1145, when the official Zhou Zizhi 周紫芝 (1082-1155) visited West Lake for the second time, he was apparently startled by the run-down scenery around the lake as compared to his first visit during 1102-1106. He found that less than twenty percent of the scenic spots he had been to before had survived the war. Still frustrated by the loss of north China to the Jurchens, Zhou wrote, “when Qiantang was at its peak, I could not get the chance to travel around the lake ... Only now after the war is over do I have the opportunity to face the lake from dawn to the dark. This is indeed regrettable. (方

¹⁰⁶ The word “nostalgia” was first invented by the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer, who combined *nostos* (return home) with *algos* (pain) to form a term to express the feeling of leaving one's hometown. For a more detailed discussion on nostalgia in western literatures and its comparison with Chinese context, see Philip Alexander Kafalas, “Nostalgia and the Reading of the Late Ming Essay: Zhang Dai's ‘Tao'an Mengyi’” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1995), 44.

¹⁰⁷ For scholarship on nostalgia in Chinese history, see Richard Davis, *Wind against the Mountain: The Crisis of Politics and Culture in Thirteenth-century China* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1996); Kafalas, “Nostalgia and the Reading of the Late Ming Essay: Zhang Dai's ‘Tao'an Mengyi’;” Jonathan D Spence, *Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man* (New York: Viking, 2007).

¹⁰⁸ Kafalas, “Nostalgia and the Reading of the Late Ming Essay: Zhang Dai's ‘Tao'an Mengyi’,” 29-30

¹⁰⁹ Beth E. Notar, *Displacing Desire: Travel and Popular Culture in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 57-8.

錢塘全盛，則不得從容舒歎其間……戰之後，始得朝夕於此，是為可恨。)”¹¹⁰ In this lament, Zhou used the past grandeur of Qiantang and especially West Lake to represent the Northern Song. Among people like Zhou who had been to Hangzhou before the fall of the Northern Song, its post-war condition aroused nostalgia for the way the lake used to be.

Although such emotion soon gave way to widespread celebration of the scenery and sightseeing on the lake, it very likely left an unconscious impression that the beauty of West Lake was as vulnerable as the fate of the Song Dynasty. When people sensed that the Southern Song regime was in danger, this subliminal fear would resurface. While analyzing the 13th century mentality, Richard Davis also points to the fact that by the end of the Southern Song, people were especially sensitive to the resemblances between their current situation and past experiences. “For people inclined to view history as a progression of repetitive episode of human events,” he argues, “this recollection could be utterly disabling.”¹¹¹ For the same reason, nostalgia could only be interpreted when linked to the collapse of the Northern Song.

In the year 1234, Mongol armies swept northern China and ended the rule of the Jin Dynasty. Although it was not until several years later that the Mongols would start their military expedition into south China, the end of the peace treaty between the Jin and the Southern Song led to widespread insecurity in Song. This sense of peril reminded people of the trauma of the end of the Northern Song that they had heard about from their parents or grandparents, and strengthened the tendency to look on West Lake with nostalgia. The first miscellany on Hangzhou city, *Fansheng lu*, was compiled by using much Hangzhou dialects the next year in 1235, and *Ducheng jisheng* within a decade. Prefaces for both books indicate the authors’ strong motivations for recording the splendor of the city (a similar reason is included in the preface of

¹¹⁰ Zhou Zizhi 周紫芝, *Taicang timi ji* 太倉稊米集, *SKQS*, 52:3b-4b.

¹¹¹ Davis, *Wind against the Mountain*, 24.

Dongjing menghua lu). Prompted by the growing sense that Hangzhou was in jeopardy, both authors began to record the histories of their surroundings. When Wu Zimu wrote *Mengliang lu* in 1274, two years before the fall of the dynasty, nostalgia was even more prominent in his preface. He wrote, “with the passing of time things change. The wealth of cities and gardens, the splendor of the customs and the people: how could they all be preserved as they were? (矧時異事殊，城池苑囿之富，風俗人物之盛，焉保其常如疇昔哉！)” He not only borrowed the word “dream” from Meng Yuanlao in his book title, but also roughly followed *Dongjing menghua lu*’s organization, which is divided into ten *juan*, each of which has many subdivisions with headings given. The entire text includes roughly two parts, one on the geographical layout of the city and surrounding landscape, and the other on the annual calendar and special events.¹¹² It therefore provided a space-time structure in which Wu meticulously recorded every detail of the daily life of Hangzhou residents.

These three works nostalgically recorded things even before these things came to the end. They shared the attention to detail; they tried to convince later generations how special the city had been. They seemed to have anticipated that the current dynasty was destined to be looked back upon with nostalgia by future generations. This could be called “preemptive nostalgia,” missing things before they cease to exist. What these literati hoped to accomplish was both to depict the unending vicissitudes of the dynastic history and to preserve Hangzhou’s local knowledge and memory that was at risk of dying out. Dong Sigao noted in his preface for *Xihu baiyong* that one of his motivations for writing so many poems on West Lake was to keep a record of local terms in their original meanings, as many of them were gradually being forgotten by his contemporaries. He gave out an example that a site near the lake called *xiamo* 蝦蟆 was

¹¹² West, “The Interpretation of a Dream: The Sources, Evaluation, and Influence of the *Dongjing meng hua lu*.”

mistakenly referred to as *xiamo ling* 下馬陵 (Hill for Dismounting Horses). *Xiamo*, according to Dong was Hangzhou dialect, and the spread of the latter term, which usually referred to the place where visitors needed to dismount horses to show respect, was very likely a result of Hangzhou becoming the capital.¹¹³ Here, Dong shared West Lake Old Man's concern with local language, which was threatened by the huge wave of immigrants who spread the official northern Chinese language. Such meticulous attention to the dying local knowledge testifies to the urgency they felt to help preserve Hangzhou's disappearing past.

The Southern Song was certainly not the only period that witnessed this “preemptive nostalgia.” Madeleine Dong also discusses a similar cultural phenomenon in Republican era Beijing. Literati who wrote on “old Beijing” in a nostalgic way were not depicting imperial Beijing, but the one of their times. These Beijing elites were trying to preserve every detail of their current life, which they believed would vanish in the process of modernization.¹¹⁴

“Preemptive nostalgia” seems to be a natural psychological response to tumultuous times: people tended to foresee their possible loss in the future. Similarly for the educated men who lived under the threats of the newly-emerged Mongols in the north, they could easily anticipate the disappearance of their surrounding prosperity, stimulated by the unstable political environment.

The nostalgia was expressed in a more candid way after the collapse of the Southern Song, and West Lake became a common theme of writings lamenting a bygone era.¹¹⁵ The most obvious reason was that West Lake had been appropriated to represent the restoration of the

¹¹³ *Xihu baiyong*, 1-2.

¹¹⁴ Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: the City and its Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 240-260.

¹¹⁵ Zhou Mi wrote in the preface of *Wulin jiushi*, “As time passes and things change, [I] have drifted around plagued by hardship. Thinking of the past traveling, it was all like in a dream, and therefore are tied to my laments.” (及時移物換，憂患飄零，追想昔游，殆如夢寐，而感慨系之矣。) In this preface, Zhou Mi also mentioned that after the Southern Song fell he began to tell the stories of the past to his children. Zhou obviously wanted to prevent these past memories from disappearing with the passage of time and therefore created a published record. In his record of West Lake, he recalled every item sold on the lake, which were seen as special opportunities to memorize the past. *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 311.

Song Dynasty. It was thus a natural response for people who survived through the Song to the Yuan to equate the lake and the lost dynasty. The second reason could probably be discerned from Zhou Mi's passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter. West Lake was the site of many important events through the year, such as the end-of-year celebration, and many important milestones in peoples' lives, such as their secret rendezvous or the announcement of their assignment as officials. It is therefore not hard to imagine that people would easily remember the lake as the stage for pleasant experiences. Additionally, the literary tradition of using flowing water as a metaphor for historical changes also enhanced the position of West Lake in the nostalgic writings. Water was used frequently as a trope to arouse the feeling of memorializing what passed away. From the Tang poet Du Mu's 杜牧 (803-852) wailing of the Chen Kingdom on the music across the Qinhuai River, to Li Yu's 李煜 (937-978) weeping on his own dynasty with the metaphor of spring water during the Five Dynasties, water was endowed with meaning of time changing and the vague image of past dynasties.¹¹⁶ This literary tradition was carried on by the Southern Song literatus Zhang Yan 張炎 (1248-1320). Zhang borrowed the image of running water in West Lake to symbolize the disappearance of the old dynasty. He wrote,

The events of the history, through the past to the present have long been lamented.	今古事，古今嗟。
Flowing water in West Lake rings like <i>pipa</i> music.	西湖流水響琵琶。
Among mist and rain, copper camels rest in the green grass.	銅駝煙雨棲芳草，
Please, don't ask questions regarding old homes in Jiangnan.	休向江南問故家。 ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Du Mu 杜牧, "Po Qinhuai" 泊秦淮 (Stop on the Qinhuai River), "Singing girls do not understand the regret of losing dynasty, [they] still sing 'Back Quarter Flower' across the river." (商女不知亡國恨，隔江猶唱後庭花。) See Du Mu, *Du Mu shiwen xuanzhu* 杜牧詩文選注, anno., Zhu Bilian, Wang Shujun (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 83.

李煜, "Yu meiren" 虞美人 (Beauty Yu), "Ask you how much sorrow do you have? It is just like the river filled with spring water, flowing to the east." (問君能有幾多愁，恰似一江春水向東流。) Shen Chenyuan 沈辰垣, Wang Yiqing 王奕清, *Yuxuan lidai shiyu* 御選歷代詩餘, SKQS, 30:1b.

¹¹⁷ Zhang Yan 張炎, *Shanzhong baiyun ci* 山中白雲詞, SKQS, 8:9a-b.

In the last sentence of the poem, Zhang's use of "old home" resembles the original meaning of nostalgia as used by Johannes Hofer in the seventeenth century. Different from its western counterpart, however, Zhang used the "old homes" to refer to the old dynasty. His longings for the previous dynasty and his previous home were mixed together, and thus enhanced the feeling of sorrow for its loss. It was recorded that Zhang wrote this poem after he read Zhou Mi's *Wulin jiushi*, especially the chapter on Emperor Gaozong's visit to the house of the family of Minister Zhang, the ancestor of Zhang Yan.¹¹⁸ It is therefore easy to understand why Zhang Yan was so touched by the concept of "old homes."

This pervasive nostalgic emotion in the recording of West Lake during and right after the Southern Song posed questions regarding the use of these sources. To what degree the records of historical facts were romanticized? How should we weight the emotional reflection of the lake against their objective observation of what is going on around them? There is certainly no perfect answer but to meticulously compare and even contrast different types of sources, especially with the ones which purpose was not to express the author's feeling. The benefit of examining these nostalgic texts, however, overweighs the questions it brings. Tourism was never an objective practice, but involved much emotional reflection of the landscape. Distilling nostalgic emotion in the landscape both brought the landscape into the more complex historical developments and revealed a crucial type of emotional attachment of people to the nature. The following chapters by no means treat the texts as factual records, but regard them as a reflection of how people lived, observed and felt about the lake.

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The above discussion naturally gives rise to an enduring question: Why would people project their memories of the past, anxieties of the present, and concerns about the future onto

¹¹⁸ *WLJS*, "Xihu youxing," 3: 320.

such a small body of water? To answer these questions, we first need to gain an appreciation of the degree to which people's social and cultural lives during the Southern Song centered on West Lake. Indeed, the next chapter, on the material world of sightseeing around the lake, will help us to better understand the lake's paramount role in government's administration and people's recreational pursuits in Song times.

CHAPTER II

Consumption on the Lake:

Development of the Tourism Business and State Regulation

The visitors to West Lake for the Qingming Festival near the end of the 12th century would have found that the imperial family was prominent on the lake: more than ten well-decorated dragon boats carried colorful flags, drums, and dancing performances. The local magistrate organized regattas with high rewards, and the noble families distributed attractive knickknacks to the spectators. Capital residents, men and women, gathered on the White Causeway and Su Causeways, which were so crowded that they had almost nowhere to stand. People were especially packed around the Three Worthies Hall: literati were paying homage inside and commoners were purchasing souvenirs outside.¹¹⁹ Numerous decorated boats floated on the shimmering water. The unending singing and drumming could be heard far away. Most of the boats moved from south to north, making a final stop near the Broken Bridges around the middle of the day. Tourists bought food on boats or sat down in lakeside restaurants with friends. In the afternoon, people tended to indulge themselves in flying kites, watching performer, or composing poems with their literati peers. Some left boats and walked through the Xiaoxin Causeway, reaching deep into the mountain areas. There they would be welcomed by monks and nuns. After praying for fortune, the lay believers could enjoy a cup of tea with the clear or misty scenery. Women who wished to have babies preferred visiting another monastery on the south bank of the lake, touching the belly of a Luohan statue in order to be blessed with a son.¹²⁰ Some

¹¹⁹ *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 352.

¹²⁰ Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Shuo fu* 說郛, *SKQS*, 37: 30a-b.

went directly to the entertainment quarters or chose to visit an imperially sponsored temple or the garden of a powerful family, where varying performances were open to the public. Not until the evening, after watching the sun setting behind Leifeng Pagoda, did the tourist return to the city. Horses, carts, servants with candles and lanterns, sedans with women all crowded near the city gate.

Constructed from various depictions at the time, the above attractive picture indicates that with the rapid development of the economy, West Lake began to take the role as a “leisure zone” for Hangzhou residents.¹²¹ Scenery like this was frequently seen on the lake, during the spring days and on other festivals. Literati and noble families enjoyed sightseeing almost daily and even commoners visited the lake monthly on festivals. People’s actual enjoyment of West Lake, interestingly, did not depend solely on natural scenery. Rather, several crucial man-made places contributed to excursions: causeways, bridges, boats, wine house, restaurants, entertainment quarters, and souvenir booths.

Starting with the question of how merchants, entrepreneurs, and government officials found ways to facilitate and benefit from local tourism, this chapter looks into the material details that made tourism possible. The excursion is reconstructed from the following perspectives: government project of dredging the lake, the development of boating, the sale of wine and food, and the market for entertainment and souvenirs. This chapter shows that boosted by tourism, commercial activities around West Lake experienced unprecedented development during the Southern Song, fostered by the increasing number of consumers and merchants, relaxed government administration, and the style of consumption established by the imperial house. Evaluating the roles played by the government and consumer/merchant, this chapter looks into

¹²¹ The art historian Jonathan Hay, who examines the seventeenth-century Jiangnan area, has termed the late imperial Suzhou’s Tiger Hill and Hangzhou’s West Lake as “leisure zones,” which depicts the suburban landscape that “devoted at least in part to a leisure culture featuring temples, pleasure boats, restaurants, tea houses, wine shops, and courtesans.” Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, 133 (Ch.4 note 20 & 26).

the interaction and negotiation between the state and the society. How did the government and imperial family promote the tourism market while exerting necessary administration on the lake? And how did the rapid development of tourism-related consumption relax the government regulation and boost the non-official and less-formal connections between people from different hierarchies?

It will be argued that the local government undertook different strategies, seeking to reconcile the conflict between economic profit and environmental protection. On the one hand, due to the income garnered from state-owned commercial bureaus and commercial taxes, the government encouraged, participated in and profited from making and selling wine, cultivating water plants, and aquaculture. On the other hand, even though the government depended to a large degree on the taxes from the tourism business, it also regulated and even sacrificed some water plants in order to guarantee water supply for the city. Meanwhile, such government regulation was also diluted to some degree by the rapid development of tourism market: the close economic interconnection between West Lake and Hangzhou city reduced the significance of the city's walls and constituted an expansion of urban space. Additionally, by providing city-dwellers with consumption-oriented places to seek pleasure, sightseeing experiences created a seemingly shared space, which, however, also mirrored the social hierarchy in subtle ways.

Dredging the Lake

A popular saying of the time held that Hangzhou relied upon “vegetables from the east gate, water from the west gate, firewood from the south gate, and rice from the north gate.”¹²² This is to say that water from West Lake was a necessity just as was fuel shipped from the Qiantang River,

¹²² Zhou Bida 周必大, *Erlao tang zazhi* 二老堂雜誌, in *XHWWXJC*, 6: 3512-3513.

rice from the Lake Tai region, and vegetables from the eastern suburb gardens.¹²³ This is a brief statement about the daily functioning of urban life in Hangzhou. Due to the importance of West Lake, at least ten dredging projects were undertaken during the Song Dynasty, four in the Northern Song and six in the Southern Song, all held by the Hangzhou magistrates, to ensure the lake could provide sufficient high-quality water for the city.¹²⁴ Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962-1025) prohibited fishing in 1016; a well named after Shen Gou 沈溝 was dug in 1060. Also during Emperor Renzong's reign (1023-1063), Zheng Jian 鄭戩 (992-1053) removed all the water farming lands on the lake. Starting in 1071, Su Shi began his research on the dredging of West Lake and started his major project in 1090. The six in the Southern Song, all carried by the Lin'an magistrates, included the one put in place by Zhang Cheng 張澄 (?-1143) in 1139, Tang Pengju 湯鵬舉 (1103-?) in 1148, Zhou Cong 周淙 (1113-1172) in 1169, Shen Du 沈度 in 1173, Zhang Zhuo 張杓 in 1189, Zhao Yuchou 趙與籌 in 1247 and Qian Yueyou 潛說友 in 1268. While most of the projects were suggested by local magistrates, the one during the term of Zhao Yuchou was ordered by the court. The lake ran out of water during a serious drought in 1247. Though the drought caused many difficulties for the daily life in Hangzhou, it did provide a great opportunity to expand the size of West Lake. The central government therefore asked the Lin'an prefecture to push the lakeshore to the ancient boundary and remove all the water plants.¹²⁵ In this sense, it is undeniable that West Lake was far from a natural landscape, but very much a manmade lake that could survive only with constant upkeep. Benefitting from these projects,

¹²³ Liping Wang, "Tourism and Spatial Change in Hangzhou, 1911-1927," in Joseph W. Esherick ed., *Remaking the Chinese city: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 107-120.

¹²⁴ After the Song Dynasty, West Lake continued to play an important role in people's daily lives, so several projects were launched by local governments in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. As *Xihu zhi* 西湖志 (compiled in the Yongzheng reign) concluded, "people inside and outside the city all depend on the lake and can support themselves. Other famous mountains and waters in the whole country cannot compare to West Lake. This lake is where all streams come to, so it will not dry up even in the drought years. The counties that are attached to Hangzhou all depend on the lake for irrigation." in Fu Wanglu 傅王露 ed., Li Wei 李衛 comp., *Xihu zhi* 西湖志 (XHZ) (Zhejiang: Zhijiang Shuju, 1878), 3:1-2.

¹²⁵ *XCLAZ*, 33: 6a-b.

West Lake provided water resources for drinking, irrigation, shipping, and wine making.¹²⁶ As the local history records, “food for the whole city comes from this pond, and it sustains the life of the populace. (一城食用，由此池灌註，以入乙兆黎元之生。)”¹²⁷

The underlying reasons for these projects were very well elaborated in Su Shi’s memorial to the court, which were widely cited by the later magistrates who continued the dredging projects. In his memorial, Su Shi started by listing several historical examples of preserving lake or river and the outcomes of these water projects. “The fact that things like pool, lake, river and ditch being revitalized abandoned for a long time” Su commented, “was associated with the fortune of the state.” (陂湖河渠之類，久廢復開，事關興運。) After this, Su Shi explained the importance of Hangzhou in term of its contribution to the city and the government. He listed five reasons that built on the importance of West Lake, which pointed to the five major functions the lake carried: being regarded as the “life-releasing pond” that accumulated merit for the state; provided drink water for Hangzhou residents; irrigation for the nearby farming lands; supported the canals that went through the city of Hangzhou; made profit for the government by producing wine from the lake water. Su Shi’s memorial demonstrated that the reason government preserved the lake was more hydraulic than aesthetic, although the well-constructed lake certainly inspired the aesthetic appreciation of the landscape. Later officials’ proposal, written both during and after the Southern Song, supported the five reasons proposed by Su Shi from different perspectives. Most of the water projects, following Su Shi’s model, not only dredged the lake in order to maintain the sufficient water for multiple economic and daily life usage but also added dykes, pavilions and plants to the lake, for both practical and decorating purposes.

¹²⁶ Besides these functions, West Lake water was also used for preventing city fire. During the Southern Song, Hangzhou experienced several major fires; therefore the government saved water in some channels for the potential fire suppression. This function was first mentioned by Su Shi and became extremely important during the Southern Song.

¹²⁷ *XCLAZ*, 33: 6a.

The most important one among the five reasons suggested by Su Shi was to guarantee the supply of drink water for Hangzhou residents. This could be told from the special attention given to construction and repairing of water wells in most of the dredging projects. For example, Zhou Cong in his memorial highlighted the significance of the six wells, which originated from the lake and provided drink water for urban residents. He especially pointed out that the growing number of residents created further burden on the supply of drink water.¹²⁸ In order to provide ample supply of water and maintain the good water quality, one major concern while dredging the lake was to remove excessive water plants. Although West Lake was famous for a variety of profitable water plants, people were not allowed to grow them anywhere they wanted.¹²⁹ Planting water chestnuts or water bamboo would take a great deal of space on the lake surface and thus reduce the amount of water the lake could hold. The government therefore strictly regulated where and how much people could grow these two plants. Emperor Gaozong once complained that the water in West Lake was not clear and the lake surface had been reduced, so he asked the local government to fix the problem. It seems that Emperor Gaozong's reason for regulating water plants was two-fold: one was to guarantee the water supply for the city, and the other was out of the desire to maintain the natural scenery that required a vast lake surface. Tang Pengju

¹²⁸ Tuotuo 脫脫 etc, *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju; Shanghai: xinhua shudian shanghai faxingsuo faxing, 1977), 79: 2398.

¹²⁹ The lake was known for a variety of water plants. Just as today, the lake was filled with lotus flowers. Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206) wrote, “connecting with the sky, the lotus leaf is super green; reflecting the sunlight, the lotus flower is especially red.” (接天蓮葉無窮碧，映日荷花別樣紅。) Yang Zhangru 楊長孺 and Yang Wanli 楊萬里, *Chengzhai ji* 誠齋集, SKQS, 23: 2a. These red lotuses are more eye-catching than the white lotus flower, but the white one is more fragrant, and grows lotus root under water. The red one is famous for its seedpod. Lotuses in Jujing Garden were called “embroidered lotus,” with special sweet roots. Jujing Garden was an imperial garden; the lotus roots produced in this garden were grown for the imperial family. But records showed that this kind of lotus root was also available in the market. Did merchants buy the lotus root from the Imperial Administration Bureau? Or did they get permits to pick lotus roots in the imperial garden? Either situation indicates that the imperial palace was involved in the lake market and it is highly possibly that they made profits by selling products from the imperial garden. West Lake was also famous for water chestnuts. The red ones were especially fresh and sweet, and the black ones were covered with dust and did not taste good. Consequently, the black ones could be bought cheaply; sometimes one could even pick them for free. Euryale ferox, also called “rooster head,” from the lake was big and soft, and thus was rated as the best in the Hangzhou area. Water bamboo, usually ready to be picked in autumn, but was available all four seasons only on West Lake. So the profit of planting water bamboo on the lake could be ten times greater than the investment. ZBWLJS, 8: 16a-17b.

thus issued a regulation saying that water farming lands (*fengtian* 葑田) for lotus flowers were no longer available for rent.¹³⁰

Although the foremost motivation for dredging the lake was to maintain the water supply for the city of Hangzhou, it did preserve and enhance the natural beauty of the lake. One major outcome of some dredging projects was the buildings of a causeway with the mud dug from the bottom of the lake. Two good examples were Su Causeway and Xiaoxin Causeway, both became new attractions in sightseeing activities by adding new dimensions to the landscape and helping tourists cross the lake. Local governors were also concerned about adding trees, flowers, and pavilions to the causeways. Extensive roots of willow and peach trees helped hold the soil together, and the swinging branches and gorgeous blossoms also enhanced the beauty of the scenery.

The six Southern Song dredging projects, as compared with the Northern Song ones, were featured with institutionalized arrangement. For example, Zhang Cheng's project involved the arrangement of the Xiantang Prefectural District Defender (*Qiantang xianwei* 錢塘縣尉) as the director of the water project, and the special allocation of two hundred soldiers for the dredging project.¹³¹ When Tang Pengju held the water project, special boats and equipment were prepared just for removing excessive water plants.¹³² Such improvements were certainly due to the accumulation of experiences in dredging the lake and the better material support available for the capital city. Additionally, another interesting and inspiring difference between the Northern and Southern Song officials lies in the fact whether being assigned as Hangzhou magistrate was a

¹³⁰ Xu Song 徐松, *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, "Fangyu" 方域, 17: 23-24. But driven by the potential for high profit, people -- especially those that lived beside the lake--kept planting water chestnuts and bamboos secretly. Later in 1247 the government had to buy back the lotus flower and water plants near Pouring Gold Gate and Qiantang Gate for 30,000 strings of cash. Shi E 施譔, *Chunyou lin'an zhi* 淳佑臨安志, 10: 14a.

¹³¹ *Song huiyao jigao*, 17:22.

¹³² *XCLAZ*, 32: 5a-b.

promotion or demotion for the official. The Northern Song officials, Su Shi, Wang Qinruo and Zheng Jian, were all demoted to Hangzhou after the emperor or the chief minister disfavored them.¹³³ But for the Southern Song officials, nearly all of them already held high positions or awarded titles when they took charge of Hangzhou. Half of them, including Zhou Cong, Zhang Zhuo and Qian Yueyou, also acted as the Vice Fiscal Commissioner of the Two *Zhe* Region (*liangzhe zhuan yun shi* 兩浙轉運使) while serving as Hangzhou magistrate.¹³⁴ Considering Hangzhou's status as the capital of the Southern Song, it is not surprising that Hangzhou magistrate was usually considered as one with prestige and good potentials.

It was apparent that West Lake was regarded as a major concern during the Southern Song for both the court and Hangzhou government, because the supply of water for urban residents and imperial family all depended on the lake. Meanwhile, dredging the lake seemed to be a routine work for Hangzhou magistrate, which could be a remarkable event for their political life and thus gain them political capital. A brief examination of how the dredging project weighted in the promotion of these officials provides us a rough idea concerning the importance of preserving West Lake during the Song time. Most of these officials were well acknowledged by the court for their deed in preserving the lake, and therefore were promoted to a higher position after the end of their terms. For Zhang Cheng, his dredging project was the only thing recorded about his six-year charge of Hangzhou in the official history and he was soon promoted to Vice Director of the Ministry of Revenue (*hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎).¹³⁵ Tang Pengju, after successively

¹³³ Wang Qinruo was assigned to supervise Hangzhou with the title of "Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent." Though never said explicitly, it was a sign of demoting and Wang definitely wanted to win back the favor of the court. This explained why he was engaged in promoting the idea of "releasing life pond" in the vein of accumulating merit for the imperial family. For further discussion, see Chapter III. *Song shi*, 283:9562. Zheng Jian was used to be the Administrator of the Bureau of Military Affair. *Song shi*, 292: 9767.

¹³⁴ *Song shi*, 390: 11958. Zhang Zhuo was the son of the Chief Minister Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097-1164). He has been assigned as the local magistrate twice. For both times, he held another appointment, Vice Fiscal Commissioner for the first time and the Minister of the Bureau of Military Appointment for the second time. *Song shi*, 361: 11312.

¹³⁵ *Song shi*, 361: 11312.

carried out the preservation plan, later became the Censor-in-Chief (*yushi zhongcheng* 禦史中丞) and Participant in Determining Governmental Affairs (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事).¹³⁶ Dredging the lake acquired professional knowledge and managing skills, so officials with such experiences, such as Zhang Cheng and Zhang Zhuo, would usually be trusted with another term as Hangzhou magistrate.

The history of dredging the lake and how the lake supported urban development has attracted much scholarly attention. For instance, Rumi Fujiwa provides a very detailed analysis of West Lake control from the Tang to the Southern Song, with a detailed chart attached at the end.¹³⁷ Sato Taketoshi has first called attention to the study of West Lake through the perspective of the daily economy of the city.¹³⁸ Honda Osamu explained the function of West Lake from the perspective of how it was used for transport, farming and daily life.¹³⁹ This scholarly attention on the support provided by West Lake to Hangzhou, though important in term of its connection of the lake to a larger urban context, is also at the risk of placing West Lake at an inferior position to Hangzhou. While most scholars treated West Lake merely as a source for Hangzhou's water, the following sections, by contrast, focus on the commercial developments based on tourism around West Lake, aiming to highlight how the natural landscape acted as the physical setting for economic development and powerfully shaped the urban economy and government administration.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ *Song shi*, 213: 5566.

¹³⁷ Rumi Fujiwa 原瑠美, "Saiko Hirakiei Shōshi Minami Sō Linan Kenkyū ni Yose Te 西湖開濬小史南宋臨安研究によせて," *Chuo Journal of Asian history* (34), 125-157, 2010-03.

¹³⁸ Sato Taketoshi 佐藤武敏, "Tō Sō Jidai Toshi niokeru Inryō Sui no Mondai 唐宋時代都市における飲料水の問題," *Zhongguo shuili shi yanjiu*, 7(1975).

¹³⁹ Honda Osamu 本田治, "Sō Dai Kōshū oyobi Kōhai Chi no Sui-ri to Sui-ri Soshiki 宋代杭州及び後背地の水利と水利組織," in Umehara, *Chūgoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* 中國近世の都市と文化, 125-151. Some Chinese scholars, such as Xu Jijun also touches on this topic in their comprehensive studies of Hangzhou. See Xu, *NanSong ducheng lin'an*, 322-328.

¹⁴⁰ When Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信 analyzed the commercial system of Southern Song Hangzhou, he pointed out that West Lake and the western suburbs were mainly a scenic area and a source of water. Shiba Yoshinobu, "Sō to kōshū no shōgyō kaku, 宋都杭州の商業核."

Boating on the Lake

Unroll the Freer and Sackler Art Gallery handscroll *Xihu qingqu tu* 西湖清趣圖 (*Scenic Attractions of West Lake*), one's attention would be immediately captured by the numerous boats. At least three kinds of boats are depicted meticulously in the scroll. The largest one has at least six windows that can be opened from the inside, and could carry at least twelve people. Four or five boatmen row the boat with very long oars. There are almost sixty boats like this, some docked at the Boat Landing Pavilion (*shangchuan ting* 上船亭) near Qiantang Gate; other are floating beside the dykes or in the inner lake. Medium-sized boats, operated by one boatman, carry three to four guests, some with a small flag at the end of the boat, which might advertise entertainment or goods. The painting shows over eighty boats like this, all over the lake (Fig. 6). There are also several very small boats: they are so small that it is not easy to count the exact number; there are perhaps ten. These boats gather around big boats, perhaps selling food and wine.

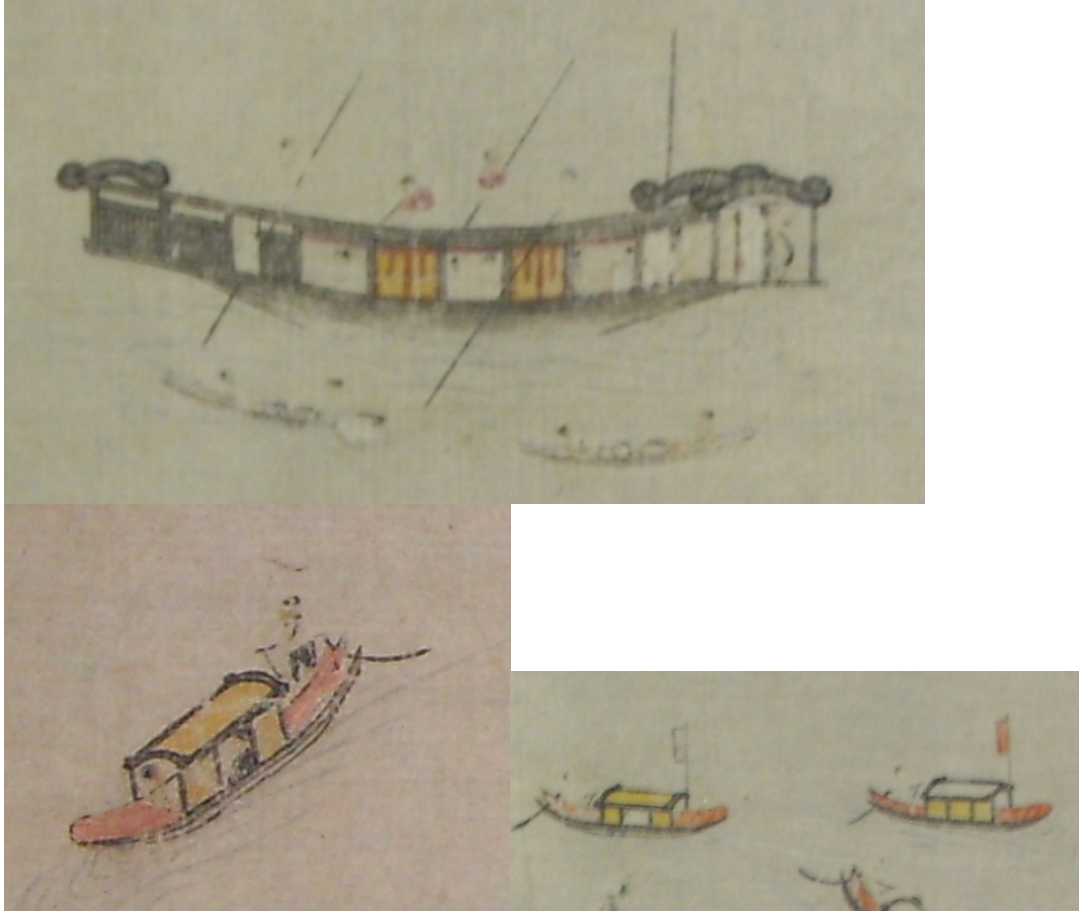


Figure 6: The details of a large boat (upper), medium-sized boat (left), and small boat (right), *Xihu qingqu tu*, 14th century; Ink and color on paper; H: 33.3 W: 1849.8 cm; Freer Art Gallery.

Development of lake boats

It is not surprising to see so many types of boats in Southern Song paintings, as the contemporary writings document the increasing use of boats in Southern Song daily life.¹⁴¹ Undoubtedly, the prosperity of lake boats should be first credited to the development of shipping and shipbuilding technology during the Song. Due to the growing overseas and interregional trade in southern China, where rivers offered an easy mode of transportation, shipping grew

¹⁴¹ Someone may argue that this painting was painted after the Southern Song and even in the Ming Dynasty, so the shape of boats could be influenced by later styles. But according to the depiction of boats in other Southern Song paintings (which will be shown later) and the written records of the Song boats, the types and numbers of boats shown in this painting are quite plausible.

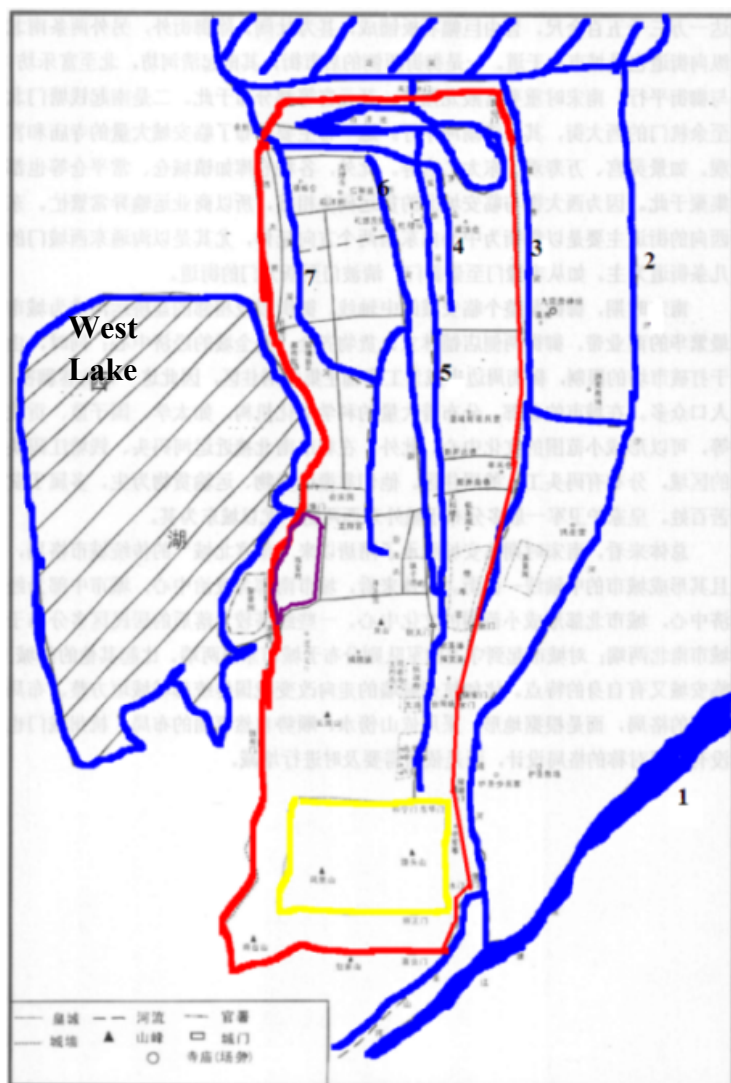
rapidly during the Southern Song.¹⁴² The use of watercraft in Hangzhou was more extensive than in other cities because of its geographical situation. Limited by the uneven surface of Hangzhou streets, which were all paved with stones, carts had difficulty getting through.¹⁴³ In contrast, Hangzhou was an ideal city for water transportation. Located between the Qiantang River and West Lake, Hangzhou city saw four rivers, among which the Qinghu River is connected with the Yongjin Pond 涌金池 that linked to West Lake and the other three benefitted from the Qinghu River, flowing through, as shown in the map below (Fig. 7).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Shiba gives a brief conclusion on the development of ships during the Song Dynasty: “A survey of the documents ... yields terms for at least thirty types of regionally specific craft (by river system or port of origin), ten types of sea-going vessel, twenty-one kinds of functionally specific boats (such as passenger boats, manure boats, ferry-boats and floating restaurants), ten varieties of warship, and twenty categories of craft differentiated according to structure (including man-powered paddle-wheel boats), besides a number of other descriptions of a more general nature.” Shiba Yoshinobu and Mark Elvin, *Commerce and Society in Sung China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1970), 6.

¹⁴³ MLL, “Hezhou 河舟” (River Ship), 12: 226: 蓋杭城皆石板街道，非泥沙比，車輪難行，所以用舟只及人力耳。

¹⁴⁴ Another factor that boosted the development of watercraft in Hangzhou was the trade between Hangzhou and other big cities on the coast or the rivers, such as Fujian province and other cities in the Jiangnan region. Big ships arrived in Hangzhou along the Qiantang River and the Yanqiao Canal inside the city with tons of goods. Foreign tributes also arrived by boats from overseas. As Gernet notes, “big ship owners were not natives of Hangchow, but had established themselves there, attracted, no doubt, by the luxurious life lived there, by the convenience of the city’s situation midway between the Yangtze and the ports of Fukien, and by the presence there of the central government.” See Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, 82.

The frequently used vessels also shaped the building of bridges and the planning of the city. As Marco Polo observed, “bridges... have arches so high, and built with so much skill, that vessels with their mats can pass under them.” See Marco Polo, Henri Cordier, and Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* (London: J. Murray, 1903), vol. 2, 77: 238.



- Red line: city wall of Hangzhou
- Yellow line: imperial city
- Blue line: lake and rivers
- 1: Qiantang River 錢塘江
- 2: Waisha River 外沙河
- 3: Caishi River 菜市河
- 4: Maoshan River 茅山河
- 5: Yanqiao Canal 鹽橋運河
- 6: Shi River 市河
- 7: Qinghu River 清湖河

Figure 7: Waterways in Hangzhou during the Southern Song. After the map from Zhang Huiru 張慧茹, “NanSong Hangzhou Shuihuanjing yu Chengshi Fazhan Hudong Guanxi Yanjiu 南宋杭州水環境與城市發展互動關係研究” (M.A. Thesis. Shaanxi Normal University, 2007), 38.

There is no doubt that boating was the preferred way to enjoy the scenery of West Lake. Song poems and essay mention boating on the lake frequently.¹⁴⁵ In addition, nearly all Song paintings depict boats, as will be discussed in Chapter IV. When Marco Polo first arrived in Hangzhou, he did not even try to cover his astonishment by extensively describing his boating experience on the lake:

¹⁴⁵ In *Bamboo Lyric Songs of West Lake* - a compilation of 184 Song dynasty poems about West Lake -- boats were mentioned in more than thirty poems. Yang Weizhen 楊維禎, *Xihu zhuzhi ci sanzong* 西湖竹枝詞三種 (Hangzhou: Liuyi shuju, 1928).

And truly a trip on this Lake is a much more charming recreation than can be enjoyed on land. For on the one side lies the city in its entire length, so that the spectators in the barges, from the distance at which they stand, take in the whole prospect in its full beauty and grandeur, with its numberless palaces, temples, monasteries, and gardens, full of lofty trees, sloping to the shore.¹⁴⁶

The scenery observed by Marco Polo was only a tip of the iceberg, as by that time the prosperity of Hangzhou has already been reduced by the warfare fifteen to twenty years earlier. Back to the Southern Song, when West Lake Old Man recorded the scenery during Emperor Ningzong's reign period (1194-1224), he depicted an astonishing scene of the boats on the Cold Food Festival:

Around the Cold Food Festival, West Lake is filled with decorated boats, head to tail, just like a floating bridge. Head boat, Second Boat, Third Boat, Fourth Boat, Fifth Boat, boats with railings, rowing boats, paddleboats, melon-skin-boats, small boats are more than 500 in number. There are several dragon boats near the Northern and Southern [Routes].

寒食前後，西湖內畫船布滿，頭尾相接，有若浮橋。頭船、第二船、第三船、第四船、第五船、檻船、搖船、腳船、瓜皮船、小船自有五百余只。南山，北山龍船數只。¹⁴⁷

These boats went into the water from the eighth day of the second lunar month, and stayed there until the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, the birthday of Shakyamuni Buddha.¹⁴⁸ Later in the summer, especially around the Double Fifth Festival, boats would be in high demand as it is much cooler on the lake and under the shade of the willows.¹⁴⁹ Besides these sightseeing boats, during spring days, there were several dragon boat races.¹⁵⁰

The development of Southern Song lake boats could be easily told from the rich documents of boat size, decoration, and naming. Though different sources documented different sizes of lake boats, archeological discoveries in the South China Sea prove that the thirty-meter-long boat

¹⁴⁶ Polo, Cordier, and Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 77: 238. Although Polo visited the city a few decades later than the Southern Song, we could assume that the boats at that time probably did not surpass the peak time of the Southern Song, as the city did not experience much development under the Mongol rule, not to mention the damage it experienced from the Mongol attack in 1276. Therefore, Marco Polo's record is believable when we want to explore the development of the boats in the 13th century.

¹⁴⁷ *FSL*, 101.

¹⁴⁸ This might be because of some special religious activities on that day, which I will discuss in the chapter on temple visit.

¹⁴⁹ *FSL*, 103-4.

¹⁵⁰ *DCJS*, 88.

is more credible.¹⁵¹ Well-made, they were so steady that when you sit inside, it feels “like sitting on the ground.”¹⁵² As for the boat color, a Ming record states that the sightseeing boats on the West Lake were all black, no matter how large. The writer attributes this to the Southern Song tradition.¹⁵³ This, however, was not the case. Jiang Kui’s 姜夔 (1155-1221) essay mentioned a small red boat, as did Su Shi in a poem; Gao Xiaochou’s 高孝疇 poem described a white boat with a beautiful red curtain.¹⁵⁴ The use of bright colors indicated that the lake boats were no longer considered as utilitarian transportation vessels but pleasure boats. People decorated their boats not only to satisfy themselves, but also to impress others. Besides, as boat renting became popular, colorful ones would attract the most customers.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, the increasing popularity of lake boats can also be inferred from the various literary names given to boats. During the Southern Song hayday, the biggest boats were given names such as Big Green, Ten Types of Silk, Hundreds of Flower, Bright Jade, and so on.¹⁵⁶ Other smaller boats had names such as Seven Treasures, Golden Lion, Gold Success, or simply the family name of the owner.¹⁵⁷ The local dilettantes (*hao shi zhe* 好事者; literally, 'busybodies') were fond of giving beautiful names to the lake boats, such as “Floating Star Ferry,” “Facing Wind Ship,” “Snow Roof,” and

¹⁵¹ The length of the Song Dynasty ship discovered from the Southern Sea is 35.7 meter. Liu Zhiyuan 劉志遠. *Nanhai yihao de kaogu shijue* 南海一號的考古試掘 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011). The size of lake boats varied: the biggest, according to *Ducheng jisheng*, were made from a thousand pieces of wood, able to carry a hundred people, and were more than fifty *zhang* (about 150 meters) long. *Mengliang lu* refers boats as much as sixty meters long and could carry more than a hundred guests. The later *Xihu youlan zhiyu* refers to smaller thirty-meter boats, which were able to carry forty to fifty people.

¹⁵² *DCJS*, 88. 。

¹⁵³ Wang Zhideng 王禪登. *Keyue zhi* 客越志, shang: 3b-4b, in Zhao Yichen 趙詒琛. *Wuyin congbian* 戊寅叢編, 1938, vol. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Jiang Kui 姜夔, *Baishi daoren gequ ji* 白石道人歌曲集, *SKQS*, 3: 6b; Su Shi 蘇軾, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集, *SKQS*, 4:19b; Li E S 厲鶚, *Songshi Jishi* 宋詩記事, *SKQS*, 60: 11b.

¹⁵⁵ We can probably assume that certain colors indicated different functions or different owners. One Ming Dynasty records mentions that the boats selling flowers are small red ones. No solid evidence is found for the Song Dynasty, but it is a reasonable assumption that boat color conveys more information than just color.

¹⁵⁶ Li E 厲鶚, *Huchuan lu* 湖船錄, in *XHWXJC*, 8: 132.

¹⁵⁷ *MLL*, “Huchuan 湖船” (Lake Boat), 12: 224.

“Smoky Cruiser.”¹⁵⁸ The naming practice brought boating, originally for sightseeing pleasure, into conversation with literary creations and further promoted boating as a fashion.¹⁵⁹

The Fashion for Boating

The most prominent boats on West Lake belonged to the imperial family, who constituted the most active sightseers on the lake. After Emperor Gaozong retired from the throne, Emperor Xiaozong served his parents devoutly and took them boating frequently.¹⁶⁰ Though Emperor Ningzong seldom went boating on the lake, his adopted son Emperor Lizong was apparently fond of boating and had an imperial boat constructed out of precious fragrant wood.¹⁶¹ This boat was considered so precious that it was only used once, by his beloved daughter.¹⁶² More boats belonged to wealthy families, including important officials, powerful eunuchs, and successful merchants who lived beside the lake.¹⁶³ An innovation was “Lotus-picking Boats,” which are

¹⁵⁸ Local dilettantes (*haoshizhe* 好事者; literally, “busybodies”), this title appeared frequently in the miscellaneous notes in the Song and later period. This means people who are fond of various items. These people usually have plenty of free time and did not worry about their daily life. And usually they have some knowledge and literary talent. So they could comment on interesting objects around them and spread things widely. Zhou Hui 周輝, *Qingbo zazhi* 清波雜誌, *SKQS*, 12: 9b.

¹⁵⁹ After the Song Dynasty, lake boats continued to enjoy popularity, as seen in Marco Polo’s record. He said, “The lake is never without a number of other such boats,” referring to those high officials who would have their extravagant parties aboard boats after a day of business. The Yuan scholar Bai Tingyu 白珽玉 even wrote an essay about West Lake, and mentions lake boat in this way: “(There are) decorated boats and orchid ships, light cruisers and big ferries. They have their own names, such as Bright Green and Clear Floating. Gold Success is small and fast; Bright Jade carries more than hundreds guests; Total Success could hold four parties only using half of its rooms.” (畫舫蘭舟，輕舫巨艦。各標令名，明祿清泛。金勝小而善疾，寶瓶大而宜緩。明玉坐百客而有裕，總勝列四筵而才半。) See Li E 厲鶚, *Huchuan lu* 湖船錄, in *XHWXJC*, 8: 312.

All these names were recorded in Southern Song texts, so Bai Tingyu might be describing the scenery of the Southern Song. Or the Yuan boats were continuing the Song tradition. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, lake boats regained their past glory. Li E and Ding Wu 丁午 even compiled two books about lake boats, including all famous boats recorded since Tang China. (Ninety boats are recorded in *Huchuan lu* 湖船錄 and ninety-nine in the *Huchuan xulu* 湖船續錄).

¹⁶⁰ *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 353.

¹⁶¹ As Huang Hong’s poem attests, “most of the dragon boats disappeared from the lake; this was because the previous emperor was very thrifty.” 龍舟大半沒西湖，此是先皇節儉圖。 *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 353. The actual reason that Emperor Ningzong seldom went boating, however, may be due to the four big fires that took place during his reign, in 1201, 1204, 1208 and 1211. Another explanation may have to do with the fact that an official once mentioned that the Empress Dowager Li was buried around the lake, so according to the regulations of filial piety, Emperor Ningzong should not take his excursion there too often.

¹⁶² *MLL*, “Huchuan,” 12: 224. *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 353. Nevertheless, not all the imperial boats were large and well-decorated ones. One album in the National Palace Museum depicts Gaozong sleeping in a very small and simple boat. This kind of small boat was frequently mentioned in poems and the stories about hermits, so it’s reasonable that the emperor wanted to have one, or at least to be depicted in such a boat.

¹⁶³ During the reign of Emperor Lizong (1224-1264), the Minister Jia Sidao shared the emperor’s interest in boating, as mentioned in Chapter I. *MLL*, “Huchuan,” 12: 224.

quite small and could carry only one or two people. Covered by dark green cloths, this kind of boat had ornate decorations inside.¹⁶⁴ The popularity of luxury boats among wealthy families was encouraged by the relaxing of sumptuary regulations. Without any restrictions governing their expenditures, the wealthy would prefer to “invest their wealth in a dispersed fashion.”¹⁶⁵ One cannot imagine a better platform for showing off one’s wealth than the spacious surface of a lake, where people could see who owned the better boats. We do not have many specific names for those who built boats except for scholar Zhao Meishi 趙梅石, who had a large boat made of black lacquer and fragrant wood.¹⁶⁶

It was these privately owned boats that established boating as a fashionable leisure activity.¹⁶⁷ The imperial family, high officials, and wealthy families were the most ostentatious tourists on the lake. Ordinary people would mimic their activities. But ordinary people could not afford to build their own boats, and visitors from elsewhere in the country would not own a boat on the lake either. Therefore, renting boat was necessary for these people to enjoy the lake in comfort.

¹⁶⁴ *MLL*, “Huchuan,” 12: 224.

¹⁶⁵ Shiba and Elvin, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, 200, 212.

¹⁶⁶ Zhou Mi 周密, *Guixin zashi* 癸辛雜識, *SKQS*, xuji xia: 33a. But from extant poems and essays it seems that few Song scholars built their own boats, unlike Ming literati. The Ming literati participated actively in boat making. Wang Ruqian 汪汝謙 and his friend Huang Ruheng 黃汝亨 (1558-1626) were good examples. Wang has designed a boat named “Untying Garden” and even wrote an essay about it. Huang made a covered raft called the “Floating Plum Flower,” followed by a poem. His wife, Gu Ruopu 顧若璞 (1592-1681) designed a “Book-reading Boat,” their older son also made a boat called the “Flying Cormorant,” and their younger son made a boat called “Breaking Waves.” From their writings, we can sense their pride in designing and making boats. They also emphasized the elegant thing they could practice while in their self-made boats, such as writing calligraphy, watching the moon, and enjoying the fragrance of lotus flowers. The boat was not a way to show off their wealthy, but a way to show off their life style and taste. As Craig Clunas observed, literati tried to distinguish themselves from the wealthy merchants by making boats with tasteful designs, such as including closets for ink collections. Why did not the Southern Song literati do this? This could be explained by three reasons. First, in the Southern Song, most of the literati had a chance to serve in the government, so they did not have as much free time as those in the Ming Dynasty. Second, the Southern Song scholars had not accumulated enough money as the Ming Dynasty gentry families did. Third, the power of merchants in the Southern Song was still relatively small, as compared to those in the Late Ming, and the scholars obtained very high social status because the Song emperors emphasized collaboration with the scholars. Therefore, they were not threatened by the merchants, as were their Ming counterparts. See Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

¹⁶⁷ According to Georg Simmel, there are two factors that contribute to the process of the fashion spread. One is the mutual imitation of other members in the society. Another is the need to be different from others. Both of the two psychologies could be found during sightseeing. Georg Simmel, “Fashion”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 62, No. 6 (May, 1957), 541-558.

Boat Renting

Rental boats were very commonly mentioned in poetry and fiction, as the excerpts from four poems below illustrate:

(I) urge you to <u>rent a West Lake boat</u> frequently. The rain pours on the roof of the boat, we will reach the flagged pavilion to enjoy wine.	勸君勤買西湖船， 打篷疎雨旗亭酒 ¹⁶⁸
In front of the Harvest and Joy Tower, outside of the Pouring Gold Gate, <u>(I) rent a small boat</u> .	豐樂樓前湧金門外， 買個船兒。 ¹⁶⁹
<u>Rent a skiff</u> to carry the bright moonlight; [I am] happy as the [noisy] flute and drum all went back to the city.	買得扁舟載月明， 喜他蕭鼓已歸城。 ¹⁷⁰
Carrying wine, I <u>rent a small boat</u> beside the lake, The beautiful scenery of the water and mountains will dissolve my sadness.	載酒湖邊買小舟， 水光山色解人愁。 ¹⁷¹

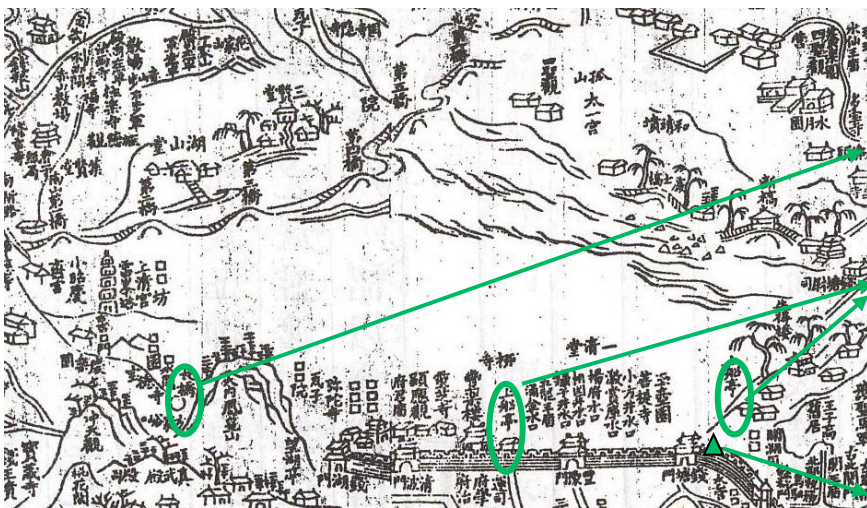
Boats were available for rent near Boat Landings Pavilion, which functioned like today's piers. The inscription on *Xihu qingqu tu* mentions two public boat-landings (one outside Qiantang Gate, one outside Willow Temple, see Fig. 8) and two private ones, one belonging to a powerful official's family beside Long Bridge (*changqiao* 長橋) and the other one belonging to Jia Sidao. Imperial boats also stopped near Jujing Garden (*jujing yuan* 聚景園) and Cuiguang Pavilion (*cuiguang ting* 翠光亭). All piers were located beside the city gate for the convenience of tourists coming from the city.

¹⁶⁸ Zheng Qingzhi 鄭清之, *Anwan tang ji* 安晚堂集, *SKQS*, 10: 2a.

¹⁶⁹ Yao Mian 姚勉, *Xuepo ji* 雪坡集, *SKQS*, 44:13b. Although these authors used the word "buy boat (*maizhou* 買舟)," they meant renting the boat for a while to enjoy the scenery.

¹⁷⁰ Chen Qi 陳起, *Jianghu xiaoji* 江湖小集, *SKQS*, 16: 22a.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 14: 3a.



Location of the private pier for Yang Family (Near Long Bridge)

Two public piers

Location of the private pier for Jia Sidao

Figure 8: Upper left: pier outside the Qiantang Gate, *Xihu qingqu tu*
 Upper right: Xia Gui, *Xihu liuting tu* (Detail), ink and color on silk; H: 59.3
 W: 107.2 cm; National Palace Museum. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan,
Gugong shuhua tulu (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1989), 2: 199-200.
 Lower: boat landings noted on the map of West lake, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*,
 1:9.

Renting a boat also included amenities such as the provision of food and wine. Once one rented a boat, there was no need to prepare any of the supplies needed in the boat, one would ask the boat owners to prepare it. Without worrying about anything, the tourists only needed to

prepare a tip.¹⁷² Competition in the business of boat rentals led boat-owner to offer better service in order to get a better tip and win business from other boat proprietors. Superior service could also bring guests back, as most tourists around West Lake were not one-time visitors.

Renting a boat was quite popular through the whole year; there were no blackout days for boat renting. Reservations were not necessary except on holidays, such as the eighth day of the second lunar month, the Cold Food Festival, and the Qingming Festival.¹⁷³ In Southern Song Hangzhou, the city gates closed during the night to prevent potential disturbance from the suburbs.¹⁷⁴ This regulation was also intended to force urban residents to go back home at night. However, it did not affect boat rentals. In a Song story, a courtesan and a scholar named Wang rented a boat after the gate closed because they could not go back into the city.¹⁷⁵ The continual business of boat renting provided a choice or back-up plan for people who were unable or unwilling to go back to the city at night, and thus reduced the significance of the city gates closing for the night.

The well-developed boat rental service provided nearly everyone an equal opportunity to enjoy the lake scenery from a new viewpoint, but social hierarchy still operated. On festivals, the big boats were first rented to the noblemen and officials, and only afterwards made available to other city dwellers.¹⁷⁶ It is not clear whether this was a rule issued by the government or it was just a custom. Still, it is clear that even in the commercialized business of boat renting, the social hierarchy was still evident. The hierarchy was also indicated from the high rental fees that ordinary people could not afford. Renting a boat would not cost too much on ordinary days, as

¹⁷² *MLL*, “Huchuan,” 12: 224.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Zhang Ju’s poem says “it reported that the phoenix city has hurried the [locking] key 報道鳳城催鑰,” from Wang Yiqing 王奕清, Shen Chenyuan 沈辰垣, Xuanye 玄燁, *Yuxuan Lidai Shiyu* 御選歷代詩餘, SKQS, 64:23a-b. Zhou Mialso says “already urged for the phoenix key 已催鳳鑰.” See Zha Weiren 查為仁, Li E 厲鶚, *Juemiao Hao Ci Jian* 絕妙好詞箋, SKQS, 7:10b.

¹⁷⁵ *Xihu erji*, 11: 195. The same story also tells us that it was quite hard to rent a boat in the afternoon, as the usual practice was for tourists to set out in the morning and go into the inner lake in the afternoon. Also see *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 352.

¹⁷⁶ *FSL*, 101.

there are many records of different people renting boats. But the rental fee rose significantly during festival times. One source indicates that it cost two or three hundred *quan* 券 to rent a decent boat on the Cold Food and Qingming Festivals. How much is two hundred units of paper currency?¹⁷⁷ In the Southern Song, the most popular paper currency in Hangzhou was *huizi* 會子, and there was one institution called “Bureau of Paper Money” (*huizi zhiju* 會子紙局) near the First Bridge around West Lake (Fig. 9).¹⁷⁸



Figure 9: *Huizi zhiju* (The Bureau of Making *Huizi*), from map of West Lake

Song shi records that in the first year of the Jingding reign (1260-1264), the Hangzhou government prepared 14,000,000 *huizi* to buy 400,000 *dan* 石 of rice.¹⁷⁹ This means that the rice costs thirty-five *huizi* per *dan*, so two hundred units of paper currency were equal to about six *dan* of rice. According to Cheng Minsheng’s detailed research on daily consumption, the average

¹⁷⁷ Originally, *quan* means credit note, issued by the Song government to the merchants after they delivered grain to the frontier. The merchants could cash the notes in the Monopoly Bureau of the capital government, or exchange them for tea, salt, or other commodities as specified on the notes. Here in this case of renting a boat, *quan* should refer to an amount of paper currency. Since the value of *huizi* kept changing and there were different batches of *huizi*, it is impossible to figure out the exact value of this amount of money. What I want to do here is to figure out its approximate purchasing power.

¹⁷⁸ Tuotuo 脫脫 etc, *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju; Shanghai: xinhua shudian shanghai faxingsuo faxing, 1977), 134: 4409.

¹⁷⁹ This was the seventeenth issue of *huizi*. The court issued *huizi* every three years; one time was called one *jie* 界. The seventeenth issue of *huizi* was issued in 1234, and the eighteenth issue of *huizi* was issued in 1240. See *Song shi*, 134: 4343.

amount of rice consumed by one person was one or two *sheng*, so two hundred units of paper currency was enough for 300 people to live on for a single day or one person for almost a year.¹⁸⁰ This was an extreme example of how high the boat rental fee could reach. However, by calculating the high rental fee, I am not saying that the commoners could never afford a boat. Hangzhou people were known for their love of luxury. Some records indicate that they would spend most of their savings on important festivals for pleasure.¹⁸¹ It is thus conceivable that some ordinary city dwellers would also rent a boat for pleasure once or twice a year.

Drinking and Eating

Wine Houses

Nearly every time I tell people about my trip to West Lake, they ask the same question: whether I have been to the restaurant called Tower beyond Tower (*louwai lou* 樓外樓). Established in the Qing Dynasty, this restaurant was famous not only for its food and location, but also because it would remind people of the past prosperity, as the name of the restaurant came from a Southern Song poem.¹⁸² During the Southern Song, there was also a restaurant as famous as today's Tower beyond Tower. It was the Harvest and Joy Tower, outside the Pouring Gold Gate, as shown on the map (Fig. 10). Wu Zimu describes this restaurant as follows:

¹⁸⁰ Cheng, Minsheng 程民生, "Songren shenghuo shuiping ji bizhi kaocha 宋人生活水平及幣值考察," *Shixue yuekan*, 2008/03. Another record in *Song Shi* tells us that every eighteenth issue of *huizi* equals to 257 *wen* 文 in the Xianchun reign, so renting a boat during the Xianchun reign cost 51400 *wen*. We can compare it to the income of a common family in the city. In *Yijian zhi*, there is a story about Lü Sigong 呂四公, who sold the blood of pigs and sheep in the city of Yaozhou to support his family. In 1196, his income was less than 200 *wen* per day. (*YJZ*, zhi gui 8, 5: 2466.) Since Lin'an is the capital city and the economy there was more developed than it was in Yaozhou, people who followed the same career might earn more. Besides, the money was experiencing devaluation in the Southern Song, so in the Xianchun reign the amount of money earned by such a merchant might have been higher. Now, even if we suppose that a common family with two people in Lin'an could earn around 750 *wen* during the Xianchun reign, still the rent of the boat on these two festivals was equal to the income of more than two months for an ordinary family at that time.

¹⁸¹ *XHYLZY*, 6: 107.

¹⁸² It was written by Lin Sheng 林昇, who described the enjoyment of the imperial house and important officials on the West Lake in ironic and critical tone: "Green mountain beyond the mountain, building beyond building; will the dance and song ever stop around West Lake?" (山外青山樓外樓，西湖歌舞幾時休。) Li E 厲鶚, *Songshi jishi* 宋詩記事, *SKQS*, 56: 18a.

Outside the gate there is a wine house, called harvest and joy [*fengle*], which used to be called the Shrug Green Tower. Besides West Lake, one can see thousands of peaks around a vast pool of green water. Willow ponds and flower valley can be seen through the railings. Floating boats and decorated ships that carry singers and performers all gather on the water beside the restaurant. This is the best spot for sightseeing.

外有酒樓，名豐樂，舊名聳翠樓，據西湖之會，千峰連環，一碧萬頃，柳汀花塢，歷歷欄檻間，而遊撓畫舫，棹謳堤唱，往往會於樓下，為遊覽最。¹⁸³

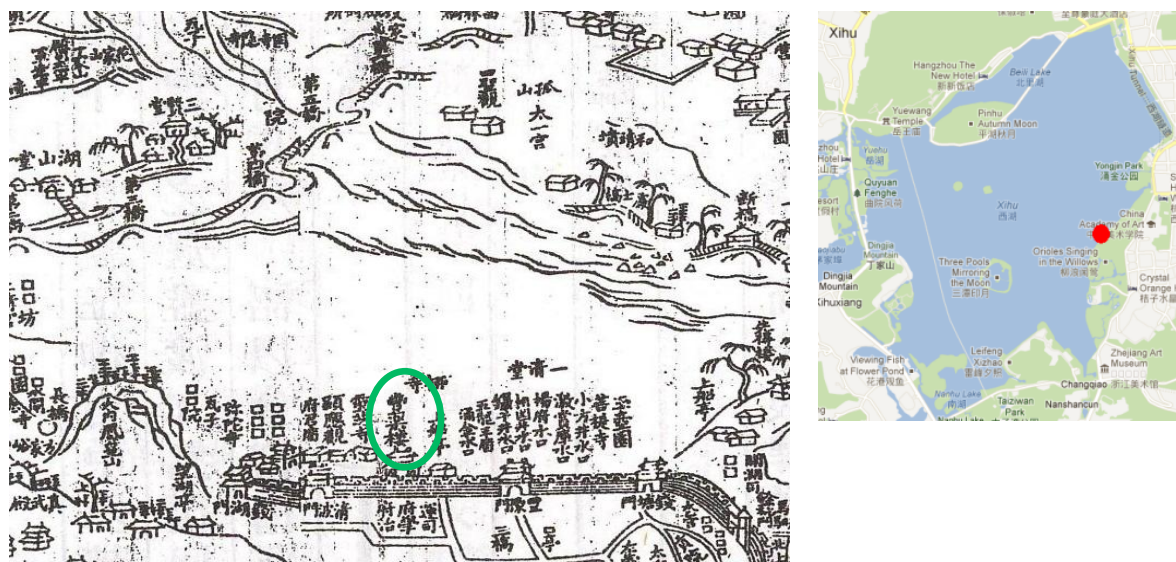


Figure 10: The Harvest and Joy Tower noted on the map of West Lake in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* and today's map

This building was located right beside the lake and faced to the wonderful scenery of the twin peaks.¹⁸⁴ With such a view of the lake, one might think that there is no better place to have a decent meal during an excursion, or treat friends from afar for a welcoming dinner.¹⁸⁵ Xia Yong, a court painter of the Southern Song, depicted this restaurant in detail as shown below (Fig. 11). The painter views the building from east to west. On the front ground of the painting stand Pouring Gold Gate and a section of the city wall. Wu Zimu has described one of the restaurants inside Hangzhou city, which can help us to picture the decoration and layout of the Harvest and Joy Tower:

¹⁸³ MLL, “West Lake,” 12: 219.

¹⁸⁴ “Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds” was one of the Ten Views during the Southern Song.

¹⁸⁵ Hong Mai recorded a story, in which the Wutong Deity visited Harvest and Joy Tower during an evening. *YJZ*, zhi bu 6: 3152.

... Colorfully painted, the gate of the restaurant was called the joyful gate. Green and red fences are placed in front of the gate (Fig. 12). Curtains are made from green silk; gardenia-shaped light was covered with red silk and golden powder. The courtyard and corridors were decorated with lush flowers and woods, with nice wine seats. Once you step into this restaurant, and enter into the main corridor for about ten to twenty steps, there are two corridors, one on the south and one on the north. Along the corridors are clean compartments and comfortable seats. During the night the candles are bright and luminous, shining up and down. Dozens of courtesans, who are wearing heavy make-up, gather in the main corridors. They are waiting for the guests to call them. They look like immortals while gazing from afar.

店門首彩畫歡門，設紅綠權子，緯綠簾幕，貼金紅紗梔子燈，裝飾廳院廊廡，花木森茂，酒座瀟灑。但此店人其門，一直主廊，約一二十步，分南北兩廊，皆濟楚閣兒，穩便坐席，向晚燈燭熒煌，上下相照，濃妝妓女數十，聚於主廊嫌而一上，以待酒客呼喚，望之宛如神似。¹⁸⁶



Figure 11: Xia Yong, *Fengle lou tu* 豐樂樓圖 (*Harvest and Joy Tower*), ink and color on silk; H: 25.8, W: 25.8 cm; National Palace Museum (*LDXHSHJ*, 39).



Figure 12: The detail of the decoration in front of a restaurant, *Xihu qingqu tu*.

The service here was certainly very decent and expensive as well. Waiters would be happy to serve different food to each person in a big party. Small dishes offered before the wine were just for looking at (*kancai* 看菜) and better dishes would then come with the wine. The waiters would do their very best to cater to the guests. The wine house was filled with laughter and

¹⁸⁶ *MLL*, “Jiusi” 酒肆 (Wine House), 16: 255. Besides, according to a Song Dynasty story, the Harvest and Joy Tower rather ostentatiously used all silver tableware. *Xihu erji*, 11: 195.

happy singing, day and night; the number of customers did not decrease, even on hot, rainy, windy, and snowy days.¹⁸⁷ With such great service, the price of wine and food in a restaurant like the Harvest and Joy Tower would be quite high. According to *Ducheng jisheng*, during the middle period of the Southern Song, having a simple meal in a smaller restaurant would cost about 100 *wen*. This was about the daily expenditure of a lower level city dweller.¹⁸⁸ In addition, most of the major wine houses during the Southern Song had more than ten courtesans. The “talented and romantic scholar” in the city would choose a girl to accompany him. There were also servant girls who would sing for the customer without being called, hoping for tips.¹⁸⁹

The most appealing thing about the Harvest and Joy Tower was not its decoration, service, or entertainment, but the wine. During the Song Dynasty, the government controlled the making and selling of wine.¹⁹⁰ Wine taxes constituted a main part of government income, second only to the land and salt taxes.¹⁹¹ So when Su Shi submitted his proposal on dredging the lake, he used wine making as one reason to persuade the court, as wine was made from spring water that originated from West Lake.¹⁹² In order to collect more taxes, the Song government encouraged people to have as much wine as possible, they were “even afraid people wouldn’t drink.”¹⁹³ The courtesans in the wine houses were also licensed and arranged by the government, with the goal

¹⁸⁷ *Xihu erji*, 11: 195. *Ducheng jisheng*, however, recorded many tricks that would be practiced in the restaurant, such as entrapping the customers to buy more expensive food and wine. Ronald Egan has done some research on the conflicting records of service provided in the wine house, and argues that different writings were due to the different perspectives of the recorders. See Ronald Egan, “Songdai wenxian zhong de ducheng mianmian guan 宋代文獻中的都城面面觀” (Changing representations of the capital in Song dynasty sources), in Fudan University Research Institute of History and Literature, *Dushi fanhua: yiqian wubai nian lai de dong ya chengshi shenghuo shi guo ji xuexu yantaohui* 都市繁華：一千年來的東亞城市生活史國際學術研討會 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2012), 102.

¹⁸⁸ In times of disasters, the government would give the poor people 20 *wen* per person per day, in order to sustain their basic needs.

¹⁸⁹ *MLL*, “Dianjiansuo jiuku 點檢所酒庫” (Dianjian Bureau Wine House), 10: 203.

¹⁹⁰ According to Zhou Zizhi’s record, the profit made from the winery is huge, more than 300,000 *min*. *Taicang timi ji*, 59:7a-b. Song government had three ways to tax wine around the whole country: government-operated wine house, private wine selling with permits and wine contractors. For more information, see Li Huarui 李華瑞, *Songdai jiu de shengchan he zhengque* 宋代酒的生產和征權 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 1995). One of the Ten Views of West Lake, “Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery,” was located outside the winemaking factory at that time.

¹⁸⁹ For example, the wine tax of Hangzhou reached 300,000 *min* in 1064.

¹⁹² Su Shi, “Hangzhou qi dudie kai xihu zhuang.”

¹⁹³ Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙, *Lidai zhidu xiangshuo* 歷代制度詳說, *SKQS*, 6: 4a-b.

of selling more wine. The government even invented various wines, over seventy types. Every year the government performed a special ritual when they began to make new wine. This ceremony would attract a large audience and became an ideal occasion to sell wine.

More than half of the wine was sold in the eleven wine houses around Hangzhou, among them Harvest and Joy Tower.¹⁹⁴ Another government-owned wine house that aimed to attract tourists was the West Creek Wine House (marked on Fig. 13). While the Harvest and Joy Tower served mainly people who came from the city on day trips, the West Creek Wine House was designed mainly for those who lodged in temples on the west side of the lake and would spend more time around the lake.¹⁹⁵ In addition, during the Jiading 嘉定 reign period (1208-1224), wine was also sold in the Three Worthies Hall on the Su Dyke, one of the “must-see” spots (Fig. 13). However, this business was later stopped because someone wrote a poem satirizing the government for making use of past worthies:

[Lin] Hejing, [Su] Dongpo and Bai Letian [Bai Juyi],	和靖東坡白樂天,
These three people had qualities as elegant as	三人秋菊薦寒泉,
autumn chrysanthemum and cold spring.	而今滿面生塵土,
But nowadays their statues are covered with dust,	卻與袁樵課酒錢。
And are used to collect wine tax for Yuan Qiao.	¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ *WLJS*, “Jiulou,” 6: 407.

¹⁹⁵ The accommodation provided by the temple is further discussed in the following chapter on temple visit.

¹⁹⁶ Li You 李有, *Guhang zaji* 古杭雜記, in Ding Bing 丁丙, *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (Taipei: Tailian guofeng chubanshe; Huawen shuju lianhe yinxing: Jinghua shuju. 1967), 1: 841b.

Besides the government-owned wine houses, wine was also sold in other smaller private inns, which received government permits to sell wine. These small inns usually had a flag hanging outside the gate, noting that wine was available inside.¹⁹⁹ The small pubs apparently were very attractive to visitors, as they were often mentioned in contemporary poetry and fiction. The Southern Song poet Jiang Teli 姜特立 (?-1192) wrote a poem on how beautiful spring is, at the end of which he wrote, “from afar, I recall the scenery at West Lake, where the wine houses are so charming. (遙想西湖上，風流賣酒家。)”²⁰⁰ From the visual record (Fig. 14), we know that these inns could be quite small, seating up to twenty guests. On some festivals, there were so many people congregating around the lake that the inns could not provide enough seats, so people would bring wine to the teahouses.²⁰¹ These teahouses also sold plum wine in the summer.²⁰² The sellers in restaurants and wine houses were called “Masters of Wine.”²⁰³ Originally used to refer to court academicians or learned scholars, the title “master” (*boshi* 博士) indicated Hangzhou dwellers’ respect for people who served wine and how important wine was to them.

Different from a grand wine house like Harvest and Joy Tower, which opened only to a very select clientele, these smaller pubs enabled more diverse contact between people from different social and economic backgrounds. It was partially that there were not many choices among pubs around the lake, so the chances for people from different backgrounds to meet each other there would be much greater than in the city. Inside the city, however, more pubs and wine houses of different grades were available for customers from diverse backgrounds, so the chance

¹⁹⁹ Hong Mai 洪邁, *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋續筆, SKQS, 16: 7b.

²⁰⁰ Jiang Teli 姜特立, *Meishan xugao* 梅山續藁, “Chunwu”春物 (Spring Items), SKQS, 12: 3b.

²⁰¹ *FSL*, 101. Early in Hangzhou there were only wine houses, no tea houses. But in the gathering of some wealthy families, they would hire someone to serve tea. This tea man was called “Master of Tea.” *XHYLZY*, 20: 327.

²⁰² *DCJS*, 83.

²⁰³ *MLL*, “Fencha Jiudian 分茶酒店” (“Splitting Tea” Restaurant), 16: 256.

for customers to see and be seen by others from different social classes was relatively small. Contact across classes was sometime realized by wall writings in the inn. It was not an unusual practice for the inns or wine houses to erect several white screens or just white walls for tipsy customers to write their poems on. For example, Emperor Gaozong once entered an attractive small inn near Broken Bridge and saw the poem, “Wind in Pine” (*Feng ru song* 風入松) by Yu Guobao 俞國寶, a student at the imperial academy, written on the central screen of the inn. The emperor liked it very much except for the last line, so he changed one word in that sentence to make it more elegant. Yu Guobao was seen assigned a high position.²⁰⁴ These blank screens in the wine house acted like a forum, where customers could enjoy and remark on others’ works. As Cong Ellen Zhang argues, “in the process of transmission of these texts, ... specific inns became recognized public places.”²⁰⁵



²⁰⁴ WLJS, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 353.

²⁰⁵ Cong Ellen Zhang, “The Culture of Travel in Song China (960-1276)” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2003), 112-3. Also see Cong Ellen Zhang, “Communication, Collaboration, and Community, Inn-wall Writing during the Song (960-1279),” *Journal of Sung Yuan Studies*, 35 (2005), 1-27.



Figure 14: Details of restaurants and teahouses around the lake, *Xihu qingqu tu*.

Food

Nowadays, people believe certain drinks go with certain dishes. For example, fried peanuts go perfectly with beer; sashimi is great for sake; strawberries with champagne. What kind of food was provided in the Song market for people drinking? To answer this question, it is necessary to clarify which kinds of wine people usually drank in the Song time. The most common wine in the Song was rice wine, the alcoholic strength of which was less than twenty percent. In the Jiangnan region, glutinous rice wine was also popular, with a gentle and soft taste. To go with glutinous rice wine, seafood would be the best choice, and other appropriate dishes included salty bamboo shoots, spiced beans, bean curd, dried fish, and sweet snacks to neutralize the effect of alcoholic drinks.

Zhou Mi recorded some food that was sold in Southern Song wine houses; a similar list was also included in a Song fictional tale.²⁰⁶ In this list, food is divided into three categories. The first type is snacks and nuts, such as flavored green tangerine orange peel, almonds, tuber pinellia, round cardamom, ginger, olives, and mint. The second type is called *jiafeng* 家風 (home style), and included spiced deer meat, crab, sheep hoof, wine-flavored clams, squid, grounded shrimp,

²⁰⁶ WLJS, “Jiulou,” 6: 407. *Xihu erji*, 11: 195.

and dried fish. The third type is called “food to neutralize the effect of alcoholic drinks” (*xingjiu kouwei* 醒酒口味), and included river ray, oyster, squid, oshima's squid, snail muscles, little yellow croaker, blood clams, and ground horseshoe crab meat.²⁰⁷

Seafood was easy to get at low prices, as Hangzhou was located near the coast and had good access to other coastal cities.²⁰⁸ Restaurants beside West Lake were good places to have fish and crab from the lake, which were fresh and cheaper than having it inside the city.²⁰⁹ West Lake was especially famous for crabs during the Song.²¹⁰ In Gao Sisun's 高似孫 essay about crabs, he declared West Lake crab the best of the country.²¹¹ The Song government forbade fishing with long rods in the public lake and the opening of floating farmland, which created a relatively peaceful environment under the water for the crabs to reproduce.²¹²

West Lake fish reputedly tastes better than fish from other places, so sometime people in the Song time said “fish from west gate,” not “water from west gate.”²¹³ Although the government had regulations on fishing in the lake, it did not totally outlaw fishing. The local government made several lake-side gardens, such as the Prolonging Kindness Garden (*yan'en yuan* 延恩院) outside Pouring Gold Gate, into fish-breeding sites.²¹⁴ There were various fish in the lake, among which the carp tastes the best, as “the bone is soft and the meat is light.”²¹⁵ One famous snack on

²⁰⁷ River ray is quite popular in the *Dongpo quanji*, 23: 9b, *SKQS*. The best came from Fenghua County, a little bit south to Hangzhou. The history of eating squid in Southern China could at least be traced back to the Tang Dynasty. People usually had it with ginger and vinegar. *Shuo fu*, 67 xia: 22b-23a. Tang people began to eat ground horseshoe crab meat. Liu Xun 刘恂, *Lingbiao luyi* 岭表录异, *SKQS*, shang: 5a.

²⁰⁸ Such as Fenghua County, where river ray was famous. In the Hangzhou city, there were several regular markets for seafood, such as the crab market on the east side of the city and fresh fish market near Bazi Bridge. Semi-finished and spiced seafood was also sold, in a special seafood market. *MLL*, “Tuan Hang 團行” (Association and Guild), 13: 229

²⁰⁹ Snails and jellyfish were also produced in the lake, as they were sold fresh in small boats. *MLL*, “Huchuan,” 12: 224.

²¹⁰ *ZBWLJS*, 8: 16a-17b.

²¹¹ Gao Sisun 高似孫, *Xie lüe* 蟹略, *SKQS*, 2: 7a.

²¹² But lake crab disappeared in the Ming Dynasty, when the water was too clear and people kept stirring the water, so the crab could not survive. *ZBWLJS*, 8: 16a-17b.

²¹³ *Erlao tang zazhi*, in *XHWXJC*, 6: 3512-3513.

²¹⁴ *ZBWLJS*, 8: 16a-17b; in addition, the goldfish were bred in the lake, outside the Qiantang gate. *MLL*, “Wuchan: Yuchong zhipin” 物產·魚蟲之品 (Product: Fish), 18: 284.

²¹⁵ *ZBWLJS*, 8: 16a-17b.

the lake was the fish soup made by Song Fifth Sister-in-law 宋五嫂. Born in Kaifeng, she fled to Hangzhou after the Northern Song fell, and lived near Su Causeway, selling fish soup outside the Qiantang Gate. Once Emperor Gaozong went sightseeing on the lake and summoned her. After asking about her family history, he ate her fish soup and rewarded her with ten gold coins, a hundred silver coins, and ten bolts of silk.²¹⁶ After that, her fish soup became extremely popular.²¹⁷ Fish from West Lake certainly was not only available on the lake, but also sold to the city in large quantities. After the Southern Song, with the end of regulation on fishing in the lake, more fish from West Lake entered the fish market. When Marco Polo visited the lake, the amount of fish that came from the lake astonished him.²¹⁸

Two kinds of food are worth noting in the aforementioned food list in *Wulin jiushi*: spiced deer meat and sheep hooves. While most of the other foods in the list were “local” products, these two originated in north China. While the other food was easy to get, these two were much more precious. They were considered first class meat in the Tang and Song, especially in the imperial houses. In the Song imperial kitchen, the only meat used was lamb. This also explains why Gaozong wanted to try a simple fish soup while wandering around the lake.²¹⁹ These northern style foods became popular in Hangzhou and West Lake, catering to the taste of imperial family and northerners. Most of the famous foods in Hangzhou, such as lamb from Li Qier 李七兒 and Wang’s milk, originated from Kaifeng. Later when the northern-style taste was

²¹⁶ *WLJS*, “Qianchun fengqin” 乾淳奉親 (Serving Parents during Qiandao and Chunxi Reign), 7: 427.

²¹⁷ *XHYLZY*, 3: 44. One famous dish in today’s Tower beyond Tower is called “West Lake vinegared fish,” which was believed by the Qing people to have originated from the fish soup made by Song Fifth Sister-in-law. Liang Shaoren 梁紹壬, *Liangban qiuyu zhai suibi* 兩般秋雨齋隨筆 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 350.

²¹⁸ “Fish...and in the lake also there is abundance, which gives employment at all times to persons whose sole occupation it is to catch them. At the sight of such an importation of fish, you would think it impossible that it could be sold; and yet, in the course of a few hours, it is all taken off, so great is the number of inhabitants, even of those classes which can afford to indulge in such luxuries, for fish and flesh are eaten at the same meal.” Marco Polo and Komroff Manuel, *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian* (New York: H. Liveright, 1930), 232

²¹⁹ For more information of the preference for lamb in the Song Dynasty, see Zhang Jiandong 張建東, “Yangda ze mei: Songdai yinshi wenhua zhong ‘shangyang’ xisu luetan 羊大則美: 宋代飲食文化中‘尚羊’習俗略談,” *Lishi jiaoxue*, 2012, No. 1, 26-31.

widely adopted, local food were enriched or altered. Another practice based on northern customs was the storage of ice, which was used to make iced drinks for tourists during the summer.²²⁰ It was not a common practice to store ice among southerners before the Shaoxing 紹興 reign period (1131-1162). But in 1138, after a great snowfall, northerners saved ice in their cellars. From then on, the method of storing ice spread.²²¹ Stored ice was used to make cold drinks and iced fruits for tourists during summer.²²² The above examples of food show a mixture of northern and southern styles. As Wu Zimu said, “in two hundred years after the court moved to the south, people got used to the local environment. Food and drink are mixed, north and south no longer distinguished. (南渡以來，凡二百余年，則水土既慣，飲食混淆，無南北之分矣)”²²³ The availability of northern style food added to attraction of excursions around West Lake.

Pleasure Seeking

Entertainment

Just as boat trips enabled people floating on the lake to enjoy landscape and wine houses allowed tourists to stay for the whole day around the lake, performances, games and shopping experiences filled and enlivened the sightseeing times. Entertainment became popular in Hangzhou long before the Southern Song. As early as the Tang Dynasty, courtesans appeared quite often in poems about West Lake. By Zhou Mi’s time, much more was available. The listed nearly thirty kinds of entertainment, including flute and zither concerts, dance, drama, drumming, pot shooting game, football, the art of splitting tea (*fenchā* 分茶), playing with water,

²²⁰ *XHYLZY*, 20: 319; *WLJS*, “Duren bishu” 都人避暑 (City Dwellers Escape from the Summer), 3: 305.

²²¹ Zhuang Chuo 莊綽, *Jilei bian* 雞肋編, *SKQS*, zhong: 15b. Ice was stored near the Southern Mountain, beside the lake. *Chengzhai ji*, 18: 19b.

²²² *WLJS*, “Duren bishu,” 3: 356. On the sixth day of the sixth lunar month, city dwellers would gather at the lake and drop fruit in the cold water to improve its taste. Summer foods included lychee, plum, waxberry, new lotus root produced in Gathering Scenery Garden, purple water chestnuts, sweet melons, Euryale ferox, golden peaches, papaya, golden oranges and other sweet snacks.

²²³ *MLL*, “Mianshi dian” 麵食店 (Restaurant for Wheaten Food), 6: 259.

singing, circuses, water puppet shows, Daoist magic, fireworks, kite flying and other performances that are difficult to identify today.²²⁴ People who provided these entertainments were called “*ganchen ren* 趕趁人,” those who offered special skills and performances to audiences.

Entertainments on the lake were as colorful as those inside the city. But there were some differences between the format and location of entertainment inside and outside the city wall. Inside Hangzhou city, entertainment mainly was available in wine houses and the entertainment quarters (*wazi* 瓦子). Of the twenty-one *wazi* of the Hangzhou city, two were located close to West Lake, one outside the Qianhu Gate, and the other on the west bank of the lake (Fig. 15). *Wazi* were host to various performances, from drama to singing, from storytelling to puppet shows, from talk shows to historical fictional stories—there were more than ten kinds of performances.²²⁵ While the state very likely wanted to refine the entertaining activities within the pre-set sphere, as seen from the arrangement of *wazi*, the actual development of tourism market made the entertainment available nearly all the places around the lake. While the entertainment in *wazi* was mainly performances in which people could only be audiences, the entertainment around West Lake provided more opportunities for people to participate in games, such as football. Also, these amusements would cost less than the performances in the *wazi*. The geographical setting of West Lake enhanced the colorfulness of other types of entertainment. Some of the games listed by Zhou Mi, such as kite flying, fireworks, water puppet shows, require an open environment beside water. One cannot imagine a better place than West Lake for them.

²²⁴ Pot shooting games is a game to play while drinking. People try to throw arrows into the pot, and those who cannot get it in need to drink. It first became popular among literati even before the Tang Dynasty. During the Southern Song, as government encouraged wine consumption, this game was also promoted and spread among commoners. *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 351.

²²⁵ *Wulin jiushi* records many famous artists and performers, and also the titles of songs and dramas.

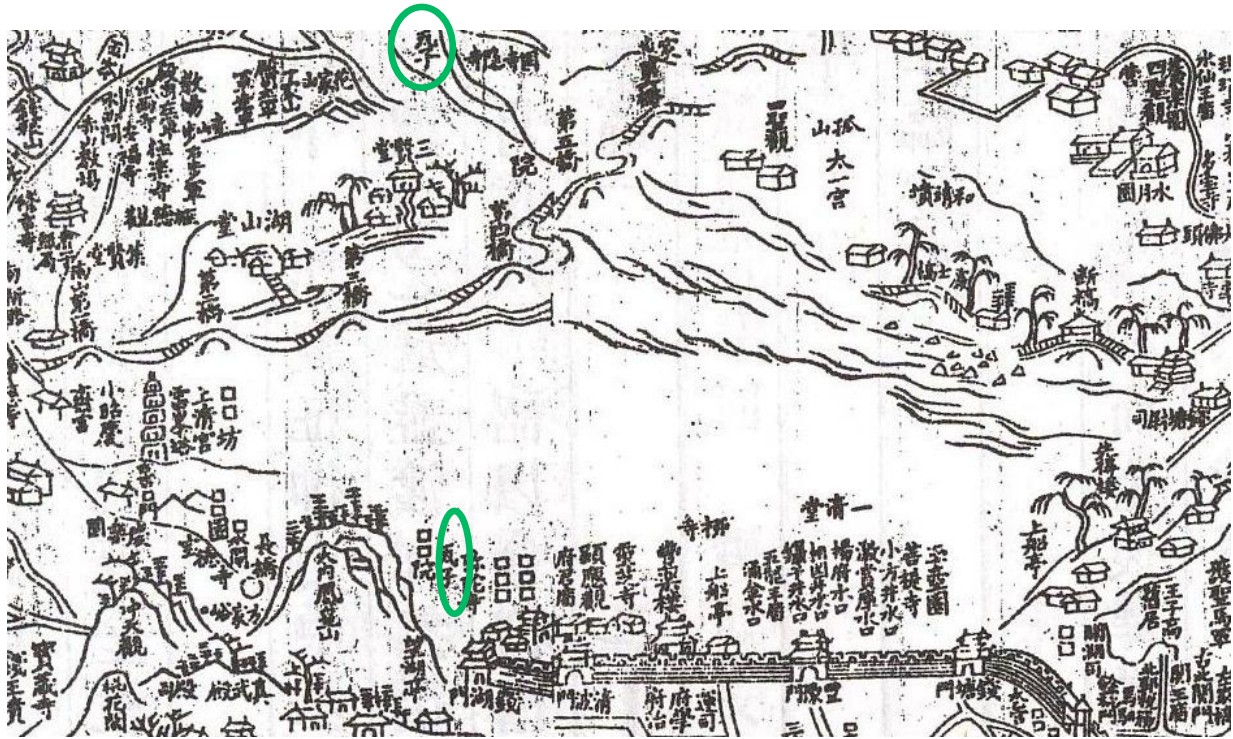


Figure 15: *wazi* around West Lake, as noted on the map from *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*

Some of the entertainment remained on the banks, while others were available in small boats called “melon-skin-boats” 瓜皮船 or “small-feet boats” 小腳船. Guests could call for them and buy a song or the company of beautiful courtesans. Some provided equipment for games like pot shooting, for example. Some would carry special goods that people would buy as souvenirs or gifts. Several private gardens around the lake, such as Eunuch Jiang’s garden, also offered entertainments on special days. Every year before the Cold Food Festival, Hangzhou residents celebrated the coming of spring. During that time, various amusements were held in Eunuch Jiang’s garden, including archery, swinging, football, and cockfighting, “in order to satisfy the travelers.”²²⁶ Various interesting craftworks were also sold in this garden, ranging from elegant art such as calligraphy and paintings, to trifles such as flowers on a hat. Sticks with various toys on the top and flower baskets, which were made from golden and jade thread, were also

²²⁶ WLJS, “Fangchun” 放春 (Starting Spring), 3: 353. No evidence shows that these games required money. So it was probably an attraction designed by the garden owner. He only invited those well dressed, so we can imagine that by preparing such games, the garden owner wanted to socialize with high-class people.

presented.²²⁷ These goods were sold in the style of *guanpu* 關撲, a combination of selling goods and gambling. During the *guanpu*, the merchant would display all his goods (awards) and prepared up to eight coins. Whoever wanted to get the award could throw the coins in the basin: if the customer ended up with all the coins facing up, he/she could take the item right away. Otherwise, the customer lost some money. During the Northern Song, *guanpu* was permitted on only three festivals: the Lantern Festival, the first day of winter, and the Cold Food Festival. But during the Southern Song, the government no longer restricted *guanpu*.²²⁸ Therefore, in Southern Song Hangzhou, each resident held *guanpu* at his house gate during the first lunar month.²²⁹ There were two reasons for the popularity of this game. First, it is interesting and exciting, and people wanted to get something good with less money. Second, some very poor people would hold a *guanpu* with only one fish or one item, in order to try their luck.²³⁰

Pleasure came from not merely amusements such as performances and games, but also from the simple act of purchasing commodities. The commodities available in Jiang's Garden were not everyday necessities, but could be categorized as superfluous or even luxury objects, things that usually embodied the taste and status of the possessors. Art collecting grew in popularity during the Song Dynasty, and undoubtedly influenced the consuming style of the entire society.²³¹ Consumption, as a natural phenomenon produced in every prosperous market, functioned as a powerful source for pleasure. As Colin Campbell argues, the pleasures of consumption are rooted in the imaginative processes of the self, whose internal emotions

²²⁷ *WLJS*, "Fangchun," 3: 353.

²²⁸ Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛, *Yunlu manchao* 云麓漫鈔, *SKQS*, 5: 9b-10a.

²²⁹ *MLL*, "Zhengyue" 正月 (First Lunar Month), 1: 123.

²³⁰ The process of *guanpu* was described in detail in a Yuan Dynasty Drama. See Li, Wenwei 李文蔚, and Zang Maoxun 臧懋循 anno.. *Tongle yuan Yan Qing boyu zaju* 同樂院燕青博魚雜劇 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2002).

²³¹ As Patricia Ebrey discusses in the introduction of her book on Huizong collection, the Northern Song began to witness the rapid development of collecting books, calligraphies, antiquities, and paintings. Many highly educated scholars and especially the emperors viewed art collecting as an "elevated pastime." See Patricia Buckle Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: the Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 5

generate a sense of pleasure surrounding the meanings and anticipations associated with various objects and experiences.²³² Therefore, purchasing these artistic objects provided buyers a sense of their good taste. It also materialized the fun experiences people got from the gambling activities.

Souvenir Shopping

The same type of desire to remember intangible experiences via tangible media motivated tourists to purchase some souvenirs that were particularly connected to West Lake. Southern Song visitors were known to purchase “local products on the lake,” which as the title indicates were things seen as the symbols of West Lake and were most likely sold only around the lake.²³³ The “local products” included fruits and vegetables, soups and wines, games, drama equipment, ornamental plants, flower baskets, painted fans, colorful flags, sweet fish, rice flour cakes, clay figurines, sticks with toys on the top, powder balls, seasonal flowers, clay baby dolls, and *yinan* grass (宜男 literally, “suitable for boy,” which means that whoever wear this grass will be blessed with giving birth to a boy).²³⁴ These local products and souvenirs were sold all around the lake, especially around Previous Worthies Hall, the Three Worthies Hall and the Four Guardians Sages Hall, all were must-see spots and attracted more consumers.²³⁵ Why were these items labeled as “local products?” What factors made them stand out among so many goods sold around the lake? Why did tourists purchase them?

Some souvenirs functioned to remind tourists of the performances they watched and food they enjoyed on their excursions. Sweet fish was snack made from powder, but the shape was

²³² Colin Campbell, *Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, UK; New York, NY, USA: B. Blackwell, 1987).

²³³ The title “local products on the lake” would have been given by Hangzhou residents, as they used the word “on the lake,” not “on the West Lake.”

²³⁴ *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing 西湖游幸” (excursion around West Lake), 3: 351.

²³⁵ *WLJS*, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 351.

designed in accordance with the lake environment. Additionally, it was because of the boat races that the colorful flag was also labeled as a local product of the lake. The audience was familiar with the flag and would want to get a similar one to remember the game by or to demonstrate how the game was played to their friends and family. Other records show that the models of dragon boats were also considered suitable local souvenir.²³⁶

Fresh flowers and grass were regarded as local products as the western suburb of Hangzhou was known for gardens that provided flowers among Hangzhou residents.²³⁷ While land inside Hangzhou city was occupied by houses and shops, the open landscape around West Lake was available for grow flowers. As Zhao Fan 赵蕃 wrote, “In the old days, people only grew grain and vegetables, not flowers. Only families around West Lake planted flowers. (昔人種田不種花, 有花只數西湖家。)”²³⁸ The garden located beside Slip Water Bridge (*liushui qiao* 溜水橋) and outside of Qiantang Gate was known at the time for pine trees in strange shapes along with flowers of the four seasons. These flowers were sold daily and people who were fond of such things reportedly always bought some.²³⁹ For the same reason, *yinan* grass was included among the local products of the lake as West Lake was the nearest place for city dwellers to find this grass. Clay baby dolls bore connections with sightseeing experiences of minister Han Tuozhou’s 韓侂胄(1152-1207) family.²⁴⁰ When the family went on an excursion during the spring, they made their own clay puppets. They tied cotton to the clay puppets’ heads, and named them “yellow fat,” which soon became popular among tourists. The sticks with toys on the top were

²³⁶ MLL, “Qingming jie” 清明節 (Qingming Festival), 2: 133.

²³⁷ One example was jasmine that was worn by nearly all the women on the sixth day of the sixth lunar month. Some even wore seven clusters of jasmine, priced as high as several dozen *quan*. WLJS, “Duren bishu,” 3: 356.

²³⁸ Zhao Fan 赵蕃, *Qiandao gao: chunxi gao* 乾道稿 淳熙稿, SKQS, 6: 5b.

²³⁹ MLL, “Yuanyou” 園囿(garden), 19: 291.

²⁴⁰ The tradition of making babies from clay started in the Tang Dynasty. On the Double Seventh Festival, clay dolls were sold in the markets; some were even decorated with golden pearls. WLJS, “Qiqiao” 乞巧 (Begging for skillfulness), 3: 357. Clay doll during the Song Dynasty was always regarded as an auspicious thing that blessed women with boys. These were usually called “*mo hou luo*” 摩睺羅.

especially favored by the imperial family, who asked servants to prepare these on dragon boats. Interestingly, these had originated from peddlers. They were seldom seen in the city because there were well-developed markets there and goods sold there were more reliable. In the suburbs, such as around West Lake, these peddlers were very welcomed by children, as shown in a Song painting (Fig. 16). The stick with various toys hanging in another painting (Fig. 17) was actually closer to the ones described in the miscellaneous notes. The fact that the imperial court enjoyed these toys gave them special cachet.



Figure 16: Li Song, *Huo lang tu* 貨郎圖 (*The Knik-Knack Peddler*), ink and color on silk; H: 25.5, W: 70.4 cm; National Palace Museum. After Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, *Songdai shuhua ceye mingpin tezhan* 宋代書畫冊頁名品特展 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1995), 177.



Figure 17: Su Hanchen, *Huo lang tu* 貨郎圖 (*Painting of Peddler*), ink and color on silk; H: 97, W: 159.2 cm; National Palace Museum. After Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, *Gugong shu hua lu* 故宮書畫錄 (Taipei: Zhonghua congshu weiyuanhui, 1956), 3:80-81.

Behind purchasing these goods around the lake was the desire to personalize and materialize the landscape and their experiences among such landscape.²⁴¹ As Laura Nenzi has argued in her discussion of Edo Japan excursions, buying local products offered people “a convenient way to interact with the landscape.”²⁴² West Lake was filled with entertainment; people who visited there wanted to preserve the happiness they felt on the lake. Local products were something that could help them to accomplish this. They made West Lake acquirable, and transformed the excursion experience into goods. Furthermore, these local products also let people hold on to passing moments.²⁴³ At the end of an excursion, reportedly, Hangzhou residents returned home with little dragon boats, sticks with toys on the tops and other local products, to give their friends and relatives.²⁴⁴ Symbolizing the products, events, and games from the lake, these local products could help people describe their excursion experience to their friends. This was not only a way to share, but also a way to show off. Once this became a custom, whoever went to West Lake would feel that they needed to buy some souvenirs.

Guides

The above-discussed entertainment and souvenir shopping were usually not as easy to find as renting boat for people who came from other places. Therefore, pleasure seekers sometimes depended on the guidance provided by local people who were very familiar with West Lake. They searched for the best place for pleasure seeking, decided what routes the traveler should

²⁴¹ Such popularity of these local products demonstrated that the Hangzhou residents were very fond of amusing crafts. As Jacques Gernet points out, the merchandise sold in Hangzhou included: “Beauty products (ointments and perfumes, eyebrow-black, false hair), pet cats and fish for feeding them with, cat-nests, crickets in cages and foodstuff for them, decorative fish, bath wraps, fishing tackle, darts for the game of ‘narrow neck,’ chessmen, oiled paper for windows, fumigating powder against mosquitoes...” See Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, 48.

²⁴² Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity*, 152.

²⁴³ As Noga Collins-Kreiner suggests, souvenirs enable tourists to interweave the reality that was built on the passing moment into their everyday life. Noga Collins-Kreiner and Yael Zins, “Tourists and Souvenirs: Changes through Time, Space and Meaning,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 6 (2011): 1, 18.

²⁴⁴ *MLL*, “Qingming Jie,” 2: 133.

follow, and recommended activities tourists should engage in when they got there.²⁴⁵ These people were called “*xianren*” 閒人, literally meaning they were at leisure or didn’t have any other set professions. They could wander around and become familiar with various entertainment sites and interesting things around the lake. The appearance of guides indicates the division of labor in the Southern Song, as Gernet has argued when he discussed Hangzhou daily life, “the effect of the abundance and cheapness of labor was to produce an extraordinary degree of specialization.”²⁴⁶ Only after travelers grew numerous could the guides find enough work to do and thus gain fame as “*xianren*.”

Conclusion: Excursion Market between the State and the Society

As discussed above, Southern Song West Lake housed a dramatically developed market that served every stage and side of excursions. From the imperial family down to commoners, found ways to enjoy the lake. This excursion market was very flexible in terms of location as compared to the market within the walled-city. One could rent a boat at several boat landings around the lake, or have a drink in any restaurant, teahouse, or wine house, even in the Three Worthies Hall. One could enjoy the entertainment and buy interesting goods on the boats, in the wine houses, and on the dykes. There were no pre-set areas for markets. In addition, the development of the tourist market is also indicated by the goods, including boats in various sizes/decorations/names, various wines made by the government and numerous dishes to go with the wine, food across the country, as well as the colorful souvenirs finely made. Various commodities moved from the countryside to the cities, from other regions to the capital city. The diversity, craftsmanship, and popularity of these goods reached an unprecedented height. This development of material culture

²⁴⁵ *DCJS*, 90.

²⁴⁶ Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, 91-92.

was due to the division of labor, which made some steps of the craftsmanship branch out into new business and therefore led to perfection.

The development of the consumer market was both the result and the boost for the growing number of customers, the growth of merchants, and the relaxation of government regulation. The first factor was a huge number of customers, and more importantly, their willingness to pay for having fun. Local elites of Hangzhou tended to believe that the ample sources in south China cultivated the hedonistic life-style among Hangzhou residents. They were recorded as living in extravagant manner with a strong passion for being amused, always grasping every opportunity to maximize their pleasure and comfort. As a local gazetteer recorded, “people of the capital (Hangzhou) invited courtesans, and never stopped singing and drumming, a custom that has continued since old times. (都人邀伎歌鼓不絕，則其習尚，自古然也。)”²⁴⁷ Tian Rucheng also commented on the personality of Hangzhou residents: “Hangzhou people liked luxury and a relaxed life style...As for daily living, food and drink, they prefer the most up-to-date and expensive items. They look down upon anything priced even a little lower. (杭民尚淫奢，……日用飲膳，惟尚新出而價貴者，稍賤便鄙之。)”²⁴⁸

The increasing presence of merchants was another factor that contributed to the development of the tourism business. Local gazetteers characterized local people as “good at and eager to make a profit (善進取急圖利。)”²⁴⁹ During the Song Dynasty, 414 different kinds of businesses were found in Hangzhou, and there were dozens to hundreds of families in each business.²⁵⁰ Besides, with the Hangzhou population reaching nearly 900,000 during the Southern

²⁴⁷ *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, 10: 9b.

²⁴⁸ *XHYLZY*, 6: 107.

²⁴⁹ Chen Xiang 陈襄, “Hangzhou quanxue wen 杭州勸學文,” in *Guling ji* 古靈集, *SKQS*, 19: 1b.

²⁵⁰ Chen Guocan 陳國燦, “Nan Song shimin jieceng tanxi 南宋市民階層探析,” in He Zhongli 何忠禮. *NanSong shi ji NanSong ducheng lin'an yanjiu* 南宋史及南宋都城臨安研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2009), 1: 161.

Song, many families had to live outside the city, making it easy for them to do business around the lake. Although merchants were traditionally viewed as of lower social status, this phenomenon gradually changed during the Song Dynasty. A Song Dynasty gazetteer said that all four ranks of people, officials, farmers, artisans and merchants were equally the foundation of society.²⁵¹

The government also engaged in preserving the lake landscape by dredging it and encouraging the development of local business.²⁵² The government profited from tourism by selling wine near popular sightseeing spots, allowing courtesans in the wine houses, holding annual winemaking rituals, and issuing permits to smaller pubs and restaurants. They therefore relaxed the regulations to help the small merchants make a living.²⁵³ In pursuing economic profit, government regulation was very much relaxed for the tourism business: the strict regulation of entry and exit through city wall was compromised for the high desire to go boating during night; the past intention of restricting entertainment in specific locations (*wazi*) and special dates (the ones for *guanpu*) also gave way to the pervasive entertainment around the lake. Before the Song Dynasty, it was not lawful to establish markets anywhere, but as commercial activities grew in volume, “market-places little by little came spontaneously into being in city suburbs and country villages.”²⁵⁴ Scholars also argue that during the Tang-Song transition, the economic advance in the Jiangnan region undermined the official system of market control from the inside.

The economic profit, however, was not the only and the most important concern of the government. The frequent dredging projects on West Lake and the repeating regulation issued to prevent excessive water plants demonstrated that during the Song Dynasty, there was always a

²⁵¹ Chen Qiqing 陳耆卿, *Jiading chicheng zhi* 嘉定赤城志, *SKQS*, 37.

²⁵² *XHYLZY*, 3: 36.

²⁵³ *XHYLZY*, 27: 326-327.

²⁵⁴ Shiba and Elvin, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*.

conflict between making profit from water plants and sustaining water storage in the lake. Even though the government benefitted a lot on the taxes from the excursion business, it regulated and even sacrificed some water plants in order to guarantee the water supply from West Lake. After all, the government's first priority was maintaining urban life inside the walled-city. The development of tourism market – the scale it ever reached, the new features it incorporated, and the direction it headed to – therefore revealed the cooperation and negotiation between the state and the society.

The close and complex interaction between the state and the society also shaped and conditioned the self-identifications of individuals and their dynamic interactions with other consumers. The consumer markets brought different people into communication, through multiple newly developed relations, such as seller-buyer relationships, service provider-consumer relationship, and fashion leader-follower relationship. The excursion market seemed to be a very open one with much public space. Sometimes class division even blurred for a while: when wealthy people and commoners enjoyed the same scenery, when they encountered each other in the same inns, and when they pursued similar entertainment. Regardless of their social background, economic power, and level of education, they were all consumers of this particular landscape. The development of tourism transformed West Lake into a seemingly shared and undifferentiated world of urban life.

If we go deeper into this pleasure world, however, we can see that the social hierarchy was still there, with the economic differences and social strata highlighted. For each kind of business, there were always several choices, ranging from the high to the low end. There were huge decorated dragon boats, medium sized boats, and small boats – all for rent. If one wanted a drink, there were expensive wine houses and cheap pubs. Even for local products, there were

simple ones made from cane or wood, and also those highly exquisite ones made from jade and gold. People with different purchasing power could all find a way to satisfy themselves. This diversification of consumption did not emerge until the Song and was more evident in Hangzhou than in Kaifeng.²⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the social hierarchy was displayed in another way: fashion. West Lake was sometime depicted as a stage, where sightseeing of the imperial court and noble families were observed, discussed and copied by ordinary people. Moreover, people kept observing fellow tourists and gradually followed the same trend that was collectively established. It was because of fashion that boating was made available to commoners via rental services and certain local products carried meaning as souvenirs. Fashion itself indicated the differences in regards of social status and cultural taste, the latter gradually took the dominating role in tourism after the Southern Song.²⁵⁶

Another issue worth a special note before we end this chapter and move to the next one is the geo-economic relationship between West Lake and Hangzhou city. West Lake interacted with the city in a much closer way via economic exchanges. They shared common characteristics and provided goods to each other. Lake products, such as fish, were widely sold into the city, and diverse foods from other places arrived at the lake through the Hangzhou market. Commercial activities permeated the city and its suburbs: almost everywhere a visitor could see shops selling wine, noodles, incense, flower, fish, pork and rice. The market around the lake could be seen as an extension of the urban market. In this sense, it is fair to say that during the Southern Song, the scenic landscape West Lake blurred into the commercial hub.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Shiba also argues that the development of a commercial economy during the Song Dynasty took two forms: the consumption of luxury items became more generalized and items of mass consumption became more varied. Shiba and Elvin, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, 202.

²⁵⁶ For discussion on the status anxiety of late Ming literati, see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things*.

²⁵⁷ However, West Lake never developed into an independent area, while other independent small towns appeared about several tens of *li* away from Hangzhou city. There were two on the west side of the lake: the West Creek Town 西溪鎮 and the Red

Just as West Lake facilitated communication among different urban residents, it witnessed increasing interaction between secular residents and religious clergy. That is the topic of the next chapter.

Mountain Town 赤山鎮. See *DCJS*, 89. This was because West Lake was too close to the city, so there was no much sense to develop a city with full functions. People who lived around the lake could easily get anything they wanted in the city.

CHAPTER III

Sacred and Secular:

Visiting Temples around West Lake

In the spring of 1134, a Leping 樂平 peasant, Chen Wu 陳五, who earned a living by carrying travelers' bags, died of disease.²⁵⁸ His family did not bury him immediately because his body remained warm for an unexpectedly long time. A few days after his death, Chen suddenly woke up and told his family about his experience when he was in a coma: After he had died, his spirit left his body and met a deity, who referred to himself as General and wanted Chen to be his guide to West Lake. Five days after they arrived in Lin'an, they visited Tianzhu Monastery (*tianzhu si* 天竺寺) and Soul's Retreat Monastery (*lingyin si* 靈隱寺) as well as all the markets, shops, and gardens except the Daoist Temples.²⁵⁹ This story was recorded by a Mr. Kang, who had heard it when he passed through Chen's hometown. Hong Mai later included it in *Yijian zhi*. Both urban and religious attractions are mentioned in the story as attractions for tourists. The deity had some connections with Daoism, so the reason he visited the two Buddhist monasteries was very likely not religious. Then what else attracted him to the temples? Trying to answer this question, this chapter explores the religious dimension of tourist development.

²⁵⁸ Leping is today's Jiangxi province, nearly 300 miles from Hangzhou.

²⁵⁹ The story later mentions that the General was afraid of a Daoist priests and was harmed in a Daoist ritual. Hong Mai 洪邁, *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (*YJZ*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), anno. He Zhuo 何卓, *Zhi zhi gui* 5, 5: 2411.

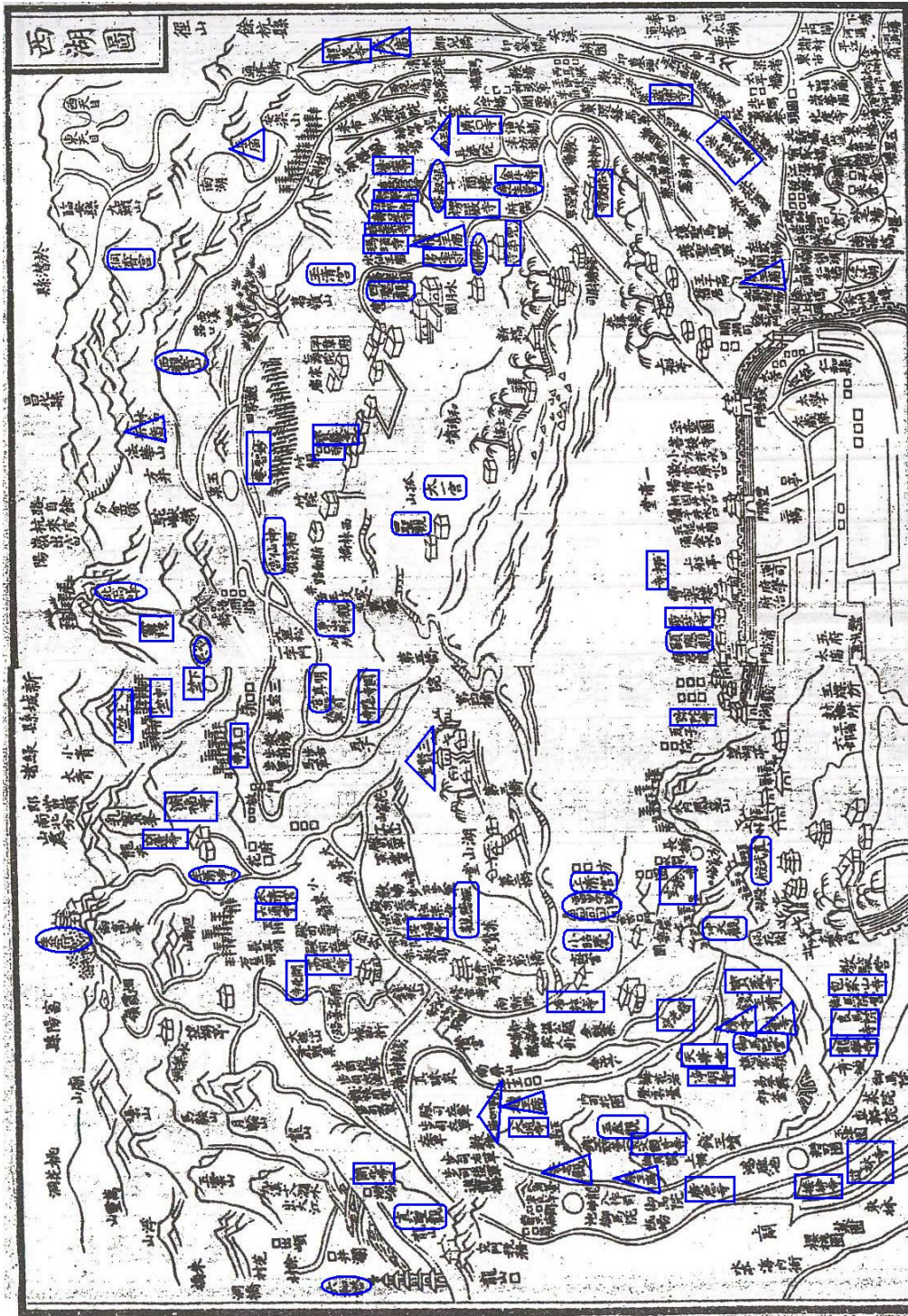


Figure 18: Religious sites noted on the map of West Lake

Tianzhu and Soul's Retreat were not the only religious sites that became the main tourist attractions during the Southern Song. As seen from this sightseeing map (Fig. 18), among all the labeled sites, a majority are religious sites, including fifty Buddhist monasteries, eighteen Taoist palaces, twelve shrines, several pagodas and other sites whose names suggest connections with religion.²⁶⁰ The mountains around the lake were dotted with numerous religious sites, just as Wang Sui 王隨 (975-1033) noted at the beginning of his essay about the lake: "... (as for) West Lake, more than a hundred monasteries are located around the lake, facing each other...this is indeed the nicest scenery of two *Zhe* area, and was the best place to visit in the region. (西湖, 寶剎相望, 繚岸百餘寺。……實二浙之佳致, 一方之上游也。)"²⁶¹

Several factors contributed to the prosperity of such religious sites. Since the Tang-Song transition, with the economic development, popularization of religions and rapidly developed transportation, more temples were built and played a more active role in secular life, which has been discussed by many other scholars.²⁶² Hangzhou in particular had a long tradition of patronizing Buddhism.²⁶³ During the Southern Song, its need for legitimacy encouraged the court to seek religious support. After the capital was relocated to Hangzhou, some temples were built to worship the guardians that protected the imperial family, as the appearances of these guardians proved that the Song court was still favored by Heaven. For example, when Empress Dowager Wei, Emperor Gaozong's birth mother, was on her way back to Hangzhou after she had been

²⁶⁰ Marked with squares: Buddhist monasteries; marked with round squares: Daoist palaces; marked with triangular shapes: shrines; marked with circles: pagodas and other religious-related sites.

²⁶¹ Wang Sui, "Fangsheng chi ji" 放生池記, *XCLAZ*, 33: 16b.

²⁶² For discussion on religious development from Tang to the Song Dynasty, see the introduction of Patricia Buckley Ebrey, and Peter Gregory, ed., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (University of Hawaii Press, 1993). Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990). Richard Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

²⁶³ As early as during the Southern Dynasties, the Jiangnan region was famous for the large number of Buddhist monasteries. (Du Mu 杜牧, "Jiangnan chun" 江南春, Xu Zhuo 徐倬, *Yuding quan Tangshi lu* 御定全唐詩錄, *SKQS*, 74:9a.) More than three hundred monasteries were located in and around Tang Hangzhou. During the Five Dynasties, the local ruler Qian Liu was a devoted Buddhist believer and thus built and refurbished many monasteries, some of which became very influential during the Song Dynasty.

released by the Jurchens, she dreamed of the four guardian sages several times.²⁶⁴ As a consequence, a grand temple was thus built to worship the four guardians (Fig. 19). Imperial patronage also extended to the temples long established in the area. One example was the Upper Tianzhu Monastery: during the Southern Song, Emperor Xiaozong bestowed upon it the title “Great Being of Broad and Extensive Efficacious Responses Guanyin Teaching Monastery (廣大靈感觀音教寺),” for Guanyin worshipped in this temple, and wrote a devotional essay for the deity, as did his son. During the Jiading reign, the Purity and Compassion Monastery, Tianzhu and Soul’s Retreat Monasteries were listed among the “Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries.”²⁶⁵ The imperial family also built merit temples (*gongde si* 功德寺) for deceased empresses, concubines, and empress dowagers.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ The four guardian sages refer to Tianpeng, Tianyou, Yisheng and Zhenwu.

²⁶⁵ “Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries” refers to fifteen most important monasteries in the Jiangnan area, and three among which were located around West Lake.

²⁶⁶ Famous ones, such as Baoqin Chongshou Teaching Monastery (*baoqin chongshu jiao si* 報親崇壽教寺), referred to by city dwellers as “Maid Liu Temple” (*liuniangzi miao* 劉娘子廟), were very prominent and attracted frequent visits.



Figure 19: Four Guardian Sages Prolonging Auspiciousness Temple (the red architectures on the left hand), from *Xihu qingqu tu*.

Meanwhile, local government played a vital role in constructing and promoting various temples, by granting titles to local deities, holding religious ceremonies and constructing public projects. During the Song, generally speaking, “any god who performed miracles and passed the government inspections received a temple plaque.”²⁶⁷ The warfare during the transition between the Northern and Southern Song resulted in more shrines for patriots around the lake. The government was also well known for praying for rain in the Upper Tianzhu Monasteries.²⁶⁸

Under the confluence of imperial patronage and government support, Hangzhou during the Southern Song was incomparable in terms of the development of Buddhism and Daoism.²⁶⁹ A total of 971 Buddhist monasteries are recorded as having been situated in Southern Song

²⁶⁷ Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*, 3, 162.

²⁶⁸ The gazetteer of the monastery records Guanyin’s success in granting rain in 998, 1000, 1135, and 1374, and for saving people from locusts in 1016. Yu Chun-fang, *Kuan-Yin*. Su Shi even wrote several essays about praying for rain when he took charge of Hangzhou. Monk Guangbin 釋廣賓, *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu Jiangsi Zhi* 杭州上天竺講寺志 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1994), 2: 54-55.

²⁶⁹ *XCLAZ*, 75: 1a. 今浮屠老氏之宮遍天下，而在錢唐為尤眾。二氏之教莫盛於錢唐，而學浮屠者為尤眾。

Hangzhou with West Lake one of the centers for religious activities.²⁷⁰ Such a flourishing state of Hangzhou religion has attracted much attention from scholars.²⁷¹ In his analysis of different functional areas in Hangzhou City, Shiba Yoshinobu argues that the West Lake area functioned mainly for religious purposes.²⁷² Tianzhu Monastery in particular attracted scholars for its worship of Guanyin and the numerous miracle stories concerning the result of the civil service examinations.²⁷³ While these studies focus on the role of temples as a place for praying to gods and seeking blessings, few people have explored the role played by temples as destinations for excursions. The issue of interaction between sightseeing and religious activities has been discussed in Wang Liping's dissertation, in which she examines pilgrimages from the late Ming Dynasty to the twentieth century.²⁷⁴ As her main focus was how long-distance pilgrimages helped enhance the center-periphery relationship between Hangzhou and surrounding areas, she did not detail how the religious activities interacted with trips for amusement.²⁷⁵

With the development of both religious visits and leisure trips, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the two. The vague division between pilgrimage and excursions has been discussed

²⁷⁰ ZhuanSun, "Linan fosi yu luyou wenham yanjiu." The diversity of religions in Hangzhou was also quite impressive, as a result of the co-existence of deities transferred from Kaifeng, such as Pichang 皮場 God and the local ones, such as the Wutong 五通 deity. Meanwhile, Hangzhou was also one of the few places in the Song where various Buddhist schools other than Chan were represented. See Chi-Chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hangzhou: a Convergence of Interest," from Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 298.

²⁷¹ Several dissertations in Chinese provided an overview of various types of Hangzhou temples, with detailed maps and tables. Mou Zhenyu 牟振宇, "Nansong Lin'an cheng simiao fenbu yanjiu 南宋临安城寺庙分布研究," *Hangzhou shifan daxue xuebao*, 2008-1. Sun Xun 孙旭, "Songdai Hangzhou simiao yanjiu" 宋代杭州寺院研究 (MA thesis. Shanghai Normal University, 2010). Wang Zhongyao 王仲尧, "Nansong Lin'an ji MingQing hangzhou daojiao gongguan kao" 南宋临安及明清杭州道教宫观考, *Hangzhou shifan daxue xuebao*, 2005-6. Duan Yunming discusses the reestablishment of Kaifeng Daoist temples in Hangzhou, and explores the complicated relationship between religion and politics. Duan Yunming, "Kaifeng Daoist Temples in the Southern Song Dynasty Hangzhou: Research in Actual Examples of Religious Cultural Changes," *Frontier History China*, 2007 2(2) 145-165.

²⁷² Shiba Yoshinobu, *Songdai jiangnan jingjishi yanjiu* 宋代江南經濟史研究, trans., Fang Jian 方健 and He Zhongli 何忠礼 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2011), 83-126.

²⁷³ Yu Chun-fang, "Pu-to Shan: Pilgrimage and the Creation of the Chinese Potalaka," from Susan Naquin and Yu Chun-fang, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Huang, "Tianzhu Lingqian: Divination Prints from a Buddhist Temple in Song Hangzhou."

²⁷⁴ Wang Liping, "Paradise for Sale."

²⁷⁵ Another work also provides some very good insights on tourism and temples in Northern Song Kaifeng. Yang Junbo 楊俊博, "BeiSong Dongjing siyuan luyou xiyinwu ji luyou huodong yanjiu" 北宋東京寺院旅遊吸引物及旅遊活動研究 (MA thesis, Henan University, 2006).

by scholars in both history and religious studies. For instance, Stephen McDowall, in his analysis of traveling accounts, points out the difficulty of defining the terms “pilgrim” and “tourist” in any mutually exclusive sense.²⁷⁶ Brian Dott also discusses this confusion in his preface to the Mount Tai.²⁷⁷ While most of the scholarship place their focus on the Ming and Qing Dynasties, West Lake during the Southern Song already demonstrates such ambiguity of the nature of traveling around the lake. Most of the trips to West Lake recorded at that time had elements of both. The fact that all these religious sites were noted among other scenic spots indicates that these temples were no longer treated simply as places of worship, but as places of interest worth visiting by tourists. Nearly all the sites were also recorded in Zhou Mi’s notes on various sightseeing routes. Religious sites constituted a large percentage of the sites recorded by Zhou Mi, as shown in the table below:

Table 4: Religious sites recorded in *Wulin jiushi*

Sightseeing Route	Total number of sightseeing spots	Number of religious-related sites	Percentage (%)
Southern Mountain Route 南山路	66	48	72%
Fangjia Valley Route 方家峪路	50	39	78%
Xiao Mai Hill 小麥嶺	38	14	36%
Da Mai Hill 大賣嶺	14	8	57%
Three Dykes Route 西湖三堤路	26	9	34%
Lonely Mountain Route 孤山路	9	2	22%
Nothern Mountain Route 北山路	141	61	43%

²⁷⁶ McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain*, 85.

²⁷⁷ Brian Russell Dott, *Identity Reflections: Pilgrimages to Mount Tai in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).

Ge Ling Route 葛嶺路	51	15	29%
Three Tianzhu Route 三天竺路	17	10	59%

Outings to these temples were mentioned in poems, recorded in books, marked on maps, and shared orally. Many literati visited Buddhist monasteries during their stays in Hangzhou. In the anthology *Xihu baiyong*, more than one-fifth of the poems are about visiting or staying in religious temples.²⁷⁸ Temples that became established sightseeing destinations can also be confirmed by the Jin embassy's trip to Tianzhu Monastery and Cold Spring Pavilion outside of the Soul's Retreat Monastery during their stay in the capital.²⁷⁹

This chapter attempts to see West Lake as both a tourist destination and a religious center in Song China. By examining the interactions between religious and leisure trips, this chapter explores the spiritual experience of different travelers and thus investigates how people in the Southern Song imagined and interpreted the landscape in religious terms. Two major topics will be addressed: temple visits and religious festivals.²⁸⁰ The first section suggests new functions acquired by temples and increasing interaction between monks and literati in the development of sightseeing. The second section shows how religious festivals both functioned as an excuse for excursions and transformed West Lake into a sacred place. This chapter argues that religious activities and leisure excursions contributed together to the formation of West Lake as a “liminal” space that brought both secular and religious people to escape from their daily lives and into conversations.

²⁷⁸ Dong Sigao 董嗣杲, *Xihu baiyong* 西湖百詠, *SKQS*.

²⁷⁹ *Song shi*, 119: 2812.

²⁸⁰ In the Chinese phrase it would be “chaoshan jinxiang” 朝香進山 any journey to a sacred place to perform some religious act. Naquin and Yu, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*.

Victor Turner has elaborated the concept of “liminal” to characterize the state when people leave home and experience transformation.²⁸¹ Examining West Lake from this perspective, one can find it is both illuminating and problematic if we define West Lake as a “liminal space.” It is problematic because no “community” with clear boundary can be identified and defined in this case, and festivals were appropriated by the government to meet their needs instead of providing an arena in which the society could challenge the government. But it is also thought provoking because West Lake did provide a transitional and liminal state for both urban residents and religious clergies, as will be illustrated in the following discussions.

Temple Visits

The primary reason people visited temple was to pray to the deities and seek blessings. Many temples around West Lake gained reputations for efficaciousness over the course of history. The uncertainty of the results of the civil service examinations and the unpredictability of business success also encouraged scholars and merchants to worship at local temples.²⁸² In addition, for local residents, visiting temples was built into their annual calendars. As Valerie Hansen wrote, “the laity asked the gods to bring rain, to clear the skies, to drive out locusts, to

²⁸¹ Victor W Turner, “Pilgrimage as a Liminoid Phenomenon,” in Victor W Turner, and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 1-39. As Turner says, the liminal space is outside the normal structure of space, “symbolically, all attributes that distinguish categories and groups in the structured social order are here in abeyance.” See Victor W Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), 103.

²⁸² Several temples around West Lake were famous for helping people in their examinations. It seemed to be a tradition to pray in the temple before the civil service examination; *Yijian zhi* includes several stories about praying in the temples around West Lake and drawing lots before the examination. See “Shangzhu Guanyin” 上竺观音, “Lin’an leisheng” 臨安雷聲, “Yi Guanren jidi” 易官人及第, from *YJZ*, bing zhi 9, san zhi xin 8, 2; 817-8, 5; 2810, 5; 2813. Upper Tianzhu was famous for the one hundred efficacious slots during that time. See Huang, “Tianzhu Lingqian: Divination Prints from a Buddhist Temple in Song Hangzhou.” Many lots indicated success in the examination on slips, and the figures in the illustrations are often dressed as literati, which suggest that the main audiences of these lots might be scholars. Slot No. 13, 18, 27, 35, 51, 54, 57, 83. Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* 中國古代版畫叢刊 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988).

expel bandits, to suppress uprisings, to cure illness, to enable them to conceive, to prevent epidemics.”²⁸³

As so many people wanted to visit the famous temples around the lake, it is not hard to imagine that local people would be asked many times how to get to Tianzhu or Soul’s Retreat Monasteries. This partially explains why these religious sites were noted on maps. The more efficacious the temples were believed to be, the more confirmed in the popular imagination that they were blessed by gods. Therefore, it was very reasonable that local gazetteers and miscellaneous notes recorded temples as a point of local pride. Moreover, the need for donations and new believers would also encourage temples to spread word of their sacred power. For example, the Upper Tianzhu Monastery circulated quite a few miracle stories to prove that the authentic Guanyin statue had not been taken by the Jurchens.²⁸⁴ These efficacious temples enhanced fame of West Lake through miracle stories, literati depictions of temple visits, and the reports of previous visitors.

While their spiritual power could partially explain the incorporation of temples in gazetteer maps, it does not necessarily explain the frequent depictions of temples in Southern Song travel writing. In Susan Naquin’s study of the temples in Peking, she argues that they were incorporated into the tourist map because temples served as museums, libraries, gardens and so on.²⁸⁵ Can this argument be applied to the case of West Lake? My answer would be yes and no. Yes, because some of her points are congruent with similar phenomena during the Southern Song, such as temples’ functions as art museums, and how temples could be famous for certain flowers and plants. But first because some functions, such as business fairs, were still in their infancy during the Southern Song and thus presented a different picture from that of the Ming

²⁸³ Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*, 3.

²⁸⁴ Yu, “Pu-to Shan: Pilgrimage and the Creation of the Chinese Potalaka.”

²⁸⁵ Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*, 249.

and Qing. More importantly, the temples she examined were within a city and what I want to examine here is an open area, certainly connected with the city but also separate from it. In a city like Peking, visiting a temple usually means only visiting the temple, but in the context of West Lake, a temple visit also involves traveling to a scenic spot. Below I will suggest several other functions/attractions acquired by temples due to the presence of tourists.

Natural Beauty on the Way to or around the Temples

Lovely the lake and mountain scenery, which is the best under heaven.	可惜湖山天下好,
But all the scenery belongs to the Buddhist monasteries.	十分風景屬僧家 ²⁸⁶

Zhao Bian 趙抃 (1008-1084), the author of this couplet, noted the fact that the temples were usually located among spectacular scenery. Most Hangzhou residents lived on the east side of the lake, and the main temples they visited were located on the western and southern sides. Going out through the Clear Wave Gate, one would reach the Purity and compassion Monastery. Starting from the Northern Song, Taizong bestowed a plaque called “Longevity and Peace Hall” on this temple. During the Southern Song, Emperor Xiaozong awarded it silver and gold for renovation, and Emperor Lizong bestowed his calligraphies on it.²⁸⁷ Located on the lake bank, the Purity and Compassion Monastery is much grander than the Soul’s Retreat and Tianzhu Monasteries. It was also famous for its Hall of Five Hundred Luohan, which was later copied by the Soul’s Retreat Monastery.²⁸⁸ The popularity of the Purity and Compassion Monastery was most probably due to the scenery of South Screen Mountain (*nanping shan* 南屏山), which was

²⁸⁶ Zhao Bian, “Ciyun Fan Shidao longtu sanshou”次韻範師道龍圖三首, in *Qingxian ji* 清獻集, SKQS, 5-12b.

²⁸⁷ XCLAZ, 78:1a-b.

²⁸⁸ Yuanjing 元敬 et al., *Wulin xihu gaoseng shilue deng bazhong* 武林西湖高僧事略等八種. (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2006), 120.

regarded as the finest hill bordering the lake.²⁸⁹ From the top of the hill, one could enjoy a view of the city, and numerous boats weaved in and out of view in front of this hill.²⁹⁰ The temple itself was also famous for its garden: the monastery was surrounded by a vast number of lotus flowers, and the visual record suggests splendid architecture and beautiful ponds (Fig. 20). Goldfish swam in these ponds and attracted people to view and feed them.²⁹¹

More importantly, this temple also contributed one of the Ten Views of West Lake, “Evening Bell from Nanping Hill.”(Fig. 20) Facing to the lake, the Purity and compassion Monastery was backed by Nanping Hill, which has many hollows. This meant that when the bell rang in the evening, the hill echoed it. Many contemporary poems made reference to this sight of tourists going back home and monks returning to the temple from the city. The powerful sound of the Buddhist bell could be heard even from the city. During the Southern Song, with the development of Chan teaching and scholarly emphasis on the Chan School, Buddhist aesthetics exerted a great impact on contemporary literature and paintings. The fact that the ten best vistas include more than one religious site indicates that the way people perceived the natural landscape was highly colored by their observations and interaction with temples.²⁹² Besides Purity and Compassion Monastery, nearly all the other temples located beside the water could also take advantage of the lake scenery.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Zhang Jingzhi, “You jingsi” 游淨寺, from Xia Ji 夏基, *Xihu lansheng shixu* 西湖覽勝詩序, *XHWXJC*, 9: 214. “I love this first hill in West Lake, embracing spring scenery from the bay of six bridges.” (為愛西湖第一山, 景春遠自六橋灣)

²⁹⁰ Monk Jixiang 釋際祥, *Jingci si zhi* 淨慈寺志, *XHWXJC*, 23: 800.

²⁹¹ For garden view of the temple, see Xu Fengji 徐逢吉, *Qingbo xiaozhi* 清波小志, *XHWXJC*, 8: 78. For lotus flower, Yang Wanli, “Xiaochu Jingci si song Lin Zifang” 曉出淨慈送林子方, *Chengzhai ji*, 23: 2a. Also, see *Jingci si zhi*, 23: 815.

²⁹² Leifeng Pagoda also appeared as the foci in one of the Ten Views. In addition, the standing profiles of pagodas not only break the horizon, but also add weight to the Southern and Northern peaks and thus bring these two peaks to the viewer’s attention. All this manifests yet another view, “Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds.” The two peaks were well-known during the Song Dynasty because of the two pagodas on them. Without the two pagodas today, however, the two peaks can hardly be identified when viewed from the city side.

²⁹³ The most famous one was the aforementioned Four Guardian Sages Prolonging Auspiciousness Temple, which was often visited by emperors and empresses. Another famous one was the Three Worthies Hall. The author of the local gazetteer devoted a long passage to describe the natural beauty of this hall: *MLL*, “Xihu,” 12: 218. “Sitting in the middle of the Su Causeway, bowing toward the lake and mountains, the scenery is clear and broad. It is backed with long hills, with a deep and lush forest. Northern and Southern hills, embracing misty green, all these are connected with the Su Causeway. Palace halls are unevenly laid out,



Figure 20: Left: today's bell in Purity and Compassion Monastery. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2011.



Right: Qing Dynasty Stele of the view "Evening Bell from Nanping Hill", Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2011.



Lower: Pure and Compassion Monastery, Xihu qingqu tu.

While these temples benefitted from an open view of the lake, the three Tianzhu and Soul's Retreat Monasteries were for tranquil and peaceful scenery, as they were hidden in the mountains.²⁹⁴ Two popular routes led believers to the monasteries, as shown on the map (Fig.

pavilions sitting beside the dyke, surrounded by flowers and bamboos.”(正當蘇堤之中，前挹湖山，氣象清曠；背負長崗，林樾深窈；南北諸峰，嵐翠環合，遂與蘇堤貫聯也。蓋堂宇參錯，亭館臨堤，種植花竹。)

²⁹⁴ Three Tianzhu Monasteries, the pilgrimage center for Guanyin belief before the late Ming, were actually referred to as three were located in the Tianzhu hills. But as they were close to each other and were often visited together by the pilgrims, they are usually referred collectively as Three Tianzhu, while their real names were ignored.

21): one was to go past Nanping Hill and then Maojia Bu and head into hilly area. After about a two-hour walk from the city gate, one would reach the lower Tianzhu Monastery, and after another half an hour, one would pass the Middle Tianzhu Monastery and reach Upper Tianzhu. Another way was to first take a boat to Su Causeway and then pass through the Xiaoxin Causeway, to the mountain area. Either way enabled city dwellers to finish the temple visit in one day. Most importantly, they had to pass several famous scenic spots along their way to the temple. It is not hard to imagine that these city dwellers would take the opportunity to visit temples to enjoy the lake scenery.



Figure 21: Two routes from Clear Wave Gate to Soul’s Retreat and Tianzhu Monasteries

What was emphasized in numerous writings about visiting Tianzhu (Fig. 22) and Soul’s Retreat was not how efficacious they were, but how beautiful the scenery was. Bai Juyi

commented that in southeastern China, Hangzhou has the best landscape, and within Hangzhou, the Soul's Retreat Monastery commands the best view, while Cold Spring Pavilion is considered the best place near the temple.²⁹⁵ As Zhou Mi recorded,

As for the scenery of Soul's Retreat and Tianzhu, centered in the temples and within several-tens of *li*, where the hills and valleys are especially delightful indeed gather around the Lower Tianzhu [Monastery]... From Flying Hill to the back of the temple, all the caves are hollow and exquisite. The caves and cliffs are crystal-clear and smooth, like the swirling dragon and auspicious phoenix, like layered plants with green sprouts, also like riffle upon riffle, waves above waves. Deep and quiet, they cannot be described in words. Trees and forests grew up on the cliff and stone, living without soil. among these trees and hills, inscriptions left by visitors from the Tang and Song Dynasties cannot be counted. ”

大抵靈竺之勝，周回數十里，巖壑尤美，實聚於下天竺寺。自飛來峰轉至寺後，諸巖洞皆嵌空玲瓏，瑩滑清潤，如虯龍瑞鳳，如層華吐萼，如皺縠疊浪，穿幽透深，不可名貌。林木皆自巖骨拔起，不土而生。..... 其間唐宋遊人題名，不可殫紀。

296
。

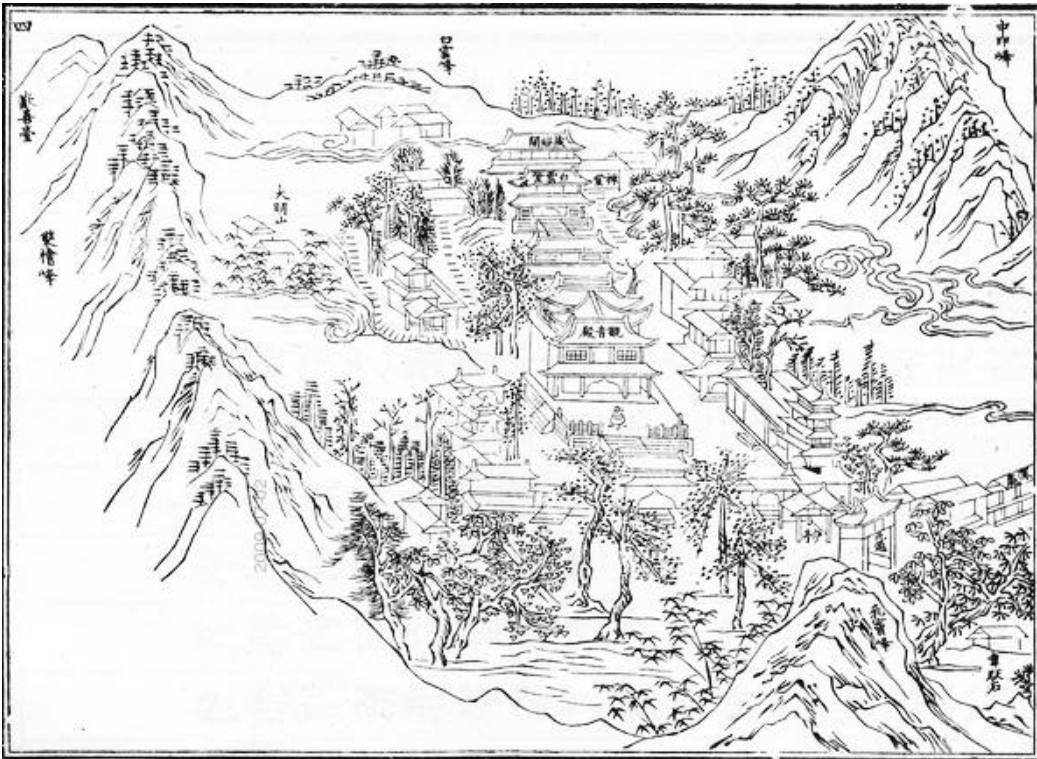


Figure 22: Upper Tianzhu Monastery as seen from a Ming Dynasty gazetteer map. After *Hangzhou shang tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, retrieved from Digital Archive of Chinese Buddhist Temple Gazetteers, 23.

²⁹⁵ Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (XHYLZ) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1980), 10: 115-6.

²⁹⁶ WLJS, “Hushan shenggai” 湖山勝概 (Scenic Spots of Lake and Mountain), 5:402-3.

One section in the gazetteer of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery is devoted to “famous sites,” including caves, hills, creeks, and forests—nearly one hundred places.²⁹⁷ Located in the mountains, these temples also provide a good vista to enjoy the shimmering lake water from a distance.²⁹⁸ The scenery of Soul’s Retreat and Tianzhu was further promoted by Emperor Xiaozong, who built miniature hills to mimic the Tianzhu scenery, including the Cold Spring Pavilion and Flying Hill (*Feilai feng* 飛來峰), in the imperial garden.²⁹⁹

Longing for tranquility became the recurring theme in people’s writing about Tianzhu and Soul’s Retreat. As Tu Long 屠隆 (1543-1605) said in his poem, these temples,

Though not very far from the city, presented a Buddhist environment. 曾不远都市，居然是化城。
Birds sing among bamboos and hearing this one can become enlightened. 鸟啼修竹里，圆悟此闻声。³⁰⁰

Tu’s poem clearly presents the preference for a tranquil environment with a Chan sensibility. This aesthetic reflects the influences of Chan teaching among the Song Dynasty literati, but was also a result of the rapid development of urban life, which forced people to seek out less crowded places. As Tuan Yi-fu points out in his discussion of topophilia, “once society had reached a certain level of artifice and complexity, people would begin to take note, and appreciate the relative simplicities of nature.”³⁰¹ Southern Song Hangzhou developed on an unprecedented scale, with an average of 200 persons per acre, compared to fifty-five persons per acre in Chang’an during the Tang era.³⁰² The large scale of Hangzhou’s busy urban scenery impressed

²⁹⁷ *Hangzhou shang tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, 10: 240-259.

²⁹⁸ One of Lin Hejing’s poems indicated that he could see Tianzhu scenery from the boat near the Solitary Mountain, which suggests that while standing on the Tianzhu Monastery, the Solitary Mountain and the floating boats could be clearly identified.

²⁹⁹ *XHYLZY*, 3: 37.

³⁰⁰ *Nanping jici si zhi*, 23: 51.

³⁰¹ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 103.

³⁰² Tuan, *Topophilia*, 178.

many visitors, including the Jin envoys, and later Marco Polo. West Lake Old Man has recorded the scenery that astonished the Jin envoys:

Suddenly, they turned their heads and looked back at the city. There were houses on the hilly slopes, stacked layer upon layer. Temples, towers, and terraces of varying heights looked like immortal palaces amidst falling flowers. (The Jin emissary) got off the cart and walk along, all enthusiastically praised the vista by saying that inside the city and along the lake were the scenes of a thousand fan paintings.

回頭看，城內山上，人家層層疊疊，觀宇樓臺參差，如花落仙宮。下車步行，爭說城里湖邊，有千個扇面。³⁰³

Such crowded urban life certainly exerted huge practical and psychological pressure on its residents.³⁰⁴

The Tianzhu Monastery was also famous for osmanthus branches. The fame of osmanthus trees in Tianzhu originated in the Tang Dynasty, and several authors have depicted the clear fragrance of the flower when mid-autumn day is approaching, and especially the scene when the flowers scatter down like rain.³⁰⁵ From then on, the sight of raining osmanthus in moonlight inspired many poets. Similarly, azalea blossoms also made the Bodhi Monastery (*puti si* 菩提寺) famous.³⁰⁶ For Hangzhou dwellers, the crowded living conditions limited the planting of flowers and trees within the city, so the raining osmanthus would easily grab visitors' attention.³⁰⁷

Monks actively worked to preserve the natural environment around temples. During the Southern Song, the Nine-li Pine (*jiuli song* 九里松) area was under control of the monks from Gathering Celebration Monastery (*jiqing si* 集慶寺), and Shi Miyuan once wanted to chop down

³⁰³ *FSL*, 122-123. Translation from Lee, *Exquisite Moments*, 19. Polo, Cordier, and Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 77: 238.

³⁰⁴ As Cahill argues, it was the noise of the city that drove the Southern Song painters to value simple and quiet scenery. See James Cahill, *The Lyric Journey: Poetic Painting in China and Japan* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1961), 54-55.

³⁰⁵ *XHYLZY*, 24: 378-79.

³⁰⁶ *XHYLZY*, 2: 382. Similarly, as Naquin argues in her book, "temple trees and flowers were appreciated by Peking's residents, especially those without access to the private gardens." Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*, 99.

³⁰⁷ This was still the case even today, and "Raining Osmanthus near Manlong" 滿隴桂雨 was even voted as one of the new Ten Views of West Lake few years ago.

pine trees to build a house. Monk Yuanzhao from the Soul's Retreat Monastery wrote a poem criticizing this plan, forcing Shi to eventually give it up. This was because the Soul's Retreat Monastery was favored by the imperial house and thus had a huge impact on local affairs. Han Tuozhou once wanted to build his tomb at Flying Hill, and again was criticized by the resident monks, who insisted that this hill held the spirit of the Son of Heaven. Han finally gave up as well.³⁰⁸

However, monks could not object to the frequent visits paid by both literati who came for cultural relics and the lay believers who brought huge donations. These frequent visits put the beauty of West Lake and the quietness of the monasteries at risk. The tranquility and reclusiveness of the monasteries were contrasted with the urbanization in Hangzhou during the Northern Song. During the Southern Song, however, the formerly serene scenery was further absorbed into the busy and sometime annoying economic development of the city.³⁰⁹

Cultural Attractions housed by Temples

Besides their natural beauty, it was not uncommon for West Lake's temples to have a rich collection of treasures and antiques, largely because of the generous grants from the imperial family and donations by believers. Southern Song texts provide a hint of what collections might be open to the public on special occasions. On the Lantern Festival, the custom of people in the Song time was to display and enjoy various lanterns in delicate designs. The Three Tianzhu Monasteries were famous for their exquisite lanterns, most of which were donated by wealthy and noble families, even the imperial house. The city dwellers were therefore very curious and

³⁰⁸ ZhuanSun, "Linan fosi yu lvyou wenham yanjiu."

³⁰⁹ Liu Gang had done research on how the too frequent visits ruin the tranquil feature of the Cold Spring Pavilion, "The Loss of Purity: Cold Spring Pavilion and the Shifting Cultural Perception of Hangzhou," presentation at AAS 2013.

went to observe. Jiang Kui wrote a poem to describe the splendid scenery of these lanterns.³¹⁰

Two wooden statues of deities housed in the Four Guardian Sage Hall also attracted the attention of contemporary literati. These statues were made with precious wood on the day Empress Dowager Wei came back from the Jin and were decorated with large pearls.³¹¹

Other attractions mentioned in excursion writings include sutra pillars, pagodas, bells and stone carvings (Fig. 25).³¹² The most outstanding stone carving should be the Big Buddha Head, for which the Big Buddha Head Monastery beside it was named. It was located on the northwestern direction of the Four Guardian Sages Hall, also beside the water and backed by a cliff. This temple embraced vast lake water in front and people could reach it by taking a boat. During the Xianhe 宣和 reign (1119-1125), Monk Sijing 思淨 carved a stone Buddha and decorated it with gold powder (Fig. 23). The Buddha statue was huge, and thus attracted a great number of travelers and pilgrims. This was an example of how the religious clerics borrowed natural beauty and geographical settings to enhance the fame of a religious site.³¹³

³¹⁰ *XHYLZY*, 3: 50.

³¹¹ *Guixin zashi*, xuji juan xia: 39b.

³¹² Stone carvings are also scattered at Compassion Clouds Mountains (*ciyun ling* 慈雲嶺), Misty Sunset Cave (*yanxia dong* 煙霞洞), Heaven Dragon Monastery (*tianlong si* 天龍寺) and Phoenix Mountain (*fenghuang shan* 鳳凰山).

³¹³ *Xihu lansheng shixu*, 9: 162.



Figure 23: Big Buddha Head Monastery, *Xihu qingqu tu*.

Flying Hill was especially famous for stone carvings left from the Five Dynasties and the Tang-Song period, and the practice of carving Buddhas to accumulate merit continued into the Yuan and even the Ming (Fig. 25). For instance, the Northern Song stone carving depicted the pilgrimage to the west, the prototype of the story *Journey to the West*. These certainly promoted the fame of the temple and helped mark the temples on recreational itineraries.



Figure 24: One of the two Song Dynasty sutra pillars, at the gate of Soul's Retreat Monastery. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2012.



One of two Song Dynasty Buddhist Pagodas, in front of the Main Hall of Soul's Retreat Monastery. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2012.



Figure 25: Stone Carvings from the Song Dynasty, depicting pilgrimages, at the Flying Hill. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2011.



Stone Statues of Maitreya during the Southern Song, at Flying Hill. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2011.

Involvement in the Commercial Market

Another attraction of temples was the shops and booths arranged in front of or near their temple gate, such as the Three Worthies Hall, the Four Guardian Sages Hall, and the Soul's Retreat Monastery.³¹⁴ In the beginning these businesses sold only incense or pilgrimage-related

³¹⁴ *XHYLZY*, 25: 405; *WLJS*, 4: 351.

items to believers. But later, as traveling became popular, other secular souvenirs also appeared in the temple market. Praying to the gods and pleasure seeking, both practiced during leisure time, often shared certain similarities. In most traditional societies, praying and playing are transformable and interdependent.³¹⁵ The combination of the two provided a more convenient excuse for secular believers to enter into the sacred space.³¹⁶ Some monks also took part in the market for tourism. As Lu You 陸遊 (1125-1210) wrote, “In the commercial area of West Lake, many mountain monks became businessmen.(西湖商賈區, 山僧多市人。)”³¹⁷ In addition, some monks became guides for site-seers travelers. In almost every temple, there were one or two monks called “reception monks.” Their responsibility was to guide visitors around. In the beginning, they served monks from other temples and pilgrims. But as excursions became increasingly popular around the lake, many travelers chose to live in temples; so these “reception monks” served tourists as well.³¹⁸

Accommodations

³¹⁵ Nam Hur has discussed this phenomenon in Edo Japan. Nam-lin Hur, *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000).

³¹⁶ Some monks and nuns also engaged into some craftsmanship for profit. I did not find evidence of this among Southern Song monks, but in the Xiangguo Temple in Kaifeng, nuns made embroidery work and sold them in the Xiangguo Temple market regularly. (see *DJMHL*) It would not surprise me if this temple tradition continued around West Lake. And there is no doubt that starting from the late Ming; a big/annual incense market was formed near the Tianzhu Temple, serving pilgrims from remote villages and city dwellers. For the relationship between pilgrimage and silkworm, see Wang Liping, “Paradise for Sale,” 89-137.

³¹⁷ Lu You 陸遊, *Wannan shigao* 宛南詩稿, *SKQS*, 17: 26b.

³¹⁸ The involvement of temples in the commercial market also brought unpleasant result. Some shops that sold incenses outside the temples became a secret dating place for monks and secular wives. See *XHYLZY*, 25: 405.

The tendency of temples becoming involved in the commercial markets acquired further development in the Ming and Qing dynasties. However, monks had to be very cautious when they made connections with the secular world, as scholars would not respect those monks who were greedy for fame or profit. Ming literatus Li Ding 李鼎 criticized West Lake monks who just put on an air of loving literature and those who were eager to make profits in the market. He even said that Zhaoqing Monastery was just a market, Tianzhu Monastery was a barber house and Faxiang Monastery was no different from a money bank. Only the Soul’s Retreat Monastery was barely acceptable. It seems that in the Late Ming, when the society became more monetized, some temples gradually lost their tranquility and pureness. See Li Ding 李鼎, *Xihu xiaoshi* 西湖小史, *XHWXJC*, 3: 1197.

Temples were not only regarded as sightseeing destinations, but also as inns. Buddhist monks had the tradition of traveling around to different temples, and from the beginning temples provided accommodations for these traveling monks.³¹⁹ Later, temples also opened to literati. For example, Su Shi stayed in the Water and Land Monastery (*shuilu si* 水陸寺) near West Lake for a while, as he liked the simple and quiet life there.³²⁰ Many Southern Song poems indicate their authors' short stays in the temple as well. The 12th and 13th centuries witnessed an enormous increase in the number of people taking exams: from 79,000 in the eleventh century to an estimated 400,000 in the thirteenth.³²¹ During the year of the examination, the inns in Hangzhou city could not accommodate that many exam takers, so temples offered another option, and even a preferred one, for the cheap rent, quiet environment, and also bathing facilities. Fang Hao briefly suggested several reasons temples were preferred as lodgings, and especially called attention to the possibility to take baths in temples.³²² This was certainly true for temples around West Lake, for the surrounding mountains offered ample sources of good spring water. For instance, Su Shi has left an essay piece about bathing in Pacifying State Monastery (*anguo si* 安國寺).³²³

Another reason for the allure of temples would be the vegetarian food provided, which remains an attraction in today's China. In Cao Xun's 曹勛 (1098-1174) poem about visiting Soul's Retreat Monastery, he wrote, "I also like the vegetarian dishes, with the fragrance of

³¹⁹ YJZ, *zhi zhi gui* 5, 5: 2381.

³²⁰ *Dongpo QuANJI* 東坡全集, 4: 4a. Su Shi, "(I) always dislike the noise bell and drum among the lake and mountains, but this place (Shuilu Temple) is simple and natural." (長嫌鐘鼓聒湖山，此境蕭條卻自然。)

³²¹ Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*, 7.

³²² Fang Hao, "Songdai fojiao dui luyou zhi gongxian 宋代佛教對旅遊之貢獻", *Dongfang zazhi*, fukan, Vol. 5, No.3, 60, 9. In *Fang Hao liushi zhi liushi si zixuan daiding gao* 方豪六十至六十四自選待定稿 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1974), 33.

³²³ Su Shi, "Anguo si yu" 安國寺浴, in *Dongpo quANJI*, 11: 23a-b. At the end of the Song Dynasty, the Fujian literati Huang Gongshao even described a bathing room designed for women.

vegetable and bamboo shoots. (且喜斋厨蔬笋香)³²⁴ Bamboo shoots were quite famous on Soul's Retreat Mountain, and Monk Zanning 讚寧 (919-1001) compiled a catalogue of them.³²⁵ Some monks even cooked meat when Zhen Longyou 甄龍友 (fl. 1154) once visited the Big Buddha Head Monastery.³²⁶

The most famous products near the temples, however, might have been varieties of green tea. According to the local gazetteers, Lower Tianzhu had Fragrant Forest Tea and Upper Tianzhu has White Cloud Tea, which had been praised by Su Shi.³²⁷ The temperate climate and hilly environment around West Lake are very suitable for tea planting (Fig. 26).³²⁸ Song literati, like Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) and Chen Haohe 陳浩和, left poems showing their pursuit of fragrant tea in West Lake temples.³²⁹ West Lake was famous for tea not only because of splendid tea leaves and spring water, but also because the talented monks were good at making tea. During the Song Dynasty, literati and monks believed that making tea and practicing Chan shared the same essential nature, so monks would study how to make the best tea.³³⁰ Monk Jujian 居簡 (1164-1246) wrote an essay to ask his friend Yin Tieniu 印鐵牛 to try tea in Soul's Retreat, showing his wide knowledge of tea making.³³¹ Monk Qian 謙 near South Screen Mountain was

³²⁴ Li E 厲鶚, *Zengxiu yunlin sizhi* 增修雲林寺志, *XHWXJC*, 22: 731.

³²⁵ *Zengxiu yunlin sizhi*, 22: 824.

³²⁶ *XHYLZY*, 21: 339.

³²⁷ *XHYLZY*, 24: 385-6.

³²⁸ Nowadays, Dragon Well Tea is sold outside of the three Tianzhu Temples during the tea seasons.

³²⁹ *XHYLZ*, 4: 55. Zhu Xi 朱熹, "Chunri guo shang tianzhu" 春日过上天竺, in *Hangzhou shang tianzhu jiangsi zhi* 杭州上天竺講寺志, 366.

After the Southern Song, the best tea around West Lake was known as Dragon Well tea, made with water from the Hupao 虎跑 Spring, which attracted Gao Lian 高濂, a Ming literatus, to stay in temples every spring. *XHYLZ*, 5: 54. Gao Lian 高濂, *Sishi youshang lu* 四時幽賞錄, *XHWXJC*, 3: 1107.

³³⁰ The idea of "cha chan yiwei" 茶禪一味 was originated from the story of Monk Zhaozhou during the Tang Dynasty, who used "go drink some tea" to answer various Buddhist questions.

³³¹ *Zengxiu yunlin sizhi*, 22: 692.

said to be especially good at making tea.³³² He once made tea with a color that resembled jade when Su Shi and other monks visited the Purity and Compassion Monastery.³³³



Figure 26: Dragon Well Tea Trees near the Tianzhu Monastery today. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2012

Communication with Talented Monks

Monks' literary talents also attracted visitors. Contact between monks and literati was already quite active during the Northern Song. Lin Bu frequently communicated with monks while he lived in Lonely Mountain. When Su Shi served as local official in Hangzhou, he often visited Monk Mishu 密殊, Cenliao 參廖, and Biancai 辯才 (1011-1091) by boat and exchanged poems with them.³³⁴ His friendship with Biancai even added to the fame of the Tianzhu Monastery.³³⁵

³³² *XHYLZY*, 24: 385-6.

³³³ *Nanping jici si zhi*, 23: 311.

³³⁴ Wu Zhijing 吳之鯨, *Wulin fanzhi* 武林梵志, *XHWXJC*, 22: 185.

³³⁵ Yu, "Pu-to Shan."

During the Southern Song, this communication became increasingly popular, partially due to the desire of local elite to enhance the local communities and the willingness of monks to be recognized by the local government. While directing their attention more to local affairs, the elites' desires to promote the local culture and their local status would enable them to become the main patrons of religion and contribute to the flourishing Chan culture.³³⁶ As Chi-Chiang Huang argues in his work on Hangzhou religion, "The importance of Buddhism in Hangzhou meant that, whatever personal opinions officials may have had of Buddhism, their official duties would have inclined them to adopt a pragmatic and open-minded attitude in their dealings with the religion."³³⁷ On the other hand, the Southern Song witnessed a growing number of monks. In 1257, the total number reached 200,000, and Hangzhou was a gathering center, as many monks wanted to make pilgrimage to the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries." Large temples, like Purity and Compassion Monastery and Soul's Retreat Monastery, housed nearly 2,000 monks.³³⁸ The increasing number of monks certainly promoted their local influence. Besides, to seek for opportunities to be assigned as an abbot of important temples, monks would cultivate good relationships with influential scholars and officials.³³⁹ Local monks would also welcome newly arrived local officials, for further support and patronage.

Many of these monks were known for their literary talent and followed the model of two Northern Song monks. Monks Qingshun 清順 and Kejiu 可久, who lived near the famous sites around the lake and seldom went into the city. Sometimes scholars gave them rice; they were said to just eat a little per day. One day Su Shi traveled to the lake and found a well-written poem

³³⁶ See Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*. Robert P Hymes, "Marriage, Descent Groups, and the Localist Strategy in Sung and Yuan Fu-chou," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China 1000-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 95-136.

³³⁷ Chi-Chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hangchou: a Convergence of Interest," in Ebrey and Gregory, *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*, 300.

³³⁸ Zhuansun, "Lin'an fosi yu lüyou wenham yanjiu," 16.

³³⁹ The method of choosing abbot for such big temples was a combination of recommendation and government assignment. Monks from all over the country could be considered as candidates.

on the temple wall. Su liked it very much and asked the identity of the author, who was Monk Qingshun.³⁴⁰ The characteristics valued in the records of Qingshun and Kejiu include their avoidance of the city and their literary talents that have been confirmed by Su Shi. These two virtues thus set the standard for later monks. As monks and literati shared a fondness for lake scenery and the habit of writing, they often became friends. A good example for such literary communication with literati would be Monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072), who chose to stay at the Hangzhou temple because he liked the natural beauty there.³⁴¹ Once Yang Gongji 楊公濟 visited him and they stayed in Soul's Retreat and Tianzhu Monastery for a couple of days and wrote thirty-seven poems, followed by another twenty-seven poems related to the trip. They compiled all these poems into an anthology, and Qisong wrote the preface for it. In the preface, Qisong conveyed his respect and humbleness to the literati:

I have been in the Central Wu area for more than twenty years. I have embarrassed the scholars who traveled with me many times. In the past, Assistant Minister Lang had the best relationship with me. He was known across the country for his poetic talents, and I was asked to respond to his poems.... How many people would be happy to travel with me, a monk who is dressed in Buddhist robes?

在吳中二十有余載，辱士大夫遊從數矣。如故侍郎郎公之顧其最厚深，郎公又以詩名顯天下，而潛子奉其唱和。.....而吾方袍之徒肯相喜而從其遊者，幾其人乎。³⁴²

Restricted by the rules for monks, it would not have been very appropriate for them to meet in the city, so temples and the mountains became the ideal place for monks and literati to develop their friendship. Therefore, the lake provided the two groups with a bridge to the other world: for scholars from the city of Hangzhou, West Lake provided them a more reclusive and serene

³⁴⁰ *XHYLZY*, 14: 243.

³⁴¹ *Wulin xihu gaoseng shilue deng bazhong*, 18. The anthology of monks' works, *Shimen wenzi chan* 石門文字禪, mentions West Lake thirty-eight times, mainly depicting its natural beauty.

³⁴² Qi Song 契嵩, "Shanyou change shiji xu" 山遊唱和詩集敘 (Preface to the mountain travelling poems collection), *Tanjin wenji* 鐔津文集, *SKQS*, 11: 12a-b.

spiritual experience, so they could indulge in the pleasure of Chan discussion amid a tranquil setting. For the monks, West Lake enabled them to be acknowledged by the government and scholars. They might make friends with fellow poets and might find patrons who could appoint them as the abbot of a powerful temple.

This section has examined several factors that made temples desirable sightseeing destinations. Some were gifts from nature, such as hills and creeks, beautiful plants, and spring water for bathing. Others reflected temples' efforts to promote their fame and attract more visitors, and to widen their network of connections with local society.³⁴³

Religious Festivals

While the previous section is mainly about literati and monks, both of whom were able to leave voices in history, this section turns to interaction between religious activities and ordinary Hangzhou residents. For them, it was on the festivals, when the elite celebrated the festival with other city dwellers, that the activities and situations of the commoners become visible to us. These religious festivals usually involved a wide-range of celebration both in temples and on the lake.

Both *Wulin jiushi* and *Mengliang lu* record a series of different festivals month by month. Nearly every month has one or two important religious festivals. The first lunar month started with the Spring Festival, which involved ancestor-worshipping activities. The eighth day of the second month was the birthday of the True Lord of the Mountain. After that was the birthday of Protecting Sages True Lord in the third month, followed by the Bathing Buddha festival and the

³⁴³ The temples that became popular and famous during this period, such as the Soul's Retreat and Tianzhu Monasteries, found it much easier to maintain their popularity after the Song. At the same time, some other temples, especially the ones that were far away from the lake, gradually became insignificant in later periods due to the lack of visitors. Wang Liping, "Paradise for Sale," 122.

Qingming festival in the fourth month. The fifth month is marked by the Double Fifth Festival, which was relatively secular. The sixth day of the sixth month was the birthday of Lord Cui, the deity that was believed to have protected Emperor Gaozong when he traveled to the Jin Dynasty as a prince.³⁴⁴ Then followed the Double Seventh Festival, which was about a mythical story. The fifteenth day of the seventh month was also called the Ghost Festival, which commemorated the dead. Mid-autumn Day and Chongyang Festival were next, as family-centered festivals. The rest of the year was mainly filled with preparation for the New Year and some important imperial rituals.³⁴⁵

Among these festivals, some had been celebrated since the Tang Dynasty and continue to today, some were related to the Southern Song imperial family, and some were colored by local beliefs. Though designed for different deities for different reasons, and celebrated in different ways, these festivals shared some similar characteristics, as Gernet suggests when he discusses Southern Song festivals:

... in main outline, the primary purpose of these annual festivals was to get rid of breaths that had become vitiated, of pestilences and of demons, to recreate everything so that it should be new and pristine, to inaugurate a lucky period, and to open the way for beneficial influences. At the same time, they offered entertainments, which gave free rein to play-loving instincts, and times of merry-making during which constraints of daily life could be forgotten.³⁴⁶

This passage highlights two aspects of festivals: their religious function, which aims to provide a transcendent and sacred experience; and an entertainment aspect, which aims to help people escape from daily life and relax from their hard work. While the first function has been studied by many scholars in detail, such as Stephen Teiser's discussion of the medieval ghost festival,

³⁴⁴ *MLL*, "Xianying guan" 顯應觀 (Efficacious Presence Palace), 8:186

³⁴⁵ In her dissertation, Dai has listed a religious calendar of Hangzhou city during the Southern Song. See Dai, "Xihu de meili yu aichou: shilun NanSong shiqi xihu lvyou huodong de geshi fengmao."

³⁴⁶ Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, 185.

the second function has not received enough attention.³⁴⁷ By discussing several representative festivals that took place around the lake, this section first discusses the entertainment function of the celebrations, showing how festivals were adopted as an excuse to travel outside of the city; it then turns to the issue of how these religious festivals enhanced the transformation of West Lake into a place with supernatural power and sacred meaning.

Festivals as Excuses for Excursions

Distributed relatively evenly through the whole year, religious festivals usually served as the only big event in a particular month. For example, the first important religious festival in a year was the birthday of the True Lord of the Monut Tai on the eighth day of the second lunar month. On this day, in addition to some religious activities, there would also be a boat race organized by the government. This event had little connection with the original meaning and purpose of the festival, but had become the day that boats began to operate on the lake. From the viewpoint of the local government, assigning two events on one single day meant that they only needed to watch out for accidents by the crowded lake. From the perspective of the city dwellers, most of them had their own work and business to take care of, so they could not have had many opportunities to go out of the city and relax on the lake. Starting boats on a religious festival provided urban residents a much stronger reason to leave the city.³⁴⁸

Similarly, the Qingming festival was also taken as a perfect chance for “stepping on green,” to enjoy the splendid spring scenery. In the city of Hangzhou, as Shiba argues, the eastern side was bounded by the Qiantang River, the southern side was the location of the imperial palace,

³⁴⁷ Stephen F Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Ming and Qing dynasty temple fairs have been discussed by Zhao Shiyu in detail, by applying the theory of Bakhtin and his concept of carnival. Zhao Shiyu 趙世瑜. *Kuanghuan yu richang: MingQing yilai de miaohui yu minjian shehui* 狂歡與日常：明清以來的廟會與民間社會 (Beijing Shi: Shenghui, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2002).

³⁴⁸ *MLL*, “Eryue,” 1: 128-9.

and the northern side was where the garrison was located, leaving only the western side, the area around West Lake, suitable for burying the dead. Therefore, on the day of the Qingming festival, after paying worship in their ancestors' graveyard, people would have a picnic beside famous gardens; some eat on boats, accompanied by music. The Dragon Boat was also available on this day, as another excuse for city dwellers to stop by the lake on their way back to the city. In the evenings, people would return with various local products from the lake, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The grief from the morning, when people visited the tombs, was fully dissipated.³⁴⁹

The two festivals discussed above were both for religious worship and for entertainment. It seems that the local government used the occasion of religious festivals, on which days most of the residents would leave the city, to promote excursions on West Lake, perhaps for revenue, perhaps to satisfy the imperial family, or just to provide an outlet for commoners. It was also possible that the local government used such events to reaffirm their administrative role and enhance their prestige among city dwellers. Festivals were especially important in the cities, as city dwellers were no longer tied to the farming land and they need some collective events as reminder for seasonal changes.

On some festivals, usually ones related to the imperial family, no other entertainment activities were held by the government. These festivals, however, were still used as an excuse for excursions. The most outstanding one was the birthday of Lord Cui. This festival had a long tradition that went back to at least the Northern Song. On this day, as Meng Yuanlao recorded, hundreds of dramatic productions would be staged in temples, including climbing the stick, football, drum playing, wrestling, small singing, cockfighting, acrobatics, and playing ghosts.

³⁴⁹ *MLL*, "Qingming jie," 2: 132-3.

These entertainments go on all night.³⁵⁰ This festival, however, was no longer a local deity's birthday celebration in the Southern Song, but became a major political ritual occasion, as Lord Cui was a symbol that heaven still blessed the Song imperial family.³⁵¹ On this day, the inner court sent out imperial messengers to offer incense and arrange Daoist rituals. Noblemen and imperial relatives, gentry and commoners, all offered incense and burned paper money. Wu Zimu, while he briefly mentioned these religious activities, went on to record in detail a relaxed picture on the lake:

On this day, all the decorated boats in West Lake gathered along the dikes. People enjoyed the cool breeze on the lake, escaping from the humid weather. They indulged themselves in sleeping under the shade of willow trees, fully absorbing the fragrance of the lotus flower. Untying their hair and clothes, they ate fruits that were kept cool in cold water. Drinking led some to sing wildly, some played Go and fished on the water. One cannot list every tourist's feelings and thoughts. Around this time (summer), the temperature is so high that even gold and stone melt. As there was no other way to amuse themselves, they had been this way.

是日湖中畫舫，俱艤堤邊，納涼避暑，姿眠柳影，飽挹荷香，散發披襟，浮瓜沈李，或酌酒以狂歌，或圍棋而垂釣，遊情寓意，不一而足。蓋此時爍石流金，無可為玩，姑借此以行樂耳。³⁵²

The temple for Lord Cui was located near Gathering Scenery Garden, on the eastern bank of the lake not far from Boat Landing Pavilion. In this passage Wu Zimu pointed out that during the hot season, no entertainment was available inside the city, so the lake provided a cooler place to relax. The reason that urban residents seemed indifferent to the religious side of the day might be because Lord Cui was born in north China, so he did not have much influence in Hangzhou before the miracle stories of protecting Emperor Gaozong came with the court. Therefore, although this festival was emphasized by the court for the sake of promoting its legitimacy, it did

³⁵⁰ *DJMHL*, 8: 53.

³⁵¹ Emperor Gaozong wrote the plaque for the temple to show his respect, Emperor Xiaozong bestowed another plaque of worship, Emperor Lizong bestowed a hand-written sutra and asked it to be carved on stone, and Ningzong also wrote the stele inscription for the temple. *MLL*, "Xianying guan," 8: 186.

³⁵² *MLL*, "Xianying guan," 8: 186.

not arouse much resonance among the local people, who nevertheless used the occasion to escape from the heat and humidity in the crowded city.

Religious Rituals on the Lake

The festivals discussed above all had their rituals in a temple, after which people moved to the lake purely for fun. On some other festivals, however, religious ritual took place right on the lake. One example is the ritual of setting off lanterns on the lake on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month.³⁵³ Greatly influenced by Daoist tradition and ancestor worship, the purpose of sending off floating lanterns on this day was to save deceased relatives and all lonely ghosts.³⁵⁴ It was believed that if the lantern finally sank into the water, it meant that the spirit of the deceased person could be saved from hell and karma. West Lake was thus believed to be a sacred and purified body of water, with the power to save the spirits of the dead.

The sacredness of lake water was further attested on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, the Buddha Shakyamuni's birthday. In the Northern Song, the most popular ritual on this day was a feast held in the ten major Buddhist monasteries, and believers who attended these feasts could obtain some sweet water, called "bathing water for the Buddha."³⁵⁵ The Bathing Buddha gathering continued into the Southern Song, but in a more active way. As recorded by Zhou Mi,

The eighth day of the fourth lunar month is the Birthday of Sakyamuni. Every monastery held Buddha Bathing Rituals. Monks and Nuns placed copper Buddha statues into a small basin, immersing the statues with sugar water and covering them within a

³⁵³ This was described by many literati. See *ZBWLJS*, 3:18b. A strange thing that related to the ritual of setting off lanterns was recorded by Zhou Mi: in front of the Four Guardian Sages Hall, a lantern would be floating on the water during the sunset time and into the evening. The color was red as it, floated away from the Food Giving Pavilion (*fangshi ting* 放食亭) and toward the Xiling Bridge 西泠橋. The lantern was very bright and could even compete with the thunder and the flash of lightning. Zhou Mi said that he has seen this lantern for over twenty years. *Guixin zashi*, xuji xia: 42b. Although the story was not very reliable, it did indicate that setting off lantern beside the lake was commonly seen during Zhou Mi's time.

³⁵⁴ As Teiser has discussed, the popularization of the ghost festival in medieval China benefitted from the worship of the Dizang Bodhisattva. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*.

³⁵⁵ *DJMHL*, 8: 52.

flowered hut. Accompanied by cymbals, they went to grand houses and wealthy families, where the monks used small ladles to bathe the Buddha statues with the syrup, in order to ask for donations.

四月八日為佛誕日，諸寺院各有浴佛會，僧尼輩競以小盆貯銅像，浸以糖水，覆以花棚，鐃鈸交迎，遍往邸第富室，以小杓澆灌，以求施利。³⁵⁶

The monks and nuns no longer remained in the temple, waiting for believers to visit them, as was the case in the Northern Song. Instead, they went out of the monasteries and headed to the wealthy and noble families to perform the bathing Buddha ritual. The Buddha's birthday was used by temples as an efficient way to generate income.

Another tradition on this festival was releasing fish and turtles in West Lake.³⁵⁷ In the Southern Song, as recorded by Zhou Mi: “a great number of boats gathered on the lake, just like during the spring. People competed to buy turtles, fish, snails, and oysters, to set them free in the lake. (舟楫甚盛，略如春時小舟，競買龜魚螺蚌放生。)”³⁵⁸ This passage raises the question: who were selling the fish and turtles to the lay believers? Probably the small boats on the lake that sold cooked soup and seafood, referred to in Chapter II. Very likely it was these small boats that sold live fish and turtles during this festival.

West Lake has acquired the title of “releasing life pond” since the Northern Song. Wang Qinruo, the magistrate of Hangzhou during the Tianxi 天禧 reign period (1017-1021), sent a memorial to the court, asking to make West Lake a “releasing life pond,” in order to accumulate merits for the imperial family and the dynasty. His request included forbidding people from fishing and catching birds in and around the lake. Two reasons might have motivated Wang to bring up this proposal: one is that Wang Qinruo wanted to win the favor of the ruler; the other

³⁵⁶ WLJS, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 354-355.

³⁵⁷ This ritual began during the Northern Song. As observed by Cai Xiang, “boats on West Lake were filled with fish and shrimp, which were released into the clear wave.” See Cai Xiang, “Siyue bari xihu guanmin fangsheng” 四月八日西湖觀民放生, from Cai Xiang 蔡襄, *Duanming ji* 端明集, SKQS, 3: 16a-b.

³⁵⁸ WLJS, “Xihu youxing,” 3: 355.

may be that he wanted to help the local Buddhist monks. When Wang Qinruo was appointed to Hangzhou in 1019, leaders of the major Buddhist institutions assembled to greet him.³⁵⁹ It could be imagined that Wang maintained a good relationship with the local religious powers and felt the obligation to promote the influence of Buddhism in Hangzhou city. Wang's proposal was apparently approved because Su Shi included the fact that West Lake was considered to be a releasing life pond as one of the five reasons for dredging the lake:

Since then [Wang Qinruo made West Lake a “releasing-life pond”], every year on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, tens of thousands of Hangzhou residents gather on the lake, setting millions of birds and fish free. They all kowtowed toward the northwest, wishing for the longevity of the emperor. If the lake is ever blocked, fish and turtles would die in the dried lake. If we officials wait to see such a scene but do nothing [to prevent this happening], what are we really up to? This is the first reason why West Lake should not be abandoned.”

自是以來，每歲四月八日，郡人數萬會於湖上，所活放羽毛鱗介以百萬數，皆西北向稽首，仰祝千萬歲壽。若一旦堙塞，使蛟龍魚鱉同為涸轍之鮒，臣子坐觀，亦何心哉！此西湖之不可廢者，一也。³⁶⁰

During the Shaoxing reign, the local magistrate asked the court to reinstate the role of West Lake as a releasing pond, which implied that fishing was not then prohibited. The local government then emphasized that there would be no fishing in the lake by establishing one hall named “merit producing.” Inscriptions that dissuaded people from killing wildlife were carved on the stele and set up by the lake.³⁶¹ This was one of many times that the identification of West Lake as a releasing life pond was confirmed and emphasized during the Southern Song.

Though accumulating merit by releasing life was colored by Buddhist thinking, one should not infer that the main motivation for entitling West Lake as such a refuge was Buddhist teaching. The court encouraged the building of releasing life ponds all over the country, and the local officials were always very active in constructing such ponds to show their political loyalty by

³⁵⁹ Chi-Chiang Huang, “Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hangzhou: a Convergence of Interest,” 325.

³⁶⁰ *Dongpo quanji*, 57: 2a-b.

³⁶¹ *XCLAZ*, 32: 12a.

claiming that the releasing activities were held to accumulate merits for the state. More than twenty essays about releasing life ponds, were composed in both the Northern and Southern Song, were included in *Quan Song wen* 全宋文 (*Completed Song Dynasty Essays*). Most of them were produced in the Southern Song: this might be because the government felt insecure during the Southern Song and hoped to preserve good fortune for the country and enhance commoners' support for the government.³⁶² This method also embodied the local control extended from the capital. Few of these writings mentioned the influence of Buddhism or used any Buddhist terms, stories, or language. In his writing about a releasing life pavilion in Fuzhou 撫州, Huang Zhen 黃震 (fl. 1256) even stressed that building this pavilion had nothing to do with Buddhism.³⁶³ Therefore, some scholars implied another reason for promoting the concept of releasing life: the natural environment. With the rapid agricultural developments and the growing use of land and water by the large population, the potential problems caused by economic expansion began to attract attention.³⁶⁴ As discussed in the previous chapter, West Lake played an important role as the water supply for Hangzhou. Therefore, assigning the title of releasing life to West Lake was a strategy appropriated by local officials to prohibit commoners fishing and wealthy families farming on the lake.

No matter how the government and elite explained the motivations for releasing life, city dwellers practiced such a ritual because of their belief in karma and retribution.³⁶⁵ *Yijian zhi*

³⁶² As Zhao Xinggen concluded, these releasing life writing conveyed mainly two concepts: one is loyalty toward the imperial family, and the other is emphasizing the Neo-Confucian teaching of respecting the emperor. Zhao Xinggen 趙杏根, "Songdai fangsheng yu fangsheng wen yanjiu" 宋代放生與放生文研究, *Shangyao shifan xueyuan yuanbao*, 2012/4, Vol. 32, No.2.

³⁶³ Huang Zhen 黃震, "Fuzhou fangsheng ting ji" 撫州放生亭記, from Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Liu Lin 劉琳, *Quan Song wen* 全宋文 (*QSW*) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1988-1994), 5084: 325. The adoption of Buddhist practice and the denying of such influences presents the attitude of the contemporary development of Neo-Confucianism, which certainly incorporated some Buddhist concepts, but was eager to confirm its independence and superiority from other philosophical system.

³⁶⁴ Peng Ruli recorded an ecological disaster in Poyang Lake and attributed it to the over-exploitation of the natural environment. Peng Ruli 彭汝礪, *Tuhu ji* 土湖記, in *QSW*, 2201.

³⁶⁵ As recorded by Wu Zimu, the population that gathered on the lake to practice such ritual on this day could reach several tens of thousands. See *MLL*, "Shehui" 社會 (Associations), 19: 292-3.

includes quite a few stories about the good results that followed releasing fish and turtles into West Lake and the bad results when people refused. Take the story of the “West Lake Administrative Assistant” 西湖判官 as an example: during the Shaoxing reign period, a military official whose last name was Di caught a huge crab at the Qianhu Gate and asked someone to send it back home. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a serious-looking official, dressed in an official robe and holding a scepter. This official bowed to Di and said that he was actually the administrative assistant of the West Lake, caught by Di when he went out to the lake. He was afraid that Di’s family would eat him, so he urged Di to run back home and stop this. He said, “If I can be saved, I will certainly repay you, but if I cannot, that will be a big pity for me and also cause disaster for your family, so this is not a small thing. (俾全餘生，當謀厚報。脫或不免，在微命固不足惜，正恐為門下之禍，非細事也。)” Di then woke up and rode back home on his horse. His five sons had already cooked the crab and eaten it. They were surprised by how delicious the crab was. Only Di’s wife hadn’t started to eat. Di told the dream to his wife and stopped her from eating. Soon the five sons died one by one; only Di and his wife survived.³⁶⁶ This story confirmed the idea of retribution by relating the tragic result brought by the supernatural beings, which would certainly have scared many people away from fishing in the lake. Releasing life was a popular theme in Song anecdotes.³⁶⁷ It was the Buddhist belief and the fear of bad karma that made the releasing life ritual popular during the Southern Song. Some

³⁶⁶ *YJZ*, ding juan 8, 4:1989. Other stories included “Li san fuqi 李三夫妻,” “Shu Mao Yu Qiuchan 舒懋育鰕鰾,” which were about people who became sick or died because they ate fish and turtle that should be released. *YJZ*, san zhi xin juan, 5: 2840; ding zhi juan 9, 3:1155.

³⁶⁷ Another anecdote about Monk Jidian 釋濟顛, a famous flakey monk who lived in the Soul’s Retreat Monastery, also saved some snails that were caught by people who lived beside the lake. These snails’ tails had already been chopped off but still survived after Jidian saved them. *Nanping jici si zhi*, 23: 304.

popular poems that persuaded people to release life to accumulate merit were also circulated at this time.³⁶⁸

Final Remarks: West Lake as Liminal Space

Most of the trips around West Lake recorded in Southern Song sources had elements of both religious activities and sightseeing. Benefitting from the same social and cultural changes, such as economic growth, improved transportation, and increasing leisure time, these two developments also shared similar characteristics. Both temple visits and excursions involved geographical movement, leaving the daily routine and getting out of the busy city, spending money and interacting with different social groups. It is impossible to exclude religious factors from the growing popularity of excursions. The large number of religious sites added to the allure of West Lake by attracting a diverse body of visitors to worship and pray for good fortune. Communications between literati and educated monks promoted the prestige of Buddhist teachings and the Chan life style. The magnificent lake scenery as well encouraged commoners to actively participate in the religious celebrations and rituals.

This integration of religious and leisure activities imbued West Lake with new and complex meanings. While religious rituals, such as releasing life, transformed West Lake into a transcendent place, a place where one could purify the spirit of dead relatives and accumulate merits, this landscape was not, strictly speaking, a sacred place like other pilgrimage centers. The close relationship with urban life and the frequent visits made by city dwellers maintained profane elements in the landscape. Because of the strong secular influences, surrounding temples developed many functions other than worship. Markets and businesses sprouted up near the

³⁶⁸ “Shou Chanshi Liangshengfu Suyuan” 壽禪師兩生符宿願, from *Xihu erji*, 8: 12.

temples; monks and nuns actively sought communication with lay patrons, believers, and scholars. Mundane desires for food and entertainment could be fulfilled in temples and on festivals.

West Lake therefore was a space where secular urban life and sacred religious life merged, interacted and negotiated with each other. This was partially due to the geographical setting: West Lake sat between the mountains and the city, as a middle landscape.³⁶⁹ Benefitting from the intertwined religious trips and leisure excursions, West Lake provided a transitional and liminal state in both directions. On the one hand, by visiting temples, participating in religious festivals, and talking about relevant anecdotes, many urban people acquired transcendent experiences near West Lake. They were able to leave their pre-set work, social status, and daily life. On the other hand, if viewed from the perspective of religious clerics, West Lake provided them a free space to communicate with officials, scholars, lay women and merchants, without sacrificing their social identity to too great an extent. They could leave their sutra chanting, temple cleaning, and all the other routine work. For them, West Lake also had the characteristic as a liminal landscape.

This and the previous chapters have discussed how urban residents interacted with a variety of people during their excursions to West Lake. Meanwhile, they also interacted with nature by looking at the landscape, enjoying the scenery and processing it in their minds. It is to the visualization of West Lake that the next chapter turns.

³⁶⁹ The term “middle landscape” is applied by Peter G. Rowe to describe the intermediate and transitional suburban landscape between the big city and remote areas. See Peter G Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991).

CHAPTER IV

Artists' Landscapes:

The Intersection of Tourism, Aesthetics and Visual Culture

At the first glance of West Lake, the Song scholar Zhang exclaimed:

So beautiful! So unique! Green water is surrounded by blue mountains. The golden and green buildings are situated among the scenery, just like a colorful landscape painting. The east side of the lake, which is not surrounded by mountains, has city walls that touch the clouds, and tens of thousands of roof tiles lay out like the scales of a fish. This scenery might have been designed by heaven and earth.

美哉！奇哉！青山四圍，中涵綠水，金碧樓臺相間，全似一幅着色山水。獨東邊無山，乃有百雉雲連，萬瓦鱗次，殆天造地設之景也。³⁷⁰

Zhou Mi commenting on Zhang's statement notes "although his words are not refined, the scenery of West Lake is clearly depicted. (此語雖粗，而西湖面目盡見矣。)" Comparing West Lake to a landscape painting suggests that the lush scenery of West Lake, water backed by mountains, was considered an inspiration and ideal theme for a landscape painting.

As early as the Tang Dynasty, Bai Juyi wrote, "Now that spring is here the lake seems a painted picture," to open his poem on West Lake.³⁷¹ During the Northern Song, when Su Shi and several monks once drank and enjoyed the scenery beside the lake, Su wrote: "With whose talented brush, could (the scene) be painted on the three-hundred feet of silk? The painting should be unique through the realm as it is the image of West Lake." Then Su asked his friends to continue the poem, and Monk Zhongshu 仲殊 wrote:

³⁷⁰ *Guixin zazhi, xu bian*: 203-4.

³⁷¹ Bai Juyi 白居易, "Chunti hushang" 春題湖上, *Baishi changqing ji*, 23:7b. Translation from Graham, "Poems of the West Lake."

<p>The scenery is unique and wonderful, With thin clouds, a clear sky, and bright moon on an autumn evening; No matter how much ink and colors you waste, These beauties could not be painted.³⁷²</p>	<p>一般奇絕， 雲淡天高秋夜月， 費盡丹青， 只這些兒畫不成。</p>
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Besides scroll paintings, fan paintings were also used to describe the scenery around the lake when the Jin emissary visited Hangzhou.³⁷³

Though there are written records of paintings of West Lake from as early as the Northern Song (960-1127), the earliest extant painting of West Lake was produced during the Southern Song.³⁷⁴ As Li E 厲鶚 (1692-1752) records in *NanSong yuanhua lu* 南宋院畫錄 (Record of Southern Song Academy Painting), Southern Song painters, such as Liu Songnian 劉松年 (ac. 1155-1218), Chen Qingbo 陳清波, and Ma Lin 馬麟 (ac. 1194-1224), produced a great many paintings of West Lake.³⁷⁵ Examining the content and artistic features of the extant images of West Lake, as well as how the Southern Song paintings left an imprint upon later images, this chapter discusses their interactions with tourism and aesthetic taste.

Extant Southern Song paintings that have “West Lake” in the titles include Li Song’s (1166-1243) *Xihu tu* 西湖圖 (*Painting of West Lake*), preserved in the Shanghai Museum; Ye Xiaoyan’s 葉肖岩 (ac. around 1253-1258) album painting of the Ten Views of West Lake, in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei; Xia Gui’s (around 1190-1230) *Xihu liuting*

³⁷² Hu Zi 胡仔, *Yuyin conghua* 漁隱叢話, *SKQS*, hou ji 37: 8a-b.

³⁷³ *FSL*, 122-123. Translation from Lee, *Exquisite Moments*, 19.

³⁷⁴ Though Wang Qihuang, a modern Hangzhou scholar, mentioned in a lecture that Bai Juyi requested a painting of West Lake before he moved to other places, the earliest record I have been able to find is the three paintings attributed to Zhang Zeduan 張擇端, *Xihu zhengbiao tu* 西湖爭標圖 (*Painting of Boat Competition at West Lake*), *Xihu chunxiao tu* 西湖春曉圖 (*Spring Morning at West Lake*), and *Nanping wanzhong tu* 南屏晚鐘 (*Evening Bell at Nanping Mountain*). See Zhang Chou 張丑, *Qinghe shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫 (*QHSHF*), in Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, Cui Erping 崔爾平, Jiang Hong 江宏. *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu zhencang ben* 中國書畫全書珍藏本 (*ZGSHQS*) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2000), 4: 143a. Also Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅, *Liuqing rizha* 留青日札 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 35: 669.

³⁷⁵ *QHSHF*, 3: 383a; Gao Shiqi 高士奇, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江村消夏錄, in *ZGSHQS*, 7: 1031; Wen Jia, *Yanshi shuhua Ji* 嚴氏書畫記, in *ZGSHQS*, 8: 51; Li E 厲鶚, *Nansong yuanhua lu* 南宋院畫錄 (*NSYHL*), in *XHWXJC*, 2: 635; Wang Yuxian 王毓賢, *Huishi beikao* 繪事備考, 6: 20b-21a. Painting-related sources document that more paintings than we can see today were passed down through the Ming and Qing dynasties.

tu 西湖柳艇圖 (*Willows and Boats on West Lake*), also in Taipei; and an anonymous fan painting, *Xihu chunxiao tu* 西湖春曉圖 (*Spring Morning of West Lake*), in the Palace Museum in Beijing. In addition, Chen Qingbo's *Hushan chunxiao tu* 湖山春曉圖 (*Spring Morning of Lake and Mountains*), in the Palace Museum, and Ma Lin's *Hexiang qingxia tu* 荷鄉清夏圖 (*Clear Summer among the Lotus*), in the Liaoning Museum, are as well considered depictions of West Lake scenery.³⁷⁶ Although paintings of West Lake kept developing throughout history—with artistic styles and cultural taste constantly evolving — some basic elements and standards dating from the Southern Song remained more or less the same. Compared to later paintings, these Southern Song paintings show remarkable artistic skill, including the exquisite depiction of detailed physical beauty, accurate representation of seasonal features, and masterful rendering of the misty environment. As Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610) commented, when people think about West Lake scenery, they automatically recall Song paintings because of the similarities between the natural features and the artistic styles.³⁷⁷

Art historians have examined the paintings of West Lake during the Southern Song, especially Li Song's handscroll.³⁷⁸ Another very important study on this topic is Hui-shu Lee's introduction to an exhibition of the Southern Song art in the National Palace Museum.³⁷⁹ Rather than following her methodology of using West Lake paintings as examples to explore Southern

³⁷⁶ Hui-shu Lee argues that though such paintings may “allude to West Lake, the more immediate source for painter and patron would be the more intimate landscape within the imperial precincts.” Hui-shu Lee, *Empresses, Art, and Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 176.

³⁷⁷ *Xihu xiaoshi*, 3: 1194.

³⁷⁸ Miyazaki, “Saiko wo meguru kaiga.” This article explores the West Lake paintings by the Southern Song and Japanese painters. She not only provides a general discussion of the development of West Lake painting, but also produces a convincing and detailed study of the artistic style, content and date of Li Song's handscroll. She points out that Li Song's *Xihu tu* is likely to have been done around the end of the Southern Song and the early Yuan.

³⁷⁹ Lee, *Exquisite Moments*. For the Chinese article, see Hui-shu Lee, “Huzhong tiandi: xihyu yu nansong ducheng lin'an de yishu yu wenhua” 壺中天地：西湖與南宋都城臨安的藝術與文化, in He Chuanxin 何傳馨 ed., *Wenyi shaoxing: NanSong yishu yu wenhua* 文藝紹興：南宋藝術與文化 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2010). In that study, by using the pictorial information from Li Song's painting, Lee is able to map both the geographical settings of West Lake and the cultural life of the imperial house.

Song art, I am going to analyze the visual representations of West Lake in the light of its interaction with excursion experiences. Investigating the characteristics and development of visual representations of West Lake can establish a history of not only how West Lake was depicted and visualized, but also of how this particular landscape was interpreted and incorporated into people's leisure lives and cultural concepts. How did painting influence the way people imagined and appreciated the scenery? How did the images create new and circulate knowledge on tourism? These are some of the issues I tackle.

After a general discussion of the interaction between tourism and landscape painting, this chapter discusses three artistic features established during the Southern Song as a response to the development of tourism. The first one is the emphasis on actual geographical information, which allowed realistic representation of the landscape; the second feature is the incorporation of human activities in landscape paintings; and the third one is the emotional projection on the landscape, especially the depiction of seasonal mood. By discussing these three aspects, this chapter explores how West Lake was depicted, represented, and encoded with the development of tourism. It contends that due to the circulation of knowledge and aesthetic sensitivities regarding tourism, Southern Song paintings came to form their own unique artistic style and left a significant imprint—by defining pictorial style, aesthetic taste, and subject matter—on the later appreciation and visual representations of West Lake.

Landscape Painting and Tourism

Due to its geographical setting and the development of leisure activities, West Lake was a unique subject of landscape painting. Compared to other mountains and sightseeing destinations, West Lake's location meant that painter could observe it up close. Though benefiting from Northern Song landscape painting tradition, the painting of West Lake was unique because the

painters were motivated to incorporate their personal excursion experience into their art. As Ming Dynasty literatus Tian Rucheng comments on the undertaking of painting West Lake:

West Lake is rarely depicted well in writing or painting. If the painter sticks to the actual landscape, he is at the risk of being rigid; but if the painter moves too far away from the real scenery, the painting might lose its grounding.

西湖賦、西湖圖，俱難得佳者，蓋摹景則滯，離景則虛。³⁸⁰

The concept of traveling among the landscape was long-built into the visualizing tradition. Early in the 4th century, Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) in his “Introduction to Painting Landscape” (*Hua shanshui xu* 畫山水序) relates to the landscape as a site of human wandering by bringing the idea of “recumbent travelling” (*woyou* 臥遊). Painting was thus theoretically described as an imaginative journey through which ones encounter and experience the physical environment. He also writes that those who have experienced the landscape by actual traveling through are in a better position to catch the essence of landscape and represent it by brush.³⁸¹ Though such painting theory has been brought up early on, landscape paintings during the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song were considered to be depictions of imaginary landscapes conjured up by the painters rather than representation of specific places. It was unlikely that the target audiences would have been to the place the painting was ostensibly a representation of, and even the painters themselves might never have visited it. For example, Jing Hao 荆浩 (ac. 850-?) painted a very famous painting of Mount Lu, but the historical records indicate that he never went there; his painting was based on impressions from literary descriptions of the mountain and possibly also observations of mountains that he had visited. Other famous paintings from the Northern

³⁸⁰ XHYLZY, 17: 297.

³⁸¹ Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records of Famous Paintings in Successive Dynasties) (Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), 130-1. For translation of this text, see Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Paintings* (Cambridge, Mass. And London, England: Harvard University Press, 1985), 37. For more discussion on the development of depicting landscape in both visual and textual form, see Curie Virag, “The Ethics of Visualization: Structure and Feeling in Song Landscape Aesthetics,” Presented at Conference on Middle Period China, 800-1400, Harvard, June 2014.

Song, such as Guo Xi's (around 1023-1085) *Zao chun tu* 早春圖 (*Early Spring*) and Fan Kuan's 范寬 (around 950-1032) *Xishan xing'lu tu* 溪山行旅圖 (*Traveling amid Mountains and Gorge*), do not refer to any specific mountains but simply depict some general scenery that could be found on any mountain. Even in the Southern Song, many paintings depict a generic scene, such as clear creeks and mountains, a spring morning after rain, or a fisherman on the river; perhaps the most exemplary of these is the *Shi'er shuijing* 十二水景 (*Twelve Scenes of Water*) by Ma Yuan 馬遠 (1160-1225). Paintings of West Lake, however, relied on painters' actual observation of and traveling experience around the lake, because most of the painters who depicted West Lake were either natives of Hangzhou, such as Liu Songnian, or served in the Southern Song painting academy, which was located near the Watching River Gate, on the east bank of West Lake.³⁸²

Even after the Southern Song, when paintings of other specific places were produced, West Lake was still unique because of its accessibility. Unlike other places of interest, such as Mount Lu, Mount Fuchun and Yellow Mountain, West Lake is situated right beside the city center of an important city in Jiangnan, and transportation around Hangzhou was also very accessible.³⁸³ It was thus probably much easier for potential painters, including both literati painters and

³⁸² The Imperial Painting Academy started from the Five Dynasties, and experienced its greatest prosperity during the Song Dynasty. Recruited through painting examinations, the academy painters mainly served for the imperial house. Other than painting by request of the emperors and the empresses, they also took charge of the connoisseurship of the imperial collection and the training of new painters. Emperor Huizong (1082-1135) contributed to the construction of a painting academy by setting up a system of regulations and standard of taste. Thus the painting academy of the Xuanhe reign (1119-1125) became the model for the later generations. The painting academy contributed significantly to Song paintings: it not only accounted for a majority of extant paintings, but also influenced the artistic characteristics of that time. For discussion on imperial collection, see Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: the Collections of Emperor Huizong*. For the relationship between the painting academy and the imperial house, see Lee, *Empresses, Art, and Agency in Song Dynasty China*.

Though scholars have been argued about the actual location of the Imperial Painting Academy of the Southern Song, most of them have agreed that it should locate in *yuan qian* 園前, near the Rich Scenery Garden (*fujing yuan* 富景園). For the argument surrounding the scholarship and recent finds, See Chen Ye 陳野, *NanSong huihua shi* 南宋繪畫史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 53-56.

³⁸³ Mount Fuchun became famous because of Huang Gongwang's (1269-1354) painting *Fuchun shanju tu* 富春山居圖 (*Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*). Yellow Mountain was a popular subject among the Huizhou painters. For the painting of Mount Huang, see Cahill, *Shadows of Mount Huang*. Mcdowall suggests that travel to the Yellow Mountain was not popular until the Ming Dynasty. See Mcdowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain*, 41-45.

professional painters, to visit the lake. In contrast to most mountains, which generally take several days to climb and require considerable energy to travel around, West Lake is conducive to tourism. The accessibility of West Lake contributed significantly to the development of visual representations of it, not only because the actual travel experiences encouraged the artists to pick up their painting brushes, but also because there were potential audiences, who had been to or planned to visit the lake. Meanwhile, as more people became familiar with the scenery of West Lake, it required greater painting skill to represent the scenery both realistically and distinctively. Because of this interdependent relationship between tourism to and painting of West Lake, studying the practice of visitors can help us to understand the creation and reception of West Lake images.

Realistic Representation of the Landscape

Li Song's *Xihu tu* (Fig. 28) is probably the most famous and influential depiction of West Lake, not only during the Southern Song, but throughout history.³⁸⁴ In the beginning are four big characters “*hushan jiaqu*”湖山佳趣 (the wonderful charm of the lake and mountain), inscribed by Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509), a famous painter of the mid-Ming. Taking a bird's-eye view, the painter tried to depict the scenery of the lake and surrounding gardens and mountains realistically. The lake was placed in the center, with several boats floating on the surface. If we inspect closely, we can see the tiny but carefully depicted figures, most likely fisherman, on the boats. The Fenghuang Mountain in the lower left corner was where the imperial palace was located. The very prominent pagoda nearby is Leifeng Pagoda, one of the geographical icons of West Lake. The distant mountains are rendered with faded ink wash. The long causeway,

³⁸⁴ For an annotated image, see Lee, “Huzhong tiandi: xihyu yu nansong ducheng lin'an de yishu yu wenhua.”

punctuated by six bridges, is the one built by Su Shi. Near the other end of the Su Causeway is the Solitary Mountain. The Solitary Mountain was connected with another causeway built by Bai Juyi (772-846), in the middle of which is the famous Broken Bridge. On the right-hand side of the painting is Baoshi Hill with Baochu Pagoda at its top. Along the lower edge of the painting are roofs of buildings and gates, all well decorated. This is the side bordering the city of Hangzhou.



Figure 27: Li Song, *Xihu tu*, ink and color on paper; H: 27, W: 80.7 cm; Shanghai Museum. After *LDXHSJ*, 30-31.

Both produced in the 13th century, Li Song's painting and the gazetteer map of West Lake in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* look very differently at first glance. While the major concern of the mapmaker was to represent all the places in an undifferentiated manner around the lake, Li Song highlights several spots. While the depth of the landscape was flattened on the map, Li Song was able to represent depth through a more skillful means. While the map functioned as a source for geographical information, the scroll leads the viewers to enter into the landscape by emphasizing the landmarks. However, both images represent the artists' similar ambitious to represent the entire lake landscape from a high and distant standpoint, which usually allow painters' eyes to move freely across this space. Another instructive shared feature is that neither image used the traditional north-up arrangement, but placed the west side up. The explanation Huishu Lee gives is that this was from the perspective of the imperial palace, implying that the image of West Lake was colored by the political worldview. This explanation certainly makes sense, as the imperial house was the most important patron of Southern Song art and Li Song served in the painting academy. Undoubtedly the court was among the most active sightseers at the lake. Serving the emperors during their excursions, court painters had many opportunities to tour around the lake while examining the natural beauty with their trained eyes. The imperial influence on this painting can also be inferred from the gardens that are highlighted. Comparing it with the map of West Lake, we can identify the large garden on the west side of the Su Causeway as the Qu Garden/Winery. The private garden of Lu Yunsheng 盧允升 (ac. around 1224-1264), an influential eunuch during the Emperor Lizong's reign (1205-1264), can also be identified on the southwest corner of the lake. These gardens were seldom open to the public, but as an academy

painter, Li Song may have had the chance to visit these places in the company of an imperial party.

The imperial viewpoint, however, may not be the only reason West Lake was placed west side up. After the Southern Song, Hangzhou never served as capital again, but nearly all the panoramic paintings nonetheless adopted the same perspective. This is even true of guide maps today (Fig. 28). This suggests that the geographical relationship between the city of Hangzhou and West Lake also played a role in the painters' decision to situate the lake west side up. As most of the people who went sightseeing came from the direction of the city, the daily perspective of city dwellers, including Li Song, was possibly more influential than the imperial perspective, especially as more city dwellers became potential painters and viewers of the paintings in the Ming and Qing.



Figure 28: Detailed tourist map provided for today's visitors. After <http://www.chinatouristmaps.com>.

The west-facing-perspective was not the only standard initiated by Li Song. Similar to the Northern Song academy painting *Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河圖 (*Life along the River on the Eve of the Qingming Festival*), Li Song applied the tradition of depicting what the painters had observed realistically in cityscape painting. This realistic depiction thus set the standard for the later panoramic painting of West Lake.³⁸⁵ While later painters depicted the small scenes expressively and emotionally, they appeared to be more objective when undertaking panoramic paintings. Furthermore, many later painters, even Japanese painters, also copied Li Song's composition, his emphasis on pagodas, and included the same range of surrounding mountains in their paintings (e.g. Fig. 29). Two representative Japanese painters were Kano Naonobu 狩野尚

³⁸⁵ The comparison with *Qingming shanghe tu* also implies an interesting difference in painters' worldviews between the Northern and Southern Song. While *Qingming shanghe tu* was a detailed depiction of the urban life in Kaifeng, *Xihu tu* was a detailed depiction of the landscape outside the city wall. Why did the Southern Song court painters turn their attention to the natural beauty? This may be because the imperial house frequently went sightseeing around the lake so the painters were asked to record the landscape.

信 (1607-1650) and Ike no Taiga 池大雅 (1723-1776). Featuring simple and condensed brushwork, these paintings were closer to the Southern Song art style than Ming and Qing paintings were.³⁸⁶ Since the Southern Song, foreigners from Japan, most monks, visited and praised the beauty of West Lake.³⁸⁷ The Japanese paintings of West Lake and their replicating of West Lake scenery in garden design therefore were colored by the memories and records left by Japanese monks.³⁸⁸



Figure 29: Kanou Noanobu, *Screen Painting of West Lake*; ink and color on paper; H: 156.8, W: 347.6cm; Shizuoka Prefectural Museum. After Shizuoka Prefectural Museum online catalogue http://www.spmoa.shizuoka.shizuoka.jp/_archive/collection/item/J_289_1169_J.html.

Some Chinese painters, however, stepped further to combine realistic style with gazetteer-style depiction. The earliest example that can be found is Xie Shichen's 謝時臣 (1488-?) *Xihu tu* 西湖圖 (*Painting of West Lake*) (Fig. 30). This seems to be a copy of the section of West Lake in Dai Jin's 戴進 (1389-1462) *Zhejiang mingsheng tu* 浙江名勝圖 (*Painting of Places of Interest in Zhejiang*) (Fig. 31), but Xie added light color and labeled important locations. In the

³⁸⁶ For more information, see Jin, "Xihu zai Zhong Ri Han: luetan fengjing zhuanyi zai dong ya wenxue zhong de yiyi." See also: Sachiko Idemitsu 出光佐千子, *Ike Taiga no "Seikozu" Nitsuite: "Shinkei" no Gogi Nikansuru Ichi Kosatsu* 池大雅の「西湖図」について: 「真景」の語義に関する一考察 (Shushi gakui ronbun: Keio gijuku daigaku, 2000). Miyazaki, "Saiko wo meguru kaiga."

³⁸⁷ As recorded, during the Zhengde Reign (1506-1521), a Japanese ambassador visited the lake and wrote a poem reading: "In the past years I have seen the painting of this lake, but I did not believe that such a lake could exist under the heaven. Today I went across the lake, (I feel that) the painters were not skilled enough (to fully depict the beautiful scenery)." (昔年曾見此湖圖，不信人間有此湖。今日打從湖上過，畫工還欠費工夫。) *XHYLZY*, 3: 551.

³⁸⁸ While these paintings suggested extensive cultural communication within East Asia, European images of West Lake were chiefly rooted in the description by Marco Polo. For example, in a 1871 translation by Henry Yule, a map of Hangzhou and West Lake was included, drawn on the basis of some gazettes of Hangzhou in the British Museum and private map collections. In later editions the map was revised based on newly collected sources. Different from both cartological and Chinese artistic tradition, this map was placed south up. In Polo, Cordier and Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 193. This is the third edition; the second edition was published in 1875. The explanation of illustration at the beginning of the book provides the sources of this map.

extremely long handscroll by Dai Jin, it is not hard to identify the rough location of West Lake, but it would take some time to identify every specific bridge and building, which we can easily do in Li Song's painting. It is therefore also possible that Xie Shichen was confused by Dai's painting and thus decided to copy the West Lake section and label some geographical signposts, such as Broken Bridge, to make the painting easier to read. Xie's painting is a significant example of how the two kinds of pictorial traditions in the Southern Song, Li Song's painting and the gazetteer map, were combined in the later artistic representations when the painter aimed to depict the scenery realistically.



Figure 30 (left): Xie Shichen, *Xihu tu*; ink and color on silk; H: 30.4, W: 187.3; Sanxia Museum, Chongqing. After *LDXHSHJ*, 78-9.



Figure 31 (right): Dai Jin, *Zhejiang mingsheng tu* (part); ink on silk; H: 34.5, W: 937cm; Palace Museum. After *LDXHSHJ*, 62-3.

The practice of making notations on painting reached its zenith in the Qing Dynasty. During the Qing Dynasty, paintings of West Lake experienced a “revival” period, due to the imperial patronage.³⁸⁹ Two examples of this were *Xihu shijing quantu* 西湖十景全圖 (*Panoramic View of Ten Views of West Lake*) by Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715) (Fig. 32) and Dong Bangda 董邦達 (1699-1769) (Fig. 33). Both painters followed Li Song’s precedent by starting from Fenghuang Mountain on the left and ending up with Baoshi Hill on the right. Both painters have labeled many places of interest with small characters, which made this painting more realistic and remind us of the gazetteer map of West Lake.



Figure 32: Wang Yuanqi, *Xihu shijing quantu* (detail), ink and color on silk; H: 60, W: 656.5cm; Liaoning Provincial Museum. After *LDXHSHJ*, 172-3.

³⁸⁹ The concept of West Lake Revival was brought up by Hui-shu Lee in in the conference of Southern Song Art and Culture “When Shall West Lake be Without Song or Dance?”, held at the University of Michigan in Oct. 2011.

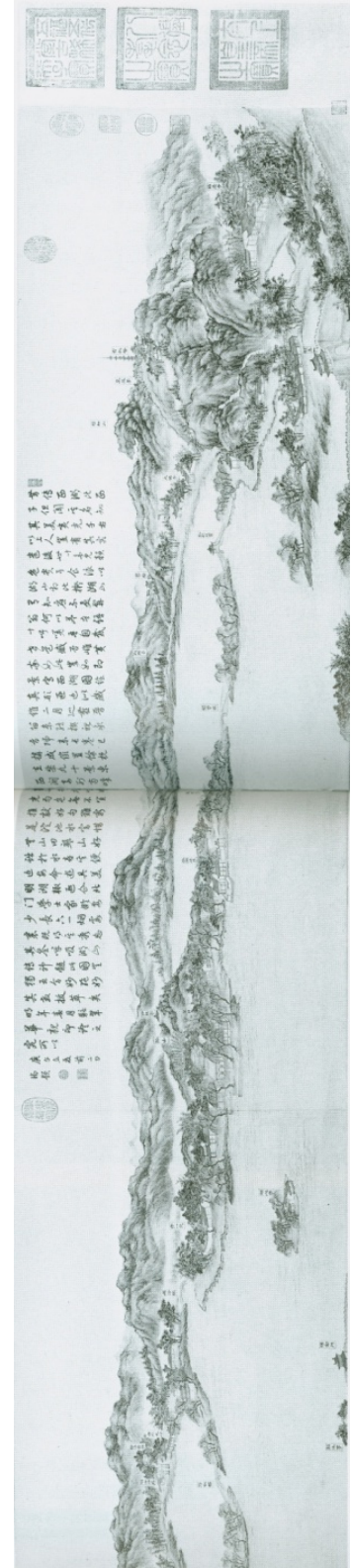
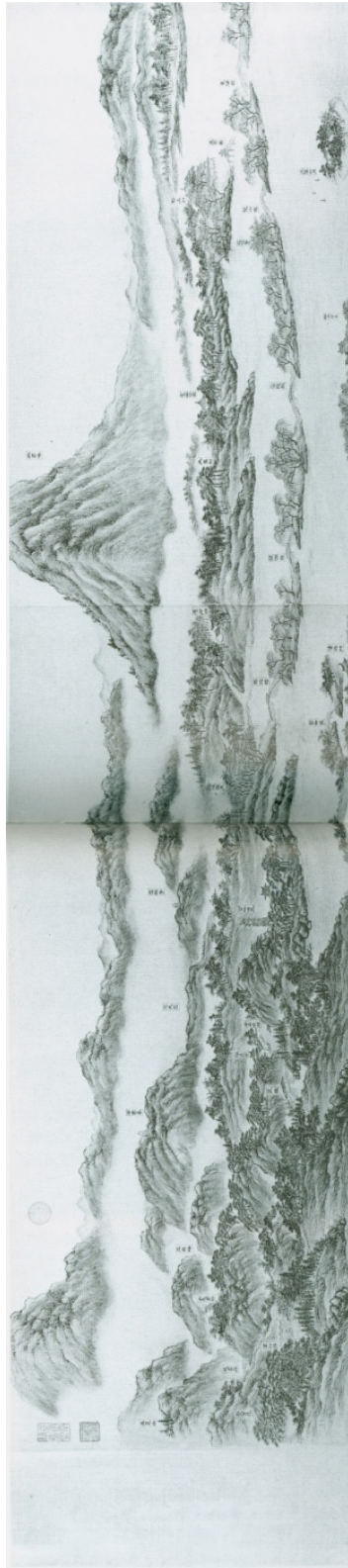


Figure 33: Dong Bangda, *Xihu shijing quantu*; ink and color on paper; H: 41.7, W: 361.8 cm; National Palace Museum. After Li, Yumin 李玉珉, “Xihu shijing tezhan” 西湖十景特展, *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, No. 156. 1996/3, 98-117.

Like Xie Shichen, most of the viewers of a panoramic painting of West Lake would, consciously or unconsciously, try to identify each part of the painting with physical locations.

For example, when Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (1864-1949) viewed Li Song's painting, he wrote:

Dimly discernible are the mountains, among the drizzling rain are the misty trees. The six bridges connect with each other, just like a belt; the Leifeng and Baochu Pagodas face each other. Various Buddhist monasteries sit among the trees, while innumerable boats go back and forth on the lake. The scenery of West Lake appears in front of my eyes.

山嵐飄渺，煙樹滄濛，六橋如帶，雙塔對峙，湖濱屋廬櫛比，樹里梵閣參差，小艇游舫往來無數，西湖風景宛在目前。³⁹⁰

From this description, we can see that the viewer identifies the six bridges that connect the Su Causeway and the two pagodas that are placed at either end of the scroll, as well as the Buddhist temples, possibly the Purity and Compassion Monastery beside Leifeng Pagoda. Lu Shen 陸深 (1477-1544) also noted in his inscription that the painting depicts the Su Causeway but not the Tomb of King Yue. It seems that these viewers had visited West Lake and were familiar with the scenery, so that when they viewed the painting they automatically recalled their own traveling experience. Lu Shen noted in his inscription:

I have always been fond of landscape and paid special attention to West Lake. Last year I had the opportunity to serve as the Provincial Surveillance Commission of the Zhe region and was able to go boating on the lake, and to experience the lake in person. Since I left I have not been able to forget the scenery. Now on the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month in 1638, by chance I come across this scroll. Viewing it, I feel as if I have gone back to the lakeside.

余夙有山水之好，頗留意錢塘之西湖，昨歲出持浙憲，與舫往來，若為己有。既去而未能忘之。今嘉靖戊戌臘日，邂逅此幅，恍如再到時。³⁹¹

Seeing renditions of West Lake reminded Lu of his own travels there, and enabled him to appreciate the works in a way others who had not had this personal experience could not have.

³⁹⁰ Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄, in *ZGSHQS*, 12:632a.

³⁹¹ Lu Shen 陸深, *Lu Yanshan wenji* 陸儼山文集, *SKQS*, 84: 22a-b.

Such potential viewers put pressure on painters who wanted to gain popular acceptance to portray the scenery realistically.

According to historical records, Li Song painted at least three more paintings of West Lake.³⁹² As they all had the same title, it is hard to determine whether or not any paintings by him other than the one we can see today circulated at the time; nearly all the surviving descriptions of Li Song's *Painting of West Lake* are close to the extant one. The only exception I have found is Ming Taizu's (Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, 1328-1398) description:

One day, I looked through Li Song's paintings and found a *Xihu tu*. In this painting, Li Song depicted the mountains and water with textured brushwork, and drew the buildings in fine lines with the aid of a ruler. He painted human figures in the boats: raising the oar and lifting the pedal, hanging the sail and arranging the nets, throwing out the line and tossing the fishhook. Singers were singing, dancers were spinning, and the musicians were playing flutes and pipes.

一日閱李嵩之畫，見西湖圖一幅，其上皴山染水，界畫樓臺，寫人形而駕舟舫，舉棹擎橈、飛帆布網、拋綸擲釣，歌者音，舞者旋，管絃者則有笙簫鬘篪。³⁹³

Hardly any of the singers, dancers, and musicians mentioned here are found in the extant painting; even the figures on boats in the extant painting are not clear enough for the viewers to tell what they are doing; and the buildings in the extant painting are not strictly speaking “buildings painted with the aid of a ruler.” It is very likely that the one Zhu Yuanzhang described is another painting titled *Painting of West Lake* that was considered to be painted by, or at least was attributed to, Li Song at the time. In this respect, it is reminiscent of the Freer Art Gallery handscroll. Depicting the scenery around West Lake in clockwise order, a painting formerly attributed to Li Song (Fig. 34).

³⁹² NSYHL, in *XHWXJC*, 2: 586.

³⁹³ NSYHL, in *XHWXJC*, 2: 585.



Figure 34: *Xihu qingqu tu* (detail), Freer and Sackler Gallery of Art.

Top: Title of the painting

Middle: the sketchy drawing of West Lake at the beginning of the scroll

Bottom: the section depicting the southwestern part of the lake bank, where the mountains touch the city wall.

Although formerly attributed to Li Song, art historians today believe that this scroll was done after the fall of the Southern Song and before the mid-15th century, judging from the dates of the

person who inscribed the four characters at the beginning.³⁹⁴ Huishu Lee dates this handscroll to the early Yuan, because the “use of misty ink-wash technique for the distant mountain, minute description of figures, architecture, and other motifs” is similar to the Yuan Dynasty painter Qian Xuan’s 錢選 (1239-1299) style. She also argues that this scroll reflects Southern Song scenery, because of “the extraordinary accuracy of the painting’s portraying of the buildings around the lake when compared to the Southern Song description of the environs of Hangzhou.”³⁹⁵ In this painting, the painter meticulously transcribed every details on the painting scroll, not only the wine houses and temples, but also the exact physical location of bridges, causeways, city walls and so on. Apparently, later viewers were attracted very much by the detail of this painting and wanted to decipher every single places. Qing literatus Li E compared this painting with the records of places of interest in Zhou Mi’s *Wulin jiushi*, and thus explained different sites in his long colophon (Fig. 35).

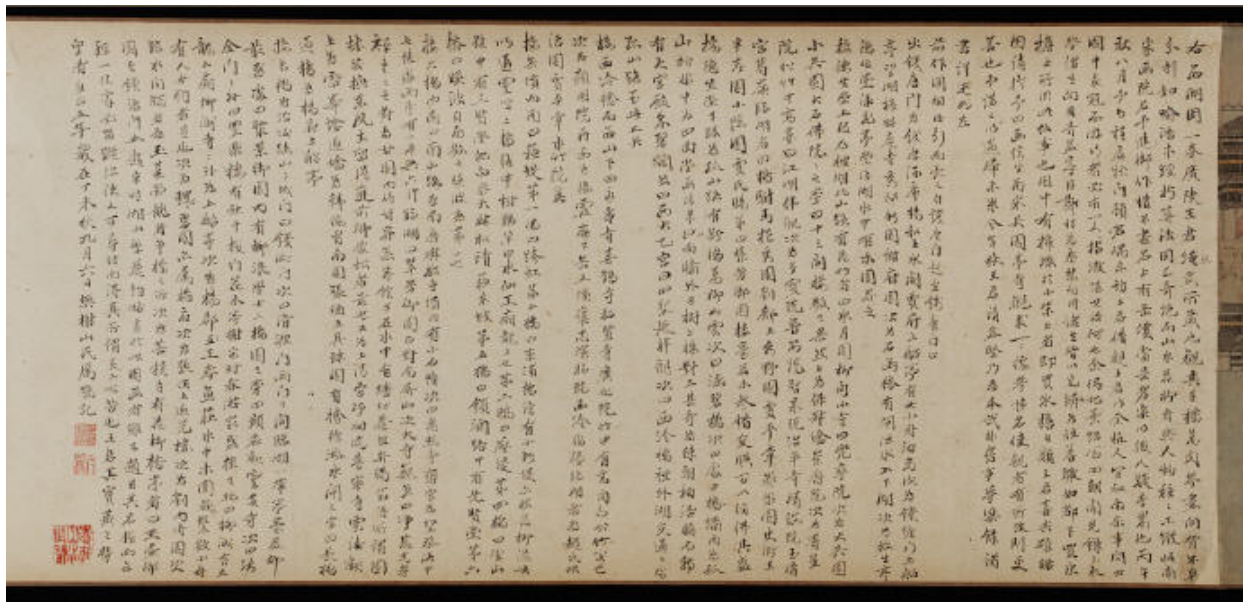


Figure 35: Section of Li E’s colophon, *Xihu qingqu tu*.

³⁹⁴ Cheng Nanyun 程南雲 (1388–1458).

³⁹⁵ Lee Hui-shu, “Picturing West Lake: Reelection of a Cultural Space,” in the conference of Southern Song Art and Culture “When Shall West Lake be Without Song or Dance?”, held at the University of Michigan in Oct. 2011.

Viewers of these paintings were always fond of decoding these visualizations. In the process of encoding, painters incorporated the natural landscape into their cultural framework, by reconciling artistic rendition with the realistic tradition learnt from making maps. Their own sightseeing experiences and the expected audiences of their paintings motivated them to paint the landscape truthfully. In the process of decoding, the viewers were testing their knowledge of the physical landscape. In both cases, the visualization of landscape carried the influence of gazetteer maps of the lake, a tradition first established during the Southern Song, which was inherited by nearly every subsequent Hangzhou gazetteers and West Lake gazetteers.

Sightseeing Depicted among the Landscape

While Li Song placed his attention on the representation of natural landscape, some other Southern Song court painters gave much more attention to the depiction of travelers. With no intention to represent the entire landscape, these paintings usually cropped one corner of the lake and thus concentrated on the details of excursions. The most popular and representative painting format of the Southern Song was probably the fan painting, which was perfect for depicting a small corner of West Lake.

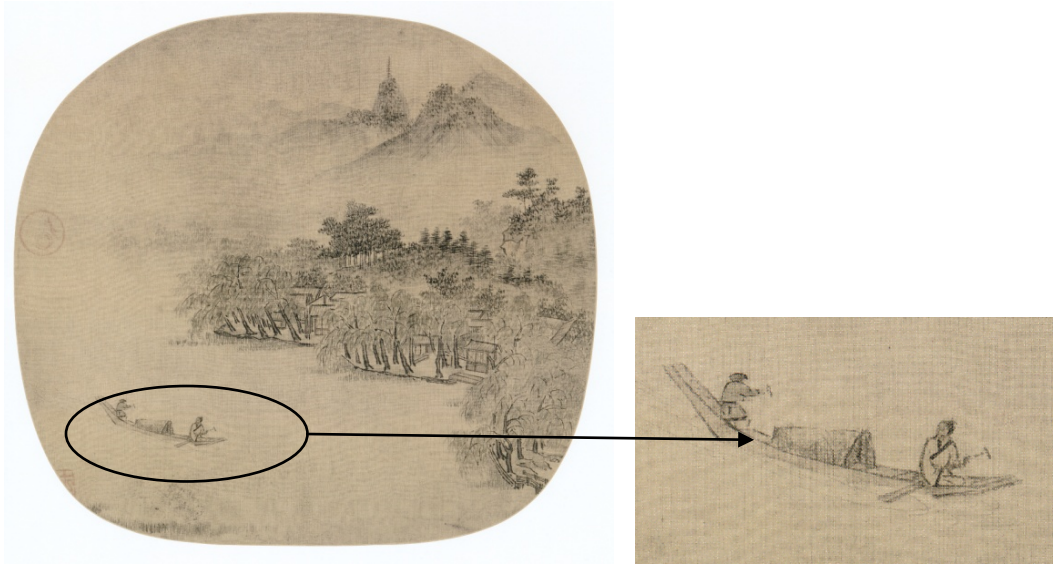


Figure 36: Anonymous, *Xihu chunxiao tu*, Palace Museum. After LDXHSHJ, 38.



Figure 37: Chen Qingbo, *Hushan chunxiao tu*; ink and color on silk; H: 25, W: 26.7cm; Palace Museum. After LDXHSHJ, 35.

The anonymous fan painting *Xihu chunxiao tu* (Fig. 36) focuses on the corner of Solitary Mountain on the north bank of the lake, judging from the distant Baochu Pagoda on the hill. On

Solitary Mountain, several simply depicted buildings are hidden among the trees. The focus of the painting, however, is not these trees and buildings, but the small boat on the lake surface, seen on the left side of the painting. There are two people in the boat, one holding the oar, the other sitting in the front with a zither-like object on his knees. This figure is gazing toward the left, and thus leads the viewers to imagine the beautiful scenery on the other side of the lake. Light ink and green color are used to suggest a misty spring morning.

Spring morning landscapes were popular subjects for pictorial depiction in the Southern Song. Another extant example is *Hushan chunxiao tu* by Chen Qingbo (Fig. 37). Chen was known for painting West Lake scenery during and even after the Southern Song, thus it is reasonable to assume that this fan painting is based on West Lake as well.³⁹⁶ This painting's composition is similar to that of *Xihu chunxiao tu*. In the middle of the painting, a causeway, on which a group of buildings hides among the trees, extends from the middle right to the upper left to connect with the distant mountains. On the lower left, a figure dressed like a scholar is riding a horse, followed by two servants, one carrying an umbrella and the other carrying the luggage. They are heading to the left, but the scholar is looking back at the buildings on the causeway. This detail connects the two parts of the painting with a diagonal line. In both fan paintings, most of the paper was left blank, implying the lake surface and misty environment, which is one of the main artistic characteristics of Southern Song art.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ *NSYHL*, in *XHWXJC*, 2: 635.

³⁹⁷ The most famous painters who only painted a small portion of the paper were Ma Yuan and Xia Gui, who were called "One Corner Ma" and "Half Side Xia."

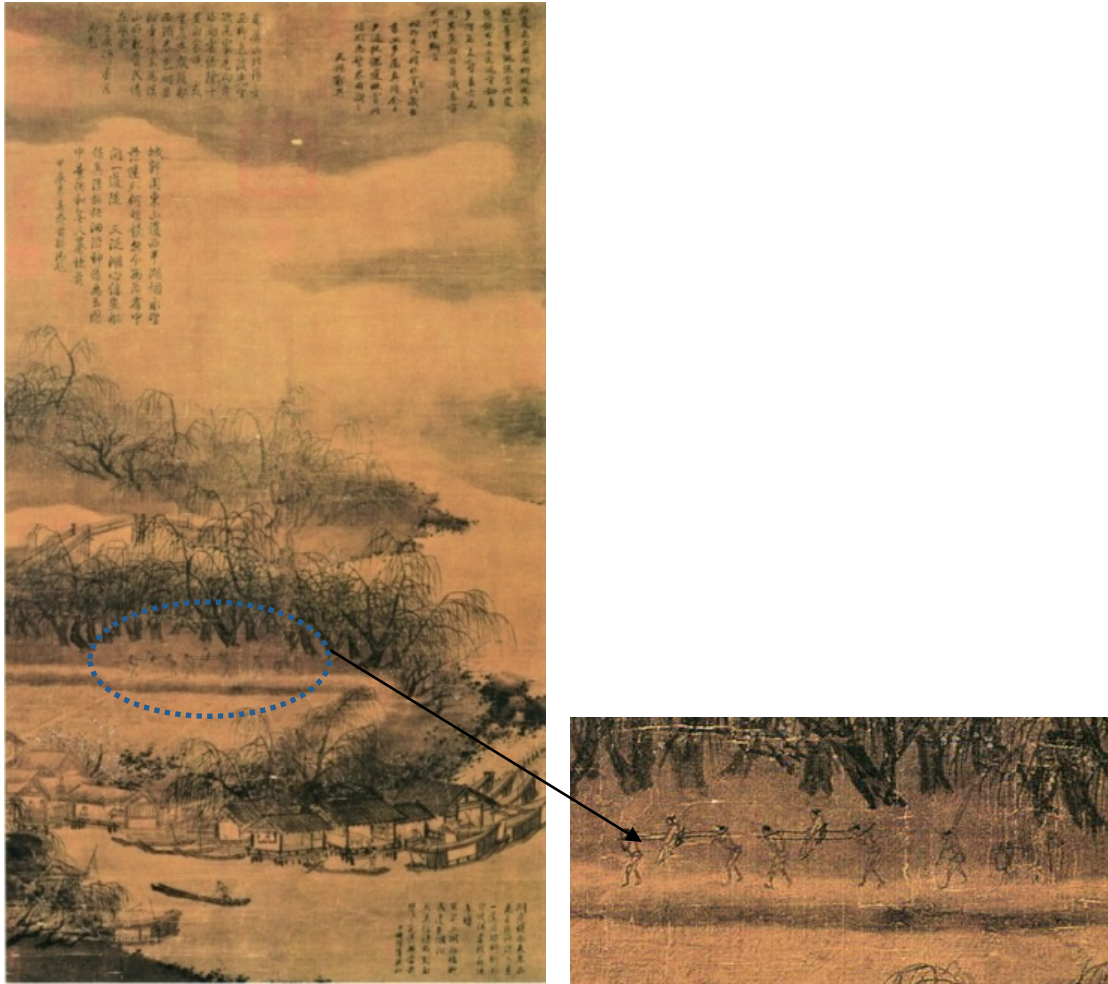


Figure 38: Xia Gui, *Xihu liuting tu*, National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan, *Gugong shuhua tulu*, 2: 199-200.

The emphasis of both paintings' content is the people wandering among the scenery: in Chen's painting it is the scholar who is riding on the horse, and in *Xihu chunxiao tu* it is the scholar who is sitting in the boat. Both painters used the figure's gaze to lead the viewers to notice the depiction of the natural scenery or to imagine the larger environment beyond the painting's frame. Human activities were more vividly depicted in Xia Gui's painting *Xihu liuting tu* (Fig. 38). The painter drew three rows of willows in the lower half of the painting and filled the upper part of the painting with floating mist, implying the distant willows and landscape. Among the trees, Xia Gui carefully depicted two travelers sitting on two chairs; each carried by

two servants, and followed by another one. More people are shown in the wine and teahouses beside the water. The empty boats not only resonate with the painting's title, but also suggest more tourists will come.

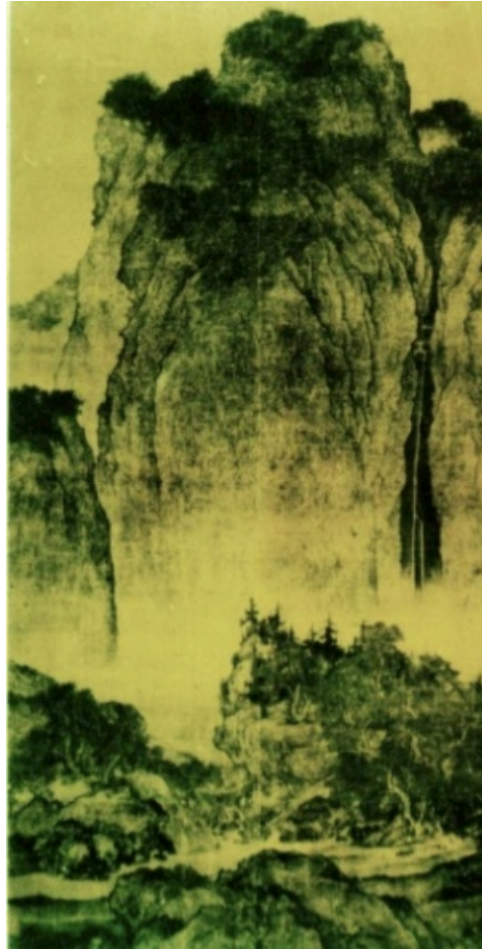


Figure 39: Fan Kuan, *Xishan xinglü tu*; ink on silk; H: 206.3, W: 103.3cm; National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Gugong shuhua tulu*, 1: 167-8.

Depiction of the travelers could invite the viewers to step into the painting in order to feel the natural beauty at close hand and more personally. Travelers in Southern Song paintings were handled differently from those in Northern Song landscape paintings, such as Fan Kuan's *Xishan xinglü tu* (Fig. 39). Under Fan's brush, the travelers are tiny and hardly noticeable. Fan wanted to present the monumental mountain, in order to inspire the viewers' respect for nature. In Southern Song paintings, however, the travelers are gazing at the landscape, hence inviting the viewers to

join them. The size of the figure was also significantly enlarged compared to the surroundings. Another difference is the reason that the figures travel among the hills. Figures in Fan's painting are taking a long and most likely very tiresome journey. But in Southern Song paintings, the figures are enjoying the surrounding beautiful scenery, especially those in the boat and wine shops. The depiction of the pleasure of sightseeing in Southern Song paintings was certainly a reflection of painters or their patrons' travel experiences, which was filled with pleasure and ease.

Gazing at these Southern Song paintings, one sees causeway path leading to the distance, one sees hermit and mountain dwellers, and one sees small architectures where one could enjoy scenery at ease. This was on the one hand certainly the depiction of the actual environment around the lake, but on the other hand, and more importantly, this arrangement conveyed the concept that the landscape was not only a product of artistic representation, but also a space for human dwelling. These paintings made West Lake suitable for both tourism and residence, an idealized place like that brought up by Guo Xi in *Linquan Gaozhi* 林泉高致 (*The Lofty Message of Forest and Streams*):

It is a generally accepted opinion that in landscapes there are those through which you may travel, those in which you may sightsee, those through which you may wander and those in which you may live. Any paintings attaining these effects is to be considered excellent, but those suitable for traveling and sightseeing are not as successful an achievement as those suitable for wandering through and living in. Why is this? If you survey present-day scenery, in a hundred miles of land to be settled, only about one out of three places will be suitable for wandering and living, yet they will certainly be selected as such. A gentleman's thirst for forests and streams is due precisely to such places of beauty. Therefore, it is with this in mind that a painter should create and a critic should examine. This is what we mean by not losing ultimate meaning.

謂山水有可行者，有可望者，有可遊者，有可居者。畫凡至此，皆入妙品。但可行可望不如可居可遊之為得，何者？觀今山川，地占數百裏，可遊可居之處十無三四

，而必取可居可遊之品。君子之所以渴慕林泉者，正謂此佳處故也。故畫者當以此意造，而鑒者又當以此意窮之，此之謂不失其本意。³⁹⁸

This theory was further developed by literati painters in the Ming. In one of his painting inscriptions, Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575-1629) commented on the natural scenery of West Lake thus:

Hangzhou is surrounded by (Qiantang) river and (West) lake. The mountains and water add radiance and beauty to each other, so the scenery is ever changing through day and night. Stepping out of the city wall, your ears and eyes will be expanded. In small boats and straw sandals, you can find great scenery everywhere. No other place under heaven surpasses West Lake: this place is good for both living and wandering. Even if you eat, drink and sleep around here all day and night, you won't get tired of it.

錢江襟江帶湖，山水映發，昏旦百變，出郭數武，耳目豁然，扁舟草履，隨地得勝，天下佳山水，可居可遊可以飲食寢興其中而朝夕不厭者，無過西湖矣。³⁹⁹

In this paragraph, Li Liufang discussed why West Lake was suitable for both wandering and living, and thus visitors would linger around and painters could observe the scenery closely while living nearby.

This emphasis on the travelers is the most important contribution by the Southern Song painters of West Lake. After the Song Dynasty, “Spring Morning on West Lake” became a popular painting theme, but the painting format and content changed in line, with broader artistic styles. For example, Xie Shichen's *Xihu chunxiao tu* (Fig. 40) adopted a very different hanging scroll format and the content changed accordingly. In contrast to the west-up perspective usual in Song painting, Xie placed the south up, with Leifeng Pagoda at the top of the painting. In the middle ground is the lake, with boats floating on it. The foreground takes up the largest portion of the painting, with travelers wandering around. The composition of this painting seems to be influenced by Yuan literati painting, especially Ni Zan's 倪瓚 (1301-1374) style of using water

³⁹⁸ Susan Bush and Shih Hsiao-yen, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1985), 152-3.

³⁹⁹ Li Liufang 李流芳, “Tihua wei Xu Tianzhong” 題画为徐田仲, in *Tanyuan ji* 檀園集, SKQS, 12:15.

to separate the foreground and distant mountains.⁴⁰⁰ Despite the changing format, composition, and brushwork in this painting, Xie copied Chen Qingbo's depiction of the travelers: the scholar is riding on the donkey, followed by two servants, one carrying an umbrella and the other carrying the luggage.

⁴⁰⁰ Ni Zan was esteemed highly during the Ming. Though Xie did not copy Ni Zan's sparse landscape, his composition provided hints of influence from Ni Zan. For examples, see Ni Zan's *Rongxi zhai tu* 容膝齋圖 (*Painting of the Narrow Studio*). See *Gugong shuhua tulu*, 4: 301-2



Figure 40: Xie Shichen, *Xihu chunxiao tu*; ink and color on paper; H: 279, W: 105cm; Ji'nan Museum, Shandong. After *LDXHSJ*, 77.



Figure 41: Qi Min, *Spring Dawn at Su Causeway (part)*; ink on silk; H: 32, W: 51cm; Tianjin Wenwu Company. *LDXHSHJ*, 127.



Figure 42: Qi Min, *Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery*; ink on silk; H: 32, W: 51cm; Tianjin Wenwu Company. After *LDXHSHJ*, 127.

Similar depiction of the travelers also appears in Qi Min's 齊民 paintings (Fig. 41 and Fig. 42). At the lower left corner of the first image, the traveler on horse back is looking forward, into the space beyond the frame of the painting. It reminds viewers of the continuing Su Causeway. The servant is following the horse, without interrupting the imagined gaze of the tourist. Similarly in the second image, the man riding on the horse is looking back, towards the direction of a building among the willows, and the servant is carefully placed in front of the tourist, to avoid impeding the eyesight. Another interesting one is Qi's depiction of "Evening Bell from Nanping Hill." (Fig. 43) He placed the Buddhist monastery on the left and the figure on horseback on the upper right, again in a diagonal composition. The person is looking back

toward the monastery, although the horse is moving in the other direction. This detail implies that the person has heard the bell ringing, and thus presents the abstract title vividly. Although the artistic style of Qi's paintings was different from Southern Song art, Qi still followed some basic rules that were initiated by Southern Song painters, such as the diagonal composition and the frequent use of boats to indicate the lake surface and highlight human activities.

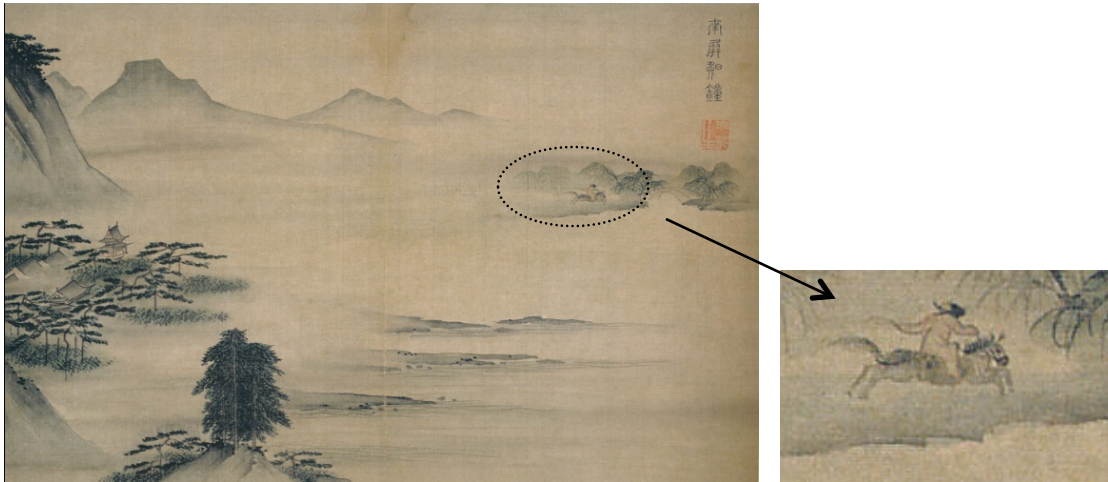


Figure 43: Qi Min, *Evening Bell Ringing at Nanping Hill*; ink on silk; H: 32, W: 51cm; Tianjin Wenwu Company. After LDXHSHJ, 125.

Emotional Projection onto the Landscape

Reading into most of the paintings discussed above, we would find a very different kind of landscape than Li Song's. To some extent, these paintings of a corner of West Lake more closely resembled the Southern Song lyric style, as James Cahill discussed.⁴⁰¹ Rather than representing the landscape in a more descriptive way, the painters used their brushes to convey their emotional reflections on the landscape. Art historians have long noticed the phenomenon of depicting landscape with emotional brush. Wen Fong reads Song landscapes as “landscapes of emotion,” and proposes that Song landscapes demonstrate both realistic features and the

⁴⁰¹ Cahill, *The Lyric Journey*, 7-72.

depiction of emotional situation of the painters.⁴⁰²

The two fan paintings (Fig. 37 and Fig. 38) discussed above highlight the same theme of “spring morning.” Xia Gui’s painting also indicated the strong connection with clear summer, reflecting the emphasis on seasonal moods. Many Southern Song paintings were devoted to the depiction of seasonal scenery and activities, such as Liu Songnian’s *Siji shanshui tu* 四季山水圖 (*Landscape Painting of the Four Seasons*) and Xia Gui’s *Hexiang qingxia tu* 荷鄉清夏圖 (*Clear Summer among the Lotus*).⁴⁰³ Wu Zimu (ac. around 1270) mentioned some of these seasonal symbols in *Mengliang lu*:

In spring, flowers and willows compete in beauty, while lotus and pomegranates bloom in summer. In autumn the fragrance of cassia floats in the air, and in winter jade-like plums bloom amidst the whirling flakes of auspicious snow. The scenes of the four seasons are ever changing, and these things that gratify the heart and give pleasure proceed endlessly apace.

春則花柳爭妍，夏則荷榴競放，秋則桂子飄香，冬則梅花破玉，瑞雪飛瑤。四時之景不同，而賞心樂事者亦與之無窮矣。⁴⁰⁴

It appears that people in the Southern Song, as represented by Wu and his peers, loved to lament the loss of youth, which was traditionally symbolized by early morning and early spring, and the transient nature of the phenomenal world.⁴⁰⁵ It was very common for the tourist to notice seasonal change via their regular visits throughout the year, commenting especially on plants.⁴⁰⁶ Several factors contributed to this artistic practice. First, it was possibly rooted in Northern Song artistic theory. For example, Guo Xi wrote:

⁴⁰² Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th-14th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 95.

⁴⁰³ Winter is the most interesting season: besides snow scenes, painters such as Ye Xiaoyan and Liu Songnian liked to draw a figure crossing a bridge on a donkey. This image reminds me of a poem written by Luo Guanzhong (around 1300-1400) in *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*: “Riding on the donkey, (he) goes across the small bridge.” (騎驢過小橋。) It seems that this imagery was started during the Southern Song and shared by painting and poetry since then. Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2007), 37: 226.

⁴⁰⁴ MLL, “Xi hu,” 12: 216-217, Translation from Lee, *Exquisite Moments*, 32.

⁴⁰⁵ Hui-shu Lee attributes this feature to imperial interest in Daoism and Chan Buddhism, both of which always emphasizes an awareness of the transience of the human world. Lee, *Exquisite Moments: West Lake and Southern Song Art*.

⁴⁰⁶ For example, descriptions of osmanthus appeared frequently in the poems about “Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake.” See Zhou Mi 周密, Zha Weiren 查為仁, Li E 厲鶚, *Juemiao hao ci jian* 絕妙好詞箋, 7: 11a.

Clouds and vapor in a real landscape differ through the four seasons. They are genial in spring, profuse in summer, sparse in autumn and somber in winter. ... Mountains look different in the spring and summer, the autumn and winter. This is called “the scenery of the four seasons is not the same.” A mountain in the morning has a different appearance from in the evening. Bright and dull days give further mutations. This is called “the changing aspects of different times are not the same,” thus can one mountain combine in itself the significant aspects of several thousand mountains. Should you not investigate this?

真山水之雲氣四時不同：春融，夏蓊郁，秋疏薄，冬黯淡。……如此是一山而兼數十百山之形狀，可得不悉乎！山春夏看如此，秋冬看又如此，所謂“四時之景不同”也。山朝看如此，暮看又如此，陰晴看又如此，所謂“朝暮之變態不同”也。如此是一山而兼數十百山之意態，可得不究乎！⁴⁰⁷

As Curie Virag suggests in her discussion of Guo Xi’s account on painting landscape, thinkers in the Song, different from their precedents in the Han Dynasty and Wei-Jin period, believed in the confluence between emotions and the reality of the world. They assume that “emotions represented something structured and intelligible within the self and, furthermore, that they gave access to truths about the world.”⁴⁰⁸ Guo and his contemporaries’ artistic theory, though brought up during the Northern Song, was not vividly and perfectly implemented until the Southern Song, partly because West Lake shows seasonal changes and also changes of time in a day so well. Sightseeing experience also paved way for the acquisition and recognition of ones’ inner coherence, which as Virag argues, structure the capacity of distill one’s brush with emotional reflection.

In addition, Cahill attributes the featured depiction of such easy-passing beauty in Southern Song paintings to the pressure of urban life and the precarious state of the Song state.⁴⁰⁹ Both urban pressure and stressful political/military reality motivated Hangzhou residents to escape from regular life and embrace natural scenery; and such excursion experience reinforced the

⁴⁰⁷ See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 152-3.

⁴⁰⁸ Curie Virag, “The Ethics of Visualization: Structure and Feeling in Song Landscape Aesthetics,” Presented at Conference on Middle Period China, 800-1400, Harvard, June 2014.

⁴⁰⁹ Cahill, *The Lyric Journey*, 54-55. Martin Powers also argues that the change of time became a fit subject for the artists’ brushes in the Southern Song, partly because of the rapid development of urban life. See Martin Powers, “Picturing time in Song Painting and Poetry,” in the conference of Southern Song Art and Culture “When Shall West Lake be Without Song or Dance?”, held at the University of Michigan in Oct. 2011.

seasonal mood and perception of transient moments. In their discussion of Song Dynasty landscape painting, Robert L. Thorp and Richard Ellis Vinograd also stress the fact that the painters who depicted landscape were not social elites in urban, administrative centers. This was obviously true for the painting of West Lake. Their paintings, accordingly, represent the motivation to “escape from the physical and psychological pressures of urban environments or as symbolic compensations for experiences and modes of life that were increasingly hard to realize.”⁴¹⁰ As discussed in the previous chapter, city dwellers would pay visits to the lake on several festivals during the spring, summer and autumn.⁴¹¹ More importantly, most of the famous painters in the Southern Song lived near the lake, so it was not difficult for them to apply their close and continuing observation in recording changing appearances of the lake, including transient moments. The emphasis on seasonal mood was also appropriated in the way people name the landscape, as well-represented by Ten Views of West Lake. This will be discussed in the light of how humans perceive nature in the next chapter.

While paintings of West Lake after the Southern Song never reached its level of sensitivity toward seasonal changes, the practice of projecting personal emotions onto the visualization of landscape was common. Since for most of the time the imbued emotions were drawn from the broader life experiences, painting West Lake was sometimes adopted as an outlet for the painter's. This was especially the case in the paintings done by literati. Although literati began to connect the physical beauty of West Lake with the visual representations during the Southern Song, they did not think about drawing the scenery with their own brushes. It was not until the Yuan Dynasty when literati began to engage in painting, that they contributed to the visual representation of West Lake. From the Yuan Dynasty on, painting began to be accepted as a

⁴¹⁰ Robert L. Thorp and Richard Ellis Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture* (New York: Harry A. Abrams, 2001): 242.

⁴¹¹ Such as Qingming Festival, Cold Food Festival, Double Fifth Festival, Birthday of Lord Cui and so on.

liberal art, so literati, with certain amount of training in painting, began to acquire the ability to portray the beauty of West Lake with brushworks. Although they believed that it was hard to fully represent the essential beauty of the lake, they claimed that they painted it to record their trips and express their taste and emotions.⁴¹² Among all the emotions, the one bore strongest relationship with the Southern Song must be nostalgia.

During the Yuan Dynasty, many literati lamented the Song's fall and refused to serve in the Mongol government. Some of them, such as Qian Xuan, turned to painting for self-expression and as a way to pass the time. Qian Xuan painted a handscroll titled *Gushan tu* 孤山圖 (*Painting of the Solitary Mountain*) (Fig. 44), and placed Lin Bu at the left in the pavilion surrounded by plum flowers and cranes. Qian Xuan depicted Lin in order to express his own decision to live in reclusion. The use of green and blue, the flatness of the mountain rocks and the lack of depth create a tranquil and unreal environment, without any hint of the flow of time. Why did this painting move far away from the Southern Song tradition of depicting the lake scenery realistically and the ink brushwork used by Li Song? It is possible that Qian Xuan blamed the Southern Song government for losing China to the Mongols, so he did not want to copy the Southern Song artistic tradition, but for artistic inspiration traced further back to the Tang, when China was more aggressive on the issue of northern and western nomads. In this case, the Southern Song political tradition discouraged Yuan painters from following the Southern Song artistic traditions in depicting West Lake. But this is probably the only period when the Southern Song art tradition for the visual representation of West Lake was abandoned: after the establishment of the Ming, painters turned to the Southern Song art again for ways to depict West Lake.

⁴¹² Li Liufang said, "All the landscape cannot be painted, but still you should paint to record an impression." (凡山水皆不可畫, 然皆不可不畫也。) Li Liufang 李流芳, *Xihu woyou tu tiba* 西湖臥遊圖題跋, in *XHWXJC*, 3: 1094.



Figure 44: Qian Xuan, *Gushan tu* (part); ink and color on paper; H: 23.4, W: 92.5cm; Palace Museum. After LDXHSHJ, 46-7.

The painting below, titled *Gushu xihu tu* 故山西湖圖 (*Painting of Old Mountains and West Lake*) (Fig. 45), was painted by Chen Yuanyun 陳元贊 (1587-1671), a Hangzhou native who later went to Japan around the year 1659 as a martial monk. This painting was done after the Ming fell and when the painter recalled the hometown far away in Japan. In the painting, landscape was rendered with the misty style favored in the Southern Song. Chen did not care about which corner of the lake his was depicting; he just freed his brush to present the lake in his dream, imagination and memory. Viewing from the foreground, the painter looked at his hometown in the distance, which was symbolized by a section of city wall and backed with the slanted hill in the middle of the image. The slanted hill, which is quite protruding, added to the image with a feeling of unease and danger, conveying a subtle but enhanced nostalgic emotion towards both his hometown and the past dynasty.



Figure 45: Chen Yuanyun, *Gushan xihu tu*; ink and color on silk; H: 12.2, W: 20.1 cm; Hashimoto Collection After Tsuruta Takeyoshi, “Chen Yuanyun Hitsu ‘Ko Zan Sai Ko Zu’,” *Kokka*, no. 1023, Vol. 86, *ce* 6, Aug. 1979, 23.

While it was not unusual for literati painters to imbue their landscape painting with emotions in late imperial periods, the Southern Song tradition of depicting West Lake in a lyric way has established the theme of West Lake as a mirror for real life and a carrier for traveler’s feelings. The misty brushwork favored in the Southern Song was especially suitable for imbuing sentiments in the lake landscape. From the very beginning of depicting West Lake, which was also the time West Lake welcomed increasing excursion activities, this particular landscape was closely related to the mentality of tourists.

While this chapter focuses mainly on the representation and manipulation of landscape, more could be told from analyzing the underlying impetus for this manipulation. McDowall suggests that the aesthetic criteria rooted from and made popular by landscape paintings were being used to judge natural landscapes. Such judgment could be well encapsulated through the

Ten Views of West Lake, which refers to the ten best-known scenic spots around the lake, each known by a four-character poetic title. Examining such naming convention also complements the discussion of visual representation in this chapter by bringing the album paintings of West Lake into the view. Although the Ten Views was an important theme in Southern Song paintings, I decide to discuss it in a separate chapter as this tourism discourse was applied in a much broader realm beyond paintings, such as in poetic works, fiction and gazetteer records.

CHAPTER V

Naming Landscape:

Ten Views of West Lake and Perception of Nature

In the year of 1924, Leifeng Pagoda, which had stood for over a thousand years beside West Lake, suddenly collapsed. This news, which one might expect to be regarded as quite insignificant in such a politically unstable era, drew the attention of not only local people, but also the elite from all over the country. Literati found this incident to be a perfect opportunity to lament historical change and argued in favor of having the tower rebuilt in order to keep the set of the Ten Views intact. Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), however, used the incident to criticize traditional Chinese culture. He wrote, in his characteristically satirical tone,

Many of us in China ... have a sort of “ten views syndrome” or at least an “eight scenes syndrome,” which reached epidemic proportions in the Qing dynasty, I should say. Look through any county annals, and you will find the district has ten sights, if not eight, such as “Moonlight on a Distant Village,” “Quiet Monastery and Clear Bell,” “Ancient Pool and Crystal Water.”

我們中國的許多人，……大抵患有一種“十景病”，至少是“八景病”，沈重起來的時候大概在清朝。凡看一部縣誌，這一縣往往有十景或八景，如“遠村明月”、“蕭寺清鐘”、“古池好水”之類。⁴¹³

What bothered Lu Xun was the extremely formulaic practice of assigning eight or ten four-character poetic names to epitomize the best of local scenery. By the Qing Dynasty, a list of eight or ten scenes was a common feature of gazetteers. For a majority of these places, local

⁴¹³ Lu Xun, “More Thoughts on the Collapse of Leifeng Pagoda,” from Lu, Xun, Xianyi Yang, and Gladys Yang, *Selected Works of Lu Hsun* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956), 96.

people came up with the requisite number of stereotyped titles.⁴¹⁴ While agreeing with Lu Xun that most of the Ten Views produced in late imperial times were clichéd, I would argue that the Southern Song Ten Views of West Lake, the origin of this “Ten Views Syndrome,” was a unique and creative discourse. It popularized the early modern Chinese experience of interacting, perceiving and building upon the natural landscape and was made concrete through the production of paintings, poems, gazetteers, and so on. It was because of the popularity acquired by Ten Views of West Lake that this naming practice became “highly contagious” and formulaic. This chapter, by investigating how Ten Views of West Lake was envisioned, circulated, and manipulated during the Southern Song, offers critical insights into cultural history and how people thought about nature.

Ten Views of West Lake was first discussed by the Southern Song literatus Zhu Mu 祝穆 (?-1255) in his geographical work *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽 (*A View of Scenic Spots in the Realm*) written during Emperor Lizong’s reign (1225-1264). He wrote,

West Lake...Local dilettantes (connoisseurs, *hao shi zhe*) used to name (the scenery) with ten titles: Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake, Spring Dawn at Su Causeway, Remnant Snow on Broken Bridge, Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda, Evening Bell from Nanping Hill, Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery, Watching Fish at Flower Cove, Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples, Three Stupas and the Reflecting Moon, and Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds.

西湖.....好事者嘗命十題，有曰：平湖秋月，蘇堤春曉，斷橋殘雪，雷峯落照，南屏晚鐘，曲院風荷，花港觀魚，柳浪聞鶯，三潭印月，兩峯插雲。⁴¹⁵

Similar records also appeared in Wu Zimu’s *Mengliang lu* with some discrepancies.⁴¹⁶ The inventor of the Ten Views became the painters, which was possibly due to the frequent

⁴¹⁴ The use of number eight or ten was certainly not a random choice. There was a long tradition in Chinese culture of imbuing special philosophical, cultural or auspicious meaning to certain numbers. The number “eight” is commonly believed to be coming from the eight directions. The “eight scenes” bore a stronger connection with Daoism, referring to either eight stars or the eight special seasonal sceneries, and with Buddhism as well, referring to the Eight Noble Truths. This argument is inspired by discussion with Tracy Miller, who also suggests the possible connection between the number “ten” as the eight directions plus up/down and Buddhism.

⁴¹⁵ Zhu Mu 祝穆, *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽, *SKQS*, 1: 6b-7a.

application of the ten titles in album paintings.⁴¹⁷ Another major difference in the two sources is that the sequence of the ten titles was rearranged to better correspond with the natural order of seasons and times, as seen in Table 5.

Table 5: Ten Views of West Lake

	Location/ architecture	Constructio n date	Season	Time	Weather	Plant	Activity
Spring Dawn at Su Causeway 蘇堤春曉	Su Causeway	Northern Song (1089, Built by Su Shi)	spring	Dawn			Watch and feel
Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery 麴院風荷	Qu Garden/ Winery	Southern Song (1127- 1276)	summe r		Breeze	Lotus	Watch, smell and sense
Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake 平湖秋月	Temple of Dragon King	Song Dynasty (960- 1276) ⁴¹⁸	autumn	Night	Clear		Watch
Remnant Snow on Broken Bridge 斷橋殘雪	Bai Causeway	Before the Tang Dynasty (618- 907) ⁴¹⁹	winter		After snow		Watch from distance
Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples	Jujing Garden	Xiaozong's Reign (1127-	spring		breeze	Willow	Listen, watch

⁴¹⁶ “In recent times the ten most spectacular scenes of the four seasons around West Lake and its mountains have been illustrated by painters. These are Spring Dawn at Su Causeway, Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery, Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake, Remnant Snow on a Broken Bridge, Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples, Watching Fish at Flower Cove, Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda, Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds, Evening Bell from Nanping Hill, and Three Stupas and the Reflecting Moon.” *MLL*, “Xihu,” 12: 220. 近者畫家稱湖山四時景色最奇者有十，曰蘇堤春曉，麴院荷風，平湖秋月，斷橋殘雪，柳岸聞鶯，花港觀魚，雷鋒落照，兩峰插雲，南屏晚鐘，三潭印月。

⁴¹⁷ It is believed that painters like Monk Ruofen, Chen Qingbo and Ma Lin all contributed more than one set of album paintings to the ten titles. Gao Shiqi 高士奇, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江村消夏錄, in *ZGSHQS*, 7: 1031. *NSYHL*, 2: 635.

⁴¹⁸ While the scenery remained the same, the viewing position changed from the Hall of Dragon King (*longwang miao* 龍王廟), which was located south of the third bridge on Su Causeway during the Southern Song, to the Watching Lake Pavilion near the Solitary Mountain in the late Ming. See Shen Deqian 沈德潛, Liang Shizheng 梁詩正 and Fu Wanglu 傅王露, *Xihu zhizuan* 西湖志纂, *SKQS*, 1: 34b.

⁴¹⁹ This causeway was commonly regarded as the one built by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) when he took charge of Hangzhou. But the one he built was on the north of this causeway, and was no longer existed. This causeway was called White Sand Causeway in the Tang Dynasty, appeared in Bai's poems frequently. One of his poems indicates that he did not know the origin of this causeway either. See Bai Juyi, “Hangzhou Chunwang 杭州春望,” *Baishi changqing ji*, 20:14a. “Who open the southwest road to the temples around the lake? With green grass, it just likes a tilt line around the whist on the lake dress.”(誰開湖寺西南路，草綠裙腰一道斜。) The local gazetteer of Xianchun reign also noted that the history of this causeway was unclear. But after the Southern Song, people tended to believe that Bai Causeway was contributed by Bai Juyi, in part as a way to memorize him.

柳浪聞鶯		1194)					
Watching Fish at Flower Cove 花港觀魚	At the foot of Hua Family Mountain	Southern Song (1127-1276)			clear	Flower	Fish viewing
Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda 雷峰夕照	Leifeng Pagoda	975		Dusk	clear		Watch
Twin Peaks piercing the Clouds 雙峰插雲	Among the mountains on the west of the lake.	Tang Dynasty (618-907)	Likely to be spring or autumn		misty		Watch
Evening Bell from Nanping Hill 南屏晚鐘	Jingci Temple	954		Dusk			Listen
Three Stupas and the Reflected Moon 三潭印月	Three pagodas in the lake heart	built by Su Shi, Northern Song (around 1089)		Night	clear		Watch

As seen from this table, Ten Views of West Lake were meant to convey the essence of the West Lake experience through a set sights and activities, correlated with specific times of day and seasons. We will revisit this table as the discussion goes into detail.

The fact that Ten Views of West Lake gained popularity during the Southern Song was inseparable from the emerging role of West Lake as a popular destination for excursions by both elite and commoners. Distributed around and on the lake (Fig. 46), the Ten Views together formed the core of any West Lake tour. As poetic work, paintings, anecdotes, and gazetteer records all make reference to the Ten Views of West Lake, the ten titles consequently entered a tourism discourse that framed the experiences of later tourists.

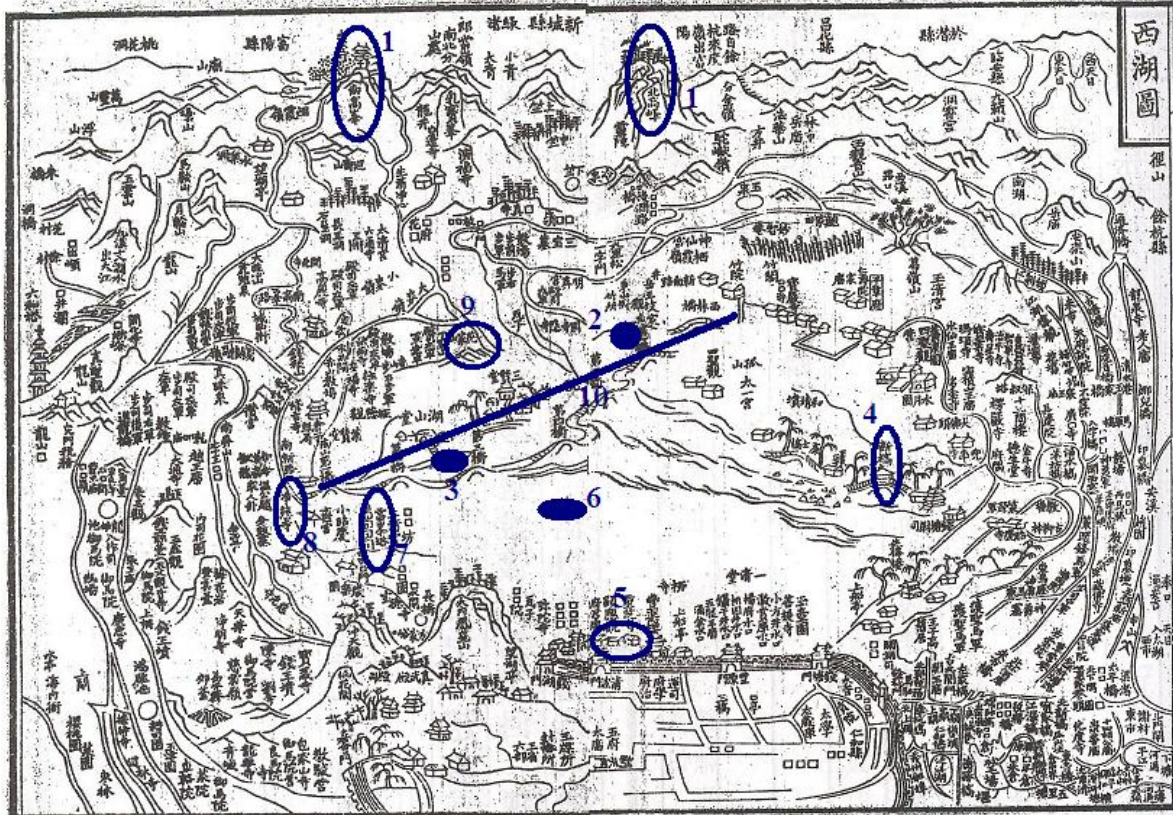
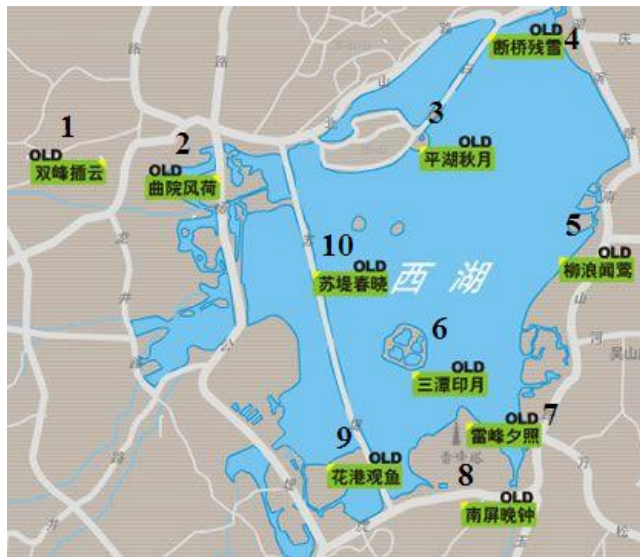


Figure 46: Upper: Ten Views of West Lake on the map of West Lake (*Xianchun Lin'an tu*).



Left: Ten Views of West Lake as noted on a modern map (standard north up)

1. Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds
2. Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery
3. Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake
4. Remnant Snow on a Broken Bridge
5. Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples
6. Three Stupas and the Reflecting Moon
7. Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda
8. Evening Bell from Nanping Hill
9. Watching Fish at Flower Cove
10. Spring Dawn at Su Causeway

The importance of such naming conventions was not limited to its use in tourism, but also is significant for understanding the way people perceived their surrounding natural landscape. As

people interacted more with the natural landscape by taking excursions, their understanding of, emotional attachment to, and perception of nature were variously confirmed and reshaped. This chapter takes Ten Views of West Lake as a case study to examine how tourists incorporated the natural landscape into their socio-cultural framework, and how different people manipulated this convention to empower themselves and claim ownership over the local scenery, as well as over the local market and society.

This study first traces the development of garden design and examines the interchangeability of the graphic and textual forms which both contributed to the formation of Ten Views of West Lake. I then use John Urry's theory of "tourist gaze" to explain how tourists' visual interaction with the landscape influenced the invention of Ten Views of West Lake. The last section briefly examines the development of such naming convention in late imperial China.

The Tang/Northern Song Tradition of Perceiving Nature

Although Ten Views of West Lake did not appear and become established until the Southern Song, as Table 5 shows, some of the architecture and other attractions included in its imagery were actually built long before Hangzhou became the capital in 1141. As the physical construction of the Ten Views was a cumulative process that began during the Tang Dynasty, some of the aesthetic traditions likewise predate the Southern Song, among which the most important two were the literati practice of giving literary names to places in their gardens, and their interchangeable use in poems and paintings.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ Another cultural tradition from the Northern Song that might as well leave imprints on the formation of Ten Views of West Lake was the composition of a collection of ten or more landscape poems. Ronald Egan, who has made inspiring comments on this paper, mentioned the possible connection between Ten Views of West Lake with the thirteen-chapter poem on Yangzhou's "Thin West Lake" written by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修. Ten of the thirteen poems begin with a sentence that ends with the same phrase "West Lake is nice." (西湖好) See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, Li Yi'an 李逸安 anno., *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 5:1991-1994.

The importance attached to the naming practice has been often noted by scholars who studied traditional gardens.⁴²¹ The practice of giving names to scenic sites in private gardens could be traced back to at least the Tang Dynasty. While literati, such as the Tang poet Wang Wei 王維 (699-759) and Song scholar Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), began to build their private gardens and give names to their favorite sites, it was not until the Southern Song that the elite began to extend this practice to natural sites like West Lake. The tradition of garden design would inevitably frame the way people perceived their natural landscape.⁴²²

A quick examination of the typical site names of Tang and Northern Song gardens indicates the influence of the Tang and Northern Song naming traditions with regards to the Ten Views. In his research into the development of the naming of Northern Song gardens, Robert Harrist argues that while the site names in Tang gardens were usually “simple references to the locations, surrounding scenery, or function of a site,” the Northern Song garden owners “devoted far more attention to the moods and feelings, the literary, historical, and biographical associations that the named sites evoked.”⁴²³ Wang Wei’s poems preserved the site names of his beloved Wangchuan Villa, including Southern Hillock (*nancha* 南垞), Willow Ripples (*liulang* 柳浪), and Northern Hillock (*beicha* 北垞). These titles are reminiscent of the first two characters in the titles of the Ten Views, such as “Qu Winery,” “Flower Coves,” and “Double Peaks.” The Northern Song site names, such as Reading Hall, Fishing Hut, Pavilion for Playing with Water, and Pavilion for Watering Flowers in Sima Guang’s Garden of Solitary Enjoyment, remind one of “Watching

⁴²¹ Though using the four-character poetic titles to name a collection of scenic sites was probably the most outstanding in East Asian context, naming sites in gardens was also seen in European culture. For more information on this, see Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Site*, 144-5.

⁴²² Wolfgang Kubin, who is credited with deep analysis of Chinese landscape poems, also discusses the connection between building gardens and perceiving nature. See Kubin, *Zhongguo wenren de ziran guan*. His study ends with the Tang, but he does hint at further development during the Song and later, that is, the popularization and secularization of the concepts established in Tang literature.

⁴²³ Robert E Harrist, “Site Names and their Meaning in the Garden of Solitary Enjoyment,” *Journal of Garden History*, 13 (1993), 207.

Fish” and “Listening to Orioles” in the Ten Views. Though it is unlikely that the Southern Song painters consciously created such names by combining the two naming traditions, which emphasize natural scenery and human activities respectively, it is not impossible that both traditions played a subtler role.

Another crucial aesthetic heritage left by the Northern Song was the adoption of poetic names for landscape paintings, a tradition that was valued among the Northern Song elite. The connection between poems and painting had been discussed by Wang Wei, whose poems were believed to bear rich visual quality. Literati in the Northern Song, in particular Su Shi, not only developed the concept of combining poems and painting, but also composed a number of poems for paintings done by others.⁴²⁴ This practice later became standard in part because of a revolution that took place in the imperial painting academy during Emperor Huizong’s reign (1100-1125). Court painters were trained to paint in a poetic way and to illustrate poetic couplets, and thus the interchangeability of graphic and textual arts was further promoted.⁴²⁵ As Cahill argued in his analysis of Southern Song painting, such practice from Emperor Huizong’s painting academy “vastly expanded and enriched the thematic range of Southern Song painting.”⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ Su Shi praised Wang Wei’s poems for incorporating paintings, and paintings for representing poems. “Shu Mojie lantian yanyu tu” 書摩詰藍田煙雨圖, Su Shi 蘇軾 and Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 70: 2209. The most famous poems for painting by Su Shi might be “Ti Huizhong chunjiang wanjing” 題惠崇春江晚景 (Inscription for Huichong’s Evening Scenery on Spring River). For more about the Northern Song theory of interchangeability between poems and paintings, see Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1991).

⁴²⁵ Huizong asked the painters to depict a poem, such as “Mountains in confusion, hiding an ancient monastery (深山藏古寺),” or “Deserted waters, without men crossing; an empty boat, horizontal the whole day (野渡無人舟自橫),” with their brush in the painting examinations. Deng Chun 鄧椿, *Hua ji* 畫鑑 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), 1: 5. Translation from Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 135.

The influence of Northern Song painting on the formation of the Ten Views is further evident in the popular practice of using a four-character poetic phrase as the painting title, such as the extant four titles from the “Twelve Views of Landscape” by Xia Gui: “Goose Bring Mail from Distant Mountain 遙山書雁,” “Returning Boats in Misty Village 煙村歸渡,” “Clear and Quiet Music from Fisherman’s Flute 漁笛清幽,” and “Berthing beside the Misty Causeway at Evening 煙堤晚泊.”

⁴²⁶ Cahill, *The Lyric Journey*, 47.

The most famous example of using four-character poetic phrases as painting titles is “Eight Scenes of the XiaoXiang River.” As Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095) recorded in his *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (*Brush Conversation*), Song Di 宋迪 (*jinshi* during 1023-1032) painted eight paintings, with the titles of “Geese Descending to Level Sand (平沙落雁),” “Sail Returning from Distant Shore (遠浦歸航),” “Mountain Market, Clearing Mist (山市晴嵐),” “River and Sky, Evening Snow (江天暮雨),” “Autumn Moon over Dongting (洞庭秋月),” “Night Rain on XiaoXiang (瀟湘夜雨),” “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple (煙寺晚鐘),” “Fishing Village in Evening Glow (漁村夕照).”⁴²⁷ The poetic beauty and structure applied in the painting titles, one feature came from the Eight Views of the XiaoXiang River as Alfreda Murck argued, very much-influenced the Ten Views.⁴²⁸ Though not sticking to the eight-sentence poem structure, the Ten Views inherited the verse-like structure.⁴²⁹ As shown below in Table 6, the ten titles could also be paired into five couplets.⁴³⁰

Table 6: Poetic Structure of Ten Views of West Lake

Buddhist site + an icon of evening	“Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda” 雷峰夕照	“Evening Bell from Nanping Hill” 南屏晚鐘
seasonal scenery + location	“Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery” 麴院風荷	“Remnant Snow on Broken Bridge” 斷橋殘雪
season + location	“Autumn Moon above the	“Spring Dawn at Su

⁴²⁷ Shen Gua 沈括, and Hu Daojing 胡道靜, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* 夢溪筆談校正 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 9: 549. Translation of the eight titles from Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 212-225.

The painting of “Eight Scenes of the XiaoXiang River,” which attracted many painters in Song China, and even in the later imperial period, is far from an obscure topic in the field of art history. Miyazaki Noriko suggests in her article that the formation of the Ten Views of West Lake must have benefitted from the growing renown of the “Eight Scenes of the XiaoXiang River.” Miyazaki, “Saiko wo meguru kaiga,” 203. Also see Alfreda Murck, “The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Exile,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies*, no. 26 (1996), 113-144.

⁴²⁸ Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 4-5.

⁴²⁹ “Eight Scenes of the XiaoXiang River” is believed to imitate the structure of Lü shi. See Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 210-227.

⁴³⁰ This close interaction between poetic images and painting practice could also explain why since the Southern Song most album paintings of the Ten Views have adopted the format of pairing poems and paintings. For example, Ming literati Li Liufang’s *Xihu shihua hebi* 西湖詩畫合璧 (Poem and Painting Integration of West Lake) includes ten paintings with ten poems.

	Placid Lake” 平湖秋月	Causeway” 蘇堤春曉
location with plants + sightseeing activity	“Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples” 柳浪聞鶯	“Watching Fish at Flower Cove” 花港觀魚
The numbers and verbs are perfect matches in Chinese	“Twin peaks piercing the Clouds” 雙峰插雲	“Three Stupas and the Reflecting Moon”’s 三潭印月

The Ten Views of West Lake, however, also differed from the Eight Views of the XiaoXiang River in several respects, above all the emphasis on specific locations and the involvement of more human activities. This development, as will be discussed below, was partially, if not mainly, due to the development of excursions among people of all ranks.

Southern Song: The Establishment of Naming Conventions

The formation of the Ten Views during the Southern Song, as hinted in Wu Zimu’s record, was inseparable from the rapidly developed painting practice. Painting tradition also contributed to the formation of the Ten Views, through both the mental capture of the scenery in the painting frame and the format of album paintings. As McDowall proposes, the representation of landscape in textual and visual forms that “reduces to a set of distinct independent scenes is a strong indication that these representational traditions were complementary in their formation of layers of meaning around the site.”⁴³¹ Wu Zimu’s comments on the formation of Ten Views as an invention of contemporary painters attested to the importance of framing and selecting scenic elements to form a particular scene. Most of the ten names include diverse elements that are suitable for painting. In addition, the popularity of the ten views was connected to the practice of

⁴³¹ McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain*, 51

album painting. It was not until the Southern Song that album painting became an established and well-represented artistic format. Unlike the long-existing hand scroll or hanging scroll, which could incorporate the scenery in different depth that cannot be grasped by one's eye at the same time, album is a more faithful representation of the scenes visible within the field of vision of a single observer. The boundary set for the album, as de Certeau suggests, provide more a collection of multiple "places" rather than a single articulation of "space."⁴³² The independent but still inter-connected leaves perfectly facilitated the presenting of scenery in a set number. This also partly explains why the ten views through history was usually depicted in the format of an album of ten leaves.

As discussed in the previous chapter, just as the fact of painting and naming West Lake scenery reflects the frequent visits of the painters themselves, so too the content of the paintings also conveys the popularity of West Lake excursions in general. The Southern Song academy painters produced many works dealing with the Ten Views, but Ye Xiaoyan's 葉肖巖 (ac. around 1253-1258) album of the ten views is the only one extant (e.g.: Fig. 47 and 48).⁴³³ This album provides a basic sense of what these images emphasized. Hui-shu Lee argues that one major concern of Ye's album is to clearly represent the stated locations in the ten titles.⁴³⁴ It is therefore not difficult to match each painting with its titles, based on the pagodas, monasteries, and bridges. This realistic depiction indicates that the paintings were intended for people who already were familiar with these locations. Another note worthy element in the album is the

⁴³² Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendell (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1984), 117.

⁴³³ Mizayaki suggested that this album was probably produced by *Zhe* School painters in early Ming, who were famous for imitating the Southern Song academic painting style. The National Palace Museum and other art historians, however, still consider this a Southern Song painting. See Miyazaki, "Saiko wo meguru kaiga," 204-5.

⁴³⁴ Hui-shu Lee, "The Domain of Empress Yang (1162-1233): Art, Gender and Politics at the Southern Song Court," "Appendix" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1994), 305. The main body of this dissertation later came into a book: Lee, *Empresses, Art, and Agency in Song Dynasty*. See page 171-179 for her discussion on the connection of West Lake scenery with Ma Yuan's album paintings.

figure of the visitor, the one wandering in the scenery, boating on the lake in a leisurely and relaxed manner, or walking on the Su Causeway (Fig. 48). Although the painting style in general is quite formulaic in following the academy painting style, the depiction of tourists is nonetheless eye-catching. These figures are placed to direct viewers' sight to the major scenery and/or construction emphasized in the title. The placement and activities of tourists in the paintings correspond to the textual records of the Ten Views.

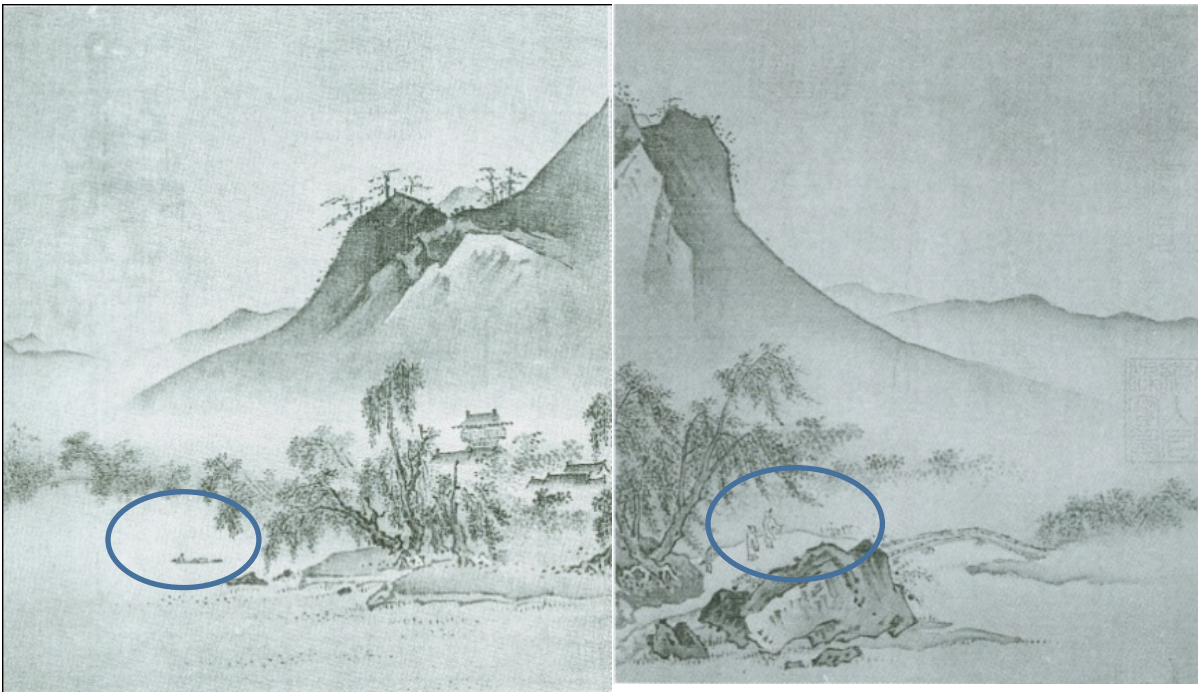


Figure 47: Ye Xiaoyan, *Watching Fish at Flower Cove*; ink on paper; H: 23.9, W: 20.2 cm; National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Gugong Shuhua Tulu*, 22:74-9.

Figure 48: Ye Xiaoyan, *Spring Dawn at Su Causeway*; ink on paper; H: 23.9, W: 20.2 cm; National Palace Museum. After *Gugong Shuhua Tulu*, 22:74-9.⁴³⁵

Among extant Southern Song poetry there are at least four sets of ten poems (linked song-lyrics, *lianzhang ti* 聯章體) on Ten Views of West Lake. They were written by Zhang Ju 張矩,

⁴³⁵ For further information, see Li Lincan 李霖燦, “Ye Xiaoyan de xihu tu ji qita” 葉肖巖的西湖圖及其他, *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, No.28, 1985/7, 126-131.

Wang Wei 王洙 (ac. around 1256), Zhou Mi, and Chen Yunping 陳允平 (fl. 1275).⁴³⁶ These poems on Ten Views of West Lake further consolidated the connection between the Ten Views and the sightseeing experience, by exemplifying sightseeing activities, tourists' feelings, and indicating where they spent their time.⁴³⁷ For example, both the poems and painting on "Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery" include boats and willows that were not mentioned in the title. The description of Chen Yunping's poem indicates that launching boats under the willow tree was a common excursion practice. Wu Zimu's record of summer sightseeing on the birthday of Lord Cui provides similar information.⁴³⁸ In addition, in the case of "Spring Dawn at Su Causeway," all four poets depicted a similar scene: tourists stayed out all night. In the early morning, courtesans, just awakened, have not put on their make-up, while those who were eager to meet the girls have already arrived on horseback.⁴³⁹ It is unclear why all the poems shared this theme, but they offer evidence that excursions could last from late night to very early morning, and sometimes took a whole day.⁴⁴⁰

Ronald Egan has discussed the way in which a concern with nature served as a means to mediate between the artistic representations of natural features and the embodiment of

⁴³⁶ The preface of Zhou Mi's poems indicated that he and Zhang Ju were engaged in an ongoing poem competition. It was not hard to imagine that Zhou Mi was quite confident in his ability to convey the essence of the Ten Views, as he was a Hangzhou local and devoted much energy in recording Hangzhou-related items.

⁴³⁷ For example, all poems about "Three Stupas and the Reflecting Moon" indicate that the viewing point of this scene is from the lake boat.

⁴³⁸ City dwellers would gather their boats under willows, enjoying the cool weather and chilled fruits. *WLJS*, "Duren bishu," 3: 356.

⁴³⁹ For Zhang Ju's poem, see Wang Yiqing 王奕清, Shen Chenyuan 沈辰垣, Xuanye 玄燁, *Yuxuan Lidai Shiyu* 御選歷代詩餘, SKQS, 64: 23a-b. Zhou Mi's poem, in *Juemiao hao ci jian*, 7: 10b. Wang Wei's poem from *XHYLZY*, 10: 153. Another thing worth noting is that such scenery depicted by the Southern Song literati was presented via woodblock printing in a late Ming book to introduce the scene "Spring Dawn at Su Causeway." (Fig. 52) This is a further development that testified the interchangeability of poems and paintings. Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾, *Xinjuan hainei qiguan* 新鐫海內奇觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 3:407.

⁴⁴⁰ The connection between the Ten Views and the excursion activities was also implied from the new angles from which to appreciate older scenes discovered by both painters and poets while touring around the lake. For example, the creation of the scene "Remnant Snow on Broken Bridge" required the combination of a specific time of day, type of weather, and observation point: viewed from the Baoshi Hill, Bai Causeway looks like a silver chain when it is snowing. Then, on a sunny day the snow on Broken Bridge melts, revealing the brown ground and creating the illusion that the chain is broken. Baoshi Hill was not a residential area, so before the Southern Song, when sightseeing was not well developed among literati and painters, woodmen were the main, if not the only, group of people to go to the hill on a snowy day, but they did not have the aesthetic taste to notice this scenery, let alone to take steps to turn it into a cultural icon.

transcendent “spiritual- metaphysical-aesthetic” conception.⁴⁴¹ In other words, depicting the natural landscape usually involves a complicated process of conceptualizing and abstracting the natural elements. While viewing the landscape and trying to represent its beauty in their brushwork, the painters and poets were actually processing in their mind a rich collection of natural elements, landscape, architecture, plants, weather, seasons, and times. This is a process that John Urry, who is credited with noting the strong connection between excursions and the visual, termed “tourist gaze.” To him, “gazing is not merely seeing, but involves cognitive work of interpreting, evaluating, drawing comparisons and making mental connections.”⁴⁴² Therefore, in the gazing process, painters and poets select both locations and human activities, and present the framed image in a poetic style, rooted in the Tang and Northern Song culture discussed above.

Once the Ten Views of West Lake were widely recognized, they became a perfect checklist for tourists, unfamiliar with the landscape themselves, who wanted to take in the best of what West Lake had to offer. As Urry argues, “individual (tourist’s) performances of gazing at a particular sight are framed by cultural styles, circulating images and texts of this and other places....”⁴⁴³ Urry believes that when exposed to a new environment, tourists’ eyes automatically collect symbols as they want to create focal points for themselves. The symbols that would be picked up for constructing their own gaze are usually the ones valued in contemporary tourism discourse. Because tourists had already been exposed to paintings and poems of West Lake prior to visiting themselves, they were easily able to identify the attractions incorporated into artwork

⁴⁴¹ Ronald Egan, “Nature and Higher Ideals in Texts on Calligraphy, Music, and Painting,” in Zong-qi Cai ed., *Chinese Aesthetics: The Ordering of Literature, the Arts, and the Universe in the Six Dynasties* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 303.

⁴⁴² John Urry and Larsen Jonas, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 17.

⁴⁴³ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 17.

related to the ten vistas.⁴⁴⁴ The desire to identify the locations mentioned in the Ten Views was evident in Zhou Mi's records of various sites: When Zhou recorded the Lu Garden (*luyuan* 盧園) as one of the many sightseeing sites in the fifth chapter of *Wulin jiushi*, he gives a one-sentence notation, "the scenery is (so) specular and beautiful that this must be the 'Watching Fish at Flower Cove' in 'Ten Views of West Lake' is this place." (景物奇秀，西湖十景所謂"花港觀魚"，即此處也).⁴⁴⁵ The way Zhou Mi provided this piece of information suggested that the Ten Views was well acknowledged and there was perhaps questions regarding where the Flower Cove actually was.

Such identifiability, together with their actual touring experience, helped invent and strengthen visitors' feeling of familiarity with the site. Both familiarity and their enjoyment of their time there enhanced *topophilia*, the affective bond between people and place.⁴⁴⁶ In his ground-breaking work on topophilia, Tuan points out some common attachments formed by people with the environment, such as people's appreciation of seasonal plants and their attention on the contrast between a horizontal line in the landscape and the vertical architecture, all of which were well-incorporated in the Ten Views. For example, the two scenes "Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake," and "Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds," formed a perfect pair to satisfy the spontaneous horizontal and vertical movement of people's eyes.

One of the underlining reasons for peoples' attachment to the natural environment would be their desire to escape from busy city life. As Tuan points out in his discussion of topophilia, "once society had reached a certain level of artifice and complexity, people would begin to take

⁴⁴⁴ It was Kevin Lynch, the urban study scholar, first brought up this idea in his discussion of urban images. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1960), 6-7.

⁴⁴⁵ *WLJS*, 5: 403.

⁴⁴⁶ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 4.

note, and appreciate, the relatively simplicities of nature.”⁴⁴⁷ Urry brings up the same idea that the gaze “in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness (e.g.: the urban life).”⁴⁴⁸ Due to its large scale and busy urban scenery, Hangzhou city became a recurring reference in the description of the Ten Views of West Lake. The words “city wall (chengdie 城堞)” and “phoenix city (Fengcheng 鳳城)” were applied by all four poets who wrote poems on the Ten Views.⁴⁴⁹ These words appeared either as an object gazed on by the tourists from the lake side, or as a reminder of the arrival of evening as the tourist wanted to go back to the city before the gate was locked. The two scenes that were most frequently related to the city are “Evening Bell from Nanping Hill,” poems which mentioned that the monks returned to the monasteries from the city, where they held religious services; and “Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda,” which inspired poems on city dwellers returning home at sunset.⁴⁵⁰

The aforementioned emotional attachment to nature is to some extent universal for travelers. Such attachment, however, was fixed in specific time and space in China for the first time in a perfect way in Ten Views of West Lake. The following discussion focuses on the emphasis given to specific locations and times in the ten titles, and more importantly, asks why such qualities were valued so much by tourists in the Southern Song.

Place, as Tuan notes, stands out in part because of its stability: “as we look at a panoramic scene our eyes pause at points of interest. It is not possible to look at a scene in general; our eyes keep searching for points to rest.”⁴⁵¹ People who enjoy the skyline of New York would easily gaze at the Empire State Building for its unique shape and its frequent appearance in photos;

⁴⁴⁷ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 103.

⁴⁴⁸ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3.

⁴⁴⁹ For examples, see Zhang Ju and Chen Yunping’s poems. See Wang Yiqing 王奕清, Shen Chenyuan 沈辰垣, Xuanye 玄燁, *Yuxuan lidai shiyu 御選歷代詩餘*, 64: 23a-b; 71: 3a, *SKQS*.

⁴⁵⁰ Wang Wei’s poem in *XHYLZY*, 10: 153.

⁴⁵¹ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 172.

similar experience must have happened to Southern Song tourists: standing beside the lake, when one looks at the distant hills, two peaks will stand out because of the two pagodas that stand there; and if one looks at the Southern Hill, the silhouette of Leifeng Pagoda and the eaves of Buddhist monasteries revealed behind the trees will grab the viewer's attention. The locations emphasized in the ten titles continued to be the foci in later literature and artwork. Some were rebuilt several times and became landmarks for West Lake. Leifeng Pagoda was one such landmark building, and it was not surprising that its collapse caused extreme reactions in Lu Xun's time.⁴⁵²

The emphasis on location, which is the major differences between the Ten Views and the Eight Views of the XiaoXiang River, embodied the growth of local knowledge during the Southern Song. Although sharing some essential phrases with the Eight Views, such as “*wanzhong*” 晚鐘 (Evening Bell) and “*xizhao*” 夕照 (Sunset), the Ten Views clearly noted their specific locations of South Screen Mountain (Purity and compassion Monastery) and Leifeng Pagoda. While the Eight Views of the XiaoXiang River could be applied to many natural places in southern China, eight out of the ten views include a specific place or structure.⁴⁵³ The scenic quality of the Ten Views very much relied on man-made additions. All these “improvements” merged with the natural landscape and thus stood out as notable places. This drawing of attention to specific locations was one indication of the better local knowledge people had, which resulted, as discussed in the previous chapters, from both the increasing contact Hangzhou residents had

⁴⁵² Eugene Wang has done a great work on the depiction of Leifeng Pagoda during the Republican period, see Eugene Y. Wang, “Tope and topos The Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse of the Demonic,” from Patrick Hanan, Zeitlin T. Judith, Lydia He Liu, and Ellen Widmer, eds, *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 488-552.

⁴⁵³ For the “Eight Scenes,” later during the Yuan Dynasty literati connected the eight scenes with actual locations in the Hunan area, and made the practice of assigning poetic names to certain scenic places fashionable. See Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 260.

with West Lake since the Tang Dynasty, and the growing number of visitors during the Southern Song.

By emphasizing specific locations, the ten views not only served as an advertising tool for Hangzhou people whose local pride was growing, but also enabled visitors to construct connections with West Lake. As Susan Naquin argues, tourism involved communication between travelers and local people.⁴⁵⁴ When outsiders arrived in a place, they would get some suggestions from local people about places worth visiting. Proud of their city, local people were willing to introduce the beauty of West Lake and the Ten Views. Meanwhile, the practice of localizing the universal emotional attachment to nature made it easier for people who had never been to the lake to imagine themselves standing on its shore. Watching the sunset, appreciating the reflection of the moon on the water and hearing the sound of the evening bell are experiences people could enjoy many places. The ten titles would encourage them to connect their past experiences of doing all these activities with the specific places around West Lake. This perception not only encouraged potential visitors to plan their trip in detail, but also enabled those had visited the lake to construct meaningful memories of it.

Ten Views of West Lake not only locates the excursion activities at specific places, but also pins them down at a specific time and season. The previous chapter has discussed the articulation of seasonal moods. As Table 5 shows, among the titles of the Ten Views, two are about spring and one each about summer, autumn, and winter. The ten titles also suggest a fondness for capturing a transient moments such as dawn and dusk, aiming to record the beauty of twilight. While traveling around the lake, people made both spatial and temporal moves. From dawn to dusk, the passing of time enabled the tourist to perceive the concurrent change of light, shadow, mist, and breeze. The same pagoda looks more gorgeous against a sunset, especially when

⁴⁵⁴ Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*, 249.

tourists were at the same time also saying goodbye to the lake on their way back home. The ten titles actually provide an all-day and year-round touring guide, indicating what one could and should pay attention to at different times. The ten titles advertised the best touring experience by pointing out the best time for enjoying each site: for example, Qu Garden is always blessed with the smell of wine floating in the breeze, but is best accompanied by the smell of lotus flowers in the summer. Time functioned as the most important coordinate in one's memory: when people recall their travel experience, they usually start by stating the time of the year and their activities are usually colored by seasonal characteristics. Their attachment to a place thus gains meaning through the passage of time.

By placing people's universal perception of the natural environment at the juncture of time and space, Ten Views of West Lake became both local and universal, both fixing in specific time and lasting forever. Such discourse, by specifying both time and space, provided a framed aesthetic experience by favoring several viewpoints, just as the Western garden designers aimed to do.⁴⁵⁵ In this sense, Ten Views of West Lake manifested the ownership of the local landscape, and further embodied the ownership of local history. Local literati like Wu Zimu and Zhou Mi thus directed more attention to describing the Ten Views.

In addition, as the landmark of the Southern Song capital, Ten Views of West Lake also enabled the Southern Song court to emphasize the cultural prestige of Hangzhou. By presenting the universal and traditional cultural value—the harmony between humanity and nature—in the ten-poetic/pictorial titles, Hangzhou was thus marked on the cultural lineage of the Song Dynasty and Han culture, which was at that time threatened by the northern dynasties. Such cultural insecurity, as James T.C Liu pointed out, encouraged scholars to seek a sense of belonging and

⁴⁵⁵ For comparison between Chinese and Western gardens, see Tuan, *Topophilia*, 140.

cultural superiority.⁴⁵⁶ Ten Views of West Lake, by creating a very localized and time-fixing environmental image, probably gave those who wrote about or painted the motifs an important sense of emotional security.⁴⁵⁷

The Appropriation of the Ten Views Convention

In the development of Ten Views of West Lake, the Southern Song marked the most important stage. Inheriting cultural traditions from the Tang and the Northern Song, the Southern Song elite established new standards for naming sites. The features of localizing and temporizing human attachment to nature was passed down through history and enhanced by the development of tourism. This chapter also shows that tourism reshaped people's perception of nature. Gazing at nature, tourists—with great adaptability and in the light of their own purposes—selected, organized, and endowed meaning to what they saw. The images constructed in this process, while being confirmed and altered in a constant process of give and take, then framed what should be seen. The invention and representation of environmental images provided their possessors with authority and ownership over the natural landscape.

During the war years at the end of the Southern Song and in the course of the Yuan Dynasty, many locations mentioned in the Ten Views of West Lake were disappeared and others were later abandoned. The ten titles, however, not only continued to provide a particular way of describing and representing the landscape, but also encouraged the corresponding acts of sightseeing. Due to more profound and close interaction between tourists and West Lake, the characteristics of localizing and temporizing topophilia was enhanced and further applied to serve the diverse purposes of emperors, the local elite, and book merchants. The Yuan Dynasty

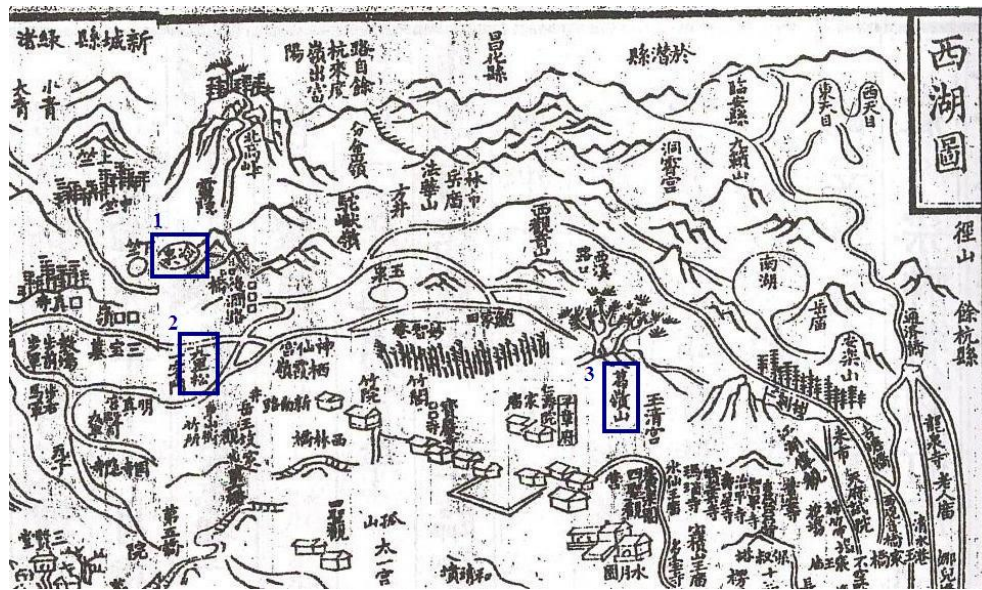
⁴⁵⁶ Liu, *China Turning Inward*, 147.

⁴⁵⁷ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 3.

Ten Views of Qiantang, which rooted from the Ten Views of West Lake, was an interesting example.⁴⁵⁸

After the fall of the Southern Song, as a result of political and psychological changes in Hangzhou, representations of Ten Views of West Lake declined significantly before they were revived during the Ming, which will be further discussed in the epilogue. No longer the national capital, Hangzhou and its West Lake were included in the county of Qiantang. It is very likely that Ten Views of West Lake inspired the local elite to invent Qiantang's Ten Views, in response to the geopolitical change. Three of the new scenes, "West Lake Night Moon (西湖夜月)," "Misty Willows on Six Bridges (六橋煙柳)," and "Double Peaks in White Clouds (兩峰白雲)" are clearly from the "Spring Dawn at Su Causeway" (Su Causeway was known for the six bridges that punctuated its long dyke), "Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake," and "Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds." The other seven scenes all include specific locations, such as Nine-*li* Pine, Cold Spring, and Ge Hill, Solitary Mountain, North Gate and *Zhe* River. Most of the places were also noted in the Southern Song map of West Lake (Fig. 49). Meanwhile, the specific times (dawn and night) and the four seasons emphasized in the previous ten views were kept in Qiantang's Ten Views. The new ten views showed both the continuation of naming conventions and the conscious change to create something new for the new political environment.

⁴⁵⁸ "Misty Willows on Six Bridges," "Nine-*li* Cloudy Pine," "Singing of Woodman around Mount Efficacious Rocks," "Roaring of Monkey near Cold Spring," "Sunrise at Ge Hill," "Clear Snow at Lonely Mountain," "Night Market of North Gate," "Autumn Wave of *Zhe* River," "West Lake Night Moon," and "Double Peaks in White Clouds" 六橋煙柳、九里雲松、靈石樵歌、冷泉猿嘯、葛嶺朝暎、孤山霽雪、北關夜市、浙江秋濤、兩峰白雲、西湖夜月。See *XHYLZY*, 12: 196-197.



1. Cold Spring
2. Nine-li Pine
3. Ge Hill

Figure 49: The three locations included in the Ten Views of Qiantang on the map of West Lake, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*.

The appropriation of the convention of fixing human attachment to the nature in specific times and spaces in Qiantang's Ten Views was only one of many examples of how the Southern Song Ten Views being used for ordering the Hangzhou local scenery. Through the Southern Song to the Qing and even to today's China, the appreciation and conceptualization of West Lake scenery was structured in the spatial and temporal framework, embodying a meaningful interaction between humans and natural landscape. Embodying and framing the ways humans ordered nature, this naming convention over time has been manipulated by different tourists for their own benefit, such as promoting local fame, restoring security, reinforcing cultural capital, and acquiring commercial profit. Therefore, the Ten Views of West Lake remained popular through history and enhanced people's attachment to certain locations. In today's Hangzhou, the local government has been inspired by the traditional ten views to organize citizens to vote for new versions of the ten views. After nearly 800 years, the Southern Song Ten Views is still used as a device by the modern government to organize cultural life for their citizens. It would very likely have disappointed Lu Xun to learn that Leifeng Pagoda was rebuilt complete with an

elevator in 2002 (Fig. 50), as a way to restore the Southern Song Ten Views and attract more visitors.



Figure 50: Leifeng Pagoda, from *Xihu qingqu tu*.



Picture of Leifeng Pagoda from the Republican Period before it collapsed. Photo from Zhang Daqing, Jiang Bingxian, *Xihu jiuzong* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1985), 20.



Today's Leifeng Pagoda (rebuilt in 2002), with elevator built in. Photo: Xiaolin Duan, 2011.

The influence of such naming convention certainly expanded to other places indistinguishably, and this might be the true reason of Lu Xun's criticism. Beginning in the Southern Song, the naming convention of using the ten views to present the local scenery became a countrywide practice, and was even spread to Japan and Korea.⁴⁵⁹ This was because such practice was both a way to reinforce local pride and a means of claiming ownership over the landscape. Ten Views of West Lake also provided a convenient model for later writers to substitute the specific locations and time with the ones better fitted to other places. At the end of the seventeenth century one could easily prescribe a set of ten or twelve “must see” scenes. Local

⁴⁵⁹ For example, the Eight Views of Ōmi 近江八景 was believed to be influenced by both the Eight Views of the XiaoXiang River and the Ten Views of West Lake. For more discussion on the influence of West Lake on Japanese and Korean culture, see Jin, “Xihu zai Zhong Ri Han: luetan fengjing zhuan yi zai dong ya wenxue zhong de yiyi.”

gazetteers of almost every county would include a section devoted to the places of interest, entitled *mingsheng* 名勝 (Places of Interest). By then it was becoming possible and even common for a traveller to recognize the various sites before his actual sightseeing. By the eighteenth century this had become an established practice. Scholars have done fair amount of research on different sets of scenery, such as the ones from Haining, Yellow Mountain and Beijing.⁴⁶⁰ Zha Qichang 查其昌 (1713-1761) of Haining 海寧 County wrote, “as for the ten scenic views or eight scenic views, it is common to see them even in the gazetteers of remote areas. This is really a bad habit.”⁴⁶¹ It seems that long before Lu Xun, some literati like Zha already noticed and were bothered by the abusive use of Ten Views. The lack of originality and real attachment to nature was the cause of Zha Qichang and Lu Xun’s criticism. Unlike Ten Views of West Lake, most of these titles indiscriminately copied the rigid and formulaic phrases without drawing much from the actual local scenery. Without the context of popular excursions and the enhancement in continuing literary and artistic representations, none of these newly created Ten Views succeeded as Ten Views of West Lake did.

The following epilogue will briefly mention the use of the Ten Views in late imperial period as an example of what happened to West Lake after the Southern Song, but by no means can it represent the entire and comprehensive development of the Ten Views. Additionally, the wide application of such convention in other places of interest or cities also enriched this cultural

⁴⁶⁰ See McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain*. Qin Fang, “Creating Local Landscape: Tidal Bores and Seawalls at Haining (1720s--1830s)” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2008). Geng Xin 耿欣, “‘Baijing’ wenhua de jingguan biaoqian yu bijiao” 八景”文化的景觀表現與比較 (M.A. thesis., Beijing Linye University, 2006).

⁴⁶¹ Jin Ao 金鏊 et al., (*Qianlong*) *Haining xianzhi* 海寧縣誌 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983, 1765), 3: 422. For more discussion on the ten views in Haining, see Qin Fang, “Creating Local Landscape: Tidal Bores and Seawalls at Haining (1720s-1830s),” 417.

phenomenon. This topic deserves more scholarly attention as it could reveal in depth the way people interacted with the cultural traditions and the surrounding world at the same time.

EPILOGUE

Nowadays, West Lake is one of the most visited places in China, attracting both domestic and foreign visitors. The moment you arrive in Hangzhou, whether by train, bus, or plane, you are welcomed by posters, advertisement, and travel agents, all trying to sell West Lake to you. The traffic is especially congested around the lake, mainly as a result of the taxis that drive tourists to and from the lakeside. The lake's scenery still resembles that seen in traditional paintings. The lakefront and all the dykes are decorated with willow and peach trees. The lake is surrounded by a number of inns, restaurants, shops, and museums. Food that possesses local and seasonal features, or historical significance, is available nearly everywhere. Boats are floating on the lake's surface, taking tourists across the lake and stopping by the lake-heart island. Games, small performances, fortunetellers, and craftsmen with their artifacts all crowd around the lake, filling in the small parks and squares designed by the government. Walking around the lake, one is greeted by a number of statues of historical figures and plaques detailing the histories of specific sites. Such rich scenery also extends to the surrounding mountains, where people hike, have picnics, purchase good tea, and enjoy the fragrance of flowers. Nearly all the tourists — regardless of whether they believe in Buddhism or not — pay a visit to the Tianzhu and Solitary's Retreat Monasteries, to burn some incense, eat some vegetarian food and enjoy the stone carvings.

In many respects, tourism around West Lake today retains many of the features that were established during the course of the Southern Song. The lake acts as a “leisure zone” for Hangzhou people as it did in the Southern Song. Temples that gained their fame during the Southern Song continue to be the most-visited sites in today's tourist map, providing both secular enjoyment and spiritual pursuits. The lake, just as in the Southern Song, provides an

inspiration for artists and writers who wielded their brushes to represent the natural landscape as seen from the gaze of tourists via diverse mediums. The situation of West Lake has been and continues to be closely related to the fate of Hangzhou since the Southern Song. This was due to both the expansion of the city, which motivated urban residents to embrace the natural environment outside the city wall, and the development of the surrounding small towns that made West Lake a link between Hangzhou city and its hinterlands.⁴⁶² The city boundary, which began to loosen during the Southern Song, continued to blur.⁴⁶³

Meanwhile, however, many things have experienced dramatic changes during the seven centuries that separated the Southern Song from our time. The imperial house that once dominated the sightseeing activities during the Southern Song no longer exists. The division between religious trips and pleasure excursions is not as ambiguous as it was during the Song Dynasty. Monks' occasional protection of the natural environment during the Southern Song has given way to the conscious protection of environment in modern discourse. The market for consumables available around the lake is colored by more global features and has been formulated in ways that fit into the worldwide capital circulation.

Comparing today's tourism with the tourism of the Southern Song, one may ask: what has changed concerning tourism and West Lake over this period of history? What factors made such changes possible? What can we learn about historical development in general from the chronology of West Lake? Having these questions in mind, what I am going to provide here is to suggest some new features acquired by this landscape in response to varying historical factors after the Southern Song. Not making any attempt at a comprehensive history of West Lake, I will

⁴⁶² During the Southern Song, there were two towns on the west side of the lake: the Xixi 西溪 Town and the Chishan 赤山 Town, both could compare with the small counties in other prefectures. See *DCJS*, 89. More towns came into being with the rural development in late imperial period. Peasants from these rural places paid visit to West Lake regularly for the purpose of pilgrimage and sightseeing as well. For more discussion on this issue, see Wang Liping, "Paradise for Sale," 89-137.

⁴⁶³ Till the Qing Dynasty, the government even kept the city gate open on festivals, and thus the merchants who sold food and wine around the lake could gain triple profits on one night. Fan Zushu 范祖述, *Hangsu yifeng 杭俗遺風*, from *XHWXJC*, 19: 33.

try to identify the most outstanding characteristics of tourism of each time phase. Particular attention will be given to the appropriations of Ten Views of West Lake after the Southern Song, as it shows how the conventions established during the Southern Song were manipulated by later tourists to serve their own interests.

Over the course of the Southern Song, West Lake also arouse criticism, especially during the last several decades, when the political and military circumstances were brought with uncertainty with the establishment of Mongol regime in north China. The beautiful lake scenery was blamed for bewitching the imperial court and officials by making them unwilling to take back the north by force of arms. A famous poem written by Lin Sheng (fl. 1174-1189) on the walls inside an inn at the lake implies as much:⁴⁶⁴

Mountains after green mountains and towers beyond towers,	山外青山樓外樓，
When is singing and dancing on West Lake to end?	西湖歌舞幾時休。
The warm breeze intoxicates sightseers, They easily mistake Hangzhou for Bianzhou [the Northern Song capital Kaifeng].	暖風熏得遊人醉， 直把杭州作汴州。

In this poem, Lin Sheng blames the amusements on and the scenery around West Lake for distracting sightseers, who totally forgot about recovering the old capital of the Northern Song. The sharp contrast between the pleasure of West Lake and the sad memory of losing north China motivated many literati like Lin Sheng to project blame onto the lake.

West Lake seemed too feminine to these critics. Ever since Su Shi's comparison of West Lake to Xi Shi, the lake was gendered for its softness and misty beauty. Just as Xi Shi had brought on the destruction of Wu State during the period of Warring State, West Lake was blamed for distracting the Southern Song court and scholars from the task of recovering lost

⁴⁶⁴ XHYLZ, 1:2.

territory. Chen Renjie 陳人傑 (1218-1243) recorded a poem written by his friends, which circulated widely: “Southeastern China’s seductiveness makes men become effeminate.” (東南嫵媚，雌了男兒。)⁴⁶⁵ Northerners were suspicious of southern landscape. Compared to the flat ground, grand mountains and even Gobi in the north, the southern mountains and lakes were softer, gentler, and mistier. It was therefore not difficult to understand why the southern sceneries were compared to women.

Southern Song authors who lived into the Yuan Dynasty, such as Liu Yiqing’s 劉一清 who wrote *Qiantang yishi* 錢塘遺事 (*Anecdotes of Qiantang*), seemed to believe that the Southern Song had been deteriorating from the beginning.⁴⁶⁶ Liu Yiqing attributed the loss of the dynasty mainly to the ineptitude of the officials such as Jia Sidao and emperors like Lizong. They wasted time on West Lake. “How could the world not go wrong (天下烏得不壞),” Liu asked in his record.⁴⁶⁷ Additionally, what was praised during the Southern Song, such as the involvement of Emperor Gaozong in literary composition while traveling around the lake, was cause for criticism during the Yuan Dynasty.⁴⁶⁸ Although the leisurely excursions of the commoners that were observed by literati and their own sightseeing experiences encouraged them to remember the lake with fondness, the luxurious sightseeing trips of the imperial families and important

⁴⁶⁵ Chen Renjie 陳人傑, “Qin yuan chun” 沁園春, in Tang Guizhang ed., *Quan song ci* 全宋詞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 5:3083.

⁴⁶⁶ As Liu Gang argues, “Liu Yiqing’s feeling of loss must have become the propelling reasons that drove him to collect and document people’s memories of the past.” Liu Gang, “The Poetics of Miscellaneousness,” 44, 59-60.

⁴⁶⁷ *Qiantang yishi*, 5: 10b.

⁴⁶⁸ For example, the story mentioned in the second chapter of Emperor Gaozong commenting on Yu Guobao’s poem depicted the emperor as having good literary taste, Fang Hui 方回 turned this story in a totally different way to lament the lost country: “‘Feng ru song’ was chanted by tens of thousands of people, But now it turned out to be remnant regrets that were deposited on the misty lake. After war ends, an old horse sleeps on the vacant causeway; With banquets now rare, empty boats are moored in the lonely harbor.” (風入松詞萬口傳，翻成餘恨寄湖烟。戰罷閒堤眠老馬，宴稀荒港泊空船。) In this poem, the author started by pointing out the ironical aspects of the anecdotes centering on “Feng ru song” and continued to lament the demise of the dynasty. In so doing, Fang Hui subtly suggested a connection between the emperor’s indulgence in sightseeing and literary composition and the sorrowful fate of the dynasty.

officials, especially those who had given up trying to recover lost territory, also irritated the literati.

The lack of government support, in addition to the critical attitude towards West Lake, also contributed to the decline of the lake during the Yuan Dynasty. Though as noted by Marco Polo, West Lake continued to be a popular sightseeing destination for city dwellers, the capital was moved back to north China.⁴⁶⁹ Without attention from the government, the lake's surface was gradually covered by weed-like water chestnuts. The decline of West Lake can be seen in the development of Ten Views of West Lake. Though the Yuan Dynasty literati painting witnessed major advances, there is only one extant album painting of Ten Views of West Lake by a Yuan painter.⁴⁷⁰

Even though Chinese literati did not pay much attention to West Lake during the Yuan Dynasty, it was during this period that its reputation for beauty and prosperity began to be acknowledged by people outside East Asia. This was certainly due to the enhanced communication within the Eurasian continent, which was made possible by the expanded territory of the Mongol Empire. Marco Polo was probably the first one who introduced Hangzhou and West Lake to the Europeans, who were very much impressed by the well-developed urban culture and sightseeing facilities. Abraham Cresques, the best mapmaker of the fourteenth century, patronized by Peter of Aragon, created the *Catalan Atlas* in 1375. This is a detailed Eurasian map that incorporates the information from Marco Polo's records. Hangzhou was depicted on the map as a castle and noted with the name "Quinsay" (*xingzai* 行在) as

⁴⁶⁹ Polo, Cordier, and Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, 77: 238.

⁴⁷⁰ The only one recorded in the Qing catalogue, *Shigu tang shuhua kao* 式古堂書畫匯考 (Collected Examinations of Painting and Calligraphies in Shigu Hall), was by Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354), classed as one of the four best literati painters of the Yuan. See Bian Yongyu 卞永譽, *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫匯考, *SKQS*, 25: 20a-b.

mentioned in Marco Polo's account (Fig. 51). Cresques also drew a pond of water on the edge of the castle, indicating the inclusion of West Lake in the Western imagination.



Figure 51: Details of Hangzhou and West Lake in *Catalan Atlas*, 1375; Hand-colored engravings on paper. Set of six enclosed in paperboard folder and slipcase, 20.5*26 inches each; Housed in Bibliothèque Nationale de France. After the image from www.henry-davis.com.

It was not until the mid-Ming that some officials attempted to restore the lake, by which point the lake had already dried up several times.⁴⁷¹ The dredging project that took place in 1508 by the determined local governor Yang Mengying 楊孟瑛 (fl. 1503) was the most important one. His project enhanced the charm of the scenery by adding another causeway and the man-made island in the middle of the lake.⁴⁷² Together with recovery of the lake scenery, Ming literati began to take an interest in recording the history of the lake. For example, Tian Rucheng contributed two encyclopedic works on the lake, with special attention to the history of excursions. Although some places mentioned in the Ten Views were no longer extant and others

⁴⁷¹ Liping Wang, "Emperor Kangxi's Southern Tours and the Qing Restoration of West Lake," *China Heritage Quarterly*, No. 28, December 2011.

⁴⁷² Tian Rucheng placed Yang among the three figures who made the biggest contribution to the lake, together with Bai Juyi and Su Shi. See *XHYLZY*, 11: 187, 24: 375.

had changed, the ten titles still directed the way literati viewed the lake scenery.⁴⁷³ Tuan rightly observed that “culture can influence perceptions to the degree that people will see things that do not exist: it can cause group hallucination.”⁴⁷⁴ This “hallucination” was clearly shown in the annotations of the Ten Views in the miscellaneous notes, as well as in poems and album paintings.⁴⁷⁵ These representations confirm the geographical information, proper activities, and cultural values hidden in the ten titles. Searching for and articulating the authenticity of some places and actions is a commonly seen practice at many tourist destinations. In making those efforts, elite men placed themselves in a cultural lineage and constructed a dialogue with the past.

The seventeenth century also witnessed the wide availability of Ten Views of West Lake in the popular market. The Ten Views were located by the lakeside, and were thus the most accessible places when one wanted to take a quick tour. When tourism around West Lake became popular among ordinary people, who did not have much money and time to search deep into the surrounding mountains, the ten scenic spots became the first level of “must-see” attractions. Therefore, paintings on this theme had a large potential audience, and publishers responded by creating printed images. The most famous set was probably the one included in Yang Erzeng’s (fl. 1612) *Xinjuan hainei qiguan* 新鑄海內奇觀 (*Striking Views within the Seas*)

⁴⁷³ Ming literatus Sun Cheng’en 孫承恩 (1485-1565) said to his friend, “the splendor of West Lake is well-known all over the country; but if one seek for the scenery based on the ten titles, that is not complete.” (西湖之勝名天下，即十題以求之，已非其全。) Sun Cheng’en 孫承恩, *Wenjian ji* 文簡集, SKQS, 34: 3b-4a.

⁴⁷⁴ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 247.

⁴⁷⁵ A common practice for literati was to contribute inscriptions to the ten album paintings done by their friends or to provide illustrations for the poems written by others. This usually took place at social gatherings. Unlike their counterparts in the Southern Song, Ming Dynasty paintings and poems regarding the Ten Views were produced by the same group of people, that is, literati who were trained in both painting and writing skills. It was therefore a very common social practice for Ming literati to view paintings of the Ten Views and contribute inscriptions for them. The ten unique but also linked topics provided them an interesting and elegant game. Sun Cheng’en has recorded that his friend Tang Qingzhi 唐清之 showed him a painting of the Ten Views and asked for poems. After Sun wrote a short poem for each scene, Tang Chaoyi 湯朝儀, another friend of him, liked them so much that he asked someone to copy that painting and requested Sun to inscribe the poems on this copied painting. *Wenjian ji*, 34: 3a-b. For discussion on Ming literati painting, see James Cahill, *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971).

(which became available in 1609) (Fig. 52).⁴⁷⁶ As I have discussed elsewhere, “influenced by both landscape painting and woodblock drama illustration, these images present both familiar natural scenery and attractive activities to the viewers. This combination not only invited the readers to place themselves in the images or the episodes, but also encouraged them to visit the real sites.”⁴⁷⁷ While following the aesthetic tradition of localizing human attachment to the landscape, these images were produced for both local pride and commercial purposes.

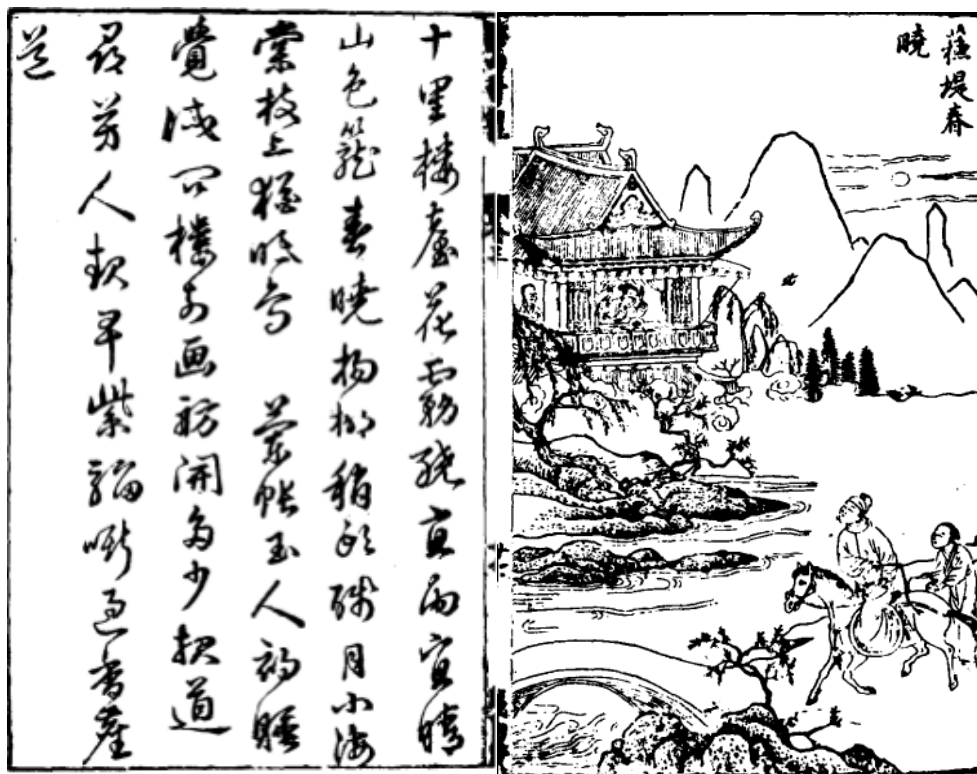


Figure 52: *Spring Dawn at Su Causeway and the Ming Dynasty poem. After Yang Erzeng, Xinjuan hainei qiguan, XXSKQS, 3: 407.*

The rapid development of such consumption-oriented tourism and the increasingly participation of merchants and ordinary people in tourism aroused new concern among literati. A

⁴⁷⁶ Similar images could be found in Yu Sichong’s 俞思冲 *Xihu zhi leichao* 西湖志類鈔 (1579), Xijiang lusou’s 西江魯叟 *Hushan shenggai* 湖山勝概 (early 17th century, colored), *XXSKQS*.

⁴⁷⁷ Xiaolin Duan, “A Comparative Study of Two Series of Printed West Lake Ten Views,” Li Song 李松 and Ding Ning 丁寧, ed., *Meishuxue boshisheng guoji xueshu luntan lunwenji* 美術學博士生國際學術論壇論文集 (Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2012), 224-249.

literatus Wang Keyu 汪珂玉 (1587-?) recorded that in his time, the biggest boats had multiple floors and the decorations are extremely luxurious. But he continued to comment on these boats by saying, “but the name of the boats became worse and worse” (as compared to the Song dynasty boats).⁴⁷⁸ Wang subtly conveyed his concern that the development of luxury decorations and extravagant sizes would outweigh the literary tradition connected with boating. In the late Ming, with increasing numbers of merchants joining sightseeing activities, literati attempted to set up new aesthetic standards to distinguish themselves from ordinary tourists. Though such trend probably started early during the Song, it was not until the late Ming that literati began to feel and be motivated by their status anxiety, a notion brought up by Craig Clunas in his discussion of the late Ming art market.⁴⁷⁹

Already in the Southern Song, literati promoted their cultural superiority through their appreciation of quiet lake scenery.⁴⁸⁰ This tradition continued and developed further in the Ming. To truly appreciate the natural beauty one had to pick the right time, usually evening, dusk, or snowy days when the scenery was not disrupted by a noisy crowd, as Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-1679) indicated in his account of sightseeing around West Lake on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. Zhang divided the travelers into five categories, including wealthy families, officials, famous monks, commoners, and literati.⁴⁸¹ While he expressed his critical attitude towards the first four groups of people, as they did not really watch the moon, Zhang Dai

⁴⁷⁸ See Wang Keyu 汪珂玉, *Xizihu shicui yutan* 西子湖拾翠餘談, juan xia, in *XHWXJC*, 6: 1187-1188.

⁴⁷⁹ Clunas, *Superfluous Things*. Wu, *Pinwei shehui*.

⁴⁸⁰ Wang Shen 汪莘 (1155-1227) used to write a poem to compare his own sightseeing with others'. Wang chose night or went to a remote place to avoid other visitors, who were too noisy to ruin the scenery. From his narrative, we can see a subtle devaluation of others' sightseeing and the tendency to distinguish himself from others by claiming taste. “Why do the bells hurry the dawn? I am afraid visitors will come one after another. After the worldly people go back, I will go boating alone and play on the jade flute. People in the capital are all in their dreaming, so I can have this bright moon sky of West Lake for myself.” (金鐘何事催天曉，又恐遊人相逐來。待他朝市人歸後，獨泛扁舟吹玉簫。都人正做黃梁夢，獨佔西湖明月天。) Wang Shen 汪莘. “Xiari xihu xianju shishou” 夏日西湖閒居十首. See Wang Shen 汪莘, *Fanghu cunqao* 方壺存稿, *SKQS*, 3:6a.

⁴⁸¹ Zhang Dai 張岱, “Xihu qiye ban” 西湖七月半 (The fifteenth day in the seventh lunar month on West Lake), *Tao'an mengyi*, *Xihu mengxun* 陶庵夢憶，西湖夢尋 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 7: 111.

classified himself and his friends as not belonging to any of the five categories. Instead, he said that only after the ordinary travelers leave, when West Lake becomes quiet again, did he and his friends come out and enjoy the quiet moonlight. His criticism of vulgar tourists was linked to his desire to highlight the superiority of his own sightseeing style. In Zhang's opinion, those who know how to truly appreciate natural beauty will come when it is quieter and less crowded.⁴⁸²

While West Lake received little attention from the central government during the Ming, it again acquired new functions in imperial discourse during the Qing Dynasty, especially in the early and high Qing. Hangzhou, with a banner army stationed to guard the coastline, carried military and political significance for the Qing court. The Jiangnan region, as the cultural center for the Han elite, also played an important role in the Qing court's efforts to legitimate itself. The Kangxi and Qianlong emperors conducted several trips to Jiangnan and stopped by West Lake nearly every time.⁴⁸³ Kangxi wrote out calligraphy to all ten titles, which were later inscribed on a stele beside each scene.⁴⁸⁴ The Qianlong emperor contributed at least five sets of poems on the Ten Views and inscribed Ye Xiaoyan's album paintings (Fig. 53).⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² Elsewhere, Zhang Dai describes in detail the lake scenery after snow. Zhang Dai, "Huxin ting kanxue" 湖心亭看雪 (Enjoying the Snow in the Lake-Heart Pavilion), *Tao'an mengyi, Xihu mengxun*, 3:56. Most of Zhang Dai's accounts of West Lake were written after the fall of the Ming, which was apparently a shocking event for Chinese literati and significantly affected the way they wrote about West Lake. For instance, Zhang Dai's poems on the Ten Views during the early Qing were a dream-like journey back to the late Ming. Duncan Campbell points out that the lake "embodied the cultural and philosophical values that they held most dear." For Zhang Dai, "landscape too is as prone to the vicissitudes of history as is humankind;" he therefore gave close depictions of time changing, not only the changes that happened in a single day or seasonal changes, but the long-term historical development connecting the Southern Song and his time. See Duncan Campbell, "The Ten Views of West Lake," *China Heritage Quarterly*, No. 28, December 2011.

⁴⁸³ Liping Wang, "Emperor Kangxi's Southern Tours and the Qing Restoration of West Lake." For more discussion on imperial tour, see Michael Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and The Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

⁴⁸⁴ He also changed the "evening bell" to "morning bell," which was not really accepted by the local elite who continued using "evening bell" in their poems.

⁴⁸⁵ Both Kangxi and Qianlong showed special interest in the West Lake scenery and thus replicated the Su Causeway when they decorated the Summer Palace. The causeway in the Summer Palace was also punctuated by six bridges, a clear replicate of Su Causeway. In addition, Qianlong Emperor was known for his patronage of painting on this theme.

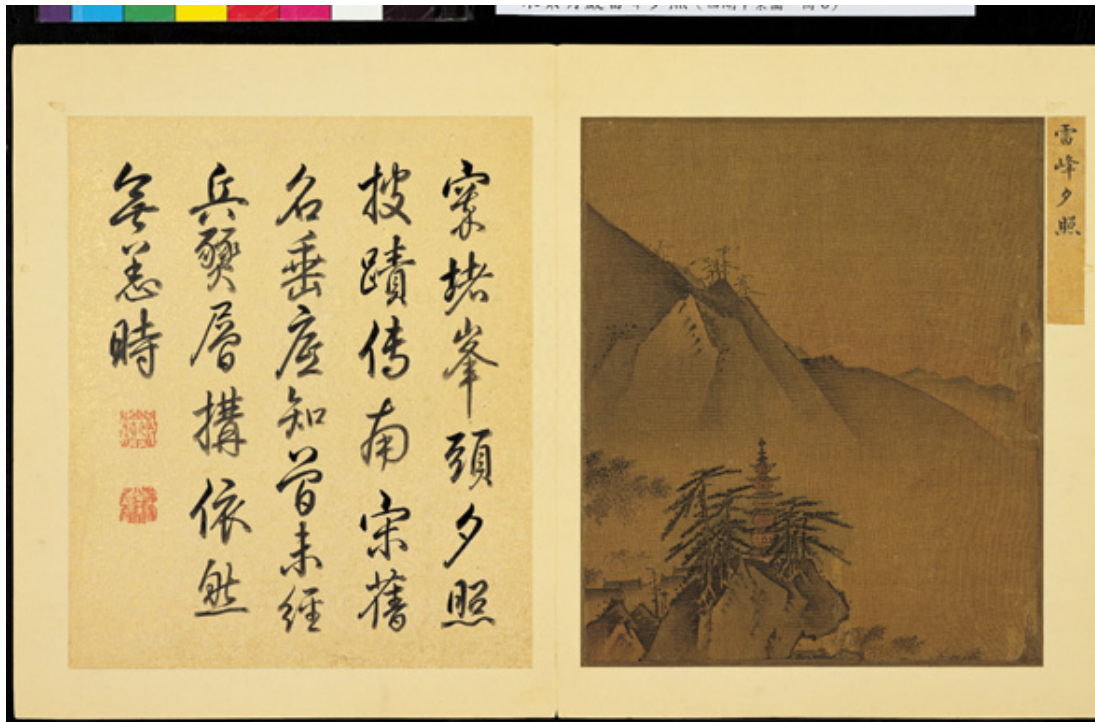


Figure 53: Ye Xiaoyan, *Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda with Qianlong's poems on the left*; ink on paper; H: 23.9, W: 20.2cm; National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Gugong Shuhua Tulu*, 22:74-9.

In addition, several informative gazetteers of West Lake were compiled and published by the Qing government.⁴⁸⁶ The first one was compiled during the Yongzheng reign (1722-1735); it included the Ten Views, along with detailed geo-historical information. The introduction of each vista usually starts with one sentence on the history of this vista during the Song Dynasty, when it was first established. It then introduces Kangxi's visit to the sight and the inscription he left. The last part is the most detailed one, focusing on what happened during the Yongzheng reign, and especially what the local minister Li Wei 李衛, who also supervised the compilation of the gazetteer, had accomplished in repairing and enhancing the scenery. Meanwhile, very different from the late Ming printed images, the Qing ones presented clear topographic characteristics: the realistic presentation of the natural scenery with sites established for imperial tours clearly

⁴⁸⁶ Such as Li Wei's 李衛 *Xihu Zhi* 西湖志 (1731) and Shen Deqian's 沈德潛 *Xihu zhizuan* 西湖志纂 (1751).

labeled (Fig. 54).⁴⁸⁷ The introduction of each image confirmed the specific locations and time standardized during Kangxi’s tours. For example, Kangxi changed the “Evening Bell” in the title “Evening Bell from Nanping Hill” into “Morning Bell.” This change was given special emphasis in the gazetteer. In doing so, the Manchu government claimed their ownership of the landscape and incorporated this essential Han Chinese naming convention into their own discourse.

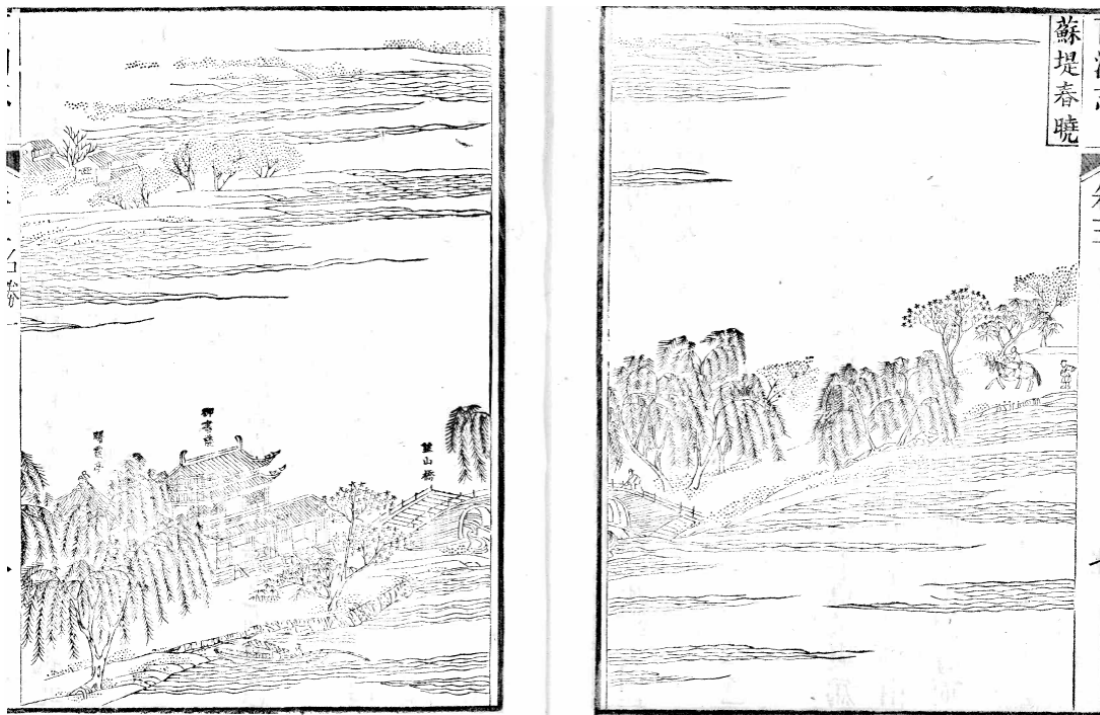


Figure 54: The wood block printing on *Spring Dawn at Su Causeway*. After *Xihu zhi*, 3:7-8.

Local elites wrote a great deal about West Lake during the late Qing. A large number of miscellanies that focus on Hangzhou were included in the twelve-volume *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (*General Compilation of Historical Sources on Hangzhou*) by Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832-1899) at the end of the nineteenth century. This practice was certainly connected to the Qing Dynasty intellectual trend of organizing historical sources and compiling collections of historical notes, but it also testifies to local pride. Selling local scenery was

⁴⁸⁷ Xiaolin Duan, “A Comparative Study of Two Series of Printed West Lake Ten Views.”

evidently treated as an efficient way of promoting local pride. For instance, Ten Views of West Lake were represented in various mediums in the late Qing, including ink stones (Fig. 55) and embroidery works (Fig. 56), to make commercial profit for the producers and help accumulate cultural capital for the users.⁴⁸⁸



Figure 55: Ink stone carved with poem and painting on *Spring Dawn on Su Causeway*. After Wang Jinsheng, “Yuzhi xihu mingsheng tu shimo,” *Wangshi jianguzhai mosou*, XXSKQS, 1a.



Figure 56: Embroidery labeled *Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples*; silk; H: 24.1, W: 26.3 cm; National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Li Yumin 李玉珉, “Xihu shijing tezha.”

During the Republican period, as a result of modern influence, Hangzhou was built into the development of the tourist industry. This was partly due to the emergence of Shanghai as the new economic center in the lower Yangtze delta, so Hangzhou was reshaped as a cultural and tourist center to attract city dwellers from Shanghai. More guide books geared towards the need of tourists were published, both the titles and contents of which clearly indicate that the targeted readers were the ones came only/mainly for tourist purposes.⁴⁸⁹ Ten Views of West Lake, as a

⁴⁸⁸ For the embroidery works, see Li E 厲鶚, *Dongcheng zaji* 東城雜記, SKQS, juan xia: 18b-19a. For example of ink stones: “Ink with Painting and Poems of West Laker Points of Interest made by the Imperial Order” in Wang Jinsheng 汪近聖, *Wangshi jianguzhai mosou* 汪氏鑿古齋墨藪, XXSKQS. Two extant sets of ink stones of the ten scenes are preserved in West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.

⁴⁸⁹ To name a few: *Zengding xihu youlan zhinan* 增訂西湖遊覽指南 by Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869-1928), *Shidi boxing Hangzhou ihu youlan zhinan* 實地步行杭州西湖遊覽指南 by Lu Feizhi 陸費執 (published 1929), and *Hangzhou daoyou* 杭州導遊 by Zhao Junhao 趙君豪 (published 1937).

very suitable tourism discourse, was manipulated in the new context as a tourism slogan used to promote Hangzhou.⁴⁹⁰

More tourist books were published and more government funding was provided to develop local tourism after the establishment of PRC, and especially after the 1980s. Today's Zhejiang and Hangzhou governments strive to maintain the natural scenery and enhance the cultural memories of West Lake, in order to stimulate the tourist industry. Numerous historical sites have been excavated, repaired, and noted on tourist brochures. The twentieth-century of West Lake rediscovery, in the light of global tourism, saw it reinvented, and redefined as a nationalistic symbol of "Chineseness," as seen from the campaign to make the lake UNESCO landmark. These modern processes might well provide a fruitful area for future scholarship. But while its meaning has been continuing to change, West Lake does retain something of its Southern Song self. While traveling on and around the lake, tourists today find themselves easily tempted to further engage with the lingering cultural memory of the Southern Song—by the museum at the lakeside, by the plaques providing historical information, and by the tourist map of historical relics. It continues to be a recreational area for Hangzhou residents and visitors alike; it continues to play a role in the creation of the cultural, social and aesthetic interaction between urban space and natural landscape.

⁴⁹⁰ Liping Wang, "Tourism and Spatial Change in Hangzhou, 1911-1927," 107-120.

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LDXHSHJ Xihu bowuguan 西湖博物館. *Lidai xihu shuhuai* 歷代西湖書畫集. Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2010.

QSBJ *Quansong biji* 全宋筆記. Zhu Yi'an 朱易安 et al.. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 1993, 1996, 2008.

QSW *Quan Songwen* 全宋文. Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Liu Lin 劉琳 ed.. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1988-1994.

SKQS *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986.

SYFZ *Song Yuan fangzhi congan* 宋元方志叢刊. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 1990.

XHWXJC *Xihu wenxian jicheng* 西湖文獻集成. Wang Guopin 王國平 ed.. Hangzhou chubanshe, 2004.

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