



**The Making of a Place: Topographical Literature on West Lake by
Tian Rucheng (b. 1501) and Zhang Dai (b. 1597)**

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der

Graduiertenschule für die Geisteswissenschaften /

Graduate School of the Humanities (GSH)

Der

Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

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Würzburg

2023

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Tag des Promotionskolloquiums: 30.03.2022

Abstract

The Making of a Place: Topographical Literature on West Lake by Tian Rucheng (b. 1501) and Zhang Dai (b. 1597)

The present study explores the local gazetteers of West Lake that were compiled by literati of the Ming dynasty. In 1547, the first West Lake gazetteer, entitled *The Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake* (*Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志), was published by the local literatus of Hangzhou, Tian Rucheng 田汝成. A supplement to it, entitled *Supplement to the Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake* (*Xihu youlan zhi yu* 西湖遊覽志餘, henceforth *Supplement*), was also published in the same year. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, accompanying the huge enthusiasm for West Lake and the flourishing of its tourism, the production of West Lake gazetteers reached its peak. This trend, however, was reduced by the turmoils in the last years of the Ming and the dynastic transition, a period when West Lake had also experienced destruction. Nevertheless, the practice was resumed in the first decades of the Qing dynasty by some literati who had survived the disasters. One prominent work of this period, entitled *West Lake Dream Searching* (*Xihu mengxun* 西湖夢尋), was compiled by the Ming loyalist and “remnant subject” (*yimin* 遺民) Zhang Dai 張岱, who wrote an author’s preface in 1671.

The main body of the study can be divided into two parts. The first part (Chapters 2–3) focuses on the editorial principles of compilers, e.g., which materials are included, how they are organized and presented. The exploration leads to the conclusion that West Lake gazetteers are multi-dimensional in the sense that they have various functions and serve different purposes, such as scholarly and documentary, practical and oriented toward tour-guiding, didactic and educational, and personal and nostalgic ones. Despite such heterogeneity, a West Lake gazetteer may have certain emphases. The differences between individual gazetteers in terms of content and organization are partly due to the regulations based on previous works by a compiler to serve his own purposes.

The second part (Chapters 4–6) focuses on some of the perceptions, attitudes, and values of literati focusing on West Lake. The discourses analyzed in this part include West Lake as a hybrid between metropolitan city and sheer wilderness, as a national symbol and object of nostalgia of the lost dynasty, and as a place of pleasure-seeking and indulgence. They were influential and reflected by the Ming West Lake gazetteers. While a discourse often refers to a diachronic process, the emphasis of the study is on the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that is, the late Ming. The analysis of the three discourses reveals how an environmental value is defined and how an image of West Lake as a place is created, and thus contributes to the understanding of the issue in general.

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Acknowledgement

This book is based on my doctoral research. Hereby I wish to give thanks to the people who had helped me in my academic pursuit. I want to thank the first supervisor of my doctoral programme, Prof. Dr. Roland Altenburger. Without his instructions, my work would be unimaginable. Prof. Altenburger was already my supervisor when I was doing my Master programme. It is hard, if not impossible, to measure his influences, as it is through his teachings that I become disciplined in the field of the studies of the late imperial Chinese culture and literature. I also thank my secondary supervisors, Prof. Dr. habil. Silvia Freiin Ebner von Eschenbach and Prof. Dr. Björn Alpermann, who were always kind and patient to me and did their best to suit my schedule. I want to thank Dr. Thomas Schmid of the Graduate School of Humanities, who had guided me throughout my programme. I want to thank Dr. Michael Leibold, who helped me many times since I was a Master student.

1 Contextualizing and Conceptualizing Ming West Lake Local Gazetteers

1.1 Object of Research and Research Questions

What did Chinese literati do to depict a local place? What kinds of literary materials were considered as relevant and constituent parts in the description of locality? How were they categorized and organized? Among the various texts of pre-modern China on places, an important kind is the “local gazetteer” (*difangzhi* 地方志 or *fangzhi* 方志). A genre that took shape over a long period in Chinese history, has its own principles of compiling, and contains a wide range of information through textual and cartographical representations.¹ The local gazetteers the present study focuses on are those of a famous lake in China past and present, that is, the West Lake (Xi hu 西湖) located in the west of the city of Hangzhou, the capital of Zhejiang Province. Well known for its beautiful landscape, it was among the most intensively visited places by both literati and commoners sightseers in the pre-modern times. As a result, numerous literary works, such as poems, essays, and anecdotes, were produced during the successive historical periods and became potential materials for the West Lake gazetteers.

Despite the large quantity of writings, it was not until the sixteenth century that the first West Lake gazetteer was compiled. This was a period that witnessed the rapid growth of local gazetteers in number. The first West Lake gazetteer took the form of two parts, which were respectively entitled *The Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake* (*Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志, henceforth *Sightseeing Gazetteer*) and *Supplement to the Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake* (*Xihu youlan zhi yu* 西湖遊覽志餘, henceforth *Supplement*). While the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* has twenty-four “chapters” (*juan* 卷, lit. “scroll” or “fascicle”), the *Supplement* is longer and comprises twenty-six chapters. Both texts were compiled by Tian Rucheng (田汝成, *zi* 字 [courtesy name] Shuhe 叔禾, *hao*

¹ For a discussion of the origin(s) of local gazetteers, see Cang Xiuliang 仓修良, *Fangzhi xue tonglun* 方志学通论 (A Comprehensive Discourse of the Study of Local Gazetteers) (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1990), 1–67.

號 [art name] Yuyang 豫陽, b. 1501)² and first published in 1547. Tian Rucheng's pioneering works were influential and seminal for all subsequent West Lake gazetteers. In the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, parallel to the decades of enthusiasm for West Lake sightseeing, the two texts were repeatedly re-edited and republished, and more than ten different editions appeared.³ The enthusiasm faded away with the decline of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty (1644–1912). More than two decades after the fall of the Ming, another West Lake gazetteer, entitled *West Lake Dream Searching* (*Xihu mengxun* 西湖夢尋, henceforth *Dream Searching*), was finalized by the Ming loyalist and “remnant subject” (*yimin* 遺民)⁴ Zhang Dai (張岱, *zi* Zongzi 宗子, Shigong 石公, hao Tao'an 陶庵, Die'an 蝶庵 etc., b. 1597),⁵ who wrote an author's preface to the text in 1671. Compared with Tian Rucheng's gazetteer, it is much shorter and has five chapters only. The compilations from Tian Rucheng to Zhang Dai constitute the West Lake gazetteers of the late Ming period (conventionally dated from the mid sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century) and are the object of investigation of the present study.

As the local gazetteer evolved in history, there were debates about its nature, as scholars differed on the questions whether it was geographical, historical, or constituted a category of its own.⁶ In the imperial collection of books, known as *The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, 1773–84, henceforth *Four Treasuries*), *Sightseeing Gazetteer, Supplement*, and *Dream Searching*, along with many other local gazetteers in general, were placed in the “Department of History, Sub-category of

² The year of Tian Rucheng's death is uncertain. A discussion of the issue is seen later in this chapter.

³ See Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, “Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu: Ming Xihu youlan zhi de chuban licheng yu Hangzhou lüyou wenhua” 名勝志或旅遊書——明《西湖遊覽志》的出版歷程與杭州旅遊文化 (*Gazetteers of Famous Sites or Tourist Guidebooks: The Printing History of the Ming-Period Xihu youlan zhi and Tourism in Hangzhou*), *Xin shixue* 新史學 24, no. 4 (2013): 96.

⁴ For a discussion of the definition of the term and the delineation of the *yimin* group, see Wang Chen-Main 王成勉, “Zailun Ming mo shiren de jueze: Jin ershi nian de yanjiu yu chuangxin” 再論明末士人的抉擇——近二十年的研究與創新 (Second Discussion on the Choices of Late Ming Scholar-officials: Studies and Innovations of the Recent Twenty Years), in *Qijie yu bianjie: Ming mo Qing chu shiren de chujing yu jueze* 氣節與變節：明末清初士人的處境與抉擇, ed. Wang Chen-Main 王成勉 (Taipei: Liming wenhua, 2012), 15–17. Wang defines *yimin* as “those who identify themselves as *yimin* and had a sense of loyalty to the former dynasty”. In this light, I view Zhang Dai as belonging to the group, although I have not seen him using this term when referring to himself.

⁵ The year of Zhang Dai's death is uncertain. A discussion of the issue will be seen later in this chapter.

⁶ For discussions of the nature of local gazetteers, see Wang Deheng 王德恒, Xu Minghui 许明辉, and Jia Huiming 贾辉铭, *Zhongguo fangzhi xue* 中国方志学 (On the Study of Chinese Local Gazetteers) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1994), 13–21; Yang Junchang 杨军昌, *Zhongguo fangzhi xue gailun* 中国方志学概论 (An Outline of the Study of Chinese Local Gazetteers) (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1999), 1–6.

Geography” (*Shi bu dili lei* 史部地理類). What is certain is that local gazetteers contained a variety of materials and sought suitable forms for each kind of them. It might, for example, choose maps (*tu* 圖) to indicate locations and distances, tables (*biao* 表) to enumerate local officials, chronologies (*ji* 紀 or *shiji* 事紀) for important events, biographies (*zhuan* 傳) for local worthies, catalogs (*mu* 目) for local people’s writings, and casual notes (*biji* 筆記 or *zaji* 雜記) for anecdotes and miscellaneous things. As a result, in terms of both form and content, local gazetteers are heterogeneous works. They contain both geographical and historical materials. This principle also applies to West Lake gazetteers, although they may differ from other kinds of gazetteers in other ways.

While the origin of local gazetteers can be traced back to antiquity, it had developed various kinds of texts, which are commonly categorized in present-day scholarship into two large groups, the “comprehensive gazetteers” (*tongzhi* 通志), which are comprehensive accounts of a locality, and the “specialized gazetteers” (*zhuanzhi* 專志), which record a certain geographical unit or a topical aspect, such as hills and rivers, academies, monasteries, famous persons, and customs.⁷ A slightly different dichotomy is that of the “administrative gazetteers”, which were “compiled for administrative units, from the canton (*xiang*) [鄉] county (*xian*) [縣] up to the provincial level and finally the country as a whole”, on the one hand, and “topographical and institutional gazetteers”, which were “records of places such as mountains and monasteries”, on the other.⁸ In most cases, a gazetteer compiled for an administrative unit, such as the *Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer of the Wanli Era* (*Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi* 萬曆杭州府志, 1579), was supposed to record a range of information about the unit and was thus “comprehensive”, while a gazetteer that focuses on a geographical unit or a type of institution, such as the *Gazetteer of Buddhism in Hangzhou* (*Wulin fan zhi* 武林梵志, 1612) that records major Buddhist monasteries and pagodas of Hangzhou Prefecture, was considered as presenting one specific aspect of the region, and thus as “specialized”. As to the West Lake

⁷ For a definition of the two terms, see Huang Wei 黄苇, *Zhongguo difangzhi cidian* 中国地方志词典 (A Dictionary of Chinese Local Gazetteers) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1986), 355f., 477f.; Dai An’gang 戴鞍钢, *Zhongguo difangzhi jingdu* 中国地方志精读 (Essential Readings of Chinese Local Gazetteers) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 11. The English translations of the terms are mine.

⁸ See Timothy Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies & The University of Michigan, 1988), ix and 49.

gazetteers, they are largely collections of “scenic sites” (*shengji* 勝蹟) or “famous sites” (*mingsheng* 名勝), which would seem to have been included due to their relationship with and value for sightseeing. The scenic sites in the Ming West Lake gazetteers include not only “natural” sites, such as hills, peaks, rocks, grottoes, rivers, ponds, springs, and creeks, but also man-made elements of landscape, such as gardens, pavilions, causeways, terraces, bridges, wells, palaces, shrines, temples, monasteries, pagodas, and tombs. Although many sites were not primarily for the sake of sightseeing, they could nevertheless be visited and viewed by sightseers. While many historical events recorded were not activities of sightseeing *per se*, sightseers might be interested in them as part of the local history. The scenic sites were located at West Lake and its environs, such as the surrounding hills of West Lake, the city of Hangzhou, and Qiantang River (Qiantang jiang 錢塘江).

In the late imperial period, the title of any gazetteer of an administrative unit usually comprises three parts: place name, administrative unit name, and the term *zhi* 志 (gazetteer, lit. “record”), such as “Qiantang County Gazetteer” (*Qiantang xian zhi* 錢塘縣志). Tian Rucheng’s *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which does not refer to an administrative unit, only contains “West Lake” and *zhi*. Moreover, it inserted the word *youlan* 遊覽 (sightseeing, lit. “roaming and viewing”) between the two words, which suggests that the text presents only one specific aspect of the locality. Later West Lake gazetteers based on Tian’s work usually keep “West Lake” and “gazetteer” in their titles, while some of them add new terms to them, thus implying that they modified the original work according to other criteria. Take the *Gazetteer of West Lake: Topically Arranged Excerpts* (*Xihu zhi leichao* 西湖志類鈔) as an example, the word *leichao* 類鈔 (lit. “categorized transcript”) in the title implies that it is a reorganization of the old gazetteer(s) by topical categories. Unlike with most West Lake gazetteers, however, the term *zhi* does not appear in the title of Zhang Dai’s *Dream Searching*, in whose title “West Lake” is followed by the poetic expression *meng xun* 夢尋, (lit. “dream searching”). This is echoed by the author’s preface, in which Zhang states that the text documents the pursuit of his own dream of West Lake. This adds a flavor to the text as an individual anthology or memoir, although the text reveals itself very much as a gazetteer in nature.

The basic units of West Lake gazetteers are constituted by a range of entries, each of which refers to one individual scenic site. In the pre-modern editions, a discrete entry either starts on a new line or is separated from the preceding entry by blanks. While in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, an entry does not have a title, in some gazetteers, such as *Dream Searching*, the name of the site is taken as the title of the entry. Typically, an entry comprises two parts: an introductory essay, the length of which varies from one or two lines to several pages, and in some cases, also selected literary items that are attached to the end of the introductory essay. The genres of literary items are diverse and may include poems, prefaces, stele inscriptions, and travel records (*youji* 遊記, i.e. prose records of an individual's travel experience). These literary works were written by different authors and in different periods, and may also include those written by the compilers themselves, although these usually constitute only a small portion. To give just one example, the entry on the scenic site Lotus Residence (Ouhua ju 藕花居), in *juan* 3 of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, reads as follows:

淨慈寺前，為雷峰塔、藕花居、倪尚書墓。[...]藕花居者，洪武中，淨慈僧廣衍建。衍以博學征修大典，歸老於此。林亭幽雅，開傍湖濱，長夏荷舒，清馥滿室。塔畔有東退居者，亦衍別業也。王伯安詩：「掩映紅粧莫漫猜，隔林知是藕花開。共君醉臥不須扇，自有香風拂面來。」⁹

In front of Pure Compassion Monastery, there are Thunder Peak Pagoda, Lotus Residence, and Minister Ni's Tomb. [...] ¹⁰ Lotus Residence was built by the monk Guangyan of Pure Compassion Monastery in the Hongwu era (1368–1398). Guangyan used to be summoned [by the court] to compile the Grand Canon due to his erudition; after he came back, he lived the rest of his life here. The trees and pavilions are quiet and elegant, facing the bank of the lake; when lotuses unroll themselves in the long summer, pure fragrance fills the rooms. Near [Thunder Peak] Pagoda there is Eastern Retreat Residence, which was also a villa of Guangyan.

⁹ Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (The Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake), punctuated and proofread by Liu Xiong 劉雄 and Yin Xiaoning 尹曉寧 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017), 28.

¹⁰ The entry “Thunder Peak Pagoda” (Leifeng ta 雷峰塔) is omitted here.

Wang Boan's [i.e. Wang Shouren 王守仁 (1472–1529), best known as Wang Yangming 王陽明] poem:

Do not take a wild guess what the concealed red dress is,
Despite the obstruction of the trees, I know it is the lotuses that are in blossom.
Lying down with you in drunkenness, we need no fans,
For there is fragrant breeze that comes and gently touches our faces.¹¹

As the entry instantiates, an introductory essay comprises several possible components: First, an indication of the site's location. Second, a narrative of the site's history, which varies from barest notes of the site's construction, reconstruction, and destruction, to embellished stories and vivid anecdotes. Principally a narrative starts from the earliest traceable time and ends with the present, and may thus span multiple dynasties and periods. If a site, such as a tomb, shrine, or former residence, was related to a historical figure, a short biography of that person is often included. Third, a topographical description that emphasizes the aesthetic aspect of the site. As the example above may suggest, the description is largely an objective account of the scenic site in the sense that it does not reflect the perceptions and experiences unique to the compiler, but those shared by and common to the vast majority of people, or at least of the literati. Compared with the largely objective descriptions of the introductory essay, the attached literary works often contain imaginations, associations, and activities of the literati sightseer that are highly individual. The two main parts of an entry correspond to an extent to the two modes of representation of the landscape as identified by Richard E. Strassberg in traditional Chinese travel writings:

The traditional division of Chinese travel writing into history and belles lettres reflects a distinction between public, impersonal forms and more private modes that included the representation of the subjective self. [...] At one pole was the objective, moralizing perspective of historiography; at the other, a mode of expressive and

¹¹ The poem, entitled "Xihu zuizhong manshu" 西湖醉中漫書 (Wild Writing at West Lake When Drunk), is also seen in Wang Shouren's complete collection in Wang Shouren 王守仁, *Wang Yangming quanji* 王陽明全集 (The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming), edited and proofread by Wu Guang 吳光 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), vol. 2, 736. In this edition, the last character of the third line of the poem is *dao* 到 (arrive) instead of *shan* 扇 (fan), which should be erroneous.

aesthetic responses to the landscape derived from poetic genres that could be termed “lyrical”.¹²

The West Lake gazetteers, therefore, are comprehensive and present a place from different perspectives. While Tian Rucheng’s work was praised by the editors of the *Four Treasuries* as a good document that “differs from those Ming literati’s travel records, which merely note wine drinking, poem composing, hill climbing, and lingering over the sights” (與明人遊記徒以觴詠登臨、流連光景者不侔),¹³ this is also the case with other Ming West Lake gazetteers.

While the selected literary items evidently were excerpted from the works by various authors, who then wrote the introductory essays? Since Tian Rucheng rarely mentions any literary sources in his gazetteer, it is unclear to what extent he had himself written the introductory essays, and to what extent copied them from previous texts. In later Ming West Lake gazetteers, including Zhang Dai’s *Dream Searching*, as has been shown by Qu Shuiyuan 屈水源, there is considerable overlap of individual entries with those in earlier texts.¹⁴ The textual borrowing is not confined to West Lake gazetteers, but also applies to other types of topographical writings of West Lake. For example, an administrative gazetteer, entitled *Wanli Era Qiantang County Gazetteer* (*Wanli Qiantang xianzhi* 萬曆錢塘縣志, 1609),¹⁵ and a text on the famous scenic sites empire-wide, entitled *Marvellous Sights within the Seas* (*Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀, 1609), both contain an essay on West Lake that is much based on “A General Account of West Lake” (*Xihu zongxu* 西湖總敘) in Tian Rucheng’s *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. In this sense the author of a West Lake gazetteer was to a large extent playing the role of a compiler and editor, who collected materials from other sources rather than producing original writings.

¹² Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1994), 9f.

¹³ See “Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao” 四庫全書總目提要 (Catalog and Abstract of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 222.

¹⁴ For a comparison of the text of *Dream Searching* with that of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, see Qu Shuiyuan 屈水源, “Lun *Xihu mengxun* de wenben tedian ji jiazhi: Yi yu *Xihu youlan zhi* de huwenxing guanxi wei zhongxin” 论《西湖梦寻》的文本特点及价值——以与《西湖游览志》的互文性关系为中心 (Text Characteristics and Values of *West Lake Dream Searching*: Focusing on its Intertextual Relation to the *Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake*), *Anhui nongye daxue xuebao* (*shehui kexue ban*) 安徽农业大学学报 (社会科学版) 27, no. 5, (2018), 86.

¹⁵ The Qiantang Country 錢塘縣 was a subordinate county of Hangzhou Prefecture. Along with Renhe County 仁和县, its county seat was located within the walled city of Hangzhou. Its administrative domain included part of the city of Hangzhou and West Lake.

If there is a high degree of overlap between West Lake gazetteers, why were new gazetteers compiled? One reason is that West Lake gazetteers, like local gazetteers in general, usually updated older ones and supplemented materials that reported the more recent developments of the place. The significance of updating of local gazetteers is twofold: it meant to record the constantly accumulating history, and to reflect the contemporary situation of a place. This was especially needed in the West Lake gazetteers in the late Ming, when the lake was much changed by beautification projects and extensively visited by sightseers.

The individual entries in a West Lake gazetteer are not randomly presented, but organized into sections. One notable feature of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* is that it divides its scenic sites into several geographical regions and introduces the scenic sites of a region in a spatial sequence, usually following along an established sightseeing route. Although this organizing principle is different from the majority of local gazetteers in general at the time, which divided their materials by topical categories, it had been adopted or developed by a range of later West Lake gazetteers.

The present study will explore the intentions and strategies of the compilers of West Lake gazetteers from Tian Rucheng to Zhang Dai and several compilers between them. It aims to find out what these compilers intended to achieve through their projects, and how they managed to do it through selection of materials, categorization, organization etc. One hypothesis of this study is that West Lake gazetteers were produced by compilers with varying agendas, which resulted in considerable differences in form and content between individual gazetteers. While this was already the case of administrative gazetteers from the Song to the early Qing period,¹⁶ it seems that West Lake gazetteers were even more diverse. Compared with administrative gazetteers, which were often initiated and managed by incumbent local officials, sponsored and published by official institutions, and generally more official in nature, West Lake gazetteers were the result of a variety of social processes. Another hypothesis is that each West Lake gazetteer was complex and multi-functional text and served various purposes. The differences between West Lake gazetteers are rather their emphases and largely a matter of degree. Not only are West

¹⁶ Joseph R. Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China: 1100–1700* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 342.

Lake gazetteers different from each other in editorial principle, but an individual gazetteer might also have contradictory and conflicting elements.

Beside the intentions and strategies of West Lake compilers, this study will also explore some literati's discourses concerning West Lake. These discourses have reflected the environmental perceptions, attitudes, and values of literati sightseers; some of them were so influential that they became recurrent themes and motifs in history, which literati of later periods could hardly ignore. As a result, a discourse accumulated in history. In this regard, West Lake gazetteers as collection of materials over different periods make it convenient for a diachronic research. Besides West Lake gazetteers, West Lake writings from elsewhere may also be noted.

For a more detailed and in-depth discussion of the concepts and methodology of this study, some background knowledge needs to be introduced first. This chapter is thus divided into several sub-chapters. First, it will contextualize the Ming West Lake gazetteers, presenting the lives, oeuvres, and personal experiences of sightseeing of Tian Rucheng and Zhang Dai, providing a brief history of the conditions of West Lake and its sightseeing culture, and an introduction to its local gazetteers and other topographical writings. Both the history of West Lake and the textual history will start from the Song dynasty (960–1279), a period when West Lake became significant and rose to empire-wide fame, and ends with the early Qing, in which Zhang Dai compiled his gazetteer. Second, I will respectively discuss the methodology and concepts of this study, provide a review of the major research literature that is important to my own, and raise the research questions for each chapter.

All English translations in this study, unless otherwise noted, are mine. The punctuations of texts, if cited from pre-modern editions, are added by myself.

1.2 Tian Rucheng's Life, Oeuvre, and Experiences of Sightseeing

Although Tian Rucheng already gained a fame as a literatus during his lifetime, he was said to be too humble and reluctant to publish his own poems and prose essays: In the introduction to *A Small Collection of Tian Shuhe's Works* (*Tian Shuhe xiaoji* 田叔禾小

集), Tian Rucheng's son Tian Yiheng 田藝衡 (*zi* Ziyi 子藝, b. 1524) claims that his father always sent his writings to other people without keeping a copy; and it was only after Tian Yiheng's persistent request and editorial work that Tian Rucheng had agreed to publish the collection of his works.¹⁷ Tian Yiheng also provides a list of the published and unpublished works of Tian Rucheng, many of which are unfortunately lost today.¹⁸ Nevertheless, from his collection, biographical entries in other sources, and the writings of Tian Yiheng, who himself was also a prominent literatus, some knowledge about Tian Rucheng's background, family members, official career, and personal life can be gathered.¹⁹

Tian Rucheng was of Henan origin, but it is unclear when his clan had moved to Qiantang County (Hangzhou).²⁰ According to a clan genealogy offered by Tian Yiheng, the ancestor of the first generation (*yishi* 一世) was Tian Jiuchou 田九疇, who lived in the late Yuan. A successor of the fifth generation, Tian Bang 田邦, had three sons, the second of whom was Tian Rucheng.²¹ According to the “Eight Characters of Birth Time” (*shengchen bazi* 生辰八字) of Tian Rucheng as recorded in a Ming text of astrology by Wan Mingying 萬民英 (*jinshi* 1550), his birthday would be December 27th, 1501 according to the Western calendar.²²

¹⁷ See Tian Yiheng's “Jia dafu xiaoji yin” 家大夫小集引 (An Introduction to the Small Collection of My Father) at the beginning of Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji* 田叔禾小集 (A Small Collection of Tian Shuhe's Works), 1563. Harvard-Yenching Library, 3b.

¹⁸ See “Yi ke zaji” 已刻雜集 (List of Miscellaneous Works Carved) and “Wei ke zaji” 未刻雜集 (List of Miscellaneous Works Not Carved) at the beginning of Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, 4a–5a and 5a–b.

¹⁹ For an “annalistic biography” (*nianpu* 年譜) of Tian Rucheng, see Zhan Mingyu 詹明瑜, “Tian Rucheng yanjiu” 田汝成研究 (A Study of Tian Rucheng) (Master thesis, Shanghai Normal University, 2012), 67–94. For an annalistic biography of his son Tian Yiheng, in which Tian Rucheng's life is also recorded in some detail, see Wang Ning 王宁, “Tian Yiheng yanjiu” 田藝衡研究 (A Study of Tian Yiheng) (Master thesis, Zhejiang University, 2007), 63–125.

²⁰ This is according to Yu Xian's 俞憲 (*jinshi* 1538) short biography of Tian Rucheng, which states that: “Tian Shuhe from Qiantang has the personal name of Rucheng. His ancestors were He'nan persons, thus he gave himself the art name of Yuyang” (錢塘田叔禾, 名汝成。其先河南人, 故以豫陽自號). See Yu Xian 俞憲, “Sheng Ming baijia shi, Tian Yuyang ji” 盛明百家詩·田豫陽集 (Poems of the One Hundred Schools of the Prosperous Ming, A Collection of Tian Yuyang), in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書·集部 (Collectanea of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries, Books Not Included*, Category of Collections), vol. 305, ed. Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫全書存目叢書編纂委員會 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 818.

²¹ See “Tianshi benzhi putu” 田氏本支譜圖 (Genealogy and Chart of the Origin and Branch of the Tian Clan) in Tian Yiheng 田藝衡, *Liuqing rizha* 留青日札 (Daily Notes for Green Bamboos), punctuated and annotated by Zhu Bilian 朱碧蓮 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2012), vol. 1, 252.

²² See “Liu ren ri mao shi duan” 六壬日卯時斷 (Judgments of the Six Kinds of Births on the Day of *ren* and the Hour of *mao*), in Wan Mingying 萬民英, “Sanming tonghui” 三命通會 (A Comprehensive Collection of Three Destinies), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge* Siku quanshu 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 810 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 528. According to this

Tian Rucheng was the first member of his lineage who achieved an official career since the Yuan period. In 1519, both Tian Rucheng and his elder brother Tian Rudeng 田汝登 (*zi* Bohe 伯禾) passed the Provincial Examination (*xiangshi* 鄉試) and became “Provincial Graduates” (*juren* 舉人).²³ Unfortunately Tian Rudeng died in 1523 at the age of twenty-six.²⁴ In 1526, Tian Rucheng passed the Metropolitan Examination (*huishi* 會試) and received the degree of “Metropolitan Graduate” (*jinshi* 進士). It was from this year that Tian began his career as an official, at first serving in various ministries in Nanjing, between 1526 and 1534. In 1531, Tian Rucheng, who was Secretary of the Ministry of Rites (*Libu zhushi* 禮部主事) at the time, proposed in a memorial to the throne the release of prisoners and exiles, and thereby displeased the Jiajing 嘉靖 Emperor (r. 1522–1566). As a result, Tian was reproached, and two months of his salaries were deducted.²⁵ From 1534, Tian began to serve at the prefectural and provincial levels in a range of local places in Guangdong, South Zhili (Nan Zhili 南直隸), Guizhou, Guangxi, and Fujian provinces. The most significant event and achievement of his as a local official was the military campaign he led with his fellow official Weng Wanda 翁萬達 (1498–1552, *jinshi* 1526) against the local rebellions in Guangxi Province in 1538 and 1539. Tian and Weng succeeded in suppressing the rebellions and appeasing the region, and jointly presented seven proposals of redress to the Chief Military Commission (*dufu* 督府).²⁶ Tian Rucheng retired from office about five or six years before the publication of his West Lake gazetteer in 1547,²⁷ returned to

source, Tian Rucheng’s *shengchen bazi* are “the year of *xinyou*, the month of *gengzi*, the day of *renchen*, and the hour of *guimao*” (*xinyou gengzi renchen guimao* 辛酉庚子壬辰癸卯).

²³ See the list of *juren* in “Jishi, Xiangju” 紀士·鄉舉 (Record of Scholars, Provincial Exams), in Nie Xintang 聶心湯 and Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙, “Wanli Qiantang xianzhi” 萬厓錢塘縣志 (Qiantang County Gazetteer of the Wanli Era), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 16, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 4870.

²⁴ See the essay “Lihou lun xia” 立後論·下 (On Establishing Heirs, Second Half) in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 7, 14a, where Tian Rucheng mentions that his first son Tian Yiheng was born one year after Tian Rudeng had died. Since Tian Yiheng was born in 1524, Tian Rudeng must have died in 1523.

²⁵ See biography of Tian Rucheng, in Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., “Ming shi” 明史 (The Dynastic History of the Ming), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 301 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 849.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 849. For the content of the proposals, see Tian Rucheng 田汝成. “Yanjiao jiwen” 炎徼紀聞 (Hearsay from the Hot Frontiers), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 352 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 625–629.

²⁷ After the military campaign, Tian Rucheng was appointed Vice Education Intendant (*tixue fushi* 提學副使) of

Hangzhou, and was active as a scholar for the rest of his life. Several of his major works, including *Sightseeing Gazetteer and Supplement*, were finished in this period.

Tian Rucheng had two sons, the eldest of whom was Tian Yiheng. Since Tian Rudeng died at an early age without an heir, Tian Rucheng made Tian Yiheng the heir of Tian Rudeng.²⁸ Tian Rucheng's wife and Tian Yiheng's mother, née Xu 徐, died in 1535. In the following year, Tian Rucheng's concubine gave birth to the second son,²⁹ whose name is unclear.

Tian Rucheng's year of death is unclear, too. Since Jiang Zhuo 蔣灼, a friend of Tian, in his preface to *A Small Collection of Tian Shuhe's Works*, written in the *guihai* 癸亥 year (1563), mentions that Tian "has just entered his sixties" (*nian shi yu liuxun* 年始逾六旬), he was still alive in that year.

Jiang Zhuo, in his preface to Tian Rucheng's collection, describes the latter's appearance as follows:

先生年始逾六旬，身不滿六尺，官不過四品，聽其言若不能出諸口，而海內愛慕悅服之者，咸覩其衰壯，以為欣戚，豈非以豪傑之所蘊，自有不可泯者存耶？

30

The master has just entered his sixties, he is less than six *chi* tall,³¹ his official posts never advanced beyond the fourth rank. When one listens to his words, it is as if they could hardly be spoken. Yet those who love, admire, delight in, and submit to him in the world all pay attention to him, are happy if he is in good health and sad if his

Fujian province as a promotion. See Zhang Tingyu et al., "Ming shi", vol. 301, 849. In 1540, Tian was still active on this post. See "Fujian xiangshi lu xu" 福建鄉試錄序 (Preface to *Record of Provincial Exams of Fujian*), in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 1, 14a. Also Jiang Zhuo in his preface, written in 1653, mentions that Tian "retired due to illness more than twenty years ago" (以病廢歸田垂二十餘年). In his preface to *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, Tian mentions that "five or six years ago, I did not have time [for the project] due to my official service in various places" (五六年前，宦遊無暇). See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, "Xihu youlan zhi xu", 1.

²⁸ Tian Yiheng, *Liuqing rizha*, vol. 1, 252.

²⁹ See Tian Rucheng, "Ji wangqi Xu Gongren wen" 祭亡妻徐恭人文 (Elegiac Address to My Deceased Wife Xu Gongren), in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 6, 25a. The text was written in the *bingshen* 丙申 year (1536) and one year after the death of née Xu. It is stated that "our father had reported earlier that the concubine had a male child" (家公昨報妾孕得雄).

³⁰ See Jiang Zhuo's "Tian Shuhe xiaoji xu" 田叔禾小集序 (Preface to *A Small Collection of Tian Shuhe's Works*) at the beginning of Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, 2b.

³¹ It is unclear what length a *chi* 尺, a measurement unit, it here refers to, as the length of *chi* changed over time in Chinese history. Since the height of a male was conventionally described as "seven *chi*", Tian Rucheng was clearly below the average height.

health is poor. Is this not due to what a man of high and distinguished qualities preserves, which is by itself not perishable?

According to Jiang, Tian Rucheng was a man who was inarticulate, yet admired by people due to his literary achievements. Jiang's description is in accordance with what is stated about him in other documentary sources. Although Tian's official career was not extraordinarily successful, he was celebrated as a prominent literatus at the time and afterwards. *The Dynastic History of the Ming* (*Ming shi* 明史), for example, places Tian in the category "Park of Literature" (*Wenyuan* 文苑) and comments that Tian was "erudite and good at prose in ancient style, especially narrative" (博學工古文, 尤善敘述) and was "praised by others for his erudition at the time" (時推其博洽).³² Another biographical account presents Tian as one of the most prominent literati of Hangzhou: "since the time of Hongzhi 弘治 (1488–1505) and Zhengde 正德 (1506–1521), among the literati of Hangzhou who gained fame in the park of literature, Rucheng was outstanding" (杭士自弘、德來, 揚聲藝苑者, 汝成為最).³³ Tian Rucheng's son Tian Yiheng also enjoyed literary fame equal to his father's despite his own repeated failures in the civil service examinations, and the two, father and son, are often placed in one biography in documentary sources.

During his lifetime, Tian Rucheng was said to have created writings comprising a total of 160 *juan*. The extant writings can be divided into three kinds: First, the two topographical and historical texts about West Lake, that is, the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and its *Supplement*. Second, the historical writings about the southwestern and northeastern frontiers of the Ming empire, such as *Recorded Hearsay from the Hot Frontiers* (*Yanjiao jiwen* 炎徼紀聞, 4 *juan*), published in 1558, which contains biographies of the leaders of the ethnic groups of Guizhou Province as well as accounts of the customs of these ethnic groups. Not only does Tian depict the political, social and cultural situations of the southwest frontier, and record its major affairs, in which Tian himself had participated, but he also comments on the locality and provides solutions to its problems.³⁴ There is

³² Zhang Tingyu et al., "Ming shi", vol. 301, 849.

³³ See "Jixian, Xianzhe, Wenyuan" 紀獻·先哲·文苑 (Record of Documents, Wise Men in the Past, Park of Literature), in Nie Xintang and Yu Chunxi, "Wanli Qiantang xianzhi", 4887.

³⁴ For a study of Tian Rucheng's representation of the southwestern region of the Ming empire and his identity as a

also *A Record of Liaodong* (*Liao ji* 遼紀, 1 *juan*), in which Tian chronicles the political and military affairs of Liaodong 遼東 since the beginning of the dynasty, although he had never served as an official in that region. Third, miscellaneous works of literature, which include *Roaming and Chanting at West Lake* (*Xihu youyong* 西湖遊詠, 1 *juan*), co-authored with Huang Xingzeng 黃省曾 (1496–1546), finished in 1538, and *Roaming and Chanting at Mount Wuyi* (*Wuyi youyong* 武夷遊詠, 1 *juan*), co-authored with Cai Ru'nan 蔡汝楠, finished in 1541, both of which are collections of poems on a certain place. There is also *A Small Collection of Tian Shuhe's Works* (12 *juan*) published in 1563, which contains 369 pieces of poems and prose essays written before he had reached the age of fifty years. These writings, like those of many literati at the time, are of heterogeneous genres and contents. There are, for example, exam questions (*cewen* 策問) which he gave to students when serving as the Vice Education Intendant (*tixue fushi* 提學副使) of Fujian Province; letters to his fellow officials in which Tian writes about how to govern a place; a record of a Confucian academy, in which he supports the philosophical views of his teacher Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水 (1466–1560) and attempts to reconcile the thoughts of the schools of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193);³⁵ biographies in which he praises the Confucian virtues of the recorded figures; a preface to a selective Ming edition of *Record of Yijian* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志), a Southern Song (1127–1279) collection of strange things, compiled by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202), in which Tian defends the possibility of the existence of such things and values the didactic function of writing about them;³⁶ an argumentative essay, in which he does philological research on some Confucian concepts;³⁷ and poems in which he expresses quasi-Daoist and Buddhist detachment from social affairs and the pleasures of

local official, see Hu Xiao-chen 胡曉真, *Ming-Qing wenxue zhong de Xi'nan xushi* 明清文學中的西南敘事 (The Southwest in Ming-Qing Literary Imagination) (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2017), 135–162.

³⁵ See “Wuyi shan Ganquan jingshe ji” 武夷山甘泉精舍記 (A Record of the House Ganquan at Mount Wuyi) in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 4, 17b–19a. For a short account of the interactions between Tian and Zhan, see Zhan Mingyu, “Tian Rucheng yanjiu”, 17f.

³⁶ See “Yijian zhi xu” 夷堅志序 (Preface to the *Record of Yijian*) in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 1, 9b–11b. Tian was actively involved in the republication of several earlier texts. See for example “Hanwen xuan xu” 漢文選序 (Preface to *A Collection of Prose Essays of the Han Dynasty*) and “Lushi xu” 路史序 (Preface to *The Grand History*) in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 1, 1a–3b and 6b–9a.

³⁷ See “Ren yi li zhi xin zijie” 仁義禮智信字解 (Interpretation of the Terms “Humanity”, “Righteousness”, “Ritual”, “Wisdom”, and “Trust”) in *ibid.*, *juan* 7, 19a–22a.

sightseeing. The diverse aspects reflect the eclecticism of various religious, philosophical, and cultural influences, and the mastery of them shows the versatile cultivation of an erudite scholar. This is in accordance with Kang-I Sun Chang's view of literati of the Jiajing reign: "in their attempt to meet the burgeoning demands of the new readership, Ming authors were sometimes tempted to write too much and to dissipate their energies in too many different forms."³⁸ Among these writings, more than half are part of the social interactions with other people, such as prefaces, stele inscriptions, letters, exam questions, and poems in response to those of other literati. Well extending the qualities required for the civil service examinations, the literary skills and scholarly erudition were important for the social interactions with fellow literati at the time and must have largely contributed to the fame of Tian as a prominent man of letters.

When young, Tian Rucheng had lived a reclusive life, studied at home and never left his hometown Hangzhou. As an official, he frequently had to change posts and travel around the empire. By 1538, Tian had already traveled twelve times between Beijing and other places, four times between Nanjing and other places, twice to Guangdong Province, and twice to Guizhou Province, lamenting in his travel diary the hardships of traveling and the deterioration of his health.³⁹ Nevertheless, Tian's travels were not only tiresome and exhausting, but also have a positive side. His tours resemble those of the Song literati studied by Cong Ellen Zhang in the sense that they contain two major preoccupations en route, that is, contact with local political and cultural elites, and visit to the sites of historical and cultural significance, which Zhang has labeled "cultural pilgrimage".⁴⁰ Once Tian reached a major place, he often stayed there for some time, was welcomed by local administrators, met old friends, attended gatherings of literati, and lingered at famous sites, frequently showing interest in sightseeing despite his deteriorated health.

Tian Rucheng's collection includes two travel diaries written on long-distance tours, entitled *Tour to Guilin* (*Guilin xing* 桂林行), which records his tour from Hangzhou to the official post in Guilin, Guangxi Province in 1538, and *Pilgrimage to the Capital* (*Jinhe xing* 覲賀行), which records his tour from the official post in Guangxi to

³⁸ Kang-I Sun Chang, ed., *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature, Volume 2, From 1375* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 62.

³⁹ See "Guilin xing" 桂林行 (Tour to Guilin) in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, juan 8, 1a–13b.

⁴⁰ Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 6, 8 and 10.

Hangzhou and then further on to Beijing in 1539, as a day-by-day chronicle. The two travel diaries contain a range of subject matter from personal affairs to the description of landscapes and records of history. In rare cases was Tian interested only in the appearance of a place. Rather, he often notes its geography and history, consulting the textual sources of the place and comparing the literary representations with the actual landscape. This makes his travel diaries to some extent resemble the entries on scenic sites in his *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, compiled several years later. A genre that was established as an independent literary form in the 12th century,⁴¹ one among the rather heterogeneous functions of the travel diary of some prominent Southern Song literati, such as Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193) and Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210), was scholarly quest, that is, to correct errors or misunderstandings in earlier records and to supplement history.⁴² Tian's two texts were also intended to serve such a purpose. The traveling is taken as an opportunity to investigate local information and accumulate knowledge.⁴³ To give an example: in *Pilgrimage to the Capital*, Tian notes his tour on a single day: “On the *xinsi* day, we traveled along Gushu Creek to Dangtu, where we visited Xiyi Daoist Monastery” (辛巳，緣姑熟溪至當塗，遊希夷觀).⁴⁴ In the entry on this day, Tian describes the place of Dangtu as follows:

當塗，古塗山氏之國。姑熟為六朝麗地，李白詩云「愛此溪水閑，乘流興無極。何處浣紗人，紅顏未相識」者即此。⁴⁵

In ancient times, Dangtu had been the kingdom of Tushan. During the Six Dynasties period, Gushu had been a charming place. Li Bai refers to it in a poem that goes: “I love this carefree water of the Creek, / traveling along the stream, my interest is

⁴¹ James M. Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126–1193)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1989), 4.

⁴² James M. Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China*, 114.

⁴³ The late Ming literati differed in attitude to this function of travel records. Ma Yuandiao 馬元調 (d. 1645), for example, argues that it should be peripheral only: “I used to say that a record of roaming the mountain should record the individual roaming instead of making a record of the mountain *per se*, it would be appropriate that it only referred to the encounters and feelings of the traveler as well as the appearances of the mountain and water on that day. As to the records of the complex and detailed information of the mountain, this should be the task of maps and gazetteers and not the business of the traveler” (余嘗謂遊山記，記一時之遊，非為其山作記，止宜及遊者事物所感觸，及當日山光水色。若夫山中委曲纖悉，圖與志宜詳之，非遊者事)。See Ma Yuandiao 馬元調, “Heng shan youji” 橫山遊記 (Travel Records of Mount Heng), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 7, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 1883.

⁴⁴ Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 8, 31a.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, *juan* 8, 31a.

inexhaustible. / Where does the yarn-laundering girl come from? / Her pretty appearance was never seen before.”

As to his touring around West Lake, it seems that no travel diary or travel record had been written by Tian Rucheng. Instead, he wrote a number of poems, part of which were included in his *Roaming and Chanting at West Lake*. The *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement* also include a few records of his own touring experiences at West Lake, such as the writing of stele inscriptions and his interaction with fellow literati sightseers.⁴⁶ In his preface, Tian mentions that “[I] collected what I had seen and heard and again moved my feet there in order to compile and write this book” (絀集見聞，再證履討，輯撰此書).⁴⁷ From this, it might be concluded that the gazetteer derived not only from textual sources, but to some extent also from Tian’s own fieldwork and witnessing, though Tian nowhere claims that the topographical descriptions in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* were derived from his individual experiences.

1.3 Zhang Dai’s Life, Oeuvre, and Experiences of Sightseeing

It was not until 124 years after the first publication of Tian Rucheng’s West Lake gazetteer that Zhang Dai wrote a preface to his *Dream Searching*. Compared with Tian, Zhang’s life has been reconstructed by modern scholars in much greater detail. This is partly due to the reason that Zhang wrote about himself and his social world passionately and at great length, and partly also because his prose pieces are viewed as representing the literature and culture of the late Ming, and thus attract more interest from modern scholars.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ For example, in *juan* 3 of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, Tian mentions in the entry of the site Scholar Bridge (Xueshi qiao 學士橋) that he wrote a record of the site, which was inscribed on a stele and placed there. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 23f. In an anecdote in *juan* 20 of *Supplement*, Tian talks to Huang Xingzeng about the required qualities of a sightseer, viewing the latter as possessing such qualities. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 246.

⁴⁷ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, “Xihu youlan zhi xu”, 1.

⁴⁸ For biographical studies and reconstructions of “annalistic biography” (*nianpu* 年譜) of Zhang Dai written in Chinese, see Hu Yimin 胡益民, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan* 张岱评传 (A Critical Biography of Zhang Dai) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2002), 7–79 and 334–370; Hu Yimin 胡益民, *Zhang Dai yanjiu* 张岱研究 (A Study of Zhang Dai) (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 120–171 and 234–261; She Deyu 余德余, *Dushi wenren: Zhang Dai zhuan* 都市文人——张岱传 (Urban Literatus: A Biography of Zhang Dai) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2006), 291–303; Zhang Zetong 张则桐, *Zhang Dai tan’gao* 张岱探稿 (Script of Investigation on Zhang

According to his *Self-written Epitaph* (*Ziwei muzhiming* 自為墓誌銘), Zhang Dai was born in 1597. His ancestors had lived in Sichuan Province, and he identifies himself as “a man of Shu” (Shuren 蜀人), that is, as a Sichuanese. A famous man among Zhang’s ancestors was said to be Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164), who had served as a high-ranking official of the Southern Song.⁴⁹ In the 1260s the clan had moved to Shaoxing 紹興, a city of Zhejiang Province, that is about sixty kilometers southeast of Hangzhou, and lived there since that time. Unlike Tian Rucheng, Zhang Dai was born to a family of great renown and influence, as his great-great-grandfather Zhang Tianfu 張天復 (1513–1574, *jinshi* 1547), his great-grandfather Zhang Yuanbian 張元汴 (1538–1588, *jinshi* 1571 as Primus [*zhuangyuan* 狀元]), and his grandfather Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 (1557–1625, *jinshi* 1595) all had achieved the *jinshi* degree. In the *Four Treasuries*, one text by Zhang Tianfu and five texts by Zhang Yuanbian were included. Despite such prominence and a tradition of excellence in learning, Zhang Dai’s father, Zhang Yaofang 張燿芳 (1574–1633), and Zhang Dai himself were relatively unsuccessful in the civil service examinations.⁵⁰ Becoming a Government Student (*shengyuan* 生員) when he was about twenty years old, Zhang Dai never climbed any further up the ladder of examinations and was frustrated by repeated failures. Yet, unlike his father who had spent more than four decades studying diligently for the examinations, Zhang Dai seemed to be focused on the cause to a lesser extent. Rather, he had lived an extravagant and hedonistic life, traveled frequently and interacted with numerous literati

Dai) (Nanjing: Fenghuang chuban chuanmei jituan, Fenghuang chubanshe, 2009), 13–44 and 281–290; Xia Xianchun’s 夏咸淳 annalistic biography of Zhang Dai in Zhang Dai 張岱, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji (zengding ben)* 張岱詩文集 (增訂本) (A Collection of the Poems and Essays of Zhang Dai: Enlarged Edition), edited and proofread by Xia Xianchun 夏咸淳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 532–558; Han Jinyou 韓金佑, “Zhang Dai nianpu” 張岱年譜 (An Annalistic Biography of Zhang Dai) (Master thesis, Hebei University, 2014), 4–98. For a biographical study of Zhang Dai written in English, see Jonathan D. Spence, *Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007).

⁴⁹ See Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan*, 7–9; Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu*, 120f.; Jiang Jinde 蔣金德, “Zhang Dai de zuji jiqi zihao kaolüe” 張岱的祖籍及其字號考略 (A Brief Textual Research of Zhang Dai’s Ancestral Home, Personal Names, and Art Names), *Wenxian* 文獻, no. 4 (1986): 212–216; Zhang Zetong, *Zhang Dai tan’gao*, 13f.

⁵⁰ One important source of the lifetime of Zhang Dai’s ancestors, family and lineage members are three groups of short biographies, respectively entitled “Jia zhuan” 家傳 (Family Biographies), “Fu zhuan” 附傳 (Attached Biographies), and “Wu yiren zhuan” 五異人傳 (Biographies of Five Strange Persons), in his *A Collection of Essays from Langhuan* (*Langhuan wenji* 瑯嬛文集). See Zhang Dai 張岱, *Langhuan wenji* 瑯嬛文集 (A Collection of Essays from Langhuan), punctuated and proofread by Lu Wei 路偉 and Ma Tao 馬濤 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2016), 279–299 and 353–365. For studies of the biographies, see Jonathan Spence, “Cliffhanger Days: A Chinese Family in the Seventeenth Century”, *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 1 (2005): 1–10; Duncan M Campbell, “Flawed Jade: Zhang Dai’s Family Biographies”, *Ming Studies* 62, (2010): 25–55.

empire-wide, and was deeply involved in various cultural practices. While Zhang's life is generally divided by modern scholars into two periods, before and after the fall of the Ming, in 1644, and the conquest of the South, from 1645, the first period is described by Zhang himself in his *Self-written Epitaph* as follows:

少為紈綺子弟，極愛繁華，好精舍，好美婢，好變童，好鮮衣，好美食，好駿馬，好華燈，好烟火，好梨園，好鼓吹，好古董，好花鳥，兼以茶淫橘虐，書蠹詩魔，勞碌半生，皆成夢幻。⁵¹

When I was young, I was a profligate son of a rich family and loved luxuries to the utmost. I was fond of exquisite houses, beautiful maids, handsome boys, bright-colored clothes, delicious food, fine horses, colorful lanterns, fireworks, theatre, music, antiques, flowers, and birds. Besides these, there were also an addiction to tea, an excess of game of chess, a dependence on books and an enchantment with poetry. I was busy with such things for the first half of my lifetime, and now all of them have turned into dreams and illusions.⁵²

Although this is a self-representation that could be exaggerating, it basically is verified by Zhang's numerous other writings that record his involvement with the mentioned practices in detail. In Zhang Dai's post-conquest writings, expressions of feelings of guilt and regret are repeatedly seen. In his 1646 preface to the *Dream Reminiscences of Tao'an* (*Tao'an mengyi* 陶菴夢憶, alt. *Dream Reminiscences* [*Mengyi* 夢憶], henceforth *Dream Reminiscences*), for example, Zhang claims to confess his past "sins" as recorded by his prose pieces. This may lead one to infer a dramatic change in Zhang's attitude in the course of the dynastic transition. Yet this is less true in the sense that "a profligate son of a rich family" only represents one side of Zhang's personality. Another side of Zhang Dai is the one subscribing to Confucian values and heroic behavior who, despite his failures in the examinations, was actively involved in the political and social affairs of his time and sought to contribute to them in alternative ways. He participated in the distribution of medicine in his hometown during the plague of 1634, presented a proposal of river

⁵¹ Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), 369.

⁵² Cf. the translation in Duncan Campbell, "The Obsessive Gourmet: Zhang Dai on Food and Drink", in *Scribes of Gastronomy: Representations of Food and Drink in Imperial Chinese Literature*, ed. Isaac Yue and Siufu Tang (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 95.

dredging to the administration of Shaoxing Prefecture in 1637, participated in the distribution of food supplies during the famine in 1641, and worked out a range of military strategies for the defense of the empire in 1642.⁵³ Also his literary and historiographical works reveal such concerns. After the downfall of the powerful eunuch Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568–1627), Zhang had worked on a popular drama about Wei, entitled *The Iceberg* (*Bingshan* 冰山), had it performed in public in the city of Shaoxing as well as in the official circle of his father in Shandong, in 1628.⁵⁴ In his preface to *Biographies of Righteous Martyrs Past and Present* (*Gujin yilie zhuan* 古今義烈傳), written in the same year, Zhang draws a parallel between his drama on Wei Zhongxian and his biographies of righteous martyrs, and argues that the latter have the same effect of moral didacticism as the former.⁵⁵

A third side of Zhang Dai is the one of a man with a profound passion for scholarship, especially historiography, and even a strong sense of duty. Among his numerous projects, Zhang had spent about five decades on a project of Ming history that resulted in a text entitled *The Stone Cabinet Book* (*Shigui shu* 石匱書), which he probably started in 1628 and finished in 1654, and a sequel to it entitled *The Stone Cabinet Book: Second Collection* (*Shigui shu houji* 石匱書後集), which he started in 1656 and finished before 1678.⁵⁶ Written in the form of “biographical historiography” (*jizhuan ti* 紀傳體), the two texts constitute nearly three hundred *juan* in total. The book was viewed by Zhang

⁵³ For accounts of such activities of Zhang Dai, see Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan*, 40–42; Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu*, 144–146.

⁵⁴ In the entry “Bingshan ji” 冰山記 (Record of *The Iceberg*), Zhang mentions that there were more than ten dramas on Wei Zhongxian at the time, which were however much untruthful. In “Ruan Yuanhai xi” 阮圓海戲 (The Dramas of Ruan Yuanhai), Zhang criticizes the dramas of Ruan Dacheng 阮大鍼 (d. 1646) that they wrongly defend and vindicate the political faction of Wei Zhongxian. See the two entries in Zhang Dai 張岱, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun* 陶菴夢憶·西湖夢尋 (Dream Reminiscences of Tao'an. West Lake Dreaming Searching), punctuated and proofread by Lu Wei 路偉 and Zheng Lingfeng 鄭凌峰 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2018), “Tao'an mengyi”, 119f. and 126. Zhang's opinions were contrary to those of many present-day Chinese scholars, who hold that the “dramas on current events” (*shishi ju* 時事劇) of the late Ming largely recorded facts. See, for example, Zhu Hengfu 朱恒夫, “Lun Ming Qing shishi ju yu shishi xiaoshuo” 论明清时事剧与时事小说 (On the Current-events Dramas and Current-events Fictions of the Ming and Qing Dynasties), *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小说研究 64, no. 2 (2002): 20–22. For a study of the performance culture of the Ming Jiangnan, in which Zhang's relevant writings are much cited and discussed, see Victoria Cass, “The Theater and the Crowd: Jiangnan Performance Culture and Regional Identity in the Ming”, *Asia Major*, Third Series 29, no. 1 (2016): 101–145.

⁵⁵ See Zhang Dai's preface to *Gujin yilie zhuan* in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 476.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the date, see Peng Yuping 彭玉平 and Zhao Chanyuan 赵婵媛, “Chaodai gengdie yu Zhang Dai wenshi chuanguo zhi tixing guanlian” 朝代更迭与张岱文史创作之体性关联 (Dynastic Change and its Relationship with the Generic Nature of Zhang Dai's Creation of Literary and Historical Works), *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao (shehuikexue ban)* 四川师范大学学报 (社会科学版) 43, no. 5 (2016): 130f.

himself as the major scholarly legacy, and he considered it so important for himself that, when he was hiding from his enemies after the fall of the Ming, Zhang took the master copy with him. In the 1646 preface to *Dream Reminiscences*, Zhang claims that the reason why he rejected suicide was that this project had not yet been finished. The three aspects outlined above reveal the complex and multifaceted personality of Zhang Dai and their continuity throughout his life in the sense that all three sides are mirrored by his writings of both the post-conquest as well as the pre-conquest period.

Nevertheless, Zhang Dai's living conditions and mood changed dramatically due to the fall of the Ming and the conquest of the South by the Qing. In 1645, as Qing troops invaded the Jiangnan 江南 region,⁵⁷ Zhang served the local regime of the Prince of Lu (Lu wang 魯王), Zhu Yihai 朱以海 (d. 1662), the second son of the former Prince of Lu whom Zhang's father had served in Shandong, from 1627 to 1632. Resisting against the Qing, Zhu Yihai appointed him as the Administrative Secretary of the Military District (*bingbu zhifangbu zhushi* 兵部職方部主事) in his interim local government. Yet Zhang soon became disillusioned with the situation, resigned from his position, and hid himself in the mountains near Shaoxing. For about three years Zhang led a hermit's life at the verge of starvation, and a fugitive's life who frequently had to change the place of hiding. It was not until 1649 that he returned to the city of Shaoxing, which fell into the hands of Qing troops in 1646, and lived in Joy Garden (Kuai yuan 快園) at Dragon Hill (Long shan 龍山, alt., Crouching Dragon Hill [Wolong shan 臥龍山]). While Zhang was able to reunite with his family members, the family had lost almost all of its former estates and possessions, and Zhang had to live in dire poverty and do manual work himself. Although Zhang had never served as an official before 1644, he was loyal to the former Ming and remained a "remnant subject" up to his death. He henceforth lived a reclusive life and avoided being involved with official circles of the new Qing regime, although he continued social intercourse with some surviving old friends and fellow Ming loyalists. As he remained active as a writer, most of Zhang's works were written or finalized in this period, including *Dream Searching*. Zhang was not only loyal to the lost dynasty, but also

⁵⁷ The term "Jiangnan" 江南 (lit. "south of the river") in this study is taken by its narrow sense and refers to the geographic area immediately to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River (Changjiang 長江). In the Ming and Qing, the core area of Jiangnan included the southern part of Jiangsu Province and the northern part of Zhejiang Province.

appreciated many aspects of its culture. His major concern in this period was to transmit the history and culture of the Ming to later generations through literary representation. The acts of self-marginalization and his wish of transmission may be viewed as signifying the ambivalent attitude of Zhang as a remnant subject. The almost only interaction with any Qing official was his cooperation with Gu Yingtai 谷應泰 (1620–1690, *jinshi* 1647), who served as the Education Commissioner (*xuezheng* 學政) of Zhejiang Province at the time, and who initiated a private project of Ming history that resulted in a chronicle, entitled *Records of Events from Beginning to End in Ming History* (*Mingshi jishi benmo* 明史紀事本末). Invited by Gu to participate in this project, Zhang went to Hangzhou in 1657, worked there with Gu and edited the numerous sources of the Chongzhen 崇禎 era (1628–1644). Thanks to this cooperation, Zhang was able to access these materials, which were also important for the writing of his sequel to the *Stone Cabinet Book*.⁵⁸ In 1672, Zhang Dai was invited by the local administration to compile the *Kuaiji County Gazetteer* (*Kuaiji xian zhi* 會稽縣志). Although his great-great-grandfather Zhang Tianfu and great-grandfather Zhang Yuanbian had participated in the compilation of several gazetteers of Shaoxing Prefecture and its subordinate counties,⁵⁹ this offer was rejected by him. Nevertheless, he authored the “Editorial Principles” (*Fanli* 凡例) for this gazetteer.

Records differ with regard to the year of Zhang Dai’s death. A record by Ping Buqing 平步青 (1832–1896) notes that he died in the twenty-eighth year of Kangxi era (1689). Since Ping claims to have seen the clan genealogy of Zhang Dai, this source seems more reliable.⁶⁰

Zhang Dai was a prolific writer. While a number of his works survived, numerous others were lost. The extant works are very diverse. They are divided by Hu Yimin 胡益

⁵⁸ For studies of Zhang Dai’s participation in Gu Yingtai’s project, see Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan*, 63–68; Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu*, 160–162 and 209f.

⁵⁹ Zhang Tianfu had compiled a *Shanyin County Gazetteer* (*Shanyin xian zhi* 山陰縣志, 1542), and Zhang Yuanbian a *Shaoxing Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Shaoxing fu zhi* 紹興府志, 1587) and a *Kuaiji County Gazetteer* (*Kuaiji xian zhi* 會稽縣志, 1575). See Zhang Dai’s *Jiazhuan* in Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), 284. For detailed information of the three gazetteers, see *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* 中國地方志聯合目錄 (A Union Catalog of Chinese Gazetteers), ed. Zhongguo kexueyuan Beijing tianwentai 中國科學院北京天文台 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 416–418.

⁶⁰ See Lu Wei’s 路偉 preface to *Dream Reminiscences* in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi xu” 陶菴夢憶序 (*Dream Reminiscences of Tao’an*, Prefaces), 16–20.

民 according to the traditional “four-fold classification system” (*sibu fenlei fa* 四部分類法).⁶¹ Extant works of the first category, “classics” (*jing* 經), include *Thoughts about The Four Books* (*Sishu yu* 四書遇, author’s preface ca., 1646, 6 “fascicles” [*ce* 册]), which is a collection of annotations and elaborations of the Confucian Four Books by Zhang and other scholars. The second category, “histories” (*shi* 史), includes *Biographies of Righteous Martyrs Past and Present* (author’s preface 1628, 8 *juan*); *Supplement to History* (*Shi que* 史闕, 14 *juan*), an unofficial history that supplements the official histories (*zhengshi* 正史); *Supplement to History of the Ming* (*Ming ji shi que* 明紀史闕, 1 *ce*), an unofficial history of the Ming, *The Stone Cabinet Book* (221 *juan*); *West Lake Dream Searching*; *The Stone Cabinet Book: Second Collection* (63 *juan*); and *Illustrated Eulogy to Three Kinds of People of the Ming in Shaoxing Who Suffered no Decay* (*Ming Yuyue san buxiu tu zan* 明於越三不朽圖贊, author’s preface 1680, 1 *ce*),⁶² including portraits and accompanying eulogies of the great figures of Shaoxing Prefecture (referred to as Yuyue 於越) of the Ming period. The third category, “masters” (*zi* 子), includes *Dream Reminiscences of Tao’an* (author’s preface 1646, 8 *juan*),⁶³ a collection of 127 anecdotes about the social and cultural circles at Zhang’s time as well as his own participation in their activities; and several encyclopedias (*leishu* 類書), such as *Ancient Tales Told in Joy Garden* (*Kuai yuan daogu* 快園道古, author’s preface 1655, 20 *juan*, out of which 9 *juan* are extant), a collection of anecdotes about literati; *Night Ferry* (*Ye hangchuan* 夜航船, 20 *juan*), a glossary of various entries; and *Record of Praying for Skill to the Guanlang Star* (*Guanlang qiqiao lu* 瑄朗乞巧錄, author’s preface 1680, 1 *ce*), a collection of words of wisdom. The fourth category, “collections” (*ji* 集), includes

⁶¹ See Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan*, 80–113; Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu*, 202–225.

⁶² The term “san buxiu” 三不朽 (three kinds of no decaying) originates from the *Zuo Commentary* (*Zuo zhuan* 左傳), the section “Twenty-fourth Year of Duke Xiang” (*Xiang gong ershisi nian* 襄公二十四年), where Mushu 穆叔 states that “the highest meaning is when there is established [an example of] virtue; the second, when there is established [an example of] successful service; and the third, when there is established [an example of wise] speech. When these examples are not forgotten with length of time, this is what is meant by the saying—‘They do not decay’” (大上有立德，其次有立功，其次有立言，雖久不廢，此之謂不朽).

⁶³ Lu Wei argues that since Zhang Dai’s preface to this work is entitled “Mengyi xu” 夢憶序 (Preface to the *Dream Reminiscences*), the true title of the work should be *Mengyi*, and the word *Tao’an* was added by other people. See Lu’s preface to the work in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi*. *Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi zhengli qianyan” 陶菴夢憶整理前言 (*Dream Reminiscences of Tao’an*, Preface on the Editorial Work), 2f. In his *Self-written Epitaph*, Zhang Dai provides a list of literary works written by him, which includes the title *Mengyi* and verifies Lu’s idea. See Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), 370.

Zhang Dai's compilations of other literati's works, such as *Uncollected Writings of Xu Wenchang* (*Xu Wenchang yigao* 徐文長逸稿, 1615), with texts by Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521–1593); and Zhang's own collected works, entitled *A Collection of Poems from Langhuan* (*Langhuan shiji* 瑯嬛詩集, author's preface 1654); and *A Collection of Essays from Langhuan* (*Langhuan wenji* 瑯嬛文集).⁶⁴ Despite the numerous writings, it seems that *Righteous Martyrs* was the only text that was published already during Zhang's lifetime. After the fall of the Ming, the reclusive lifestyle of Zhang as well as the Ming loyalist stance in his works rendered the publication of them hardly possible, although, according to one source, he had attempted to publish the *Three Eternals* when he was dying.⁶⁵ It is for this reason that Zhang named his history of the Ming “stone cabinet book”, implying that it was supposed to remain hidden in a secluded place.

After Zhang's death, *Dream Searching* was the first text published, the first edition of which was printed in 1717. Throughout the Qing period, about five works of Zhang were printed,⁶⁶ while more texts circulated in the form of manuscript form. In modern and contemporary times, Zhang had gained considerable popularity as an essayist of the late Ming and a master of prose “vignettes” (*xiaopin* 小品), which was mainly due to his *Dream Reminiscences*, and to a lesser extent also his *Dream Searching*.⁶⁷ This aspect of Zhang's oeuvre has been paid most attention to by contemporary readers and scholars,

⁶⁴ The term “Langhuan” 瑯嬛 (alt. 鄰嬛) refers to the legendary “The Happy Land of Langhuan” (Langhuan fudi 瑯嬛福地) in Yi Shizhen's 伊世珍 *Record of Langhuan* (*Langhuan ji* 瑯嬛記). See the entry “Langhuan fudi” in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 134f; and the entry “Langhuan fudi ji” in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 235f. There is an edition by Wang Hui 王惠, who divided the text into six *juan*. See Luan Baoqun's 樂保群 preface to the collection in Zhang Dai 張岱, *Langhuan wenji* 瑯嬛文集 (A Collection of Essays from Langhuan), annotated by Luan Baoqun 樂保群 (Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2013), “Xu”, 6. Lu Wei also has discovered a manuscript comprising 4 *ce* that was transcribed by Shen Fucan 沈復燦. See Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), “Xu”, 2.

⁶⁵ Zhang Dai's grandson, Chen Zhongmou 陳仲謀, mentions in his preface to an edition of the *Three Eternals* that Zhang died when the work was being printed, and that the printing remained unfinished for four decades. See Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 518.

⁶⁶ For these five works, see She Deyu 余德余, “Zhang Dai nianpu jianbian (xia)” 張岱年譜簡編 (下) (A Short Edition of Annalistic Biography of Zhang Dai, Third Part), *Shaoxing shizhuan xuebao* 紹興師專學報, no. 3 (1994): 24.

⁶⁷ For example, Wu Chengxue 吳承學, in his study of the late Ming vignettes, holds that “without *Dream Reminiscences*, Zhang Dai would be just an ordinary and minor famous writer of the late Ming.” See Wu Chengxue 吳承學, *Wan-Ming xiaopin yanjiu* 晚明小品研究 (A Study of the Late Ming Vignettes) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999), 230. Luan Baoqun in his preface to *A Collection of Essays from Langhuan* mentions and rejects the idea that “without *Dream Reminiscences*, Zhang Dai would be nothing.” See Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2013), “Xu”, 1.

although it is more likely that Zhang himself viewed historiography, especially his project of Ming history, as the main focus of his scholarly life.

In the first period of his life, Zhang Dai traveled frequently. It seems that he did this mainly for the sake of sightseeing and for interacting with literati and members of various social groups, such as actors, courtesans, and monks. Most of Zhang's destinations were prosperous cities and famous scenic sites in the Jiangnan region, which was typical for literati of this region at the time. Though he also undertook long-distance tours, such as the visit to his father, who served the Prince of Lu in Shandong Province, in 1628. After the fall of the Ming, Zhang lived several years as a fugitive and hid out in a Buddhist monastery and elsewhere near Shaoxing. After he returned from hiding and again dared to live in Shaoxing, he traveled to places in other provinces, such as Jiangxi (1653), mainly in order to collect materials for his work about the lost dynasty. Among the numerous places he visited during his lifetime, Hangzhou was probably the one he was most familiar with. As a child, Zhang accompanied his family to Hangzhou and temporarily lived and studied in his grandfather's garden villa right at the shore of West Lake. His own writings indicate that he had visited Hangzhou at least twelve times between 1604 and 1657.⁶⁸ In *Dream Reminiscences*, Zhang mentions that he had lived in "Goulou Mountain Cottage" (Goulou shanfang 岫嶼山房), a villa at West Lake, for seven months in 1624 and walked to the scenic sites nearby every day. He also mentions that he had watched the boating competition on West Lake twelve or thirteen times.⁶⁹ Zhang's friend Wang Yuqian 王雨謙 (*juren* 1633), in his preface to *Dream Searching*, even claims that Zhang "wandered around West Lake for more than forty years. The edges of waters and the tops of hills included, there is no place which he has not reached" (盤礴西湖四十餘年, 水尾山頭, 無處不到).⁷⁰ West Lake is such an intimate space to Zhang that he claims in his preface to *Dream Searching* that "my dreaming of the [old] West Lake is like [dreaming] of home and family" (余之夢西湖也, 如家園眷屬).⁷¹

⁶⁸ These were the years 1604, 1607, 1624, 1626, 1632, 1634, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1644, 1654 and 1657.

⁶⁹ See the entry "Goulou Mountain Cottage" in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Tao'an mengyi", 31f., "Xihu mengxun", 36–38; the entry "Jin shan jingdu" 金山競渡 (Boating Competition at Jin Mountain) in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Tao'an mengyi", 82.

⁷⁰ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun xu" 西湖夢尋序 (*West Lake Dreaming Searching*, Prefaces), 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, "Xihu mengxun xu", 7.

Zhang Dai's travel writings are heterogeneous in terms of genre. In *A Collection of Essays from Langhuan*, for example, there are two long travel records, entitled "A Record of Mount Tai" (*Dai zhi* 岱志) and "A Record of the Sea" (*Hai zhi* 海志).⁷² Similar to Tian Rucheng's two travel diaries, they document Zhang's tours to Mount Tai (Tai shan 泰山) and Butuo (補陀, alt. writing, Putuo 普陀) Island, respectively, in a chronological manner. On West Lake, however, he never wrote any such long text.⁷³ Instead, he wrote extensively about West Lake in shorter formats, in poems and short essays, most of which are only one or two pages. The brevity of Tian Rucheng's and Zhang Dai's West Lake writings are, I would suggest, largely due to their rich experiences at West Lake. As they traveled to the other regions of the empire, or to famous sites, such as Mount Tai, for the first time in their lives, they looked at everything with fresh eyes, and felt that a comprehensive account of their tours was appropriate or even necessary. West Lake, on the other hand, they were so familiar with that they needed to be selective and record only the most extraordinary aspects.

At a first glance, Tian Rucheng and Zhang Dai were quite different personalities. The former followed the orthodox path of a scholar-official career and passed the examination of the highest level, whereas the latter failed continuously and never held any proper office; while the former appeared to be a humble man and a model official, the latter had lived the life of a "playboy" and looked back at such a lifestyle nostalgically after it had vanished. Yet, a closer look at their writings suggests some interesting similarities between the two men, as both of them had in common a wide range of interests and revealed their appreciation and mastering of as well as participation in a variety of cultural activities. Moreover, they shared a strong interest in history, and their topographical and historical texts of West Lake are regarded by themselves and scholars of later periods as figuring among their most important writings.

⁷² Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2013), 65–85.

⁷³ For a list of Zhang Dai's West Lake writings of different periods, see Tsai Li-ling 蔡麗玲, "Xihu wenxue yu Zhang Dai de rensheng" 西湖文學與張岱的人生 (West Lake Literature and Zhang Dai's Life), *Guanxi daxue zhongguo wenxue hui jiyao* 關西大學中國文學會紀要, no. 30 (2009): 1–4.

1.4 The Condition of West Lake and Its Sightseeing from the Song to the Early Qing

As a small lake located near the city of Hangzhou, West Lake was fragile and heavily shaped by human efforts. It repeatedly shrank in size due to sedimentation, and it would eventually have disappeared without any intervention. Beside this natural tendency of siltation, there were also perennial problems caused by human activities, such as encroachment of lake surface and creation of floating paddies (*fengtian* 葑田), that is, floating fields in which water plants were grown for profits.⁷⁴ In history, dredging projects were recurrently held to remove mud and excessive water plants to restore its original size.⁷⁵ These projects often saved West Lake in times of crisis and were the reason why it survived while many other lakes in Zhejiang Province, some of which used to be much larger than West Lake, disappeared. Most projects were proposed and carried out by local officials, such as prefects of Hangzhou, who were responsible for the local welfare. In the official and scholarly discourses on the West Lake projects since the Tang and Song periods, those who were either for or against them both focused on its economic and military dimensions. The main reason for the undertaking of these projects lies in the significance of West Lake for agricultural production, transportation, and people's livelihood as a vital source of water.⁷⁶ The aesthetic values and the dimension of sightseeing, on the other hand, had to remain marginal if it could be put forward at all. Nevertheless, these projects usually had a direct impact on the appearance of West Lake: the dredging enlarged the lake surface, newly constructed causeways and bridges altered the spatial arrangement, made it a more intricate space, facilitated traveling, and could

⁷⁴ For a study of *fengtian* of West Lake during the Song dynasty, see Xiaolin Duan, *The Rise of West Lake: A Cultural Landmark in the Song Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 57f. and 67–70.

⁷⁵ Zhu Kezhen 竺可桢, “Hangzhou Xihu shengcheng de yuanyin” 杭州西湖生成的原因 (The Cause of the Formation of West Lake in Hangzhou), in *Zhu Kezhen wenlu* 竺可桢文录 (A Record of Zhu Kezhen's Literature), ed. Fan Hongye 樊洪业 and Duan Yibing 段异兵 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1999), 278f.; Zheng Jin 郑瑾, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu* 杭州西湖治理史研究 (A Study of the History of the Management of West Lake) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2010), 31–33.

⁷⁶ Chen Qiaoyi 陈桥驿, “Lishi shiqi Xihu de fazhan he bianqian: Guanyu Xihu shi rengonghu jiqi heyi zhongfeiducun de taolun” 历史时期西湖的发展和变迁——关于西湖是人工湖及其何以众废独存的讨论 (West Lake's Historical Development and Change: A Discussion Regarding West Lake as an Engineered Lake and Its Unique Survival), *Zhongyuan dili yanjiu* 中原地理研究, no. 2, (1985): 1–7.

potentially become attractive sites for sightseeing in themselves.⁷⁷ Moreover, officials who were in charge of the projects often had shrines and pavilions constructed or restored, trees and flowers planted, thus creating new sites and embellishing the landscape. Since these restoration projects improved the general condition of West Lake, they were often followed by waves of enthusiasm for sightseeing in the subsequent decades.⁷⁸

During the Song dynasty, West Lake was relatively well preserved, as dredging projects were held every three or four decades.⁷⁹ While around six dredging projects were recorded during the Northern Song, there were seven in the Southern Song.⁸⁰ The most important one in the Northern Song was the one initiated by the famous literatus Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), in 1090, in which a causeway was constructed between the northern and southern banks of West Lake, and which divided the lake into two areas. In later periods the causeway was named “Master Su’s Causeway” (Sugong di 蘇公堤, alt., “Su Causeway” [Su di 蘇堤]). West Lake was paid most attention to in the Southern Song period, when Hangzhou’s status peaked as the imperial “provisional capital” (Xingzai 行在) and the commercial centre of the empire. A small causeway named “Master Zhao’s Causeway” (Zhaogong di 趙公堤, alt., “Xiaoxin Causeway” [Xiaoxin di 小新堤]), connecting the second bridge of Su Causeway and the northwest bank, was constructed in 1242 and further enriched the spatial arrangement of West Lake. Parallel to this, there was an unprecedented degree of construction in the space around West Lake and its hinterland. Not only were numerous halls, gardens, and monasteries built and various activities and practices held,⁸¹ but more prospects were also newly defined or created, such as the “Ten Views of West Lake” (Xihu shijing 西湖十景).⁸² Xinda Lian

⁷⁷ The Su Causeway (Su di 蘇堤), for example, became a place of various entertaining performances and a market place in the Southern Song period. See Zheng Jin, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu*, 71.

⁷⁸ For a cultural history of Hangzhou city and West Lake from late Ming to the eve of the Taiping rebellion (1851–1864) and imperial patronage of sightseeing in the High Qing, see Liping Wang, “Paradise for Sale: Urban Space and Tourism in the Social Transformation of Hangzhou, 1589–1937” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1997), 29–160; for a study of the governance of West Lake from the Song to the Ming period, see Zheng Jin, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu*, 61–108.

⁷⁹ Zheng Jin, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu*, 83.

⁸⁰ For studies of the dredging projects of West Lake during the Song Dynasty, see Xu Jijun 徐吉军, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an* 南宋都城临安 (The Capital Lin'an of the Southern Song) (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2008), 322–329; Zheng Jin, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu*, 74–83; Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 57–67.

⁸¹ For a study of the tourism business at West Lake in the Southern Song such as boating, drinking, eating, and pleasure seeking, see Xiaolin Duan, “Scenic Beauty outside the City: Tourism around Hangzhou’s West Lake in the Southern Song (1127–1276)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2014), 74–106.

⁸² Xu Jijun, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 393–397.

points out that “[o]nce the city [of Hangzhou] became the capital of the Southern Song, West Lake evolved into a busy consumption hub that attracted all kinds of services and activities connected with the entertainment and tourist industries”, known as the “pot for melting gold” (Xiaojin guoer 銷金鍋兒).⁸³ Among the visitors to Hangzhou in this period were students who participated in the civil service examinations, merchants from all parts of the empire, pilgrims who came during religious festivals, and a small number of envoys and merchants from abroad. They helped spread the fame of West Lake.⁸⁴

After the fall of the Southern Song to the Mongols, Hangzhou lost its status of the imperial provisional capital and was degraded to a provincial center. Although the city did not experience serious destruction during the dynastic transition and continued to be a prosperous metropolis, West Lake was neglected during the subsequent Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). There was only one dredging project in this period, and a large percentage of the lake area was appropriated and transformed into floating paddies by wealthy and influential local families.⁸⁵ As the city of Hangzhou declined due to two conflagrations, in 1341 and 1342, as well as due to warfare at the end of the Yuan dynasty, it only began to recover from the Xuande 宣德 (1426–1435) and Zhengtong 正統 (1436–1449) eras of the Ming dynasty.⁸⁶ A large project of West Lake restoration was undertaken in 1506 by the Prefect of Hangzhou, Yang Mengying 楊孟瑛 (*jinsi* 1487), who dredged the lake region that had already been floating paddies for generations. Yang’s efforts virtually saved West Lake from vanishing and was considered by Tian Rucheng as having “restored the old [appearance] of the Tang and Song periods” (始復唐、宋之舊),⁸⁷ although it was actually still smaller than in the Song and before. Not only had Yang enlarged the lake and restored Su Causeway, but he also had a new causeway constructed west of Su Causeway, which in later periods would be called Master Yang’s Causeway

⁸³ Xinda Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify? West Lake as the Site for Patriotic Sentiment in Southern Song Lyrics”, in *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127–1279*, ed. Joseph S. C. Lam, Shuen-fu Lin, and Christian de Pee (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), 206.

⁸⁴ Fu Boxing 傅伯星, “Sishi shangwan, daiwu xuri: Xihu youlan” 四时赏玩, 殆无虚日——西湖游览 (Appreciating and Playing throughout the Four Seasons without One Single Idle Day: Sightseeing at West Lake), in *Nan Song jingcheng Hangzhou* 南宋京城杭州 (The Capital Hangzhou of the Southern Song), ed. Zhou Feng 周峰 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1997), 177f.; for a study of the visiting of temples around West Lake, see Duan, “Scenic Beauty outside the City”, 112–150.

⁸⁵ Zheng Jin, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu*, 89f.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁸⁷ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 5.

(Yanggong di 楊公堤, alt. “Yang Causeway” [Yang di 楊堤]).⁸⁸ Although Yang’s project largely improved the conditions of West Lake and paved the way for sightseeing, there have been few records of touristic activities up to the time when Tian Rucheng’s gazetteer was published. In Tian’s first edition published in 1547, Southern Song materials constitute the vast majority, while contemporary Ming sources are far less numerous.

In the subsequent 1550s and 1560s, the city of Hangzhou and its West Lake suffered from rampant piracy. In 1555, a pirate gang attacked Hangzhou Prefecture twice and approached the city. A range of sites at West Lake, such as Zhaoqing Monastery (Zhaoqing si 昭慶寺) and Thunder Peak Pagoda (Leifeng ta 雷峰塔), were burnt and destroyed. As the menace came to an end, in 1566, West Lake was in a rather sorry state. The scenic sites were not well maintained, and there were few sightseers.⁸⁹ In the 1580s and 1590s, the powerful eunuch Sun Long 孫隆 (1530–1609)⁹⁰ initiated a large-scale beautification project. Unlike most preceding West Lake projects, Sun’s project was not government funded, but privately sponsored from his own pocket, and thus largely avoided the problem of justification. It was not hydraulic in nature, but primarily aimed at the embellishment of West Lake by broadening the causeways, by repairing and adding shrines, monasteries, and pavilions, and by planting trees and flowers. Although West Lake had not been effectively dredged any more since Yang Mengying’s project, due to Sun Long’s intervention the lake experienced a wave of enthusiasm for sightseeing unprecedented since the fall of the Southern Song. The sightseers of this period included both elites and commoners, judging from the sharp increase in literati’s travel essays as well as the records of the presence of commoner sightseers and their activities. The reasons for the West Lake enthusiasm in the last several decades of the Ming were manifold. It was due to the growth of the commercial economy, changed attitudes of literati to consumption and sightseeing, developed networks of land routes and waterways,

⁸⁸ For a detailed account of Yang Mengying’s West Lake restoration project, see Desmond H. H. Cheung, “A Socio-cultural History of Sites in Ming Hangzhou” (Ph.D. diss., The University of British Columbia, 2011), 223–247.

⁸⁹ Wang, “Paradise for Sale”, 29–32.

⁹⁰ For a reconstruction of Sun Long’s life, see Wu Zhaofeng 吳兆丰, “Ming mo Su Hang zhizao taijian Sun Long shengping shiji xintan” 明末苏杭织造太监孙隆生平事迹新探 (A New Exploration of the Life Story of Sunlong—Eunuch of the Weaving Mills of Suzhou and Hangzhou in the Late Ming Dynasty), *Langfang shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 廊坊师范学院学报 (社会科学版) 34, no. 2 (2018): 60–66.

travel services, such as accommodation, means of transportation, tour guides, and entertainers, and the dissemination of travel information, among which the sightseeing literature of the present study also played a crucial role.⁹¹ Beside the revival of traditional activities, some new ones came into being, such as the annual “pilgrims fair” (*xiangshi* 香市) at West Lake.⁹² This new wave, however, was terminated by the disaster of the dynastic change, during which West Lake again experienced serious destruction. The sightseeing activities already declined in the last few years of the Ming, especially during the famine from 1639 to 1642. In 1645, the Prince of Lu (Lu wang 潞王) of the Southern Ming (1644–1662) regime, Zhu Changfang 朱常滂, surrendered the city of Hangzhou to the Qing troops. In 1648, a banner garrison (*qiying* 旗營) was founded there by the Qing court, while a garrison wall was ordered to be built and completed in 1650. By the time Zhang Dai compiled *Dream Searching*, that is, from the 1650s to 1671, West Lake was in rather ruinous condition, although a few projects of restoration had been undertaken. The historical and cultural significance of West Lake was acknowledged by the Manchu emperors as part of their ethnic and cultural policies. While the Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661–1722) and Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736–1795) emperors on their respective Southern Tours (Nanxun 南巡) visited Hangzhou several times and at these occasions also spent

⁹¹ For a study of West Lake governance and literati sightseeing in the late Ming, see Wang, “Paradise for Sale”, 29–88; Zheng Jin, *Hangzhou Xihu zhili shi yanjiu*, 89–108. For studies of sightseeing culture of the late Ming in general, see Teng Xincai 滕新才, “Mingchao zhong-houqi luyou wenhua lun” 明朝中后期旅游文化论 (On Tourist Culture in the Mid and Late Ming Dynasty), *Luyou xuekan* 旅游学刊 16, no. 6 (2001): 64–69; Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕, “Wan-Ming de luyou fengqi yu shidafu xintai: Yi Jiangnan wei taolun zhongxin” 晚明的旅游风气与士大夫心态——以江南为讨论中心 (The Custom of Tourism and the Mentality of Literati of Late Ming: Taking Jiangnan as the Focus of Discussion), in *Ming Qing yilai Jiangnan shehui yu wenhua lunji* 明清以来江南社会与文化论集, ed. Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之 and Xiong Bingzhen 熊秉真, (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), 225–255; Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕 and Imma Di Biase (狄雅斯), *Youdao: Ming Qing luyou wenhua* 游道——明清旅游文化 (Expectations and Emotions of Chinese Travelers in the Ming-Qing Era), (Taipei: Sanmin shuju gufen youxian gongsi, 2010). For studies of perceptions, attitudes and values of late Ming literati sightseers, see Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤, “Cong Ming ren wenji kan wan-Ming luyou fengqi jiqi yu dilixue de guanxi” 从明人文集看晚明旅游风气及其与地理学的关系 (The Traveling Fashion in the Late Ming and Its Relationship with Geography: A Research on the Anthologies of Literati in the Ming), *Fudan xuebao* 复旦学报 (社会科学版), no. 1 (2005): 72–78; Chen Baoliang 陈宝良, “Cong luyou guannian kan Ming dai wenren shidafu de xianxia shenghuo” 从旅游观念看明代文人士大夫的闲暇生活 (The Leisure Time Life of the Literati and Scholar Bureaucrat in the Ming Dynasty from the Perspective of Traveling Ideas), *Xi'nan shifan daxue xuebao (renwen shehuikexue ban)* 西南师范大学学报 (人文社会科学版) 32, no. 2 (2006): 45–50.

⁹² Lu Jiansan 陆鉴三, “Chuchu douzhu zu, yiyi buneng qu: Yuan Ming Qing Hangzhou de luyou” 处处逗留足, 依依不能去——元明清杭州的旅游 (“I Stopped in Every Place and was Reluctant to Leave”: Tourism of Hangzhou in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Periods), in *Yuan Ming Qing mingcheng Hangzhou* 元明清名城杭州 (Hangzhou, a Famous City in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Periods), ed. Zhou Feng 周峰 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1997), 233f. For a study of pilgrimage to and religious sightseeing at West Lake by local residents and pilgrims from the hinterland in the Ming and Qing periods, see Wang, “Paradise for Sale”, 89–137. For an account of the pilgrims fair, see Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 104f., “Xihu mengxun”, 9–11.

time with literati-style sightseeing at West Lake, the Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723–1735) emperor approved a dredging project and a project of beautification proposed by Governor of Zhejiang Province (Zhejiang xunfu 浙江巡撫), Li Wei 李衛 (*zi* Youjie 又玠, 1687–1738). Largely due to the imperial patronage in the High Qing (1683–1795), West Lake recovered from the previous destruction and was well maintained in this period.

1.5 Topographical Literature of West Lake from the Song to the Mid Ming

Parallel to the vicissitude of the physical West Lake was the production of literary texts of the place. Prior to Tian Rucheng, Zhang Dai, and other compilers of West Lake gazetteers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, West Lake was presented in various kinds of local writings, one of which was local gazetteers. From the Sui (581–618) and the Tang (618–907) up to the Northern Song period, a widespread genre were “maps and treatises” (*tujing* 圖經). As the term indicates, *tujing* comprises both *tu* (maps or illustrations) and *jing* (accompanying explanations or treatises). As this genre evolved, its textual part became increasingly important; by the early seventh century, it was already the primary element.⁹³ By the tenth and eleventh centuries, *tujing* had assumed the form and thematic breadth of what later, in the late imperial period, would be considered local gazetteers.⁹⁴ In the Southern Song, most works preferred the word *zhi* in their titles, rather than *tujing*, probably in order to emphasize the textual over the pictorial component.⁹⁵ More works were produced in the Southern Song than in the Northern Song, and their content became replete in the sense that the topics as seen in the gazetteers of the subsequent Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties can also be found in this period.⁹⁶

Comparing the early *tujing* and the Song local gazetteers, there are two prominent differences: First, the former primarily aimed at state interests, that is, aiding government, while the latter was more produced at local initiative instead of central command, and

⁹³ James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56, no. 2 (1996): 409.

⁹⁴ Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 415.

⁹⁵ Cang Xiuliang, *Fangzhi xue tonglun*, 281–296; Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 420.

⁹⁶ Cang Xiuliang, *Fangzhi xue tonglun*, 277–279; Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 428f.

local interests become central.⁹⁷ Second, the former was primarily an administrative text, while the latter was more historical and scholarly in character. Often viewed as local history, gazetteers assumed the aims of historical writings, such as scholarly quest and educational and didactic function.⁹⁸ In terms of content, local gazetteers were longer, more detailed, and customarily included more types of information, such as biographies of important and worthy persons, bibliographies, and anthologies that also contained literary pieces on famous sites.⁹⁹ The narrow purposes and scopes of early *tujing* became much broader as it evolved into local gazetteer. In some cases, such as the West Lake gazetteers of the Ming, the texts are more a cultural geography that focuses on sightseeing activities, literary writings, and local anecdotes, while administrative functions are only of marginal relevance to it.

During the Southern Song, three prefectural gazetteers of Hangzhou in its function as the imperial capital were compiled. These were the *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Qiandao Era* (*Qiandao Lin'an zhi* 乾道臨安志, 1169), compiled by Zhou Cong 周淙; the *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Chunyou Era* (*Chunyou Lin'an zhi* 淳祐臨安志, 1250), by Chen Renyu 陳仁玉;¹⁰⁰ and the *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Xianchun Era* (*Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志, after 1272), by Qian Yueyou 潛說友. All three were managed by the prefects of Lin'an 臨安 (i.e. Hangzhou) at the time, who in some cases also served as the compilers. Being the earliest extant gazetteers of Hangzhou Prefecture,¹⁰¹ the three compilations differ in both geographical scope and range of categories. In *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Qiandao Era*, there is possibly a section entitled "Mountains and Rivers" (*Shanchuan* 山

⁹⁷ Bol, "The Rise of Local History", 46 and 74.

⁹⁸ Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers", 420f. and 425f.; On-cho Ng and Q. Edward Wang, *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 164.

⁹⁹ Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers", 407 and 412.

¹⁰⁰ While *Chunyou Lin'an zhi* was traditionally viewed as compiled by Shi E 施諤, Chen Xingzhen 陈杏珍 holds that it was "managed" (*xiu* 修) by Zhao Yuchou 趙與籌, and "compiled" (*zuan* 纂) by Chen Renyu 陳仁玉 and others. See Chen Xingzhen 陈杏珍, "Chunyou Lin'an zhi de juanshu he zuanxiuren" 《淳祐臨安志》的卷数和纂修人 (Number of Chapters, Manager, and Compilers of *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Chunyou Era*), *Wenxian* 文献 1981, no. 3: 185–190; Christine Moll-Murata, *Die chinesische Regionalbeschreibung: Entwicklung und Funktion einer Quellengattung, dargestellt am Beispiel der Präfekturbeschreibungen von Hangzhou* (Chinese Local Gazetteers: Development and Function of a Source Type, A Case Study of the Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteers) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 71.

¹⁰¹ Before the Southern Song, there was a *Maps and Treatises of Hangzhou of the Xiangfu Era* (*Xiangfu Hangzhou tujing* 祥符杭州圖經), composed in 1010 by Li Zong'e 李宗諤 (965–1013), which was lost later, but referred to and quoted in the three Southern Song gazetteers of Hangzhou. See Moll-Murata, *Die chinesische Regionalbeschreibung*, 45.

川), which is not extant today. While the section “Mountains and Rivers” in *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Chunyou Era* includes topographical descriptions that are confined to Qiantang County and Renhe County, the county seats of which were located inside the city wall of Hangzhou, the *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Xianchun Era* covers all nine subordinate counties.¹⁰² Both gazetteers contain a section entitled “Mountains and Rivers” (*Shanchuan* 山川). In this section, not only are the sites that are located at West Lake and its surrounding areas, such as hills, rocks, grottoes, pavilions, halls, and tombs, widely included, but also West Lake itself is taken as one single site, placed in the subsection of “Lakes” (*Hu* 湖), and juxtaposed with other lakes of this section. The entry of West Lake include an essay that focuses on its topography and major hydrological projects in history, and selected literary items by multiple literati attached to the essay. Moreover, there are also entries of a few sites attached to the entry of West Lake, such as its causeways and various buildings.

While in the Yuan period, no gazetteer of Hangzhou Prefecture was compiled, in the Ming period, about six Hangzhou gazetteers had been produced. Among them, only the two compiled in the Chenghua 成化 era (1475) and Wanli 萬曆 era (1579) are extant today.¹⁰³ Tian Rucheng, in his *Supplement*, mentions the prefectural gazetteer of the Hongwu 洪武 era (1368–1398), compiled by Xu Yikui 徐一夔 (b. 1318), which was already missing at his time. Tian also mentions the *Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer of the Chenghua Era* (*Chenghua Hangzhou fu zhi* 成化杭州府志), compiled by Xia Shizheng 夏時正, as one of his sources, though judges it as “simplistic”.¹⁰⁴ Compared with their Song predecessors, the contents of the imperial institutions located in Hangzhou as the provisional capital of the Southern Song are reduced in the Ming gazetteers. The section “Mountains and Rivers” in the Chenghua gazetteer adopts a different organizing principle: while in the two Song gazetteers, the entries are categorized by topographical formation first and by location next, in the Chenghua gazetteer, it is *vice versa*.¹⁰⁵ The entry “West

¹⁰² For summaries of the section in the three gazetteers, see *ibid.*, 55, 63f. and 80f.

¹⁰³ For a catalog of prefectural gazetteers of Hangzhou during the Ming, see *ibid.*, 43–46.

¹⁰⁴ Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xihu youlan zhi yu* 西湖遊覽志餘 (Supplement to the Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake), punctuated and proofread by Liu Xiong 劉雄 and Yin Xiaoning 尹曉寧 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), 256.

¹⁰⁵ Moll-Murata, *Die chinesische Regionalbeschreibung*, 100.

Lake”, for example, is placed under the section “Qiantang County outside the City Wall” (*Chengwai Qiantang xian* 城外錢塘縣) and the subsection of bodies of water.¹⁰⁶

Miscellanies on city life in Hangzhou, written in the Southern Song and in the Yuan, are another important source type on the topography of West Lake. They comprise the following four texts: *A Record of the Splendor of the Capital City* (*Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝, 1235), by Naide weng 耐得翁; *A Record of the Prosperity and Splendor by Old Man of West Lake* (*Xihu laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁勝錄, ca. 1240s), by Xihu laoren 西湖老人; *Old Affairs of Wulin* (*Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事, ca. 1280s, henceforth *Old Affairs*), by Zhou Mi 周密; and *A Record of the Millet Dream* (*Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄, 1334, henceforth *Millet Dream*), by Wu Zimu 吳自牧.¹⁰⁷ The genre of these texts is hard to define due to their inconsistent structures and heterogeneous contents. The miscellaneousness of these texts strongly resembles that of an earlier text, *Record of Dreaming of Hua [Xu] in the Eastern Capital* (*Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄, author’s preface 1147, henceforth *Dream of Hua*), by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老,¹⁰⁸ which was finalized more than twenty years after the fall of the Northern Song and recorded the various aspects of its capital city Bianliang 汴梁 (modern Kaifeng 開封). Following its model, the four texts provide an account of prosperous urban scenery and vivid everyday life of both elites and commoners in the Southern Song Hangzhou.¹⁰⁹ Not only urban

¹⁰⁶ See *juan* 8 of the gazetteer in Chen Rang 陳讓 and Xia Shizheng 夏時正, “Chenghua Hangzhou fu zhi” 成化杭州府志 (Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer of the Chenghua Era), in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, shibu* 四庫全書存目叢書·史部 (Collectanea of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries, Books Not Included*, Category of Histories), vol. 175, ed. Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫全書存目叢書編纂委員會 (Ji’nan: Qilu shushe, 1996), 104–121.

¹⁰⁷ I support the idea that Wu Zimu’s preface was written in 1334. See Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, “Guanyu Mengliang lu jiqi zuozhe Wu Zimu” 关于《梦梁录》及其作者吴自牧 (On A Record of the Millet Dream and Its Author Wu Zimu), in *Song shi yanjiu lunwen ji: Guoji Song shi yantaohui ji Zhongguo Song shi yanjiuhui dijiu jie nianhui biankan* 宋史研究论文集——国际宋史研讨会暨中国宋史研究会第九届年会编刊, ed. Qi Xia 漆侠 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2002), 439f.; Zeng Jie 曾洁, “Mengliang lu chengshu niandai kaolun” 《梦梁录》成书年代考论 (A Textual Research and Discussion of the Date of Completion of A Record of the Millet Dream), *Xinwen shijie* 新闻世界, no. 4 (2014): 307f.

¹⁰⁸ The character *hua* 華 in the title, as Meng Yuanlao in his preface points out, refers to the legendary “Land of Huaxu” (*Huaxu zhi guo* 華胥之國). In an anecdote in *Master Lie* (*Liezi* 列子), the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝) in his dream traveled through the land. See Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (Record of Dreaming of Hua [Xu] in the Eastern Capital) et al. (Beijing: Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, 1982), “Dongjing menghua lu”, 1.

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of the influence of *Dream of Hua* on the four Southern Song texts, see Stephen H. West, “The Interpretation of a Dream. The Sources, Evaluation, and Influence of the ‘Dongjing Meng Hua Lu’”, *T’oung Pao*, Second Series 71, nos. 1–3 (1985): 100–102; Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, “The Capital Behind the Capital: Life in Kaifeng as Reflected in the ‘Duchengjisheng’”, *Oriens Extremus* 50 (2011): 194–205.

institutions, such as palaces, shrines, markets, guilds, restaurants, tea houses, entertainment quarters, societies, and gardens, but also rituals, festivals and other activities in the cycle of the year, are described in detail. Since these four miscellanies have an interest in the cultural practices of Hangzhou residents, they all mention the leisure and entertainment activities at West Lake such as boating and sightseeing.

Despite the similarities and even overlaps in terms of content between the two types of texts from the Southern Song to the Ming, there are also discernible differences: First, the prefectural gazetteers were initiated and managed by incumbent prefects of Hangzhou, while the four miscellanies were compiled privately; some authors of the latter used pseudonyms and cannot even be identified. Second, the prefectural gazetteers refer to an administrative unit, that is, Lin'an Prefecture and some of its counties, while the miscellanies focus only on the walled city of Hangzhou, whereas its surrounding regions, such as West Lake, are mentioned only on rare occasions, when they are related to the practices of urban residents. Third, the prefectural gazetteers contain changes of the place from earliest traceable times to the present, while the miscellanies focused on the mid or late Southern Song period only, which the authors themselves experienced. By the cases of *Old Affairs* and *Millet Dream*, they were probably written at a time when the Southern Song was already gone. Fourth, the prefectural gazetteers were intended to systematically record all significant information of Hangzhou, while the miscellanies are highly selective and present only certain aspects of urban culture and everyday life. As a result, the categories of the prefectural gazetteers from the Southern Song to the Ming closely correspond to each other, while both the content and the length of the four miscellanies vary more from one another. Fifth, the miscellanies contain cultural aspects that were considered "trivial", such as detailed descriptions of liquor shops, games, and oral storytelling, which tend to be excluded or underrepresented in officially initiated and approved gazetteers.

1.6 West Lake Gazetteers of the Ming and the Early Qing

Local gazetteers were more widely compiled in the Ming period. Joseph R. Dennis points out that "there is wide agreement that gazetteers emerged as a distinct genre in the

Southern Song and were universalized down to the circuit level by central government edict in the Yuan and to the county level in the early Ming”.¹¹⁰ According to Ba Zhaoxiang’s 巴兆祥 statistics, the production of local gazetteers in the Ming reached its peak in the Jiajing and Wanli eras, that is, between 1522 and 1620.¹¹¹ Timothy Brook points out that “the sixteenth century was the period when published gazetteers became universal, when most counties and prefectures in China, as well as many mountains and monasteries, produced their first editions”.¹¹² West Lake gazetteers of the Ming that started with Tian Rucheng’s two texts, first published in 1547, were part of this trend and reflected it.

The compiling and publishing of local gazetteers were promoted by the publishing boom since the early or mid sixteenth century, a turning point in the history of printing after the depression since the beginning of the Ming dynasty.¹¹³ Two regions became the motors of publishing empire-wide: Jianyang 建陽, in the northern Fujian, and the Jiangnan metropolises of Nanjing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou.¹¹⁴ Compared with other publishing centers, the products of Hangzhou in general seemed to be of moderate quality and price.¹¹⁵ As will be seen, further below, West Lake gazetteers of this period included both official imprints, in whose printing government played an active role, and commercial ones, when commercial publications had an increasing share in the total book market and came to dominate imprint culture.¹¹⁶

As the first West Lake gazetteer, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement* were seminal and not only influenced numerous later writings on West Lake and Hangzhou, but were themselves republished. According to Yin Xiaoning 尹晓宁, there were a total of seven

¹¹⁰ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 117.

¹¹¹ Ba Zhaoxiang 巴兆祥, *Fangzhi xue xinlun* 方志学新论 (A New Discourse of the Study of Local Gazetteers) (Shanghai: Shanghai shiji chubanshituan, Xuelin chubanshe, 2004), 73–79; cf. Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 118–120.

¹¹² Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 43f.

¹¹³ Cynthia J. Brokaw, “On the History of the Book in China”, in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 24; Tobie Meyer-Fong, “The Printed World: Books, Publishing Culture, and Society in Late Imperial China”, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 3 (2007): 794f.

¹¹⁴ Brokaw, “On the History of the Book in China”, 27.

¹¹⁵ This is according to the sixteenth century bibliophile Hu Yinglin’s 胡應麟 (1551–1602) observations. See Joseph McDermott, “The Ascendance of the Imprint in China”, in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 74; Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu”, 100.

¹¹⁶ Joseph McDermott, based on the data of Inoue Susumu, argues for a shift in the dominant institution of production from government organizations to commercial publishers. See McDermott, “The Ascendance of the Imprint in China”, 82–85.

editions of them in the late imperial period, four of which appeared in the Ming (1547, 1584, 1597, 1619) and three in the Qing (1689, 1781, 1896).¹¹⁷ Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, for her part, has identified many more editions that were derived from Tian Rucheng's gazetteer.¹¹⁸ After his retirement in 1541 or 1542, Tian had a period of "filial mourning" (*zhaiyou* 宅憂) at home, which conventionally lasted twenty-seven months. After that, Tian started the project, the two texts of which were published in 1547.¹¹⁹ In other words, Tian had finished the project in about three years. Although the two texts were primarily compiled by Tian as a retired official and a private scholar, he had shown them to officials of Hangzhou Prefecture and Zhejiang Province after the work was completed, several of whom were willing to help with the publication, yet had to leave their official posts due to filial mourning. It was finally Yan Kuan 嚴寬 (*jinshi* 1532), the Prefect of Hangzhou at the time, who asked the Vice Prefect surnamed Qiu 丘,¹²⁰ to manage the publication, and several local officials donated to its funding.¹²¹ The second and the third editions were managed and reprinted by the Regional Inspector of Zhejiang Province (*xun'an Zhejiang jiancha yushi* 巡按浙江監察御史), Fan Mingqian 范鳴謙 (*jinshi* 1571), in 1584, and the Prefect of Hangzhou, Ji Donglu 季東魯 (*jinshi* 1583), in 1591, respectively. Not only were the printing blocks of Tian's books stored in the government buildings of Hangzhou Prefecture for possible re-printings in the future, but *Sightseeing Gazetteer* also appears in the *Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer of the Wanli Era* on the list of books printed by official institutions.¹²² The official approval, sponsorship, and

¹¹⁷ Yin Xiaoning 尹晓宁, "Xihu youlan zhi banben wenti dingwu" 《西湖游览志》版本问题订误 (Correction of Mistakes with Regard to the Issue of the Editions of *The Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake*), *Zhejiang xuekan* 浙江学刊, no. 3, (2010): 73–76. Also see Yin Xiaoning's "Dianjiao shuoming" 點校說明 (Elaboration of Punctuating and Collating) in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, *Dianjiao shuoming*, 1–6; Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, *Dianjiao shuoming*, 2. Although Yin Xiaoning has discussed the seven editions identified in detail, the term "banben" 版本 (edition) is never defined in the study.

¹¹⁸ See Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo luyou shu", 102–127; Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, "Dizhi yu jiyou: Xihu he zhi yu wan-Ming Hangzhou kanke de mingsheng zhi" 地志與紀遊: 《西湖合志》與晚明杭州刊刻的名勝志 (Local Gazetteers and Travel Writing: *The Combined Gazetteers of West Lake* and Scenic Spot Gazetteers in Late Ming Hangzhou), *Ming dai yanjiu* 明代研究, no. 22 (2014): 5.

¹¹⁹ This is mentioned by Tian Rucheng in his preface. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, "Xihu youlan zhi xu", 1.

¹²⁰ Tian Rucheng mentions in his preface only the surname of Mister Qiu. According to chapter fourteen of *Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer of the Wanli Era*, entitled "Shouling biao" 守令表 (Table of Prefecture Heads), his name is Qiu Daoming 丘道明. See Chen Shan 陳善 et al., "Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi" 萬曆杭州府志 (Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer of the Wanli Era), 1579, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書 (Collectanea of Chinese Local Gazetteers), vol. 524 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1983), 1046.

¹²¹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, "Xihu youlan zhi xu", 2.

¹²² Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, "Xihu luyou he Hangzhou chuban de jiaohui: Ming Shang Weijun ben Xihu youlan zhi de

printing were not unusual at the time, as the Chinese government played a relatively active role in producing printed texts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Cynthia J. Brokaw argues that “[a]t the provincial and county levels [...] printing offices might produce standard editions of the Classics and histories, gazetteers, dictionaries [...], and imperially sponsored medical handbooks [...], even belles lettres and works of fiction”.¹²³ The case of the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* seemed to instantiate the process of gazetteer production noted by Joseph R. Dennis, in which a privately initiated and compiled gazetteer was later acknowledged by official institution and gained the status of official or quasi-official gazetteer.¹²⁴

In the preface to his gazetteer, Tian Rucheng attempts to justify his project of writing the first West Lake gazetteer: “Almost all the famous mountains within the seas have their gazetteers, only West Lake does not. Is this not a lacuna in the system of canons?” (海內名山，率皆有志，而西湖獨無，詎非闕典)¹²⁵ By saying so, Tian highlights the dimension of his gazetteer as document of the locality. Later, Tian defends his work against the potential criticism that it has focused too much on sightseeing and entertainment, and thus would have a negative impact on the cultivation of good customs. He responds to it by claiming to be an impartial historian, whose duty is to record the facts: “The gazetteer is one genre of history. If histories do not record the facts, then what would readers investigate?” (志者，史家之一體也，史不實錄，則觀者何稽焉).¹²⁶ He also quotes the words of a local official of Hangzhou, who praised his book, saying that “this is indeed a prefectural history that is worth being transmitted” (是誠郡史，可以傳矣); and another local official, who held that “this is almost a prefectural history that exhibits both the commendable and the reprehensible” (殆郡史也，美刺具陳).¹²⁷ It can

yuanyuan yu tese” 西湖旅遊和杭州出版的交會——明商維濬刊本《西湖遊覽志》的淵源與特色 (The Intersection of West Lake Tourism and Hangzhou Publication: The Origin and Characters of Shang Weijun’s Edition of Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake of the Ming), *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 363 (2013): 106; Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu”, 107.

¹²³ Brokaw, “On the History of the Book in China”, 17f.

¹²⁴ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 127f. According to Dennis, an official gazetteer was one that was initiated by and recognized as such by the local government. Focusing on administrative gazetteers, Dennis points out that “official” was the default category; in a gazetteer, the statements of official initiation, sponsorship, or approval were the most important signifiers of official status.

¹²⁵ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, “Xihu youlan zhi xu”, 1.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, “Xihu youlan zhi xu”, 1.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, “Xihu youlan zhi xu”, 1.

be seen that Tian emphasizes the significance of his work as a document and puts forward the preservation and transmission of local history as his central goal.

Like Tian Rucheng, Fan Mingqian and Ji Donglu, in the prefaces to their respective editions, emphasize the importance of the gazetteer as a document.¹²⁸ In Fan's and Ji's editions, a few new scenic sites are included, part of which were donated and ordered to be constructed or restored by incumbent officials, such as Fan himself. Ma Meng-ching thus argues that the major aim of the first three editions was to preserve local historical documents, exhibit past glories, and record administrative achievements of incumbent local officials.¹²⁹ While Ma rejects commercial profits as possible considerations of the first three editions,¹³⁰ it seems that the possibility of commercial purposes should not be ruled out. Brokaw notes that "in the absence of a coherent central policy defining what types of books could be published and what types could not, government offices at all administrative levels often made what were clearly commercial decisions to publish certain popular texts for public sale and profit".¹³¹ Joseph McDermott also rejects the notion of a rigid line between government-official and commercial publishing, pointing out that "[t]he commercial sale of officially published books persisted through the Ming Dynasty".¹³² As several cases show, West Lake gazetteers were indeed successful on the late Ming book market.

One case of commercial success is the fourth edition of Tian Rucheng's gazetteer, compiled by Zhang Zhicai 章(張)之采 and printed in 1619 by Shang Weijun 商維濬, a merchant from Kuaiji 會稽 County.¹³³ Although local gazetteers were commonly considered non-commercial books, and profit-making was not the primary motivation for publishing them,¹³⁴ Shang's edition was an exception, probably due to the fame of West Lake and the flourishing of its sightseeing culture. As a product of commercial publishers, at least seven editions has been identified by Ma Meng-ching that were either printed by

¹²⁸ See Fan Mingqian's and Ji Donglu's prefaces in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 316f.

¹²⁹ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu", 106.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹³¹ Brokaw, "On the History of the Book in China", 17.

¹³² McDermott, "The Ascendance of the Imprint in China", 82f.

¹³³ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu", 114.

¹³⁴ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 214. Dennis also acknowledges that "[s]ome officials may have even profited from publishing local gazetteers." See Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 221. Timothy Brook, in his study of the Ming and Qing topographical gazetteers, also concludes that "only a very few gazetteers generally of places popular with tourists, were produced by printing houses for commercial distribution." See Brook, *Geographical Sources*, 63.

Shang himself or derived from his editions, which suggests that they were the most widely circulated and influential editions of Tian's gazetteer.¹³⁵ The targeted readership of the commercial publications seemed to be an extended group of literate people: on the one hand, from the mid Ming on, scholar-officials were joined in the literati culture by a large number of individuals far less successful in pursuing an official career,¹³⁶ on the other hand, it also included groups of common people and the relatively unlearned, such as nouveaux riches and members of the laity.¹³⁷

While Fan Mingqian's and Ji Donglu's editions both made modifications to the previous edition, Shang Weijun's edition of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* did this to a significantly larger extent. According to Yin Xiaoning's counting, it modified or added 22 entries, as compared with Yan Kuan's first edition, thus increasing the text by more than six thousand characters.¹³⁸ Most new entries referred to the scenic sites that had been newly constructed in the Wanli era (1573–1620), especially due to Sun Long's project of landscape embellishment. Moreover, it supplemented a few entries to *juan 7* and *juan 9* of *Supplement*, attaching them to the end of the original chapters.¹³⁹ Like the first three editions, Shang Weijun argues in his preface that the sites of West Lake could never be exhausted by one single West Lake gazetteer, since they were constantly being renovated and changed everyday, a process that authors of previous gazetteers could not foresee.¹⁴⁰

Shang Weijun was not the only merchant of the late Ming who was interested in Tian Rucheng's texts. Several other West Lake compilations were published by commercial publishers as well, such as the *Gazetteer of West Lake: Collected Excerpts and Supplements to Stow in the Knapsack and for Convenient Reading Underway* (*Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan* 西湖志摘粹補遺奚囊便覽, 1604, 12 *juan*; henceforth *Convenient Reading*), compiled by Gao Yingke 高應科, an unsuccessful examination

¹³⁵ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu", 108–112.

¹³⁶ Joseph McDermott terms it a "*shengyuan* book culture" that supplemented and complemented "*jinshi* book culture". See McDermott, "The Ascendance of the Imprint in China", 86.

¹³⁷ Anne E. McLaren, "Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China", in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 152.

¹³⁸ Yin Xiaoning, "*Xihu youlan zhi banben wenti dingwu*", 74.

¹³⁹ Both chapters belong to the section "Noble Styles of Worthy and Prominent Persons" (*Xianda gaofeng* 賢達高風) in Tian's compilation. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, "Dianjiao shuoming", 2, 90 and 106–110.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 318.

candidate and a local person of Hangzhou;¹⁴¹ and the *Gazetteer of West Lake: Topically Arranged Excerpts* (*Xihu zhi leichao* 西湖志類鈔, ca. 1615, 4 *juan*; henceforth *Topically Arranged Excerpts*), compiled by Yu Sichong 俞思冲 (*jinshi* 1595), who also was a local person of Hangzhou. In the first preface to *Convenient Reading*, Zhu Jingxun 朱敬循 (*zi* Shimen 石門, *jinshi* 1592), a brother of Zhang Dai's grandmother,¹⁴² claims right at the beginning that “*Convenient Reading of West Lake* is [a book] that records the wonderful sites of West Lake and makes it convenient for sightseers” (《西湖便覽》者，志西湖之勝，而為遊覽者便也).¹⁴³ Unlike Tian Rucheng, Fan Mingqian, and Ji Donglu, who emphasized the dimension of document, aiding sightseers became the primary concern of Gao. The long title of the book, which was characteristic of many books in the late Ming book market, lists the development of the original gazetteer toward certain directions and merits and thus functioned as advertisement. Compared with the editions of Fan, Ji, and Shang, *Convenient Reading* and *Topically Arranged Excerpts* had modified the previous texts to larger extents, as they not only supplemented new materials to them, but also changed the sequence of sections, dropped certain sections and materials, and even re-categorized the individual entries according to different criteria.

The individual sections of Tian Rucheng's two gazetteers were also widely included in other texts. For example, selected versions of the sections “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods” (*Xichao leshi* 熙朝樂事) and “Talks in the Provincial Alleys” (*Weixiang congtan* 委巷叢談) from Tian's *Supplement* were included in the collectanea *Sea of Learning Made of A Hundred Rivers: Enlarged Edition* (*Guang baichuan xuehai* 廣百川學海) compiled by Feng Kebin 馮可賓 (*jinshi* 1622).¹⁴⁴ There was also a privately printed gazetteer, entitled *The Combined Gazetteers of West Lake* (*Xihu hezhi*

¹⁴¹ Gao Yingke was referred to by Zhu Jingxun 朱敬循 in his preface as “a commoner scholar of Hangzhou” (*Wulin buyi shi* 武林布衣士). Gao, in his author's preface, also mentions that “I was engaged with Confucian learning when young and gave it up midway” (余幼業儒中道棄去). See Gao Yingke 高應科, *Xihu zhi zhacui buyi xi'nang bianlan* 西湖志摘粹補遺奚囊便覽 (Gazetteer of West Lake: Collected Excerpts and Supplements to Stow in the Knapsack and for Convenient Reading Underway), 1604. Harvard-Yenching Library, “Xihu bianlan xu” 西湖便覽敘 (Preface to *Convenient Reading of West Lake*), 3a, “Xihu bianlan zixu” 西湖便覽自敘 (Author's Preface to *Convenient Reading of West Lake*), 1a.

¹⁴² See Zhang Dai's “Jia zhuan”, in Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji*, 190 and 192.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, “Xihu bianlan xu”, 1a.

¹⁴⁴ See the two texts in Feng Kebin 馮可賓, *Guang baichuan xuehai* 廣百川學海 (Enlarged Sea of Learning Made of A Hundred Rivers), undated. Harvard-Yenching Library, “Bing ji” 丙集 (The Third Volume).

西湖合志), managed by Li Shaoxian 李紹賢 (*jinshi* 1622) and compiled by Zhang Zhicai.¹⁴⁵ Among its two editions, as identified by Ma Meng-ching, the first edition, entitled *The Combined Gazetteers of West Lake: Supplemented Edition* (*Zengji Xihu hezhi* 增輯西湖合志, ca. 1640), is a combination of the *Gazetteer of West Lake*, (*Xihu zhi* 西湖志), the *Gazetteer of the Eastern and Western Tianmu Mountains* (*Dongxi Tianmu shan zhi* 東西天目山志), and the *Gazetteer of the Jing Mountains* (*Jingshan zhi* 徑山志). All three parts were based on earlier gazetteers; thus, the *Gazetteer of West Lake* on Shang Weijun's 1619 edition of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.¹⁴⁶ Among the three parts, only the *Gazetteer of West Lake* presents its scenic sites in a spatial sequence as the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* does, while the other two parts, like most local gazetteers in general, organize them by topical categories.¹⁴⁷ While the geographical scope of the first edition extends to the much larger mountainous regions in the west of West Lake, the second edition, entitled *The Combined Gazetteers of West Lake and Famous Mountains: Enlarged Edition* (*Guang Xihu Mingshan hezhi* 廣西湖名山合志, ca. 1644), even includes, beside the three parts, a section with a range of famous mountains empire-wide.¹⁴⁸

Beside the texts mentioned above that all feature the words “West Lake” and “gazetteer” in their titles and thus claim a close relationship with Tian Rucheng's text, there is also a *Mirror on the Hand Reflecting West Lake* (*Xihu shoujing* 西湖手鏡, first edition 1636, second edition 1656)¹⁴⁹ compiled by Ji Ying 季嬰, a literatus from Changshu 常熟 County. Ji claims in his preface, dated 1636, that ever since 1618, he had made one exhaustive sightseeing tour at West Lake in each year, and his West Lake account was based on what he had recorded during sightseeing.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the text clearly was influenced by the tradition initiated by Tian. A rather short text that includes only a small portion of the scenic sites seen in the previous West Lake gazetteers, it

¹⁴⁵ Ma Meng-ching, “Dizhi yu jiyou”, 8–11 and 38.

¹⁴⁶ It is possible that Zhang Zhicai was also the compiler of this Shang Weijun's edition. See Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu”, 114; Ma Meng-ching, “Dizhi yu jiyou”, 10f.

¹⁴⁷ Ma Meng-ching, “Dizhi yu jiyou”, 13, 25f. and 30.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6–11.

¹⁴⁹ Beside the character *zhi* 志, local gazetteers may also use other words in their titles. An alternative graph for “mirror”, *jian* 鑑, for example, is a frequently chosen word. See Yang Junchang, *Zhongguo fangzhi xue gailun*, 43.

¹⁵⁰ See the two prefaces by the author himself in Ji Ying 季嬰, *Xihu shoujing* 西湖手鏡 (*Mirror on the Hand Reflecting West Lake*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), “Xihu shoujing xu” 西湖手鏡敘 (Preface to *Mirror on the Hand Reflecting West Lake*), 1.

nevertheless adopts a structure that is similar to that of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, divides the West Lake space into several geographical regions, and indicates the relative positions between individual sites. Like Gao Yingke, Ji highlights in the “Items [on Editorial Principles] of the Gazetteer” (*Zhikuan* 志款) the function of the work as a traveler’s handbook: “The length of this compilation is moderate, so that it is convenient to take it out of the knapsack and consult it underway” (此編體裁適中，以便奚囊簡閱).¹⁵¹

According to Zhang Dai’s preface to *Dream Searching*, after the fall of the Ming, he visited West Lake twice, in 1654 and 1657. The preface implies that it was the experience of these two visits that had triggered his West Lake project. While the preface was written in 1671, which suggests that the compilation was finished this year, in *Self-written Epitaph*, dated 1665, *Dream Searching* was already listed as one of his major works. In the entry “Summoning Apes Grotto” (Huyuan dong 呼猿洞), in *Dream Searching*, Zhang mentions the death of Monk Ju (Ju heshang 具和尚, alt., Jude heshang 具德和尚).¹⁵² Since Monk Ju died in 1667,¹⁵³ it may be included that, in 1665, the text of *Dream Searching* could not have been finished yet. Although Zhang Dai began to compile his *Dream Searching* after the fall of the Ming and when Hangzhou as well as his hometown Shaoxing already fell into the hands of Qing power, the project is better understood as an extension of the practices of West Lake gazetteer compiling in the Ming period. It may thus signify a “delayed dynastic transition” in the realm of culture, which is suggested by Wang Fansen 王汎森 in his study of the late Ming and early Qing periods.¹⁵⁴ During Zhang’s lifetime, the text never got the opportunity to be published.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., “Zhikuan”, 1.

¹⁵² Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 39.

¹⁵³ The date of Monk Ju’s death was recorded by his disciple Jiexian 戒顯. See “Benshi Jude lao heshang xingzhuang” 本師具德老和尚行狀 (A Biographical Description of My Teacher, Old Monk Jude) in Sun Zhi 孫治 and Xu Zeng 徐增, “Lingyin si zhi” 靈隱寺志 (Gazetteer of Soul Retreat Monastery), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 11, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 3190.

¹⁵⁴ Wang Fan-sen 王汎森, “Qing chu shiren de huizui xintai yu xiaoji xingwei: Bu rucheng, bu fu jianghui, bu jieshe” 清初士人的悔罪心态与消极行为——不入城、不赴讲会、不结社 (Repentant Mind and Passive Behaviors of Early Qing Scholar-officials: Not Entering Cities, Not Attending Lecture Meetings, Not Forming Associations), in *Wan-Ming Qing chu sixiang shi lun* 晚明清初思想十论 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 238f. Wang argues that some aspects of the late Ming culture met with criticism and resistance and eclipsed already in the last twenty years of the Ming, and its fall accelerated this process; on the other hand, part of the literati continued the cultural practices widespread in the late Ming into the Qing, although the social marginalization of many remnant subjects had contributed to the eclipse of the late Ming culture.

Nevertheless, the text seemed to circulate among a small group of Zhang's friends and fellow Ming loyalists, five of whom respectively wrote a preface to it.

Unlike Tian Rucheng, who claims to be an impartial historian, Zhang emphasizes his own relationship with West Lake. As a remnant subject and Ming loyalist, Zhang expresses his nostalgic feelings for a West Lake in the past and compares it to a dream. After a description of the West Lake by his visit in 1654 and 1657, which suffered terrible destruction in previous periods, Zhang states that he will “only preserve the old dream, in which the views of West Lake still remain intact” (惟吾舊夢是保，一派西湖景色猶端然未動也).¹⁵⁵ According to Zhang, the project is due to the intention to preserve this past West Lake: “I created *Dream Searching* of seventy-two entries, and leave it to later generations, so that it could be taken as an image of West Lake” (作《夢尋》七十二則，留之後世，以作西湖之影).¹⁵⁶ This creates the impressions that Zhang's book exclusively focuses on a West Lake in the past, presumably the late Ming period, and its descriptions are derived from his personal experiences,¹⁵⁷ although the text itself reveals otherwise. Compared with *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, *Dream Searching* includes much fewer sites and has divided them into geographical regions different from those in the former.

The first edition of *Dream Searching* was printed in 1717 in Guangdong Province. According to its “Editorial Principles” (*Fanli*), written by Zhang Dai's grandson, Zhang Li 張禮 (*zi* Liting 立亭), the manuscript was brought to Guangdong by a younger clansman of Zhang Li, appreciated and sponsored by the Prefect of Shaozhou 韶州, Hu Fan 胡範.¹⁵⁸ The edition was edited and proofread by multiple descendants of Zhang Dai; it includes the author's preface, five prefaces by Zhang Dai's fellow remnant subjects, and comments by Wang Yuqian. Later the work was suggested for inclusion in the *Four Treasuries*, which however was not accepted; it was only mentioned in the *List of the Books Not Included* (*Cunmu* 存目), under the “Department of History,

¹⁵⁵ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun xu”, 7.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun xu”, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Zhang Zetong 张则桐, for example, asserts that Zhang Dai writes about a personal West Lake of his own. See Zhang Zetong, *Zhang Dai tan'gao*, 254.

¹⁵⁸ Zhang Dai 張岱, *Xihu mengxun* 西湖夢尋 (West Lake Dreaming Searching), 1717, Beijing daxue tushuguan, “Fanli”, 2b–3a. Also see Lu Wei's preface in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun zhengli qianyan” 西湖夢尋整理前言 (*West Lake Dreaming Searching*, Preface on the Editorial Work), 2.

Sub-category of Geography”.¹⁵⁹ It seems that the 1717 edition was not widely circulated, as few copies of it are extant today.¹⁶⁰ In 1883, *Dream Searching* was reprinted by the local person of Hangzhou, Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832–1899). Later it was included in Ding’s large collectanea of texts about Hangzhou and West Lake, entitled *General Compilation of Historical Sources on Hangzhou* (*Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編), compiled at the end of the nineteenth century. This edition has excluded the “Editorial Principles” by Zhang Li and comments by Wang Yuqian, and included the abstract on *Dream Searching* from the “Catalog of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*”. It was this edition that made *Dream Searching* an easily accessible text, and some of the later collectaneas, that had included *Dream Searching*, were based on this edition.¹⁶¹

In general, later editions of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* all make supplements and updates to earlier ones in order to record new development up to the time of publication. This is in accordance with Joseph R. Dennis’ view of local gazetteers as “living documents”: the writing is an ongoing process, as supplements, corrections, and materials of later periods are repeatedly added to a gazetteer after it is completed.¹⁶² Beside the supplement of new materials, some texts, such as *Convenient Reading*, *Topically Arranged Excerpts*, and *Dream Searching*, have modified the structure and organizing principles of Tian Rucheng’s gazetteer. One should not easily conclude, however, that the same kind of modifications of content or structure was made out of the same motivation. The updating of the gazetteer, for example, might be made by compilers of an official edition to preserve local history, which constantly accumulated, while by commercial publications the concern of faithfully reflecting the contemporary situation of West Lake in order to facilitate sightseeing might lie at the center.

¹⁵⁹ See Lu Wei’s preface, in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun zhengli qianyan”, 2f. Here Lu argues that the main reasons for the non-acceptance probably were the valuing of ancient books over recent ones by editors, Zhang Dai’s Ming loyalist stance, and the literary style of the Gong’an 公安 and Jingling 竟陵 schools, which did not meet the official criteria of literature.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶² Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 121–126. Dennis has mentioned the disagreement in Chinese scholarship about how many local gazetteers were there in the pre-modern period. The disagreement, in Dennis’ opinion, partly lies in the problematic concept of “edition”. Since a gazetteer can be modified and supplemented many times, it would be hard, if not impossible, to say what counts as a new edition and what does not.

1.7 Methodology and State of the Art: Chapters 2–3

Since pre-modern times, the compiling of local gazetteers was associated with discussions about its genre. This culminated in the “Study of Local Gazetteers” (*fangzhi xue* 方志學) in the Qing, which was strongly practice-oriented and attempted to provide guidelines for the compiling of gazetteers.¹⁶³ Christine Moll-Murata has summarized four approaches to local gazetteers in modern scholarship: First, applicatory approach, by which local gazetteers are used as important sources for regional studies, such as in the field of economic and social history. Historians working on certain topics look at particular sections in a gazetteer or multiple gazetteers rather than their entirety. Second, descriptive approach, by which local gazetteers are organized according to bibliographical categories, such as in catalogues of collections. Third, analytic approach, by which the origin, development, aim, principles, methods, function, and value of local gazetteers are studied. In Chinese scholarship, there are a range of book-length studies of the history, terminology, and genre of local gazetteers, which attempt to provide a comprehensive account and often analyze tens or even hundreds of individual works. In these studies, administrative gazetteers have been generally paid more attention to than topographical and institutional ones. Fourth, documentary approach, by which local gazetteers are collected, compiled and republished.¹⁶⁴

While gazetteers are often studied *en masse*, Joseph R. Dennis proposes that individual gazetteers as unified works also deserve scholarly attention. In a study of the 1579 *Xinchang Country Gazetteer* (*Xinchang xian zhi* 新昌縣志), Dennis examines the compiling of the gazetteer as a “strategic act” of the members of the county’s leading lineages for private purposes, that is, to solidify their social status and to increase their prestige. Dennis has revealed that entries in different sections of the gazetteer were all included due to the subject’s relationship to the compilers; they were gathered as prestige markers and organized around a genealogical frame in order to produce a public genealogy of the extended families of the compilers. He thus suggests that “sometimes

¹⁶³ For an account of *fangzhi xue* and its most important scholar Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801), see Cang Xiuliang, *Fangzhi xue tonglun*, 423–499.

¹⁶⁴ Moll-Murata, *Die chinesische Regionalbeschreibung*, 2–19.

gazetteer sections cannot be understood separate from the whole”.¹⁶⁵ In a sense, a local gazetteer is merely a collection of “primary materials” that aims to provide information to the reader. The entries are collected from various sources, to place them in a section does not suggest any causal relationship. There are often contradictions between individual entries; sometimes the compiler does a survey and evaluates their truthfulness, or he simply juxtaposes the entries and leaves them to future investigations. As Peter Bol points out, the received categories of local gazetteer rarely constituted a necessary, integrated, and meaningful framework; it is not a single integrated history but the records and histories of many things.¹⁶⁶ West Lake gazetteers are no exception to these. Nevertheless, as Bol argues, “the lack of internal unity, the absence of a narrative that drew all the parts together, and the failure to explain why change took place clearly did not preclude intellectual and polemical purposes.”¹⁶⁷ In other words, the heterogeneity in terms of both form and content and the seeming lack of connections between sections and entries do not rule out the possibility that these materials were compiled and edited for certain purposes or had specific functions.

The first part of the present study (Chapters 2–3) investigates the editorial principles of West Lake gazetteers, that is, what kinds of materials were included and how they were organized. While “editorial principles” is understood here as everything outside content or experience,¹⁶⁸ the study of it will inevitably involve an exploration of the contents themselves. Inspired by Dennis and Bol, a gazetteer studied will be taken as a unified work, and the possible connection of its components, such as title, prefaces, illustrations, and multiple sections, to a certain intention or function, will be examined.

How could an intention of a compiler be detected? One seemingly easy and straightforward way is to look at what they said to their own works, such as those seen in prefaces and written editorial principles. This approach, however, has its limit. As Gérard

¹⁶⁵ Joe Dennis, “Gazetteers Writing as a Strategic Act: The Private Purposes of the *Wanli Xinchang Xian Zhi*”, in *Zhongguo zupu difang zhi yanjiu* 中國族譜地方志研究, ed. Sha Gongmin 沙共敏 and Qian Zhengmin 錢正民 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2003), 243–245 and 257f. Also see Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 1–13 and 64–66.

¹⁶⁶ Peter K. Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61, no. 1 (2001): 52f.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁶⁸ Patrick Hanan, in a study of the technique of Lu Xun’s (or Lu Hsün 魯迅, 1881–1936) fiction, adopts Mark Schorer’s idea that “the difference between content, or experience, and achieved content, or art, is technique” and defines technique in its most extravagant meaning: everything outside the “lump of experience”. See Patrick Hanan, “The Technique of Lu Hsün’s Fiction”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34 (1974): 53.

Genette reminds us, the chief function of most prefaces and genre indications is to “make known an *intention*, or an *interpretation* by the author and/or the publisher”, while the “defining assertion” of the text “hardly lies within anyone’s power”.¹⁶⁹ In other words, paratexts merely express what the author intended the text to be, or how the author interprets the text, which is not necessarily true. This is verified by the West Lake gazetteers introduced above, as their authors often one-sidedly emphasize a certain aspect or certain aspects of the text and are silent about others in the prefaces: what Tian Rucheng emphasizes is the dimension of the text as a “prefectural history”; in *Convenient Reading* and *Mirror on the Hand Reflecting West Lake*, the intention to facilitate contemporary sightseeing is highlighted; Zhang Dai, for his part, puts forward as his concern the preservation of the history and culture of the lost Ming world, as well as his personal emotional tie with West Lake. These claims do not refute the existence of other intentions and functions.

Since the discourses in the paratext are not necessarily true to the text, the exploration of the compilers’ intentions and strategies in this study will be empirical, that is, to look at what a gazetteer has objectively achieved and what potential functions it could have. In other words, it is the possibilities created by the entire work that will reveal what they could have been intended for. Since a compiler conventionally worked on earlier gazetteers, the intention could be revealed by the gazetteer’s intertextual relationship with previous works. As this study will show, a new West Lake gazetteer not only updates old ones by supplementing new, more recent materials, but may also make modifications to the type of materials and organization, which signifies development of the old work toward certain directions.

Among the previous studies of West Lake gazetteers, the several articles by Ma Meng-ching are important ones. Ma’s studies are comprehensive in the sense that they have explored various aspects of these gazetteers as well as their compilers, such as paratexts, material, structure, social and cultural milieus, editorial processes, and relationship and interactions between officials, compilers, and publishers. Ma has paid much attention to the numerous editions of West Lake gazetteers and examined their physicality, such as number of characters on each page and quality of paper. All these

¹⁶⁹ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11 (emphasis in the original).

aspects could potentially help us evaluate the likelihood of a compiler's intentions and strategies. For example, Ma mentions an edition of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* proofread and printed by a local person of Hangzhou, named Zi Defu 資德甫. The height and width of book are only half of those of ordinary books. Ma thus argues that the small size makes it convenient to take the book in the sightseeing tour, and it must have been printed for this reason.¹⁷⁰

What makes West Lake gazetteers noteworthy among the numerous local gazetteers from pre-modern time? One unusual feature is the structure initiated by Tian Rucheng in his *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. As mentioned above, its text divides up the entries not topically, as was the case of most local gazetteers, but spatially, that is, according to the geographical region a scenic site was located in. As to the sites in a region, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* presents them in the sequence of actual or virtual sightseeing routes. This innovation had influenced a range of later West Lake gazetteers, some of which had adopted or modified the structure. This aspect of West Lake gazetteers is the object of research in Chapter 2. While Tian himself said nothing about it, it had drawn much attention in the Ming and Qing. A common view was that Tian's gazetteer was for the sake of sightseeing. These views were all vague assertions, which never illuminated the exact relationship between the work and the practice. In present-day scholarship, there is disagreement on the exact nature and function of the spatial arrangement of the text. Lu Jiansan 陆鉴三 believes that the five major routes in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* provide evidence for the assumption that they already came into being by the time of Tian Rucheng's gazetteer project and belonged to the established tours in the West Lake region; thus Tian merely documented them.¹⁷¹ Ma Meng-ching, on the other hand, regards the routes as having been devised by Tian himself, so the gazetteer could be employed as a traveler's guidebook.¹⁷² It seems that in Ma's opinion, the routes in the text were devised to be followed by reader-sightseers in the course of sightseeing. Liping Wang, for her part, claims that "during the Ming, Tian's system was only one of many ways to map the landscape. Sightseers of the late Ming are rarely mentioned as having followed it".¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu", 126.

¹⁷¹ Lu Jiansan, "Chuchu douzhu zu, yiyi buneng qu", 230.

¹⁷² Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu", 104.

¹⁷³ Wang, "Paradise for Sale", 83.

While Lu merely makes an assertion, Ma's analysis is also simplistic and somewhat views the connection between the structural aspect and the practice of sightseeing as self-evident. Neither does Wang illuminate how the actual sightseeing routes were different from those described in the text. A more in-depth exploration is made by Roland Altenburger, who in his article provides a detailed analysis of the textual presentation of the routes in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.¹⁷⁴ Altenburger especially pays attention to the description of movement in space, and thus reveals how "the author guides the reader through a sequence of successive sightseeing locations, progressing from one station to the next by redirecting their pathway".¹⁷⁵ Altenburger looks at only one route in *juan 3* for instance, instead of the entire network of route in the text. Neither does he compare the routes to those of actual sightseeing at the time. Further exploration is thus needed to evaluate the effectiveness and practicality of these routes in tour-guiding. In Chapter 2, I will adopt two approaches: while the "internal" approach examines the logic of the text in order to see whether it is feasible for a sightseer to follow its routes, the "external" approach examines the actual sightseeing routes of Ming and Qing literati sightseers derived from their travel records, in order to see whether or how West Lake gazetteers were used, and whether the "ideology of sightseeing" of literati was in accordance with that implied by these gazetteers. Moreover, it will also explore the cartographical representations by looking at several "maps" (*tu 圖*) in the West Lake gazetteers. Since numerous scenic sites are tagged on these maps, it is needed to see how they correspond to the sites in the text, and whether they could (also) contribute to route-guiding.

The next chapter, Chapter 3, explores selection of materials. It will first discuss the spatial, temporal, and topical scopes of West Lake gazetteers. It will show that, compared with administrative gazetteers, most of which were officially approved ones, West Lake gazetteers show greater variations. A great variation in terms of both organizing principle and content is that Tian Rucheng's gazetteer takes the form of two texts, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement*, while most later West Lake gazetteers take the form of only one. Since Tian compiled and published the two texts simultaneously, the latter was not

¹⁷⁴ Roland Altenburger, "Layered Landscape: Textual and Cartographical Representations of Hangzhou's West Lake, 16th–18th Centuries", in *Entangled Landscapes: Early Modern China and Europe*, ed. Yue Zhuang and Andrea M. Riemenschnitter (Singapore: NUS Press, 2017), 119–121.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

an update that added some new, more recent materials to the former. Rather, the division was deliberately made, and the entries in the two texts must differ in nature to be placed differently. Analyses of the relationship between Tian's two texts in the previous studies are simplistic. Ma Meng-ching points out that *Sightseeing Gazetteer* is a book on scenic sites, recording their successive changes in history and literati's poems, while *Supplement* is a collection of anecdotes, which either record historical facts or are derived from hearsay. She thus concludes that the two books are complementary to each other.¹⁷⁶ While I agree with this basic judgment, I will provide a more detailed examination and show that the relationship between the entries in the two texts is complicated and manifold. I will analyse a major genre in *Supplement*, that is, anecdotes, and suggest that the dichotomy between the two texts to some extent resemble those between "official history" (*zhengshi* 正史) and "unofficial history" (*yeshi* 野史). Finally, it goes on to examine what Xiaofei Tian termed as "personal anecdotes" that are occasionally seen in Zhang Dai's *Dream Searching*.¹⁷⁷ These narratives focus on personal and private aspects and thus contrast with the largely shared and impersonal ones as seen in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. Among these writings, a large proportion is about Zhang's own experiences at West Lake. This makes *Dream Searching* look somewhat like a personal memoir, and problematizes its genre affiliation.

1.8 Methodology and State of the Art: Chapters 4–6

The second part of the present study (Chapters 4–6) explores three literati's discourses concerning West Lake, that is, West Lake as an intermediate space between city and wilderness, as an object of nostalgia by Zhang Dai, and as a place of indulgence. It should be noted that the environmental perceptions, attitudes, and values of literati sightseers could sharply contrast those of commoners. While there are studies of commoners' presence at West Lake,¹⁷⁸ it is not an object of this study. Given the richness of West

¹⁷⁶ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo luyou shu", 103.

¹⁷⁷ Xiaofei Tian, "Tales from Borderland: Anecdotes in Early Medieval China", in *Idle Talk: Gossip and Anecdote in Traditional China*, ed. Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2014), 46.

¹⁷⁸ See, for example, Liping Wang's study of peasant pilgrims at Hangzhou, in Liping Wang, "Paradise for Sale: Urban Space and Tourism in the Social Transformation of Hangzhou, 1589–1937" (Ph.D. diss., San Diego: University of

Lake's history and culture, the topics discussed in this part are by no means exhaustive. Nevertheless, they include influential ones, which could hardly be ignored by literati sightseers and had been recurrent themes in history. As a result, the analysis may focus on the diachronic process of a discourse.

For the study of this part, "place" is a central concept. Tim Cresswell, in his book *Place: An Introduction*, gives "the most straightforward and common definition of place – a meaningful location". In other words, places are "spaces which people have made meaningful" or "spaces people are attached to in one way or another".¹⁷⁹ According to political geographer John Agnew, there are three fundamental aspects of place: location, that is the fixed objective coordinates on the Earth's surface; locale, the material setting; and sense of place, the subjective and emotional attachment people have to it.¹⁸⁰ It is this third aspect, the subjective attachment that turns space, which is a somewhat more abstract concept, into place. Humanistic geographer Yi-fu Tuan studies in a monograph a certain kind of subjective attachment, which he terms "topophilia", that is, the affective bond between people and place or setting.¹⁸¹ In the monograph, Tuan argues that "[t]ruth is not given through any objective consideration of the evidence. Truth is subjectively embraced as part of one's total experience and outlook".¹⁸² Likewise humanistic geographer Edward Relph proposes a research method of "phenomenology of place", that is, to view place as the object of human intention, which is understood "as a relationship of being between man and the world that gives meaning".¹⁸³ Relph argues that "the objects and features of the world are experienced *in their meaning* and they cannot be separated from those meanings, for these are conferred by the very consciousness that we have of the objects".¹⁸⁴ Thus, human subjectivity is constitutive in the creation of a place. In this light, the present study will focus less on how West Lake actually was, but how it was perceived, imagined and represented; it will focus less on a historical event itself, but how it was reconstructed, interpreted, and transmitted in later periods.

California, 1997), 89–137.

¹⁷⁹ Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, Second Edition (Chichester and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 12.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 12–14.

¹⁸¹ Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁸³ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, (London: Pion Limited, 1976, reprinted 1980, 2008), 42.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 42 (*italics in the original*).

According to Relph, place can be either “the contexts or backgrounds for intentionality defined objects”, or “objects of intention in their own right”.¹⁸⁵ While in the former, the consciousness is that of something in its place, in the latter, it is that of “a fixed location and possessing features which persist in an identifiable form”.¹⁸⁶ The West Lake gazetteers in the present study contain both cases. As collections of individual literary works, they include many people’s conscious reflections on West Lake. It seems that many of them assume a spirit of West Lake that largely transcends dynastic transitions and historical periods. This is often true to literati sightseers, who in their poems or essays appreciate the landscape, that is, the material topography, evaluate and discuss the nature of the individual scenic sites or West Lake as a whole. In other cases, West Lake functions merely as a backdrop. Yet even when West Lake is not directly taken as the object, some sense of place can potentially be derived. Edward S. Casey argues that he does not “believe that a ‘placeful’ analysis of history [...] requires that the writing of history itself need expressly to focus on places per se. It is sufficient if the role of place is tacitly acknowledged as the source of historical actions themselves. For this acknowledgement to be effective, they need not be singled out as such”.¹⁸⁷ One example is the Buddhist master Lianchi Zhuhong 蓮池祿宏 (1535–1615), who had been an eminent monk of Cloud-residing Monastery (Yunqi si 雲棲寺) at West Lake. In *Dream Searching*, Zhang Dai includes a short biography of him in the entry on this monastery.¹⁸⁸ Although the stories about Lianchi do not focus on West Lake itself, they took place there and thus became part of the locality. They could contribute to the construction of the “spirit of West Lake”, an undertaking of later compilers and authors who sought to transform the features of a historical figure in a place into those of the place itself.

Yi-fu Tuan likens places to “pauses”, that is, stops along the way: “What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.”¹⁸⁹ Tuan thus suggests: “At one extreme a favorite armchair is a place, at the other

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 42.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 43.

¹⁸⁷ Edward S. Casey, “Boundary, Place, and Event in the Spatiality of History”, *Rethinking History* 11, no. 4 (2007): 510.

¹⁸⁸ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 110–113.

¹⁸⁹ Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 6.

extreme the whole earth.”¹⁹⁰ In other words, the notion of place is in all of these. Likewise, Relph holds that places “can be at almost any scale, depending on the manner in which our intentions are directed and focused”.¹⁹¹ Beside a few introductions or general descriptions of West Lake, the West Lake gazetteers are largely collections of individual entries, each of which refers to one scenic site. But what counts as a “site”? Judging from these gazetteers, sites were not only of different kinds, but also of different scales: Su Causeway, for example, extended over about three kilometers, while a rock or a pavilion could be relatively small spot. Sometimes they were also of different grades, as one site can be made of multiple constituent sites. In the Hangzhou gazetteers and miscellanies of the Southern Song and the Yuan, the entry on “West Lake” often includes a range of sites such as causeways and water outfalls. Another example is King Yue’s Tomb (Yue wang fen 岳王墳), located in the northwest of West Lake, which is a group of sites that include tombs of the famous Southern Song general Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103–1141), his son, and two of his subordinate generals nearby, several shrines, a pavilion, and so on. Even a tree, named Corpse-splitting Cypress (Fenshi hui 分屍檜), may be taken as a site and described in a few lines in a gazetteer.¹⁹² The identification of a site depends on how close one looks at the West Lake space and endows the abstract space with a content, thus turning in into a place. The act of naming signifies this process, as a site always needs a name by which to be referred to. It can also be a part of what the place is, as a name often means something that becomes associated with the site. As Robert E. Harrist Jr., in a study of the naming of the Northern Song garden sites, holds, “although the physical attributes of a given site, be it a thatched hut or a terrace set in a bamboo grove, evoked certain moods and memories in their own right, without the transforming power of language their true significance in the life of the garden owner would remain vague and unspecific.”¹⁹³ The present study focuses on West Lake as a single site. While the meanings and images of its numerous constituent sites were highly

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 149.

¹⁹¹ Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 43.

¹⁹² For accounts of the cypress tree in Tian Rucheng’s and Zhang Dai’s compilations, see Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 87; Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 19. The character *hui* 檜 (cypress) is a pun with the given name of the Southern Song Grand Councilor (Zaixiang 宰相) Qin Hui 秦檜 (1090–1155), the reputed executioner of Yue Fei.

¹⁹³ Robert E. Harrist Jr., “Site Names and their Meanings in the Garden of Solitary Enjoyment”, *The Journal of Garden History* 13, no. 4 (1993): 207.

diverse and not necessarily identical with those of West Lake, literati who reflected on a site, view, or environment at West Lake often linked its qualities to those of West Lake as a whole.

How do we perceive, structure, and evaluate physical environment? And how does this illuminate its nature and the nature of ourselves? In the philosophy of Mencius (Mengzi 孟子), the human “nature” (*xing* 性) is expressed as the inclination to emanate certain intentions in a given environment or situation.¹⁹⁴ It may thus be argued that the environment is innate in the expressions of *xing* and cannot be excluded from such expressions; the *xing*, as illuminated by intentions, is both that of the human subject and that of the environment. Also in a study of the “Fu-do” (風土, lit. “wind and earth”), that is, the natural environment of a given land and “climate” in this treatment, Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960) argues that “it is in climate that man apprehends himself” and the climate is “a means for man to discover himself”. In other words, there are self-objectivisation and self-discovery of human existence in climate.¹⁹⁵ It seems that in Mencius’ theory of human nature, the intentions emanated from the human subject are a matter of possibility and likelihood: there are numerous types of intentions and experiences that we could have in an environment; even if there are contrary intentions, feelings, and moods, such as pleasant and sad ones, they all illuminate and are part of the nature.

The meanings of West Lake and its individual sites and the experiences of sightseers may surprise a reader by their richness and diversity. The lake was densely populated with sites, such as Confucian academies, Buddhist and Daoist monasteries, and memorial halls and shrines of historical figures; the accumulation of history left layers of traces that made it a multifaceted place. In an exaggerating tone, contemporary writer Yu Qiuyu 余秋雨 (b. 1946) in an essay, entitled “West Lake Dream” (*Xihu meng* 西湖梦), asserts

¹⁹⁴ For a discussion of the Mencian *xing* in terms of reactions to certain situations, see Bryan W. Van Norden, *Virtue Ethics and Consequentialism in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 214–227. Van Norden argues that Mencius’ claim of human nature is true even we sometimes fail to react in the way, as described in *Mencius*, 2A: 6.

¹⁹⁵ Watsuji Tetsuro 和辻哲郎, *A Climate: A Philosophical Study*, trans. Geoffrey Bownas (Printing Bureau, Japanese Government, 1961), 1, 8 and 14. Likewise Keith H. Basso, in his elaboration of Heidegger’s ideas of place and dwelling, argues that “places possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musings on who one might become.” See Keith H. Basso, “Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Landscape”, in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 1996), 55.

that West Lake is so rich in historical and cultural connotations that it simply becomes all-encompassing, and that he is frustrated by his own failure to identify any orientation of it.¹⁹⁶ Pu Fangjun's 浦昉君 (b. 1594) West Lake tour in 1623 may exemplify this richness. In the ninth month, Pu and his fellow sightseers arrived at West Lake, stayed there for about half a month for a comprehensive sightseeing tour. During his stay, he paid homage to the statue of Yue Fei in his shrine, composed a Buddhist poem, drunk tea and talked to an old monk at New Monastery (Xin an 新菴), went boating with a courtesan at Inner Lake (Li hu 裏湖, i.e. a part of West Lake) and drunk wine with another courtesan at his dwelling.¹⁹⁷ It seems that his mood changed according to the various sites he visited, and his experiences were diverse.

In an episode in the novel *Invisible Cities*, Italian writer Italo Calvino (1923–1985) mentions two ways of describing a city. One is to describe its towers, gates, drawbridges, numbers of quarters, houses and chimneys, customs of marriage etc. The other way is to travel there once, encounter the people hurrying along the streets toward the market, three soldiers on a platform who play the trumpet, banners that flutter in the wind etc. It is in the years that follow that the virtual traveler realizes that the path of his tour is only one of many that opened in the city.¹⁹⁸ While the first way is close to an objective, “scientific” description of the place, the second way refers to personal experiences and perceptions. Since intentions and actions are essential to a place, the significance of West Lake lies in the totality of its experiences generated by different individuals. Yu Qiuyu's frustration is partly derived from the attempt to identify a dominant or authentic character of West Lake out of the numerous discourses in history. While it is true that some kinds of discourses of West Lake are more popular than others, it should be seen that there is no “false experience” and the only way to answer the question of the significance of West Lake is to enumerate all its past experiences.

¹⁹⁶ See Yu Qiuyu 余秋雨, *Wenhua kulü* 文化苦旅 (A Bitter Journey through Culture) (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2001), 145.

¹⁹⁷ Pu Fangjun 浦昉君, “You Mingsheng hu riji” 遊明聖湖日記 (Diary of Touring at Mingsheng Lake), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 4, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 1007, 1009–1011.

¹⁹⁸ See “Cities & Desire 1” in Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. William Weaver (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1978), 9. Calvino's original work, entitled *Le città invisibili*, was first published in 1972.

One factor that contributed to the richness of West Lake experiences is the transcending and transforming power of imagination, a focal point in Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*, a book on a range of poetic images of intimate space, such as the house, nests, shells, corners, and the miniature. Bachelard's primary interest is the interior space of humans created by imagination. In his opinion, imagination does not adapt itself to definitive ideas or acquired knowledge, but ceaselessly transforms, grows and enriches itself with new images. As a result, imagination transcends objective, geometrical space: "the imagination is never wrong, since it does not have to confront an image with an objective reality."¹⁹⁹ Correspondingly, Zhang Dai's feelings that West Lake was like home and family to him cannot be explained by its topographical features alone, but was a creation of the human subject out of the space. This also applies to the imaginary of West Lake that includes images as the paradise, the microcosm, a feminine place, or place of temptation and indulgence. The transcending and transforming power of imagination, however, does not render the physical and visual form irrelevant. Rather, there is interaction between physicality and human subject, the relationship between which is not determinate.

Beside the imagination and creativity of individual sightseers, the historical and cultural context of scenic sites also shaped the experiences. The rich history of Hangzhou and West Lake as an important place of imperial China was much attractive to sightseers, especially literati. In pre-modern times, history was mainly conveyed by literary representation. As Stephen Owen points out, "before the age of photographs and film, with their own stylized images, a place was known, remembered, and made memorable primarily through texts."²⁰⁰ The numerous West Lake travel records by literati show that they were well aware of its literary legacy. Before their first arrival, most of them already knew its fame. In the narrative of their West Lake tours, the authors frequently mention the texts they had read. For example, during Yuan Hongdao's 袁宏道 (1568–1610) first visit to West Lake in 1597, he was at Cold Spring Pavilion (Lengquan ting 冷泉亭), sought the landscape as described in an essay by the Tang literatus Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) on the pavilion. When he failed to find such landscape, Yuan lamented the

¹⁹⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1994), 152.

²⁰⁰ Stephen Owen, "Place: Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 2 (1990): 420.

decline of this site. When he was at Soul Retreat Meditation Monastery (Lingyin chan si 靈隱禪寺), he compared the landscape with a poem by another Tang literatus Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (d. 712) on the place, praising and admiring the realistic and picturesque representation of the latter.²⁰¹ Also literati sightseers were interested in the cultural meanings of the sites, investigated them by asking local people and consulting local writings. Their experiences would largely fit Owen's description of the meditation on the past at Jinling 金陵 (or Chin-ling, i.e. Nanjing): "the visitor to Chin-ling has lived for years with the poems and stories of the city; he always measures the experience of the physical place against a Chin-ling already firmly established in his imagination."²⁰²

Cultural geographer Mike Crang argues that literary works should not be taken simply as a mirror that reflects the world, but in many cases help to create the place. Their "subjectivity" is not a flaw; in fact, it is this very subjectivity that makes clear the social meanings of space and location.²⁰³ In a study of Thunder Peak Pagoda located at West Lake, Eugene Y. Wang points out that "[a] site is often a *topos* in that it both marks a locus and serves as a topic [...] A landmark alone [...] does not make a site. No site in China is without an overlay of writing. To make a site is to cite texts".²⁰⁴ The materials in a gazetteer signify what the place is made of. In other words, a gazetteer makes a place by adding a "content" to it. Through literary representation, an imagined place is created. This is illuminated by those literati, who boast and advertise in the prefaces to West Lake gazetteers that readers who own such a book would not have to be at West Lake physically, but just need to read it, and the beautiful landscape would already appear in front of their eyes. While these literati thus claim the authority of the gazetteer in the authentic representation of West Lake, it also suggests that the text could potentially be taken independently and in its own right.

²⁰¹ For Yuan Hongdao's text see the entry "Lingyin" 靈隱 (Soul Retreat Monastery), in Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道, "Xihu jishu" 西湖記述 (A Record and Narrative of West Lake), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 2, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 461f. For Bai Juyi's essay and Song Zhiwen's poem in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, see Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 95–98.

²⁰² Owen, "Place: Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling", 439.

²⁰³ Mike Crang, *Cultural Geography* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 44 and 57f.

²⁰⁴ Eugene Y. Wang, "Tope and Topos: The Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse of the Demonic", in *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, ed. Judith T. Zeitlin and Lydia H. Liu with Ellen Widmer (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 488.

The construction of a physical site needed to be sponsored and managed, once it was established, it needed to be maintained and periodically renovated. It might have been damaged and destroyed by disasters or warfare, and restored in later periods. The imagined place constructed by literary representation, on the other hand, is subject to the principles of writing, compiling, and editing; the author of a literary text is obliged to take earlier texts into consideration; it could be promoted and shaped by printing technique and publishing culture; and the fate of a text depends on changing aesthetic standards and literary tastes etc. Desmond H. H. Cheung, in his doctoral dissertation on several scenic sites in Ming Hangzhou, suggests the two facets of sites that are both distinct and interdependent, that is, the “physical site that people made and maintained” and the site “as an imagined place imbued with meaning on the cultural landscape”.²⁰⁵ The interdependence of the two facets is made possible through their respective relationship with the human subject.

Two examples may help to illuminate the dynamics of West Lake culture in its common perception. As so many sites in the West Lake landscape are related to certain historical figures, one figure among them is Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (sixth to fifth century B.C.), a famous general of the Spring-and-Autumn period (722–481 B.C.) who was suspected and forced to commit suicide by the King of Wu 吳. After his death, his corpse was said to have been stuffed into a sack and thrown into the Qiantang River. Later he was believed to have become a deity of the river, and no later than the seventh century, there was a shrine for him in Hangzhou. It was said that someone had seen him wearing a silver armor, riding a white chariot with white horses, and standing on the peak of the raging river tide.²⁰⁶ It may seem astonishing that after so many centuries, the soul of Wu was still not appeased and had retained the obsession when alive. In fact, the afterlife is imagined as a static condition, in which one’s personality is an extension of one’s lifetime and of the moment of death. As a result, Wu never left the place where he died. Instead, he became a local deity, and his story was closely associated with the place.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Cheung, “A Socio-cultural History”, 5.

²⁰⁶ For accounts of Wu Zixu, see Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 110f.; Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 117f.

²⁰⁷ For a study of the surviving literary versions of the Wu Zixu story, dating from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D., see David Johnson, “Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsü”, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 40, no. 2 (1981): 255–271.

Another example is Lin Bu 林逋 (967–1028), a Northern Song literatus who had lived a reclusive life on Lone Hill (Gu shan 孤山), an island located in the northern part of West Lake, for twenty years. During his time at West Lake, Lin was said to have planted three hundred plum trees on Lone Hill and raised two cranes, which he often released so they flew around in the sky. After his death, Lin was referred to as the “West Lake Hermit” (Xihu chushi 西湖處士),²⁰⁸ and the island became a place to celebrate “hermitage”. Throughout the Southern Song, Lin’s tomb on Lone Hill was well maintained due to his fame. A Three Worthies Hall (Sanxian tang 三賢堂) was constructed there to worship Bai Juyi, Lin Bu, and Su Shi. It was later replaced by a shrine of the guardian gods of the Song imperial family and rebuilt elsewhere. In the early Yuan, the tomb was robbed by the infamous monk Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真珈; later it was repaired by local officials and townsmen, who also reconstructed Lin’s residence, named Nest-residing Pavilion (Chaoju ge 巢居閣), planted several hundred plum trees, released a crane, and built a Plum Pavilion (Mei ting 梅亭) and a Crane Pavilion (He ting 鶴亭) nearby, all of which decayed later. In the Tianshun 天順 era (1457–1464) of the Ming, the Three Worthies Hall was rebuilt in the old place. In the Chenghua era (1465–1487), Lin’s tomb was again repaired by the prefect of Hangzhou. In the Jiajing era, a Crane-releasing Pavilion (Fanghe ting 放鶴亭) was built. In the Tianqi 天啓 era (1621–1627), a Daoist once again attempted to plant a thousand plum trees there.²⁰⁹ Along with the transformations of the physical buildings and setting, and the cultural activities and practices, the attitudes to Lin Bu also developed. Xiaolin Duan argues that, during the Southern Song, the cultural tradition of West Lake imbued by Su Shi and Lin Bu provided a ready vehicle for the desires to reconcile the feeling of being cut off from the cultural center in Northern China with the construction of a new identity connected to Hangzhou. During the Yuan, some literati, who lamented the Song dynasty’s fall and refused to serve in the Mongol government, painted Lone Hill and Lin Bu to express their decision to live in seclusion and their attitude of non-cooperation.²¹⁰ For the late Ming,

²⁰⁸ Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 84.

²⁰⁹ See the entries on Lone Hill in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 8–10; Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 51–56.

²¹⁰ Duan, “Scenic Beauty outside the City”, 34 and 186; Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 123.

Liping Wang also argues that sightseeing and the literary activities associated with it, such as paying homage to Lin, were often used to protest the current political situation and served as a declaration of retreat from politics.²¹¹

The two examples above illuminate a process in West Lake culture which is not necessarily all-encompassing but nevertheless of general importance: events that occurred at West Lake, resulted in literary records and eventually became part of the history of the place. Sometimes an event could well be invented. As Tobie Meyer-Fong's study of the famous scenic sites of the early Qing Yangzhou shows, literati self-consciously manipulated the cultural legacies of the sites; they might select minor, dubious, even fictitious events, and poetic imagery was sometimes more valued than historical accuracy.²¹² The story about Lin Bu's planting of plum trees, for example, is more likely to be fabricated than truthful. According to Cheng Jie 程杰, it might have been invented by none other than Tian Rucheng, whose *Sightseeing Gazetteer* provides its earliest extant account.²¹³ The "lessons" of the historical events and figures, though often contested and transformed over time, were always construed as abstract and thus timeless meanings. In Wu Zixu's case, for example, the historical figure became a "lingering spirit" of the place, a repetitive pattern associated with the annual river tide. The *genius loci* was derived not only from the physicality of the place, but also from historical events that were, in a sense, contingent. In Lin Bu's case, Lone Hill remained a place of hermitage, even though it attracted crowds of visitors and even became known as a commercial site in later periods,²¹⁴ and thus would not have been conducive to a reclusive life any more.

The perceived cultural meanings derived from events could have an impact on the physicality of a site. Sometimes the popular imagination creatively forged a connection with natural phenomena, such as that between Wu Zixu and the furious tide of Qiantang River. More frequently, though, the increased valuation led to the construction and

²¹¹ Wang, "Paradise for Sale", 85.

²¹² Tobie S. Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 80.

²¹³ Cheng Jie 程杰, "Lin Bu Gushan zhimei shiji bian" 林逋孤山植梅事迹辨 (Clarifying the Anecdote of Lin Bu's Planting Plum Trees on Lone Hill), *Nanjing shifan daxue wenxueyuan xuebao* 南京师范大学文学院学报, no. 3 (2010): 84–87.

²¹⁴ For a discussion of the commercial activities at Lone Hill from the late twelfth to the thirteenth century, see Gang Liu, "The Poetics of Miscellaneity: The Literary Design of Liu Yiqing's *Qiantang yishi* and the Historiography of the Southern Song" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 250f. and 256–258.

maintenance of monuments, such as shrines, pavilions, former residences, and the planting of trees.²¹⁵ In a study of the tombs at West Lake, Eugene Y. Wang points out that “tombs endure in a landscape if their occupants accommodate people’s perception and expectations of the landscape”.²¹⁶ It seems that in the transmission of culture, literary representations played a more fundamental role than the physical objects. Frederick W. Mote’s idea that in Chinese culture, “the past was a past of words, not of stones [i.e. buildings]”, seems to apply to the case of West Lake. Mote even goes as far as claiming that “the only truly enduring embodiments of the eternal human moments are the literary ones”.²¹⁷ In Lin Bu’s case, although his tomb was destroyed and most of his traces vanished at some point in history, as long as his personality and the spirit embodied by him as conveyed by textual records were valued, the site could be reconstructed and revived over and over again. Also a desired environment could be cultivated by people who had a cultural agenda in mind. For example, near Yue Fei’s tomb, pines and cypresses were planted, at Lin Bu’s former residence, it were plum trees, and cranes were released. The idea was that these plants and animals were respectively suitable for the perceived personalities of the historical figures. As a result, the scenic sites were diverse in terms of physicality, they constituted to some extent micro-worlds that were separate from each other.

In each period of history, individual participants not only were inspired by the cultural tradition, but also contributed to and enriched the tradition with their own practice and creation. Relph, in his discussion of the notion of “identity of place”, recognizes that “while places and landscapes may be unique in terms of their content they are nevertheless products of common cultural and symbolic elements and processes”.²¹⁸ As Relph puts it, any place and landscape, though always individually experienced, are “experienced both individually and in a communal context, for we are all individuals and

²¹⁵ Here the meaning of the term “monument” is derived from a study of “monumentality” by Wu Hung, who proposes that “a monument can take any form. It certainly does not have to be an intimidating structure and does not even have to be a manufactured object [...]. A monument can be nothing more than a rough stone, a fragment of ruined wall as at Jerusalem, a tree, or a cross.” See Hung Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 3.

²¹⁶ Eugene Y. Wang, “Perceptions of Change, Changes in Perception—West Lake as Contested Site/Sight in the Wake of the 1911 Revolution”, *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 98.

²¹⁷ Frederick W. Mote, “A Millennium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow”, *Rice University Studies* 59, no. 4 (1973): 51.

²¹⁸ Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 44.

members of society”.²¹⁹ In this way a historically contingent event became place-bound and a recurrent theme to literati of later periods, which led to a range of everyday performances of institutional activities. This process fits in with Allan Pred’s argument that “place is [...] a process whereby the reproduction of social and cultural forms, the formation of biographies, and the transformation of nature ceaselessly become one another at the same time that time-space specific activities and power relations ceaselessly become one another”.²²⁰ Although an historical figure or event might well be interpreted differently or manipulated by individual literati, the dynamics of a topic nevertheless can be studied as a whole. It is this common culture of West Lake that is explored by the present study.

Chapter 4 studies literati sightseer’s toponophilia of West Lake from geographical and topographical perspectives. It attempted to partly explain why it was so attractive and popular. While there are numerous studies of aesthetics of West Lake and taste of literati, they fail to illuminate some fundamental aspects. Among the pictures provided by human geographers, I find Yi-fu Tuan’s “middle landscape” a good fit for West Lake. Tuan’s term, which refers to “the ideal middle world poised between polarities of city and wilderness” in the agrarian myth,²²¹ originates from a study of the pastoral ideal in American culture by Leo Marx (1919–2022). In his book, Marx argues that the middle landscape is “located in a middle ground somewhere ‘between,’ yet in a transcendent relation to, the opposing forces of civilization and nature”. Elsewhere he describes it as “an abstract embodiment of the concept of mediation between the extremes of primitivism and what may be called ‘over-civilization.’”²²² In his book *Topophilia*, Tuan identifies several patterns of the perceived relationship between human dwellings and the realm outside them in different cultures.²²³ As to America from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, beside the dichotomy of city and nature/wilderness, there is also an edenic “middle landscape”, an intermediate zone between the two. A merit of Tuan’s

²¹⁹ Ibid., 36.

²²⁰ Allan Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 2 (1984): 282. For a discussion of how the identity and character of a place are bound up with its past, see Doreen Massey, “Places and Their Pasts”, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 39 (1995): 183–191.

²²¹ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 109.

²²² Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23 and 139f.

²²³ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 104f.

theoretical framework is that it compares the middle landscape to other types of environment. As Tuan suggests, an environmental value is defined by its antithesis; as to the case of middle landscape, by the city. Although Marx and Tuan derive their patterns from other cultures, in my opinion it can also be applied to the case of West Lake. Although there was no corresponding term in pre-modern China, I would suggest that from the discourses of literati sightseers, similar conceptions can be derived. Other relevant literature includes Wu Jen-shu's 巫仁恕 studies of the distance, frequency, destination, and material condition of literati travelers from Jiangnan region in the late imperial period, Jeffrey Liu and Ziling Wan's study of the distribution of Buddhist establishments in the Southern Song Hangzhou, and Chou Chih-p'ing's 周質平 study of Yuan Hongdao's choice of dwellings. In my opinion, they are all supportive of the idea of West Lake as a middle landscape.

Chapter 5 focuses on Zhang Dai's late Ming nostalgia in *Dream Searching*. In present-day scholarship, there are numerous studies of Zhang's post-conquest life, mentality of remnant subject, and nostalgic sentiments. Nevertheless, little has been done to explore the sense of place in the nostalgic discourse. An in-depth study is Philip A. Kafalas' book, *In Limpid Dream: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai's Reminiscences of the Ming*, which has provided psychological and philosophical analyses of the nature of Zhang's nostalgia in his most famous work in modern times, *Dream Reminiscences*. Kafalas compares the book with *Dream Searching*, pointing out that both are a look back at an intact pre-conquest world with a mix of pain and warmth. However, Kafalas notes that the contents of *Dream Searching* "are not disjointed personal experience but rather the organized experience of the quintessential literati gathering spot by a literary community spanning centuries", and thus do not make use of the pattern of nostalgia of *Dream Reminiscences* – "the evoking of unrecoverable wholeness by means of the evocative fragment".²²⁴ While the two books differ in content and organization, I hold that there are two kinds of writing in *Dream Searching*: while the title, prefaces, and several entries share much of the nostalgic concerns with *Dream Reminiscences*, they are at odds with the vast majority of entries. In this chapter I will thus identify these writings and discuss a

²²⁴ Philip Alexander Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai's Reminiscences of the Ming* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2007), 189.

range of motifs and aspects of nostalgia. I will attempt to discuss some issues that are controversial or untouched in present-day scholarship, for example, whether the expressions of regret and guilt, which are repeatedly seen in Zhang's post-conquest writings, are sincere, and what role the project of *Dream Searching* might have played in his life as a remnant subject. Finally, I will look at the relationship between nostalgia and West Lake as a place by examining two issues: First, Zhang links West Lake to the lost Ming empire and attaches dynastic meanings to the place. Second, the paratexts and texts contain several kinds of temporalities which, as Kafalas points out, are quite different as that of *Dream Reminiscences*, but in my opinion may also function to overcome the trauma of dynastic transition. More than two decades after the project of *Dream Reminiscences*, *Dream Searching* may signify a shift in Zhang's attitude and serve a new agenda.

In Chapter 6, I will explore criticism of West Lake sightseeing and its response. As suggested further above, affairs that were historically contingent occurred at West Lake, their meanings as construed in literature became *genius loci* of the place and sometimes became a recurrent theme in later periods. Although sightseeing in general, like other pleasure-seeking activities, had always been questioned and looked upon with sceptical eyes, it was the history of the Southern Song that brought West Lake a especially bad reputation. The choice of Hangzhou as *de facto* imperial capital and the West Lake sightseeing in this period were often viewed as an indulgence, which prevented the recovery of the lost territories in the north and contributed to the decline of the dynasty. An important study is Xinda Lian's article on West Lake as the site for patriotic sentiment in Southern Song *ci* 詞 (song lyric). Lian has argued that the patriotic practitioners of the song lyric turned West Lake into a prominent site for political criticism and the outpouring of patriotic sentiment, yet were unsuccessful in forcing the old tradition to serve a new task.²²⁵ In my study, I will continue the discussion and suggest that the patriotic literati were indeed successful in the sense that they were able to portray West Lake in negative light by establishing a framework of opposition and contrasting it with other entities as antithesis. As it came to the late Ming, when enthusiasm for West Lake sightseeing reached a peak, literati felt the need to respond to the criticism, which might

²²⁵ Lian, "How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify", 210 and 213.

also be applied to their own practices. The exploration of the rather complicated issue of this chapter refers to a range of topics, such as the dynastic geography and the peripheral position of Hangzhou on the perceived imperial map, the ambivalent attitude to pleasure and the conceptual historical framework of prosperity and decline, the social and cultural trends in the late Ming and the discourse of obsession (*pi* 癖) and individualism. These ideas and conceptions are all reflected in the environmental practices of West Lake. Related secondary literature thus includes a range of articles, such as Hoyt Cleveland Tillman's study of Chen Liang's 陳亮 (1143–1194) philosophy of spatial variations of cosmic and natural "energy" (*qi* 氣), Andrew Plaks' discussion of the kind of psychological thinking in Chinese culture that he terms "self-enclosure and self-absorption", Judith T. Zeitlin's study of obsession in Chinese literature, art, and medicine, Der-Liang Chiou's 邱德亮 ideas of the role of "literatus" and the "amateur ideal" in the late Ming. Although these articles do not take West Lake as an example, they have all contributed to the understanding of the issue.

2 Structure and Dimension of Sightseeing

2.1 The Structure and Presentation of Scenic Sites in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*

The present chapter examines the structure of Tian Rucheng's *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, its possible relationship with the practice of sightseeing, and the development of the structure by subsequent West Lake gazetteers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the first West Lake gazetteer, the organizing principles of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* were largely innovative and exceptional among the local gazetteers at the time, yet they influenced a range of West Lake gazetteers compiled later. While many later West Lake gazetteers have adopted such organizing principles, some of them, such as Gao Yingke's *Convenient Reading*, have also modified them, intending to make it more suitable for tour-guiding.

As a collection of various materials, a local gazetteer is supposed to seek suitable forms for each kind of material it aims to present. The basic units of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are constituted by more than four hundred short entries, each of which refers to a "natural" or artificial scenic site located at West Lake or its environs. The artificial sites were constructed in different historical periods; some of them were already lying waste by the time Tian Rucheng compiled his text. In virtually all local gazetteers, such sites are subsumed in certain topical categories, such as "Hills", "Bridges", "Causeways", or "Buddhist Monasteries". The *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, on the other hand, arranges its entries neither topically nor temporally. Instead, the scenic sites are divided into ten sections and twenty-four *juan*, the titles of which are listed in the following table.

In a departure from convention, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* divides its scenic sites geographically into several regions. In *juan* 3–11, which refer to the region of West Lake, that is, the focal space of sightseeing, the sites within each chapter are presented in a sequence of following the movement in space. In *juan* 8, for example, it says:

Chapters	Sections
1	“A General Account of West Lake” (<i>Xihu zongxu</i> 西湖總敘)
2	“Sightseeing Sites at Lone Hill and the Three Causeways” (<i>Gushan sandi shengji</i> 孤山三堤勝蹟)
3–7	“Sightseeing Sites at the Southern Hills” (<i>Nanshan shengji</i> 南山勝蹟)
8–11	“Sightseeing Sites at the Northern Hills” (<i>Beishan shengji</i> 北山勝蹟)
12	“Sightseeing Sites at the Southern Hills inside the City Wall” (<i>Nanshan chengnei shengji</i> 南山城內勝蹟) ²²⁶
13–18	“Sightseeing Sites at the Foothills of the Southern Hills inside the City Wall” (<i>Nanshan fenmai chengnei shengji</i> 南山分脈城內勝蹟)
19	“Sightseeing Sites at the Foothills of the Southern Hills outside the City Wall” (<i>Nanshan fenmai chengwai shengji</i> 南山分脈城外勝蹟)
20–21	“Sightseeing Sites at the Foothills of the Northern Hills inside the City Wall” (<i>Beishan fenmai chengnei shengji</i> 北山分脈城內勝蹟)
22–23	“Sightseeing Sites at the Foothills of the Northern Hills outside the City Wall” (<i>Beishan fenmai chengwai shengji</i> 北山分脈城外勝蹟)
24	“Sightseeing Sites at Zhe River” (<i>Zhejiang shengji</i> 浙江勝蹟)

Table 2.1: Chapters and titles of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.²²⁷

出錢唐門，瀕湖爲玉蓮堂，折而北，爲來鵲樓。²²⁸

Going out of Qiantang Gate, there is Jade Lotus Hall near West Lake. Turning and going north, there is Laique Tower.

The text goes on to introduce Jade Lotus Hall, Laique Tower and several other sites located nearby one by one. Thereafter, the text continues its spatial movement:

²²⁶ It seems that in this title, the word “fenmai” 分脈 (foothill) is lacking. While *juan* 12 is dedicated solely to Wu Hill within the city wall, it nevertheless seems to be part of the section “Sightseeing Sites at the Foothills of the Southern Hills within the City Wall” (*juan* 13–18).

²²⁷ See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, “Mulu” 目錄 (Table of Contents), 1.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 68.

折而西，過溜水橋，爲昭慶律寺。²²⁹

Turning [at Laique Tower] and going west, and passing Liushui Bridge, there is Zhaoqing Discipline Monastery.

It should be noted here that the subject of a sentence is always omitted, which is a feature of classical Chinese language. It also applies to the texts of travel records of individual literati, which often omit the word “I” or “we”. Through such descriptions, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* develops a range of routes, each of which connects all the sites of a given region, and presents the sites as those encountered *en route*. Usually a route of a section starts from a gate of the western wall of Hangzhou, extends in a certain direction or directions, “collects” the scenic sites along the way, and ends with the sites in a remote place. As a result, all individual sites in *juan* 3–11 are placed in one virtual map, connected by a web of routes. The spatial sequence, in which scenic sites that are presented, resembles that of a real sightseeing tour, a feature depicted by Roland Altenburger as follows:

[T]he representational structure of the bulk of the book follows a geographical logic as comes to describe, in exhaustive detail, the sequence of stations and sights as encountered while touring through the landscape along a defined route.²³⁰

Beside the spatial sequence of scenic sites, Altenburger also notes that the depiction of movement simulates that of a sightseer: “The verbs of motion that have been selected – ‘leaves’ (*chu* 出) and ‘turns’ (*zhe* 折) – convey the idea of either actual or virtual movement in the space of the landscape.”²³¹ In travel records, similar expressions are frequently seen. In the record of a West Lake tour in 1566, by Wang Zhideng 王穉登 (1535–1612), for example, there are notes of locations and movements, such as “going out of the Qiantang Gate” (*cong Qiantang men chu* 從錢塘門出), “passing the monastery, turning and going west” (*guo si zhe er xi* 過寺折而西), and “in the north

²²⁹ Ibid., 70.

²³⁰ Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 119.

²³¹ Ibid., 121.

there is Crane-Releasing Pavilion” (*bei wei Fanghe ting* 北為放鶴亭).²³² Thus, the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* can be said to have created an assumed or implied traveler-sightseer, who moves and introduces all the scenic sites that have been encountered.

In *juan* 12–24, which cover the city of Hangzhou and Zhe River, however, the spatial arrangement of scenic sites is absent and is replaced by a topical representation. *Juan* 19, for example, contains five sub-sections: “Streets, Alleys, Rivers, and Bridges” (*Qu xiang he qiao* 衢巷河桥), “Government Offices” (*Guanshu* 官署), “Shrines and Temples” (*Ci miao* 祠庙), “Daoist Monasteries” (*Daoyuan* 道院), and “Buddhist Monasteries” (*Focha* 佛刹). Although the text continues to note the locations of sites, the individual sites in a sub-section are not presented in the spatial sequence of a route. This difference in the organizing principle of sites between *juan* 3–11 and *juan* 12–24 is telling. Since the city of Hangzhou and Zhe River are not considered as having much value for sightseeing, a spatial sequence was not needed. In other words, the spatial sequence of *juan* 3–11 implies that it is connected with sightseeing one way or another.

The organization of scenic sites in *juan* 3–11 of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was not completely innovative, though, since the Southern Song scholar Zhou Mi, in his *Old Affairs*, already adopted a similar organizing principle. Its *juan* 5, entitled “A Brief Account of Scenic Sites at West Lake and Its Hills” (*Hushan shenggai* 湖山勝概), is dedicated to a landscape area, at the center of which lies West Lake. In this *juan*, Zhou divided up the 453 sites of the West Lake region into six “routes” (*lu* 路), that is, Southern Hills Route (Nanshan lu 南山路), Three Causeways of West Lake Route (Xihu sandi lu 西湖三堤路), Lone Hill Route, (Gushan lu 孤山路), Northern Hills Route (Beishan lu 北山路), Ge Hill Route (Geling lu 葛嶺路), West Creek Route (Xixi lu 西溪路), and sketched out each route.²³³ A variety of scenic sites of each route is presented in a spatial order *en route*. The section of the Southern Hills Route section, for example, begins with the following description:

²³² Wang Zhideng 王穉登, “Ke Yue zhi lue” 客越志略 (A Brief Note of a Visit to Yue), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 4, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 1016f.

²³³ The number of scenic sites is according to Xiaolin Duan’s counting. For a discussion of the routes in Zhou Mi’s text, see Duan, “Scenic Beauty outside the City”, 52f.

自豐樂樓南，至暗門錢湖門外，入赤山煙霞石屋止。南高峯、方家峪、大小麥嶺並附於此。²³⁴

It [i.e. the Southern Hills Route] begins at Harvest and Joy Tower, extends southward to the place outside Hidden Gate and Qian Lake Gate, enters Red Hill and ends at Mist and Glow Stone House. The entries of Southern Peak, Fang Family Valley, Big Wheat Hill, and Small Wheat Hill regions are attached here.²³⁵

Subsequently, Zhou lists all the sites along the route in the sequence of route-proceeding, just as Tian Rucheng does in his text. The difference between the texts by Zhou and Tian is largely a matter of degree: in *Old Affairs*, routes are only roughly sketched only at the beginning of each route; after that, the sites that belong to the route are merely listed and enumerated. The *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, on the other hand, indicates the location of every single site via its relative position to another site, or several other sites. *Sightseeing Gazetteer* therefore, can be viewed as a development and sophistication of the principles introduced in *Old Affairs*, providing a more detailed and precise account of the locations of routes and sites.

Thus, however, Tian rejected the conventional and even canonical thematic structure of local gazetteers. This is pointed out by editors of the *Qing Gazetteer of West Lake* (*Xihu zhi* 西湖志, 1734) published under the nominal general editorship of Li Wei, who in the “Editorial Principles” (*Fanli* 凡例) comments as follows:

田汝成舊志，止為遊覽而作，故總敘之外，不分門類，但依遊歷所經，蟬聯詮次，凡山水隄塘橋樑寺觀之屬，夾雜登載，雖別出新裁，而未合志體。²³⁶

Tian Rucheng’s old gazetteer was only made for the sake of sightseeing. Therefore, apart from the “General Narrative [of West Lake]”, it does not distinguish any thematic categories, but relates the sites according to the sequence one passes them on a sightseeing tour. Whenever there is a landscape formation, a causeway, a pond, a

²³⁴ Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Wulin jiushi”, 76.

²³⁵ The regions of Southern Peak (Nan gaofeng 南高峯), Fang Family Valley (Fangjia yu 方家峪), Big Wheat Hill (Damai ling 大麥嶺), and Small Wheat Hill (Xiaomai ling 小麥嶺) are close to the Southern Hills Route as described by Zhou Mi. Although they are not included in the route *per se*, they are attached to this section.

²³⁶ Li Wei 李卫, *Xihu zhi* 西湖志 (Gazetteer of West Lake) (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1983), 41.

bridge, a [Buddhist] monastery, or a [Daoist] abbey, they are recorded mixed-up with other things. Although the approach adopted was innovative, it failed to conform with [the formal requirements of] the gazetteer genre.²³⁷

Here, the genre of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* is judged a demerit, probably due to the lack of the indexical function a local gazetteer was supposed to fulfill. If a reader consults the entry of, say, a hill, in a local gazetteer, he can simply turn to the section of “Hills” and look it up there. In Tian’s text, however, it would be extremely difficult to localize the site, since one might be uncertain in which section the entry was placed. It seems that the geographical regions in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are not completely natural, but construed by the compiler for the sake of convenience. Wang Weihuan 王维翰, for example, in his West Lake gazetteer, *A Convenient Reading of the Lake and Hills* (*Hushan bianlan* 湖山便覽, 1875), argues that the hills around West Lake constitute a continuum, rendering it difficult to draw the line between the “Southern Hills” and the “Northern Hills”, as Tian does. He also criticizes Tian’s placement of the sites that are closer to Zhe River in the “Southern Hills” section.²³⁸ As a result, a reader can be mistaken about the place of an entry in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* even if he knows the physical location of the site, and it would be more time-consuming to find a certain entry in it as compared to any other local gazetteer.

In the passage from *Gazetteer of West Lake* quoted above, the editor vaguely links Tian Rucheng’s gazetteer to “sightseeing”. As introduced in Chapter 1, studies in present-day scholarship about the relationship between the structure of the text and the practice of sightseeing are insufficient and inconclusive. An exploration of this issue is thus the task of the present chapter.

2.2 Internal Approach: Sightseeing Routes in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*

²³⁷ Cf. the translation in Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 128.

²³⁸ See “Fanli” 凡例 (Editorial Principles) in Cui Hao 崔灝 and Cui Han 崔瀚, *Hushan bianlan* 湖山便覽 (A Convenient Reading of the Lake and the Hills) (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxiangongsi, 1983), 11.

In this part, I will follow two complementary approaches to explore the relationship between the West Lake gazetteers and the practice of sightseeing. The first is an “internal” one that examines the logic of the text, seeking to find out the possibilities it created, the advantages and disadvantages it involved, and whether a sightseeing tour along the routes as depicted in the gazetteers would have been possible. The second, the “external” one, looks at records of individual sightseeing at West Lake by Ming and Qing literati to find out whether they had made use of West Lake gazetteers for their tours, and if so, whether they actually followed the sightseeing routes devised in the gazetteers, and whether the “ideology of sightseeing” as implied by the gazetteers was in accordance with that of literati sightseers.

If one is to devise a sightseeing route at West Lake, a major difficulty would lie in the landscape’s complicated topography. A famous place ever since Tang and Song times, West Lake experienced several centuries of transformation by human efforts and was densely covered with sites. Causeways, bridges, and artificial islands had been constructed and made West Lake such a spatially intricate place that it is impossible to construct a route that visits each place exactly once. In other words, if one is to visit all the places at West Lake, repetition would be inevitable. In *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, several of the following features in the arrangement of scenic sites question its practicality as a traveler’s guidebook:

The *juan* 2, entitled “Sightseeing Sites at Lone Hill and the Three Causeways”, refers to the region within the West Lake shores. It includes Lone Hill, an island in the northern, Su Causeway in the middle-western, Master Zhao’s Causeway in the northwestern, Yang Causeway in the far western, and a few artificial islands in the middle region of the lake. Unlike the sites in *juan* 3–11, these sites are scattered around West Lake, relatively distant from each other, and separated from each other by the lake water. They are merely listed in *juan* 2; no route linking them is devised at all. Why then are these sites grouped in one chapter? Did Tian Rucheng mean to suggest to his readers to visit them by boat? The text does not provide any clue.

In *juan* 3, a chapter that belongs to the section “Sightseeing Sites at the Southern Hills”, the main route is depicted as follows:

清波門，過流福水橋，瀕湖為學士橋，折而南為茶坊嶺。²³⁹

Going out of Pure Wave Gate and passing Liufushui Bridge, there is Scholar Bridge near West Lake. Turning and going south, there is Tea House Hill.

又西南，過長橋，為南屏山、淨慈禪寺、萬工池。²⁴⁰

Going farther southwest and passing Long Bridge, there is Nanping Hill, Pure Compassion Meditation Monastery, and Wangong Pond.

南屏山之西，為九曜山、發祥祠。²⁴¹

In the west of Nanping Hill, there is Jiuyao Hill and Faxiang Shrine.

又西南，過太子灣，折而南，為石屋嶺、石屋洞、蝙蝠洞、大仁禪寺。²⁴²

Going farther southwest and passing Crown Prince Bay, turning and going south, there is Stone House Hill, Stone House Grotto, Bat Grotto, and Great Benevolence Meditation Monastery.

又南過烟霞嶺，為水樂洞、烟霞洞。²⁴³

Going farther south and passing Mist and Glow Hill, there is Water Music Grotto and Mist and Glow Grotto.

陟磴屈折而上，為南高峰、榮國禪寺。²⁴⁴

Walking along the zig-zag stone steps and ascending, there is Southern Peak and Rongguo Meditation Monastery.

The depicted route here seems simple and straightforward: one starts from a city gate, which is the logical starting point for any sightseer from the city, travels south, southwest, and west, and finally stops at Southern Peak and Rongguo Monastery, a remote place southwest of the city. The route can be graphically represented in Fig. 2.1. Then, in the next chapter, one may expect the tour to start from where it ended in the previous chapter, that is, at Water Music Grotto and Southern Peak. However, *juan* 4 begins as follows:

²³⁹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 23.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

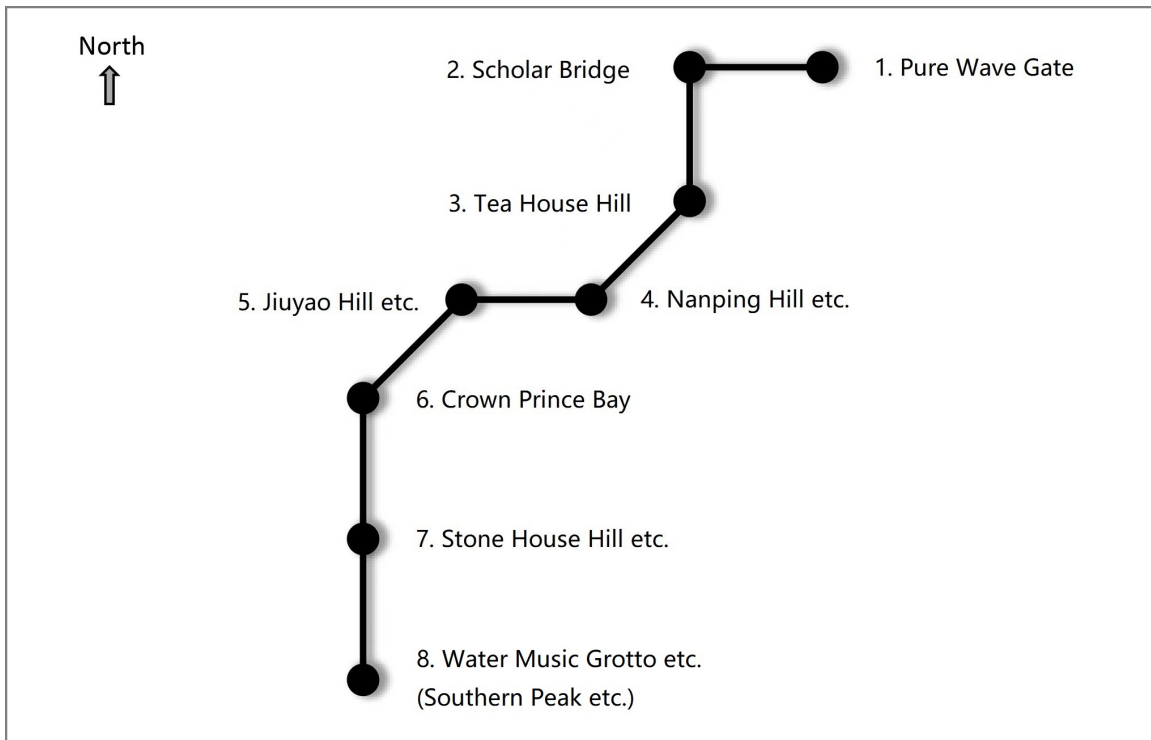


Figure 2.1: Sketch of the main route in *juan 3* of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.

自太子灣而西，為玉岑山；其對為赤山、惠因澗、惠因講寺。²⁴⁵

Starting from Crown Prince Bay and going west, there is Yucen Hill. Opposite it are Red Hill, Huiyin Brook, and Huiyin Exposition Monastery.

Rather, the route starts from Crown Prince Bay, which was introduced in the middle of *juan 3*. Does this mean that a sightseer, who follows Tian Rucheng’s instructions and stops at Water Music Grotto and Southern Peak, needs to return to Crown Prince Bay? The text does not provide any clue.

In the subsequent chapters of the section “Southern Hills”, such “leaps in space” appear repeatedly. The beginning of *juan 5*, for example, goes as follows:

自南屏山而南，過錢糧司嶺，折而西，為廣澤禪寺、甘露泉。²⁴⁶

Starting from Nanping Hill, going south and passing Qianliangsi Hill, turning and going west, there is Guangze Meditation Monastery and Sweet Dew Spring.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 33.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 45.

And *juan 6* starts with the following description:

自清波門折而南，爲筆架山、方家峪、忠節祠、褒親崇壽教寺。²⁴⁷

Starting from Pure Wave Gate, turning and going south, there is Brush Rack Hill, Fang Family Valley, Loyalty and Integrity Shrine, and Baoqin chongshou Teaching Monastery.

The beginnings of the routes in *juan 4–6* can be graphically represented in Fig. 2.2.

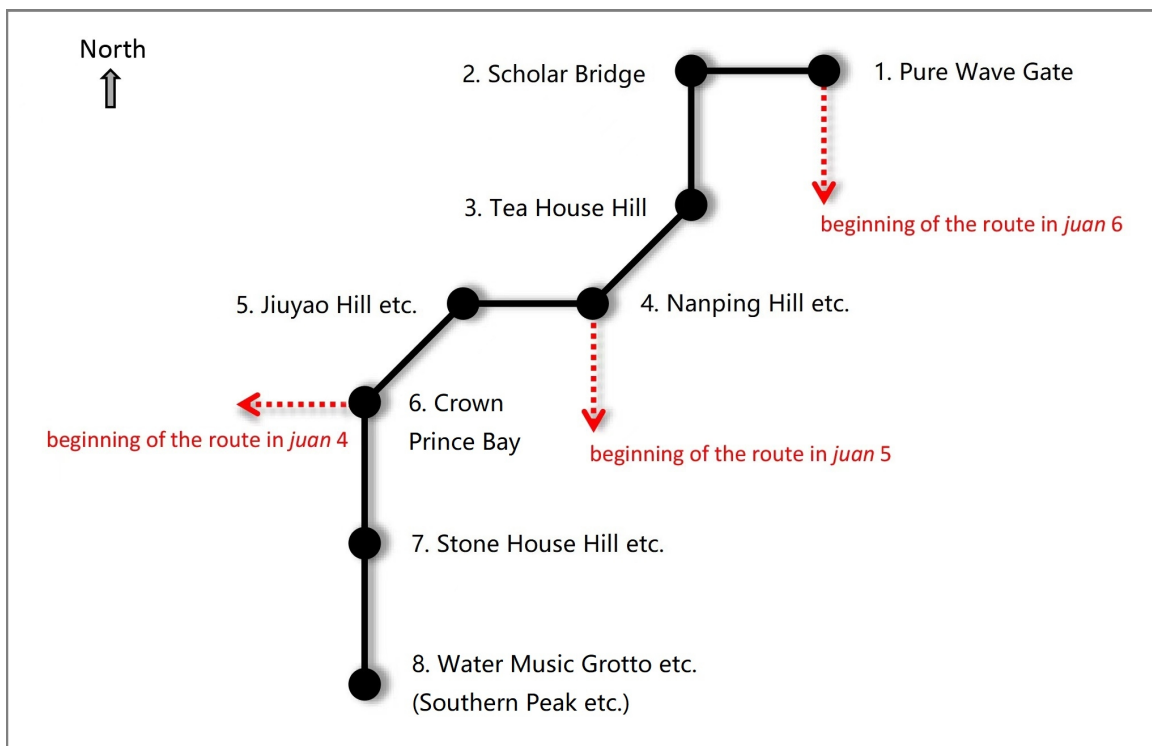


Figure 2.2: Sketch of the main route in *juan 3* (black) and the beginnings of the routes in *juan 4–6* (red) of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.

In fact, *juan 4–6* are arranged in such a way that each chapter starts from a site that does not continue the route in *juan 3* or any previous chapter. As a result, a sightseer who strictly follows the routes would have had to make repeated turns and go back to a certain place (Crown Prince Bay in *juan 4*, Nanping Hill in *juan 5* and Pure Wave Gate in *juan 6*),

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 48.

and moves from there in a new direction. This spatial arrangement gives rise to a range of questions: Were the routes of each chapter meant as one-day tours? Was a sightseer, who reached the place at the end of a route, meant to stay there overnight or to return to the city? Did the text encourage readers to handle the routes it devised freely, and to work out sightseeing routes of their own? All these questions remain unanswered in the text.

Another feature that makes the consulting of the text inconvenient for reader-sightseers is that it also includes numerous sites that had vanished in history. Some of them existed as relics, and some simply left no trace at all by the time *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was published. As it comes to a place or a region, the existent sites are presented first in the text, and nonexistent ones next, usually including the note that they “lie waste nowadays” (*jin fei* 今廢). Despite their derelict state, these sites are presented in the same way as existent ones, and their entries also consist of an introductory essay and related literary works, such as poems, attached. As a result, it would be time-consuming to exclude all the sites that were no more. If Tian Rucheng intends his text to be both a document and a tour guide book, this feature reveals the conflict between the two functions.

There are also a few other factors of traveling that are conspicuously absent in the text. For example, Roland Altenburger notes that the text “spares the reader some practical details, such as places for drinking, food and rest, or means of transportation”.²⁴⁸ While guide books of West Lake today are filled with schedules of railways and buses, names and locations of famous restaurants and hotels, recommended shopping malls, etc.,²⁴⁹ the inclusion of such information was largely undeveloped in pre-modern times.

The problems pointed out above render the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* a rather primitive and simplistic tour guide book, casting doubt on its practicality. If it were to be consulted during traveling and sightseeing, then much extra works would need to be done on the

²⁴⁸ Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 121. This is also pointed out by Ma Meng-ching, in Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu”, 117.

²⁴⁹ For example, a present-day traveler’s guidebook, entitled *Self-service Touring in Hangzhou* (*Hangzhou zizhu you* 杭州自助游), lists factors that tourists should take into consideration before traveling, such as the best season to travel, schedules, food, shopping, accommodation, and transportation. Also it devised a range of “package tours” of different kinds and for different groups of people such as “in-depth touring of seven days and six nights” (*qitian liuye shendu you* 7天6夜深度游), “classical touring of five days and four nights” (*wutian siye jingdian you* 5天4夜经典游), “touring of five days and four nights with children” (*wutian siye qinzi you* 5天4夜亲子游), each of which contains scenic sites to visit on each single day of the tour. See *Hangzhou zizhu you* 杭州自助游 (Self-service Touring in Hangzhou), compiled and written by *Zhongguo zizhu you bianjibu* 《中国自助游》编辑部 (Beijing: Huaxue gongye chubanshe, 2014), 35–72.

readers' side, such as rearrangement of sightseeing routes, the exclusion of scenic sites that were in decay, the selection of prominent sites, and considerations and inquiries about food and accommodation.

2.3 West Lake Maps in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*

In local gazetteers, not only could texts indicate the relative positions of sites, but maps and pictures also have such potential. In the first edition of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547), two maps of West Lake are included, which are respectively entitled “Song-dynasty Map of West Lake” (*Songchao Xihu tu* 宋朝西湖圖, Fig. 2.3, henceforth “Song-dynasty Map”) and “Present-dynasty [i.e. Ming] Map of West Lake” (*Jinchao Xihu tu* 今朝西湖圖, Fig. 2.4, henceforth “Present-dynasty Map”).²⁵⁰ With extreme aspect ratios of about 1:5.7,²⁵¹ they are panoramic maps of West Lake and its surrounding regions. Both of them view the lake from the perspective from an imaginary point above the city of Hangzhou, making the map looking westwards. It can be seen that the two maps differ to some extent in spatial scope: while the “Song-dynasty Map” depicts the remote regions in the north and south of West Lake (on the right and left sides of the map), these parts are missing in the “Present-dynasty Map”; while the “Song-dynasty Map” depicts part of the Hangzhou city (on the lower side of the map), the “Present-dynasty Map” depicts only its western wall. They also differ in topography. For example, the Yang Causeway, which was constructed in the Ming period, is only seen in the “Present-dynasty Map”, (highlighted with red lines in Fig. 2.5).

It seems that the topography of the “Present-dynasty Map” is close to the time when *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was first published, since the Yang Causeway was constructed only four decades earlier. The “Song-dynasty Map”, on the other hand, seems to reflect the situation of the late Southern Song, since some sites of this period, such as the residence of Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213–1275), “Residence of the Grand Councilor” (Pingzhang fu 平章府), is seen at the northern bank of West Lake (highlighted with red line in Fig. 2.6).

²⁵⁰ Later editions also contain two maps with the same names. The two maps in the *Four Treasuries* edition, for example, are similar to the counterparts in the 1547 edition, with only minor differences.

²⁵¹ Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 123.

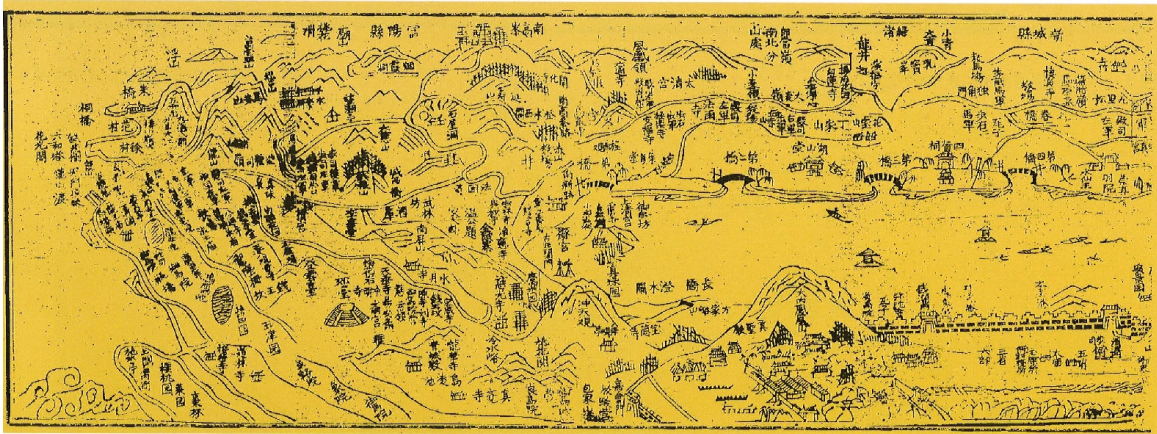
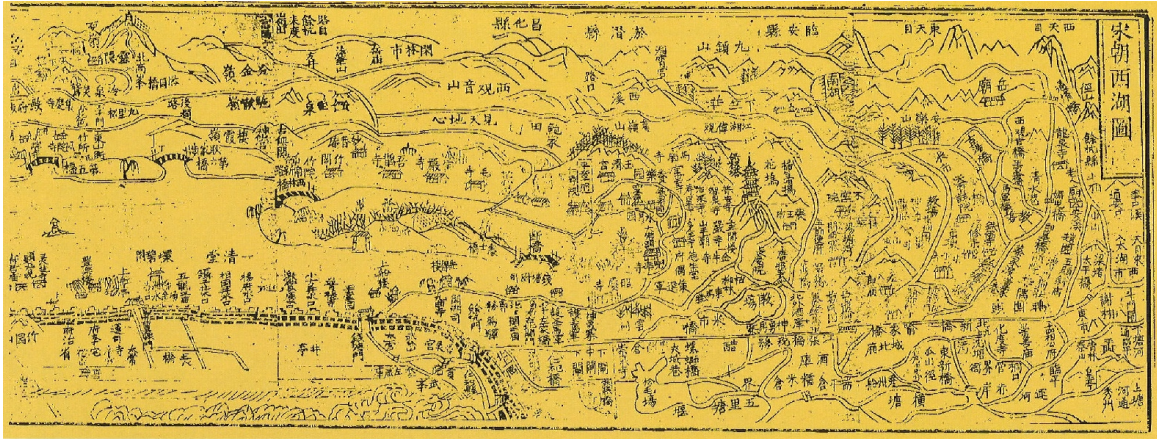


Figure 2.3: “Song-dynasty Map of West Lake” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547). From Que Weimin 阙维民, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo* 杭州城池暨西湖历史图说 (Illustrated Handbook on the History of the City Wall and Moat of Hangzhou and West Lake) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2000), 235, Fig. 8–3.

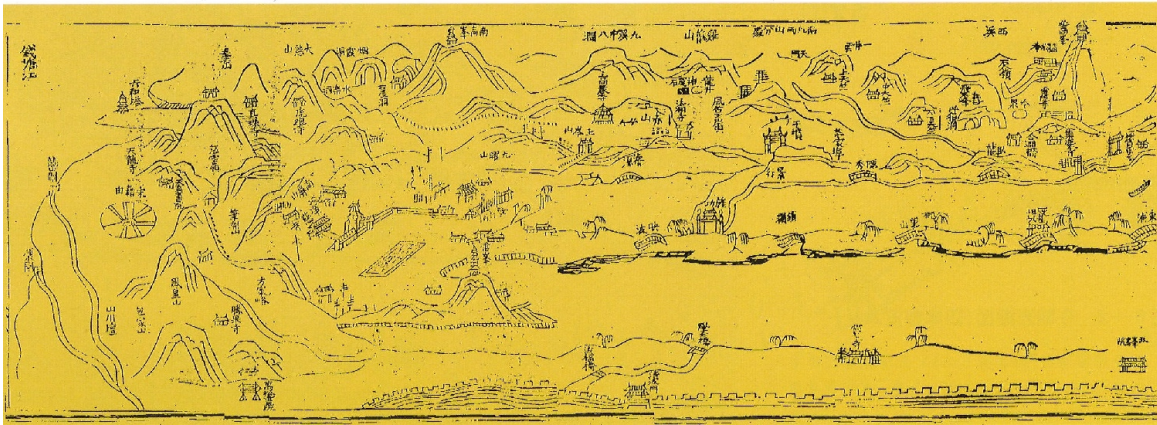


Figure 2.4: “Present-dynasty Map of West Lake” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547). From Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 239, Fig. 9–1.

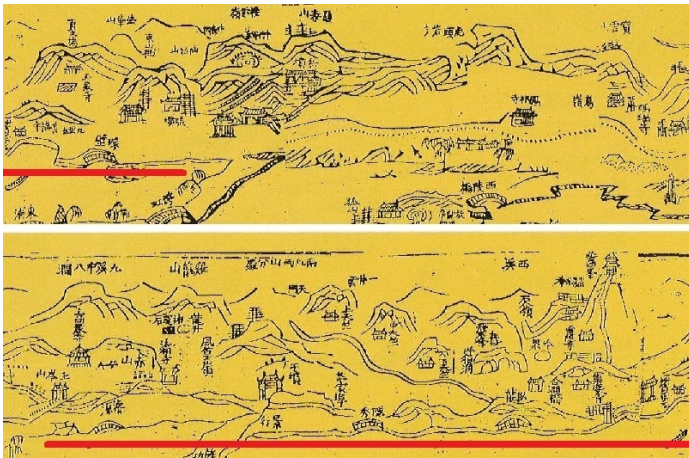


Figure 2.5: Yang Causeway in the “Present-dynasty Map of West Lake” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547). From Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 239, Fig. 9–1.



Figure 2.6: Residence of the Grand Councilor in the “Song-dynasty Map of West Lake” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547). From Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 235, Fig. 8–3.

In both maps, there are numerous place-name tags, which refer to both “natural” sites, such as hills and creeks, and artificial ones, such as shrines and gardens. Moreover, land routes, which are represented by two parallel lines, are depicted around West Lake. These features lead to the question: are the two maps meant to guide tourists in actual sightseeing? It should be noted that they are not Tian Rucheng’s innovation, as the same features are also seen in the West Lake maps of earlier gazetteers. The *Lin’an Gazetteer of the Xianchun Era*, for example, includes a “Map of West Lake” (*Xihu tu* 西湖圖), which is seen in Fig. 2.7.

Different from *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the *Lin’an Gazetteer of the Xianchun Era* organizes its sites topically instead of spatially. So what does Tian Rucheng intend with his maps? Should a reader-sightseer, who wonders where to go, consult the text, or the maps, or both? To answer the questions, the relationship between the text and the maps needs to be examined.

Comparing the two maps, a notable difference is that the “Song-dynasty Map” has far more place-name tags than the Ming counterpart. This is in accordance with the text of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, in which the sites from the Song outnumber those of any other dynasty. In fact, most place names in the two maps correspond to the sites, which are



Figure 2.7: “Map of West Lake” in *Lin’an Gazetteer of the Xianchun Era* (Xianchun edition). From Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 233, Fig. 8–1.

presented in the text. Among the sites tagged in the “Song-dynasty Map”, many sites did not exist any more and were “lying waste” by the time *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was published. The gardens and villas of Jia Sidao are such examples. The “Present-dynasty Map”, on the other hand, includes sites, which came into being after the Song period. For example, if one compares the parts of the two maps, of which Lone Hill lies at the center, it can be seen that Crane-Releasing Pavilion and Yue Tomb, which were constructed or restored in the early and mid Ming period, are tagged in the “Present-dynasty Map” only (highlighted with red lines in Figure 2.9).²⁵² There is also a Magpie Monastery (Xique si 喜鵲寺), which was reconstructed in the Xuande era of the Ming and renamed “Phoenix Forest Monastery” (Fenglin si 鳳林寺).²⁵³ In the “Song-dynasty Map”, the name

²⁵² The entries of the two sites are seen in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 10 and 84–86.

²⁵³ The entry of the site is seen in *ibid.*, 82.

“Magpie Monastery” is tagged (highlighted with red line in Figure 2.8); in the “Present-dynasty Map”, it is “Phoenix Forest Monastery” (highlighted with red line in Figure 2.9) instead. There are also sites, which continued to exist from the Song to the Ming, but are tagged in the “Song-dynasty Map” only. The Jade Spring (Yu quan 玉泉) is an example of this (highlighted with red line in Figure 2.8).²⁵⁴

From these examples, it may be concluded that the “Present-dynasty Map” is based on the “Song-dynasty Map” and intended to supplement it by tagging the new sites. It is not a comprehensive map, as tags of many sites from the Song are omitted. Moreover, numerous sites, which were constructed in the Ming period, are not tagged in the “Present-dynasty Map”, either, although they are presented in the text. The “Four Worthies Hall” (Sixian tang 四賢堂), which was built in the Zhengde era at Lone Hill, is an example of this.²⁵⁵ As a result, neither the “Song-dynasty Map” nor the “Present-dynasty Map” could offer proper guide for contemporary sightseeing: while the former reflects the Song past, the latter is too simplified. Even the combination of the two maps would fail the task, since the two maps differ in topography, and many sites tagged in the “Song-dynasty Map” had ceased to exist.

Since both maps are panoramic and refer to a large region, the sites are relatively small and hard to identify. Many sites were not tagged with precision: while for some sites, the corresponding entities are drawn beside the place-name tags, other sites have place-name tags only, and it is not clear where the sites are exactly located. Although the two maps do provide reader-sightseers with some information, they are insufficient and inconvenient in terms of tour-guiding. Among the later editions of *Sightseeing Gazetteer I* have seen, the two maps in the *Four Treasuries* edition seem to reflect the West Lake in the Song and the Ming, instead of the Qing, while the edition included in the *General Compilation of Historical Sources on Hangzhou* by Ding Bing offers no map at all.

²⁵⁴ The Jade Spring is introduced in the entry “Jade Spring Monastery” (Yuquan si 玉泉寺), in *ibid.*, 88.

²⁵⁵ The entry of the site is seen in *ibid.*, 9.

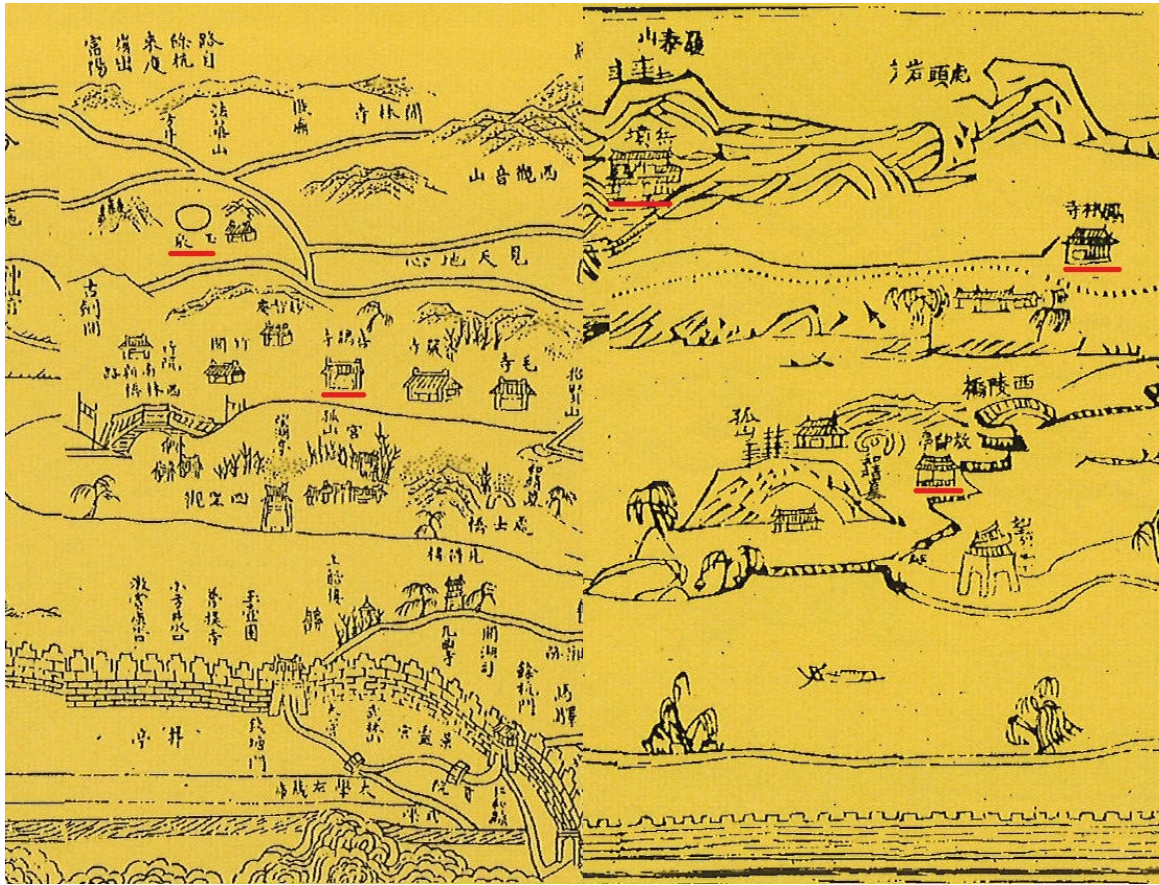


Figure 2.8 (left): Part of the “Song-dynasty Map of West Lake” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547). From Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 235, Fig. 8–3.

Figure 2.9 (right): Part of the “Present-dynasty Map of West Lake” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* (1547). From Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 239, Fig. 9–1.

2.4 External Approach: Sightseeing from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century

Although the spatial organization of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was already considered to be connected to sightseeing in the Ming and Qing periods, in actual practice, the text is rarely mentioned as having been used. One example is the vague statement of Fan Mingqian, when writing about his own experiences, in his preface to the second edition of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*: “Whenever I hired a boat and went to the lake, I consulted the gazetteer and looked for its places accordingly, lingered there and could not bear to

leave” (買棹一至湖上，輒按志而索其處，依依不能去).²⁵⁶ In records of individual sightseeing tours, few authors claim to have taken a gazetteer or any other topographical text on their way and consulted it. In chapter fourteen of the mid-eighteenth-century novel *Unofficial History of the Forest of Scholars* (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史), when the literatus Ma Chunshang 馬純上 goes sightseeing at West Lake for the first time, he simply asks other travelers whether there are any interesting places along the way.²⁵⁷ Such absence, of course, does not prove that the gazetteers did not have any direct or indirect influence on these tours. Therefore, I will simply make a comparison between the sightseeing routes in the two kinds of texts to see whether there is any correspondence. Beside this, I will also examine the “ideology of sightseeing” of literati sightseers to see whether it is in accordance with what is implied by the West Lake gazetteer.

Since *Sightseeing Gazetteer* aims to provide a kind of objective knowledge and shared perception to the readers, two factors are largely absent in it: first, the contingent conditions of an individual sightseeing tour, such as season, weather, and casual affairs; second, the subjectivity of an individual sightseer, such as personal feelings, tastes and preferences. The “structural” mode of the topographical text thus contrasts with the “experiential” mode of travel records. As will be seen below, both factors have an impact on the choice of sightseeing routes.

Comparing the tour routes as devised by *Sightseeing Gazetteer* with the actual practice of literati sightseers at West Lake, the differences are of several types. First, the selection of sightseeing routes by literati was subject to one’s schedule and past experiences. For one who went to West Lake for the first time, it is likely that he visited the most prominent sites first. Yuan Hongdao, for example, records his sightseeing route on the first day of his first visit to West Lake in 1597 as follows:

從武林門而西，望保叔塔突兀層崖中，則已心飛湖上也。午刻入昭慶，茶畢，即棹小舟入湖。²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 316.

²⁵⁷ Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓, *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史 (Unofficial History of the Forest of Scholars) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2002), 158.

²⁵⁸ Yuan Hongdao, “Xihu jishu”, 460.

As we started from Wulin Gate westward and watched Baoshu Pagoda bulging out of the layered cliff from a distance, my heart had already flown to the lake. At noon we entered Zhaoqing Monastery. After tea, we immediately took a boat to enter the lake.

After Yuan traveled by boat on West Lake, he continued his tour:

晚同子公渡淨寺，覓阿賓舊住僧房，取道由六橋、岳墳、石徑塘而歸。草草領略，未及徧賞。²⁵⁹

In the evening I took the boat and went to Pure Monastery [i.e. Pure Compassion Monastery (Jingci si 淨慈寺)] with Zigong [i.e. Fang Wenzhuan 方文僎] and sought the house for monks where A Bin [i.e. Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道] used to live. After that, I went back via the Six Bridges, Yue Tomb, and Stone Path Pond [i.e. Variegated Brocade Pond (Shijin tang 十錦塘)]. I had appreciated the landscape only hastily and inexhaustively.

The reconstruction of Yuan's route is sketched in Fig. 2.10. While the sightseeing routes in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* typically start from a gate of the western city wall of Hangzhou, Yuan Hongdao started from 1. Wulin Gate (Wulin men 武林門), at the northern wall. He took a boat near 2. Zhaoqing Monastery, which was located at the northeastern bank, spent the entire afternoon on the lake. The exact route of his tour on West Lake is not mentioned by him. Then, he drove to 3. Pure Compassion Monastery on the southern bank, went north along 4. Su Causeway to 5. Yue Tomb, and east along 6. Variegated Brocade Pond back to Zhaoqing Monastery and stayed there overnight, thus making his sightseeing route quasi a circle. Eagerly attempting to appreciate the beauty of West Lake, Yuan chose a route that covered its central region and some of the most famous sites, thus ignoring the comprehensive sightseeing tour as devised in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.

Yuan Hongdao's tour at West Lake is largely identical with the observation of the Qing scholar Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907), who describes the “shallow” sightseeing of visitors to West Lake in a sarcastic tone:

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 460.

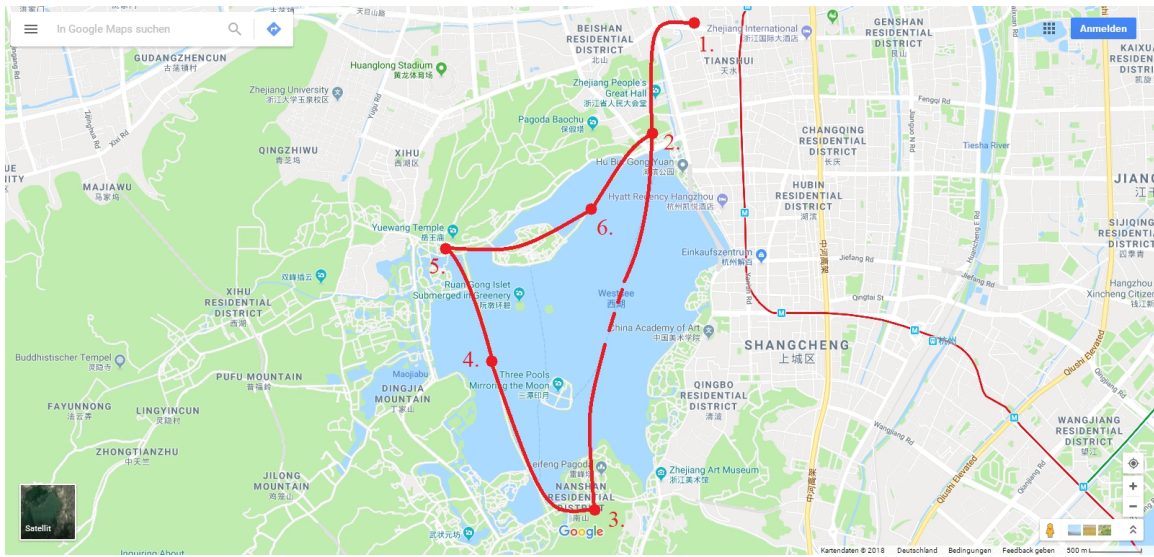


Figure 2.10: Sketch of Yuan Hongdao’s sightseeing route of his first visit to West Lake.²⁶⁰

凡至杭州者，無不知游西湖。然城中來游者，出湧金門，日加午矣。至三潭印月、湖心亭小坐，再至岳王墳、林處士祠，略一瞻眺，暮色蒼然，榜人促歸棹矣。入城語人曰：「今日遊湖甚樂。」其實謂之湖舫雅集則可，謂之遊湖則未也。²⁶¹

Everybody who comes to Hangzhou wants to roam at West Lake. Yet when those who are from the city go out of Gushing Gold Gate, it is already afternoon. They go to the places of the view “Three Pools Mirroring the Moon” and Mid-lake Pavilion Isle, sit there for a short while, and proceed to King Yue’s Tomb and Recluse Lin’s Shrine and watch [the lake] briefly, then it is already dusky, and the boatman urges to drive back. They enter the city and tell other people: “What fun it is to roam at the lake today!” In fact, it would be correct to call it an elegant gathering of lake boats, yet it would be wrong to call it roaming the lake.

At the other end of the spectrum, for a sightseer who was already quite familiar with West Lake, a comprehensive sightseeing tour was not necessary, either. For example, Wang

²⁶⁰ The original map was taken from Google Maps, access March 16, 2018.

²⁶¹ Yu Yue 俞樾, *Chunzai tang suibi* 春在堂隨筆 (Casual Notes of Chunzai Hall), in *Chunzai tang quanshu* 春在堂全書 (Complete Book of Chunzai Hall), 1883, *juan* 6, 1b.

Shixing 王士性 (1547–1598), a native of Linhai 臨海 County in Zhejiang, writes about his rich travel experiences at West Lake as follows:

余自青衿結髮，肄業武林，泊乎宦遊於四方，幾三十年，出必假道，過必浪游，晴雨雪月，無不宜者。²⁶²

When coming of age, I studied in school at Hangzhou. Up to the time when I travelled in all directions due to my official service, almost thirty years had passed. Every time when I went out, I chose to pass [West Lake], and every time when I passed, I roamed there. Whether it was fair, rainy, snowy, or moonlit, there was no time that was inappropriate [for sightseeing].

Later, Wang describes his individual tours as follows:

然吾遊夥矣，每挾賓朋，止占一丘一壑，行蹤未遍，夕陽旋歸。²⁶³

Despite my numerous tours, every time I accompanied my guests and friends, and visited a single hill or valley only. My traces never covered the entire region, and I came back as soon as the sunset.

Although Wang was not a local person of Hangzhou, he studied there when he was young and visited many times throughout his official career. Since Wang had many chances to go sightseeing at West Lake, he did not hurry to exhaust its scenic sites. Instead, he chose a more “in-depth” approach to sightseeing, visiting only a single place on each tour and spending more time there.

Second, boats undermine the routes as suggested by *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, all of which are land routes. In the travel records of the Ming and Qing periods, literati sightseers rarely failed to take a boat. Since West Lake was surrounded on three sides by hills and on one side by the city wall of Hangzhou, taking a boat from the city to the hills was a short-cut. If, for example, a Hangzhou resident went on a pilgrimage to Upper India Monastery (Shang Tianzhu si 上天竺寺) and strictly followed the routes in *Sightseeing*

²⁶² Wang Shixing 王士性, *Wang Shixing dili shu sanzong* 王士性地理书三种 (Three Geographical Texts of Wang Shixing), edited and proofread by Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 75.

²⁶³ Wang Shixing, *Wang Shixing dili shu sanzong*, 75.

Gazetteer, he had to travel from Gushing Gold Gate (Yongjin men 湧金門) to Ge Hill (Ge ling 葛嶺), as the route in *juan* 8, from Ge Hill to Immortal Lady Hill (Xiangu shan 仙姑山), as the route in *juan* 9, from Xiangu Hill to Confluent Gullies Bridge (Hejian qiao 合澗橋), as the route in *juan* 10, and finally from Combined Gullies Bridge to Upper India Monastery, as the route in *juan* 11 indicates. However, as Tian Rucheng himself indicates in his text, there is also a water route, which starts from Second Bridge at Su Causeway: “Going west from here [i.e. the bridge], one can travel to Brewing Courtyard Road, where the people aiming to roam Soul Retreat and India Monasteries stop the oar [of the boat and go ashore]” (自此而西，可通齋院路，遊靈、竺者之所從停橈也).²⁶⁴ This is also verified by Xiaolin Duan, who points out the two most popular routes, from Pure Wave Gate to Soul Retreat Monastery and India Monasteries, respectively, in the Southern Song period. The water route, which takes the form of a straight line, is much shorter and more convenient than the zigzag land route.²⁶⁵

Boats were chosen not only for the sake of convenience, but also for aesthetic value. After boating had been the preferred way to enjoy the scenery of West Lake during the Southern Song, when poems, essays, and paintings frequently mention it, this tradition or fashion was revitalized by the new wave of West Lake enthusiasm in the late Ming. Beside for traveling and sightseeing, a boat also served as a living place and as a place of social interaction. For example, Wang Ruqian 汪汝謙 (1577–1655), a wealthy merchant from Huizhou 徽州 Prefecture, had two boats built at West Lake, which he named “Untied Garden” (Buxi yuan 不繫園) and “Hermitage at Will” (Suixi an 隨喜庵). They themselves became famous sites and venues for the gatherings of literati, courtesans, and entertainers.²⁶⁶ Tan Yuanchun 譚元春 (1586–1631), during his visit to West Lake in 1619, preferred to stay on a boat and listed five advantages of boat-living in an essay,

²⁶⁴ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 18.

²⁶⁵ Duan, “Scenic Beauty outside the City”, 125.

²⁶⁶ See Wang Ruqian 汪汝謙, “Suixi an ji” 隨喜庵集 (An Anthology of Hermitage at Will), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 1, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 121. For a discussion of the social functions of Wang Ruqian’s boats, see Joanna F. Handlin Smith, “Gardens in Ch’i Piao-chia’s Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan”, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 1 (1992): 73f.

such as the ability to avoid unwelcome guests and the freedom to go anywhere at any time as one desired.²⁶⁷

Since literati sightseers often lived on boats or elsewhere outside the city, the places of departure were not necessarily the gates at the western city wall, as was the case in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. Yuan Hongdao, for example, states that his “utmost fear was to enter the cities” (最怕入城), and that he thus abandoned most sites inside the city wall.²⁶⁸ As a result, he stayed overnight in Zhaoqing Monastery five times, and once each in Faxiang Monastery (Faxiang si 法相寺) and India Monasteries, all of which were located outside the city.²⁶⁹ Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575–1629) also mentions about one sightseeing tour that he “indulged himself mostly between the northern and the southern hills due to his fear of entering cities” (以畏入城市，多放浪兩山間).²⁷⁰ When Pu Fangjun and his fellow-sightseers visited West Lake in 1623, they made a quasi anti-clockwise tour around the lake. As they reached the western hills, they stayed overnight at Taoguang Monastery (Taoguang an 韜光菴) nearby, so on the next day they could resume from where they had stopped.²⁷¹ As a result, these sightseeing routes inevitably had diverse places of departure.

Third, sightseeing routes were also shaped by temporal and contingent factors. As the weather, flora, and fauna changed over the day and according to the season, the appreciation of West Lake landscape tended to have different spatial emphases at different times. There were places that were famous for temporal sights and suitable for sightseeing for a certain period of time. For example, in the discourse of the “Ten Views of West Lake”, at least five views referred to a certain season, such as “Lotus Breeze of Brewing Courtyard” (Quyuan fenghe 麴院風荷), a view of summer, while views such as “Glow of Sunset upon Thunder Peak” (Leifeng xizhao 雷峰夕照) referred to certain times of the day. Although some views had ceased to exist in the Ming period, the

²⁶⁷ See Tan Yuanchun’s “Hushuang cao xu” 湖霜艸序 (Preface to the Draft on Lake Frost) in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 48f.

²⁶⁸ See “Wu shan” 吳山 (Wu Hill), in Yuan Hongdao, “Xihu jishu”, 463.

²⁶⁹ See “Hu shang zaxu” 湖上雜敘 (Miscellaneous Narratives on the Lake), in *ibid.*, 463.

²⁷⁰ See “Ziyang dong” 紫陽洞 (Purple Sun Grotto), in Li Liufang 李流芳, “Xihu woyou tu tiba” 西湖臥遊圖題跋 (Inscriptions and Postfaces on the Paintings on the Recumbent Roaming at West Lake), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 3, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 683.

²⁷¹ Pu Fangjun, “You Mingsheng hu riji”, 1007.

conception continued to inspire and structure the appreciation of West Lake landscape. For example, Gao Lian 高濂 (1573–1620), in his *Eight Treatises on Following the Principles of Life* (*Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八牋, 1591), enumerates the “secluded appreciation” (*youshang* 幽賞) of forty-eight sights at West Lake, dividing them into four sections: spring, summer, autumn, and winter. There are also sights, the appreciation of which was associated with a certain time of the day, such as “Watching the Morning Hills at Baoshu Pagoda” (*Baoshu ta kan xiao* 保叔塔看曉山).²⁷² Beside natural sights, the cultural activities, such as festivals, were also held at certain times of a year. The Upper India Monastery, for instance, was famous for Guanyin 觀音 Bodhisattva worship. On the nineteenth day of the second month, the birthday of Bodhisattva, a ritual was held there, and the monastery was filled by a huge crowd of men and women from the city, who spent the entire night there.

There are also contingent affairs that had an impact on the spatial movement of a sightseer. When Yuan Hongdao stayed at West Lake for winter and spring, he valued the peach blossoms so much that he refused his friend’s invitation to go elsewhere:

今歲春雪甚盛，梅花為寒所勒，與杏桃相次開發，尤為奇觀。石簣數為余言：
「傅金吾園中梅，張功甫家故物也。急往觀之。」余時為桃花所戀，竟不忍去。

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The snow of this spring was quite magnificent. The plum flowers [blossoming] was prolonged by the coldness; along with apricot and peach, they blossomed one after another. It was indeed an extraordinary sight. Shikui [i.e. Tao Wangling 陶望齡] said to me several times: “The plum trees in the garden of Mister Fu, the Lord of the Imperial Insignia, belonged to the household of Zhang Gongfu [i.e. Zhang Zi 張鎡, b. 1153] in the past. Go there and watch them immediately!” At that time, I was in love with the peach blossoms and never bore to leave.

²⁷² Gao Lian 高濂, “Sishi youshang lu” 四時幽賞錄 (Secluded Appreciations through the Four Seasons), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 15, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 4481.

²⁷³ Yuan Hongdao, “Xihu jishu”, 460.

During Yuan's stay, the peach trees that just "happened" to blossom and his preference for them made him refuse to go anywhere else. The temporal sights and accidental events undermined the kind of sightseeing tour as implied by *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which was comprehensive and predestined. Although Tian Rucheng in his text also mentions the suitable times of certain views occasionally, the routes devised by him were largely void of temporal factors and thus reduced the complicity of actual sightseeing.

Fourth, the "ideology" of literati sightseers in some ways conflicted with what was implied by Tian Rucheng's sightseeing routes. The expressions of literati identity and individuality were frequently reflected also by the choice of sightseeing tours. This was especially true for the late Ming period, when literati sightseers sought to distinguish themselves from other social groups, ridiculing and criticizing their "vulgarity". Craig Clunas, in his study of the texts on late Ming luxury goods and connoisseurship, argues that the aesthetic standards in these texts are largely a social discourse, in which literati constitute their social identities by distinctions from the groups of people that were the closest to them and represented the greatest threat. The value of "elegance" (*ya* 雅), as opposed to "vulgarity" (*su* 俗), in particular, served as a sedative that smoothed away some of the social anxieties engendered by the "vulgar" manners of dealing with objects.²⁷⁴ While Clunas focuses predominantly on material culture, the discourse of *ya* and *su* was also part of literati's observations of the practices of sightseeing. By distancing themselves from and criticizing the large numbers of undistinguished and "vulgar" sightseers, which included commoners and sometimes even other literati, late Ming authors of the West Lake literature present themselves as being among the few people, or even the unique ones, who truly can appreciate the beauty of West Lake. This social distinction was also often expressed by physical and spatial distancing: As Desmond H. H. Cheung points out, "[t]o avoid the crowds, many gentry chose to visit less frequented spots or to visit the more popular sights at quieter times outside festival periods and busier times of the day."²⁷⁵ For example, Zhang Dai, in his essay "West Lake on the Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month" (*Xihu qiyue ban ji* 西湖七月半記), notes the crowds of sightseers who performed in all kinds of "ridiculous" ways and did not pay any

²⁷⁴ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 73 and 163f.

²⁷⁵ Cheung, "A Socio-cultural History", 61.

attention to, not to mention appreciate, the autumn moon that should have been the main focus of this festival day. Zhang himself and his like-minded fellows, meanwhile, chose to hide in secluded places, from where they only emerged once the crowd was gone.²⁷⁶ This contrasts with the idea, as implied by *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which does not differentiate social groups.

The eccentricity of the late Ming literati sightseers was also reflected by their modes of movement at West Lake. John Dixon Hunt identifies three kinds of movement in gardens: the procession or ritual, the stroll, and the ramble. In Hunt's opinion, the function of a guidebook is "[p]redicted upon a focused, formal, and processional movement through selected parts of the grounds",²⁷⁷ and "[t]he use of a guidebook by public visitors to any site [...] clearly tends toward ritualizing their movement".²⁷⁸ This also applies to *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the routes of which are deliberately devised, fixed, and repeatable. This "ritual" kind of movement contrasts with those of the "stroll" and the "ramble". On the "rambling" mode, Hunt writes as follows:

Rambles [...] entail movement with no external prompt; they are promoted largely by the will or curiosity of an individual enjoying the leisure to wander. Rambles are for the pleasures of movement itself, without definite or preordained routes or destinations; a ramble implies impulse, spontaneity, a disconnected wandering, and therefore it is more likely that a ramble is solitary, since one person's disconnections would distract from another's ramble.²⁷⁹

In literati discourses about West Lake sightseeing, proposals of the kind of movement that Hunt would label "ramble" are frequently seen. For example, Li Suiqiu 黎遂球 (1602–1646), who distinguishes three levels of sightseeing, writes about the highest level that: "As to the roaming at West Lake, if one sleeps and lives on the boat, follows the lead of the mood only, in the morning moves towards the hills, and in the evening towards the

²⁷⁶ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun", 49f.

²⁷⁷ John Dixon Hunt, "'Lordship of the Feet': Toward a Poetics of Movement in the Garden", in *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003): 202.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 202.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 190f.

moon, this is superior” (湖遊以寢處舟中，唯興所適，曉移就山，晚移就月，為上).²⁸⁰ Since literati sightseers proposed a kind of casual, spontaneous, and carefree movement without preordained path and purpose, it is hardly surprising that Tian Rucheng’s established and formulaic routes were dismissed from their considerations.

A sightseeing tour at West Lake by Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 (*jinshi* 1622) may instantiate such idea. On the fourth day of the eighth month in 1613, Chen arrived at Hangzhou. He stayed there until the twenty-first day, spending eighteen days on sightseeing. In his travel diary, Chen records in exhaustive details the scenic sites he visited on each day in a temporal sequence. From these, eighteen different sightseeing routes can be reconstructed. During the eighteen days, he had reached every part of West Lake and its surrounding regions, such as Wu Hill inside the city wall and Zhe River, and he visited all the major sites in the region. While the places he covered were almost identical with those recommended by *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the correspondence ends here. Among the eighteen sightseeing routes covered in eighteen days, no two routes were identical with each other. Chen visited some scenic sites more than once, especially those in the focal region of West Lake sightseeing. He went sightseeing at Variegated Brocade Pond and Broken Bridge (Duan qiao 斷橋) on eight days, on Lone Hill on four days, on Precious Stone Hill (Baoshi shan 寶石山) on four days, at Su Causeway on six days, at Thunder Peak (Lei feng 雷峰) on three days, and at the western city wall of Hangzhou on twelve days. Despite the repetitions, the combination and the sequence of the visited sites on each day were more or less different from each other.

On the eighth day, Chen traveled to the hills northwest of West Lake. On his way back to the accommodation, he changed his mind and started on another tour:

²⁸⁰ Li Suiqiu 黎遂球, “Xihu zaji” 西湖雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of West Lake), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 9, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 2480. The phrase “following the lead of the mood only” (*wei xing suo shi* 唯興所適) is reminiscent of the famous anecdote in *A New Account of the Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu*, 世說新語), compiled by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), in which Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (338–386), in a snowy night, suddenly remembered his friend Dai Kui 戴逵 (d. 395) and took a boat to visit him. In the morning when he arrived at Dai’s place, however, he did not proceed, but returned home. Later he explained to others: “I traveled when my mood was provoked, and returned when my mood was exhausted. What necessity is there to see Dai [Kui]?” (吾本乘興而行，興盡而返，何必見戴). See Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* (*shang xia ce*) 世說新語校箋(全二冊) (A New Account of the Tales of the World: Collated and Edited [Two Volumes]), ed. and annotated Xu Zhen’e 徐震堦 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 408.

自錦堤歸，忙上保叔塔觀落日。山高峰蔽，畧見紅霞數道。到寺門，海日蒼黃倒影。余乃自梅花嶼之北，婆娑深樹，旋下客舟，斷橋賓月，忽被孤山一角，水底影破，則狂叫月。既下，偕琴僧過第三橋，道人臥，呼之不出。龍王廟後一水臺，攀而上，彈雙清一曲。²⁸¹

As I came back from Brocade Causeway [i.e. Variegated Brocade Pond], I hastily climbed up to Baoshu Pagoda to watch the setting sun. The hill was high and its peak hidden, so I merely saw several red rays of sunlight. As I reached the gate of [Zhaoqing] Monastery, the sun that sank into the sea cast black and yellow shadows [on West Lake]. Thus I traveled from the north of Plum Blossom Isle, where thick trees swirled and swayed, and soon entered a boat and enjoyed the moon at Broken Bridge. Suddenly I encountered one corner of Lone Hill, where shadows looked broken at the bottom of water, so I shouted at the moon wildly. After I left the boat, I took my zither, accompanied a monk and passed Third Bridge [of Su Causeway]. The Daoist there was lying in bed and refused to go out despite the call. Behind the Dragon King Shrine there was a terrace near the water, and I climbed it and played the tune of Shuangqing there.

Chen stayed at the terrace overnight: “Suddenly it was dawn. Who else was as free and at ease in the midstream as me?” (天忽曉，誰似我中流自在).²⁸² Like in most other passages in his travel diary, Chen Renxi does not give any reason here why he chose to visit these places. It seems that his movement was subject to the whims and moods that were influenced by unexpected factors, such as, in the passage above, the setting sun, which made him climb the hill nearby to watch it, and the terrace he found at Third Bridge, on which he played the zither all night long. This rendered his sightseeing tour

²⁸¹ Chen Renxi 陳仁錫, “Xihu yueguan ji” 西湖月觀紀 (A Record of Sightseeing in a Month at West Lake), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 7, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 1855.

²⁸² Ibid., 1855. The phrase “free and at ease in the midstream” (*zhongliu zizai* 中流自在) originates possibly from a poem of Zhu Xi, which describes a spiritual state allegorically: “Last night spring water emerged at the edge of the river, / The giant *mengchong* boat is now as light as a hair. / Strength-consuming, it was pushed in vain in the past, / On this day it moves free and at ease in the midstream” (昨夜江邊春水生，蒙衝巨艦一毛輕。向來枉費推移力，此日中流自在行). See the second poem of the entry “Guanshu yougan ershou” 觀書有感二首 (Two Poems on the Insights from Reading Books) in Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書 (The Complete Collection of Master Zhu), ed. Zhu Jieren 朱傑人, Yan Zuozhi 嚴佐之, and Liu Yongxiang 劉永翔 (Shanghai and Hefei: Shanghai guji chubanshe, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), vol. 20, 286.

largely unpredictable. In the pursuit of aesthetically appealing experiences, Chen formed his own schedule and his own sightseeing routes, which were themselves a manifestation of his taste and connoisseurship.

2.5 Development of Later West Lake Gazetteers

The structure of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* influenced a range of gazetteers of West Lake and Hangzhou published in the subsequent centuries. For example, the *Gazetteer of Buddhism in Hangzhou* (1612), compiled by Wu Zhijing 吳之鯨 (*juren* 1609), which was a comprehensive account of all the Buddhist institutions of Hangzhou Prefecture past and present, adopted the spatial organization and divided the Buddhist sites of Hangzhou into three areas: “Buddhist Institutions inside the City Wall” (*Chengnei fancha* 城內梵刹), “Foothills of the Southern Hills outside the City Wall” (*Chengwai nanshan fenmai* 城外南山分脉), and “Foothills of the Northern Hills [outside the City Wall]” (*Beishan fenmai* 北山分脉). In each section, the individual sites are also grouped into several routes, the locations of which are noted at the beginning of each chapter, and presented in the sequence of touring along the routes.

Among the later West Lake gazetteers, a particularly notable text is Gao Yingke’s *Convenient Reading*, published in 1604. Unlike most other gazetteers, which only supplement the previous editions with new entries, *Convenient Reading* also modified the original structure to some extent and reorganized its materials. As a text published by a commercial publisher, *Convenient Reading* was part of and reflected the development of printing culture and the flourishing of sightseeing tourism in the late Ming period. Unlike Tian Rucheng, who remained silent about the possible relationship between his text and sightseeing, the *Convenient Reading* explicitly announce such a relationship. In its long title, *Gazetteer of West Lake: Collected Excerpts and Supplements to Stow in the Knapsack and for Convenient Reading Underway*, (*Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi’nan bianlan*), the term “knapsack” (*xi’nan* 奚囊, lit. “servant’s bag”) suggests that the text is taken along on a journey. In the first preface, Zhu Jingxun claims at the very beginning that the text was devised for the convenience of sightseers. In the “Editorial Principles”,

Gao Yingke repeatedly contrasts his text with the *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, pointing out the differences between the two. By doing so, Gao meant to highlight the advantages and improvements of his gazetteer regarding its facilitation of sightseeing as compared to predecessors. The practical value is highlighted by its paratexts, which probably were meant to function as advertisement for better sales in the tourist market.

Judging from the text, several features and changes, which may potentially facilitate sightseeing, are noteworthy:

First, in the “Table of Contents” (*Mulu* 目錄), Gao Yingke lists under each chapter the names of all the scenic sites except for those “lying waste”, so that a reader could look up a site quite conveniently.

Second, while the spatial arrangement of scenic sites in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are confined to *juan* 3–11, namely the West Lake region, this principle is applied to the entire text in *Convenient Reading*. The sections of the city of Hangzhou and Zhe River as seen in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are dropped in *Convenient Reading*, due to their irrelevance to West Lake sightseeing. The only exception is Wu Hill, a site in the city of Hangzhou. As a result, the twenty-four chapters of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are reduced to twelve. As to the section about Wu Hill, *Convenient Reading* divides it into two chapters (*juan* 11–12) and, at the beginning of each chapter, outlines a sightseeing route, which indicates the locations of all the sites in the chapter.

Third, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* presents the sites in the following sequence: 1. Lone Hill and Three Causeways; 2. Southern Hills; and 3. Northern Hills. Gao Yingke, for his part, argues in the “Editorial Principles” as follows:

今觀北山景蹟，數倍於南，往往遊人多以北山為始。而孤山又為北山之餘支，凡登孤山者，豈遂舍北而南耶？今改先敘北山，以漸及南山，庶幾遊覽為便。²⁸³

According to the current view, the scenic sites at the Northern Hills are several times of those at the Southern Hills, and tourists most commonly start with the Northern Hills. Moreover, Lone Hill is a leftover foothill of the Northern Hills. Would those who have climbed Lone Hill leave the Northern Region after that and travel south?

²⁸³ Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan*, “Fanli”, 1a.

Now, I change the sequence, describe the Northern Hills first, and gradually come to the Southern Hills. Likely this will make sightseeing more convenient.

Here the sequence of the presentation of scenic sites is regulated in response to the contemporary situation and new trends in sightseeing, aiming to work out the optimal routes for sightseers.

Fourth, *Convenient Reading* attempts to improve the maps, which could then better serve route-guiding. Gao Yingke finds the two West Lake maps of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* unsatisfactory: “Although the old maps of the *Gazetteer of West Lake* were comprehensive, they seem to be disordered and are unable to make sightseers know the sequence [of sites]” (《湖志》舊圖雖備，似亦紊亂無序，使遊覽者罔知次第).²⁸⁴ In contrast, *Convenient Reading* provides not only a complete map of West Lake, but also multiple maps of its constituent regions, such as the “Map of Mist and Glow [Grotto] and Dragon Well” (*Yanxia Longjing tu* 烟霞龍井圖) and “Map of Soul Retreat and India [Monasteries]” (*Lingyin Tianzhu tu* 靈隱天竺圖) in Fig. 2.11. Compared with the two maps in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the two maps in *Convenient Reading* refer to smaller areas, are more detailed, and their place-name tags are with higher precision. Moreover, it seems that some of the travelers drawn into the maps, such as those on the lower side of the “Map of Soul Retreat and India [Monasteries]”, indicate the positions and directions of the route in the region, and thus also serve the function of route-guiding.

Thus, *Convenient Reading* developed the functional logic of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, approximating it to a traveler’s guidebook. The principle of route-guiding is applied to the entire text, and even maps, and regulations are made in response to the current situation of West Lake sightseeing.

Another gazetteer that has made considerable modifications and reorganizations is Yu Sichong’s *Topically Arranged Excerpts*, published in 1615, also by a commercial publisher. Its fundamental organizing principle differs from the tradition initiated by Tian Rucheng, but it was typical for local gazetteers in general: as the terms “categorized transcript” (*leichao* 類鈔) in the title reveal, its sites are not divided spatially and

²⁸⁴ Ibid., “Fanli”, 2a.

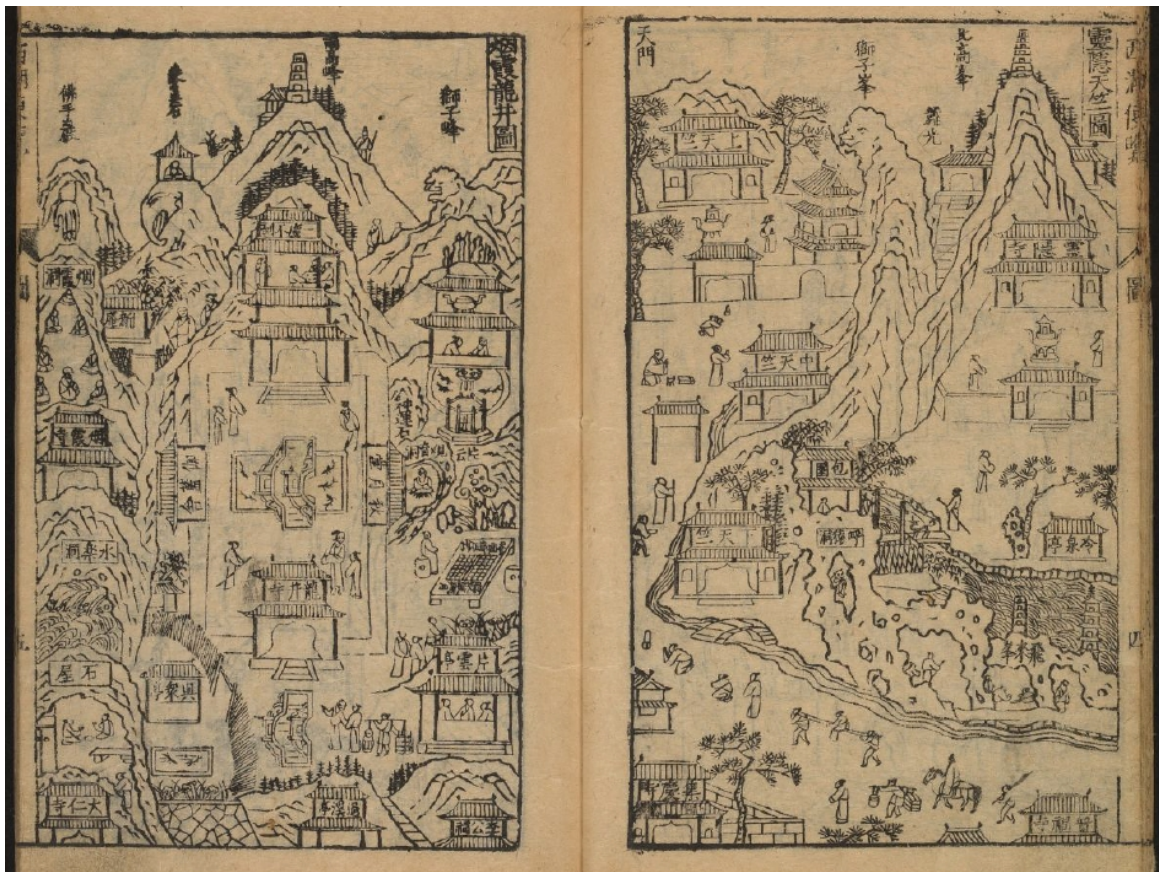


Figure 2.11: “Map of Mist and Glow [Grotto] and Dragon Well” (left) and “Map of Soul Retreat and India [Monasteries]” (right) in *Convenient Reading* (1604). From Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan*, “Tu” 圖 (Maps and Pictures), 4bf.

geographically, but by topical categories. Its first chapter includes a range of *tu* (圖, maps and pictures) of West Lake and its views, while the second chapter is a collection of literary works and a selective account of entries from *Supplement*. In the third and fourth chapters, Yu reorganizes a selection of scenic sites from *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, dividing them into totally 21 categories, such as the “Category of Hills” (*Shan zhi lei* 山之類), the “Category of Grottoes” (*Dong zhi lei* 洞之類), the “Category of Causeways” (*Di zhi lei* 堤之類), and the “Category of Tombs” (*Mu zhi lei* 墓之類). Like *Convenient Reading*, the names of scenic sites are all listed in the table of contents, for handy localization. The reorganization by topical categories led to a massive and systematic deletion of content, as the passages that depict the virtual movement and the relative positions of scenic sites

in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* were dropped. As a result, the locations of numerous sites became unknown. Only in rare occasions, Yu adds some words to an entry that indicates the site's location to compensate for the loss. There are entries that reflect Yu's negligence in the deletion process. For example, in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the entry "Three Lives Rock" (*Sansheng shi* 三生石) follows the entry "Lower India Monastery" (*Xia Tianzhu si* 下天竺寺) and begins with the sentence "Three Lives Rock is behind the monastery" (三生石, 在寺後).²⁸⁵ In *Topically Arranged Excerpts*, although the two entries are placed under different categories and thus textually separated from each other, Yu simply copies the original text of the entries, making readers wonder behind which monastery Three Lives Rock is located.²⁸⁶

Why did Yu Sichong take effort to discard Tian Rucheng's system and establish one of his own? Is this also to be considered in relation to the practice of sightseeing? The gazetteer itself does not provide any explicit explanation. Ma Meng-ching's survey indicates that *Topically Arranged Excerpts* was quite successful on the book market, since at least four editions of it have survived.²⁸⁷ Judging from the text, Ma views it as a handbook of reference, based on an alternative editorial conception and also with its own practicality, yet she does not elaborate on this point.²⁸⁸

The most obvious advantage of the different organization, of course, is its index function. In this regard, *Topically Arranged Excerpts* is not different from traditional local gazetteers, by which a reader could quickly find a site according to its kind in the table of contents. This may reveal another potential use of West Lake gazetteers to be considered. It was not necessarily the case that sightseers consulted the gazetteer in order to know what sites and routes there are in advance, but when they encountered a site, they could look up the corresponding entry in the gazetteer by its name.

Although Zhang Dai's *Dream Searching* never got to be published during the author's lifetime, this does not rule out the possibility of a relationship with the practice of sightseeing. As will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, *Dream Searching* is not merely a text of nostalgia about a past that had vanished, but approximately a gazetteer

²⁸⁵ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 102–104.

²⁸⁶ Yu Sichong 俞思冲, *Xihu zhi leichao* 西湖志類鈔 (Gazetteer of West Lake: Topically Arranged Excerpts) (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxiangongsi, 1983), 197.

²⁸⁷ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu", 124f.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

that also was also concerned with the recent and current situations and was compiled for the future. The comment by the editors of the *Four Treasuries* holds that “its genre completely imitates that of Liu Tong’s *A Brief Account of the Landscape of the Imperial Capital* [henceforth *Imperial Capital*]” (其體例全仿劉侗《帝京景物略》).²⁸⁹ A topographical text of Beijing that was compiled by Liu Tong 劉侗 (1593–1636) and Yu Yizheng 于奕正 (1597–1636) and published in 1635, *Imperial Capital* expresses an orientation toward the practice of sightseeing. In the “Brief Editorial Principles” (*Lüeli* 略例), Yu Yizheng states that the text presents “only what is stepped upon by tourists and is referred to in armchair talks” (惟遊趾攸經，坐譚攸析者) and “adopts the names [of sites] that are conventionally used by local people in order to make it convenient for tourists to inquire” (書土人所習呼，便遊者詢問也).²⁹⁰ The bulk of the text divides the city of Beijing and its environs into eight geographical regions and presents their scenic sites in eight chapters, listing the names of sites in the table of contents.

Zhang Dai shared a personal relationship with Liu Tong and considered him one of his “soul mates in the realm of mountains and waters” (*shanshui zhiji* 山水知己).²⁹¹ In *Dream Reminiscences*, a text is almost a verbatim copy of a text in *Imperial Capital*.²⁹² Similar to *Imperial Capital*, *Dream Searching* divides its scenic sites into five geographical areas, presenting them in its five chapters, entitled “Northern Route of West Lake” (*Xihu beilu* 西湖北路), “Western Route of West Lake” (*Xihu xilu* 西湖西路), “Middle Route of West Lake” (*Xihu zhonglu* 西湖中路), “Southern Route of West Lake” (*Xihu nanlu* 西湖南路), and “Sights in the Environs of West Lake” (*Xihu waijing* 西湖外景), and the names of individual sites are also listed in the table of contents. It can be seen that the spatial division of sites is different from that seen in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. The entry for Jade Spring Monastery (Yuquan si 玉泉寺), for example, is placed in the “Northern Hills” in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, but in the “Western Region of West Lake” in

²⁸⁹ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 129.

²⁹⁰ Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizheng 于奕正, *Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略 (A Brief Account of the Landscape of the Imperial Capital) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), “Lüeli”, 1f.

²⁹¹ See “Ji Zhou Jianbo wen” 祭周戡伯文 (Elegiac Address to Zhou Jianbo) in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 444.

²⁹² See the entries “Jin Rusheng caohua” 金乳生草花 (Jin Rusheng’s Grasses and Flowers) in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 3f; “Cao qiao” 草桥 (Cao Bridge) in Liu Tong and Yu Yizheng, *Dijing jingwu lue*, 175.

Dream Searching.²⁹³ This reveals the fact that the geographical areas in the West Lake gazetteers are not based on natural facts, but a construction of their individual compilers. As a result, sites that are close to each other may be placed in different sections. For example, the Tomb of Su Xiaoxiao (Su Xiaoxiao mu 苏小小墓), located at Lone Hill, is only a few steps away from Xiling Bridge (Xiling qiao 西泠桥) that connects Lone Hill and the northern bank of West Lake. In *Dream Searching*, however, the two entries are placed in *juan* 1, “Middle Region of West Lake”, and *juan* 3, “Northern Region of West Lake”, respectively; between the two entries there are nineteen other entries.

Within a section, the descriptions of movement in space and the relative positions of individual sites, as seen in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, are absent. Only in a part of the entries, the location of a site is noted at the beginning of an introductory essay. Nevertheless, the sequence of sites as presented in a section also would seem to constitute a practical sightseeing route. Qu Shuiyuan notes that among the twelve sites of *juan* 2, “Western Region of West Lake”, seven sites are also found in *juan* 10–11, “Sightseeing Sites at the Northern Hills”, of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*; the sequence of these seven sites in the two gazetteers are identical in the two gazetteers.²⁹⁴ In *juan* 1, “Northern Region of West Lake”, for example, there are totally eleven sites: 1. Jade Lotus Pavilion (Yulian ting 玉莲亭), 2. Zhaoqing Monastery, 3. Wawa Cave (Wawa dang 哇哇宕), 4. Big Buddha’s Head Stone (Da fotou 大佛头), 5. Baochu Pagoda (Baochu ta 保俶塔), 6. Ma’nao Monastery (Ma’nao si 玛瑙寺), 7. Zhiguo Monastery (Zhiguo si 智果寺), 8. Six Worthies Shrine (Liuxian ci 六贤祠), 9. Xiling Bridge, 10. King Yue’s Tomb, and 11. Purple Cloud Grotto (Ziyun dong 紫云洞). If one connects these sites one by one according to their sequence in the text, a route is formed, as illustrated in Fig. 2.12.

Evidently, the route was a practical one that could have been applied to actual sightseeing, with the slight exception of Big Buddha’s Head Stone.²⁹⁵ It resembles the route devised in the Northern Hills section in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which starts from a place near a gate of the western city wall, moves around West Lake, and stops somewhere

²⁹³ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 88; Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 23f.

²⁹⁴ Qu Shuiyuan, “Lun Xihu mengxun de wenben tedian ji jiazhi”, 87.

²⁹⁵ In both *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Convenient Reading*, this site is placed after 5. Baochu Pagoda. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 73–75; Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi’nang bianlan*, *juan* 3, 7b and 9a.

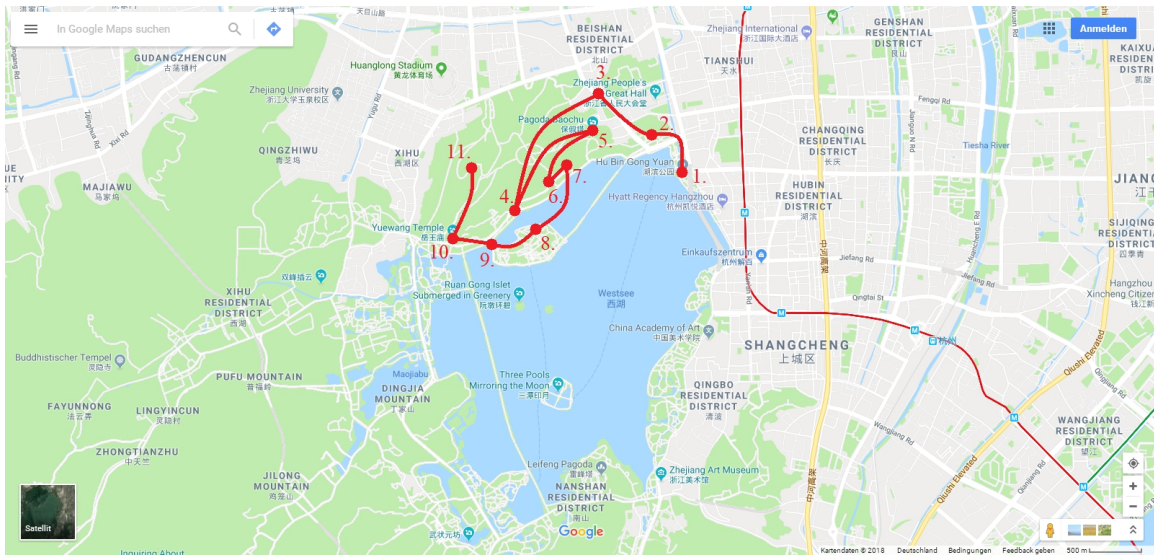


Figure 2.12: Sightseeing route reconstructed according to the sequence of scenic sites in *juan 1 of Dream Searching (1671)*.²⁹⁶

in the northwest. Nevertheless, since the location of a site is not always mentioned, a reader-sightseer who was unfamiliar with West Lake landscape would have been unable to figure out a route based on the text alone.

As the descriptions of movement and of the relative positions between individual sites were largely absent, the spatial framework as initiated by *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was somewhat weakened by *Dream Searching*. Instead of taking pains to locate and connect every site, the individual sites are only loosely organized. Contrary to the rigid and inflexible routes as offered by Tian Rucheng, Zhang left it to his reader-sightseers to work out routes of their own.

The tradition as initiated by Tian Rucheng continued to be attractive to the compilers of West Lake gazetteers in the Qing period. For example, Wang Weihuan prefers the spatial organization in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* over the topical one in Li Wei’s *Gazetteer of West Lake*:

²⁹⁶ The original map was taken from Google Maps, access March 16, 2018. For Zhang Dai’s text, see Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 7–22.

於志體固以李志為得，而騷人冶客尋幽討勝之所取，則以田志為便。是編徒以
便人披覽為指，故仍倣田氏次路之例。²⁹⁷

In terms of the genre of local gazetteer, Li's gazetteer is indeed authentic, but for
dejected literati and rural people who seek hidden and wonderful sites, Tian's
gazetteer is more convenient. My compilation only serves to make the reading more
convenient, thus it still imitates the example of Mister Tian's sequences and routes.

Like *Convenient Reading*, Wang's gazetteer makes some changes to earlier texts by
modifying the division of geographical areas and optimizing the sightseeing routes.
Although it has made improvements in some minor aspects, it actually followed the
example of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and was not innovative in terms of the overall editorial
concept.

2.6 Other Possible Functions of the West Lake Gazetteers

Beside providing blueprints for sightseeing tours, there might have been other ways for
reader-sightseers to make use of West Lake gazetteers, whether originally intended by the
compilers or not. Their spatial organization might have been useful in the following
regards:

First, as mentioned for the case of *Topically Arranged Excerpts*, a gazetteer might
have been consulted in the course of sightseeing for knowledge about the sites
encountered along the way. If topically organized, a site appears in the text according to
its name or topical category; if spatially organized, it is found according to its location
and relative position to other sites. As a result, a sightseer would have been able to
identify a site, the name of which was unknown to him, according to its location. This
may be especially true when a sightseer was standing on a distant hill or traveled by boat
on West Lake, with a panoramic view. The two West Lake maps with place-name tags
may also help with the identification of sites. This situation seems to be mirrored by Fan
Mingqian's statement that whenever he was riding in a hired boat on the lake, he
consulted *Sightseeing Gazetteer* for identifying sites.

²⁹⁷ Cui Hao and Cui Han, *Hushan bianlan*, 9.

Second, due to the spatial organization, the individual sites of an area are placed in one section, rather than scattered in different sections. This could render these sites more visible to sightseers, so they could systematically explore the sites of one region. The spatial framework thus informed the sightseers about what they could visit in a region, which would have been difficult task if a text was organized topically.

Third, as West Lake gazetteers were valued for their reference to the West Lake, they could also be treated independently. The spatial organization might have been conducive to a kind of imagined touring and sightseeing, which did not require physical movement in a space. As Roland Altenburger argues, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* could suggest “to the reader as a kind of imaginary ‘mental touring’, similar to the European notion of ‘armchair travelling’”.²⁹⁸ In pre-modern China, the idea of mental touring is conveyed by the notion of “recumbent roaming” (*woyou* 臥遊), which originally had been derived from an anecdote about the recluse painter Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443). When Zong was old and sick and unable to travel, he painted the places he had visited before in his room and claimed to “lie down and roam them” (*wo yi you zhi* 臥以游之).²⁹⁹ While the term originally had been an idea in visual art, in later periods literary works were also considered as having the same function. By the late Ming, the idea of imagined sightseeing through textual representation was so widespread that it became a cliché that was repeated in the paratexts of almost every West Lake gazetteer.³⁰⁰ Zhu Jingxun, for example, in his preface to *Convenient Reading*, writes that “if one peruses what this text has collected, one would not need to seek and explore hidden and dangerous places, but the beautiful hills and the lake already would appear in front of one’s eyes” (閱是編所纂，不必尋幽探險，而湖山佳麗恍然若現眉睫間矣).³⁰¹ Although Zhu claims in this preface that the aim of the compilation is to make actual sightseeing more convenient, he also highlights the dimension of the gazetteer as an independent work, and does not view these two aspects as contradictory to each other. Even in *Topically Arranged Excerpts*,

²⁹⁸ Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 120f.

²⁹⁹ Shen Yue 沈約, “Song shu” 宋書 (Book of the Song), in *Ershiwu shi* 二十五史 (Twenty-Five Dynastic Histories) (Hongkong: Xianggang wenxue yanjiu chubanshe, 1959), *juan* 93, 1644.

³⁰⁰ See Li Xiaoyu 李晓愚, *Suzao quwei: Wan-Ming yi Xihu wei zhongxin de wenren yishu shenghuo yanjiu* 塑造趣味：晚明以西湖为中心的文人艺术生活研究 (Beyond the West Lake: The Lifestyle of the Literati Artists in the Late Ming Dynasty) (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 2019), 40–46.

³⁰¹ Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan*, “Xihu bianlan xu”, 3b.

which discards the spatial organization, there is the claim from Huang Keqian's 黃克謙 (*jinsshi* 1598) preface: "I used to peruse this compilation, and green blurred beyond mist, emerald dripped after rain, flutes and drums made pleasant sounds, and the setting sun was about to disappear. Whenever I ate and went to sleep, I frequently encountered these scenes" (余嘗披此集，而碧迷烟外，翠滴雨餘，簫鼓盈盈，斜陽欲盡，食息寢處，往往而是).³⁰² It seems that for Huang, the potential for imagined sightseeing lies in the individual entries themselves, whether they are spatially organized or not.

To a reader who was familiar with West Lake, such a presentation enabled a recollection of the West Lake landscape. To a reader who has never been at West Lake and has no clear idea of its topography, imagined touring is rendered possible: By devising and developing West Lake tours, the gazetteer acquires a verisimilitude in the sequence of touring and visiting a place. This is pointed out by Altenburger as follows: "The author guides the reader through a sequence of successive sightseeing locations, progressing from one station to the next by redirecting their pathway. The described order of places is as heterogeneous as the experience of the sightseer."³⁰³ Moreover, the verbs that indicate movements and directions, such as "leave", "turn", and "move westward", imitate the physical movement of a sightseer.

The organization of scenic sites into actual or virtual sightseeing tours had an impact on the perception of time in the text. In a study of poetic exposition (*fu* 賦) styled "*fu* recounting travel" (*jixing fu* 紀行賦) by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433), Xiaofei Tian argues that "time is organized along the continuum on the axis of space; in other words, historical narrative is not structured chronologically but is manipulated by the author's spatial movement".³⁰⁴ This is also true to West Lake gazetteers that organize the sites spatially, but at the same time pay attention to the sites' histories. As mentioned above, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* also includes entries on sites that "lie waste" at the time and present them in the same way as other sites. Since it did not make much of a difference whether a site existed or not at the level of imagination, these entries could be treated equally. The imagined sightseeing tour results in a constant moving back and forth in

³⁰² Yu Sichong, *Xihu zhi leichao*, 7f.

³⁰³ Altenburger, "Layered Landscape", 121.

³⁰⁴ Xiaofei Tian, "Tales from Borderland", 45.

time, as the individual sites encountered refer to different historical periods. The West Lake gazetteers provide even better instances than Xie Lingyun's work, as a real tour can be influenced by weather, traffic, accident, etc., while the assumed traveler in the gazetteer is not subject to any such constraints, and is thus able to access all possible sites. The result is an all-encompassing pattern, in which the scenic sites of all historical periods overlap. It is a historical and imagined landscape of West Lake rather than its current state alone.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the structure of West Lake gazetteers as initiated by Tian Rucheng, who has innovatively categorized the scenic sites geographically rather than topically, presented them in a sequence along sightseeing routes, and described their relative positions. It is not easy to confirm the significance of the structure of a West Lake gazetteer, which is never self-evident but may have been understood differently by different people. Although literati refer to this aspect of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, they are often simplistic and do not elaborate the exact relationship between the text and actual sightseeing. One approach that examines the logic of the text suggests that *Sightseeing Gazetteer* was still relatively remote from the “full-fledged” traveler's guidebooks, judging from a modern perspective. The transition from one chapter to the next is often associated with a leap in space, and some practical details, such as schedule and means of transportation, are absent. Among its two maps, the “Song-dynasty Map” presents a historical landscape, while the “Present-dynasty Map” omits numerous sites and thus provides insufficient knowledge for contemporary travelers. Another approach examines the routes of literati sightseers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, which show considerable deviations from those devised in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. One reason is that the choice of routes was subject to season, weather, or other contingent affairs. The absence of these factors in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* renders the text too simplistic and rigid. Moreover, literati sightseers, especially those of the late Ming, preferred an unplanned, unpredictable, and free style of sightseeing, and were inclined to create their own schedule and devise their own routes as an expression of their personal taste and

connoisseurship. These ideas also conflicted with the concept as implied by *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.

Some of the later gazetteers attempted to overcome the weaknesses of Tian Rucheng's text by improving its structure and organization. *Convenient Reading*, for example, had applied the principle of route-guiding to the entire text, regulated the sequence of chapters in response to the changed situation of West Lake sightseeing, and offered maps with higher precision and more details. *Topically Arranged Excerpts* abandons the spatial framework and goes back to the convention of topical categorization, while in *Dream Searching*, the sites of a region are only loosely placed in a chapter.

Even if the sightseeing routes were not to be mechanically followed, the spatial organization of scenic sites in the West Lake gazetteers still had its advantages. It could help readers get familiar with the scenic sites of an area, while the records of the relative positions of sites made it convenient to identify the sites encountered. If a gazetteer was only employed for reading, the spatial organization facilitated the text's understanding as a travel record, in which the assumed impersonal traveler was able to visit the scenic sites and appreciate the views exhaustively. As the vanished sites are sometimes also presented, West Lake tended to become an imaginary landscape, in which sites and views of all historical periods overlapped.

3 Selection of Materials

This chapter continues to study the editorial principles of West Lake gazetteers by exploring the selection of materials. The compiler of a West Lake gazetteer, like any local gazetteer, selected materials from multiple textual sources and might also have included his own, placed the collected individual entries in the conceived structure of the compilation, and occasionally commented on them. The meanings of an individual text in a gazetteer were thus twofold: First, it was produced by its own author and in its own context; second, it was selected, categorized, and commented on by the compiler and editor of the West Lake gazetteer, who placed it in a new context and endowed it with new meanings. The approach of this chapter is thus twofold, as it looks at the individual entries as included in the West Lake gazetteers, as well as at their organization.

This chapter is divided into several parts. First, I will examine the spatial, temporal, and topical scopes of the gazetteers, that is, what places and periods the materials refer to, and what they are about. Second, I will discuss Tian Rucheng's division of materials into two compilations, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and its *Supplement*. I intend to show that this dichotomy is largely due to the differences in genre, which then leads to an analysis of anecdotes as one type of text that is particularly frequently seen in the *Supplement* and other West Lake gazetteers. Finally, I will examine the inclusion of the compilers' own writings of West Lake. Although such inclusion was a rather common practice, different compilers of West Lake gazetteers treat it differently.

3.1 Spatial, Temporal, and Topical Scopes

Tian Rucheng, in his preface to *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, preventively responds to the anticipated criticism that, despite the word "West Lake" in the title, the text also covers the city of Hangzhou. As discussed in the preceding chapter, in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the presented scenic sites were located not only at West Lake, but also on the distant hills, inside the city wall of Hangzhou, and at Zhe River. Tian countered the criticism with the argument that West Lake and its surrounding regions constituted an organic whole, the

parts of which depended on each other; it was only through the presentation of the entire region that West Lake could be understood:

西湖者，南北兩山之秀液也；南北兩山者，西湖之護沙也；滋靈釀淑，條貫同之。若非元本山川，要原別委，則西湖之全體不章，故旁及城市，正以摹寫西湖也。³⁰⁵

West Lake, that is the beautiful water between the Southern Hills and the Northern Hills; and the Southern Hills and the Northern Hills are the protective soils of West Lake. The places nurture the spirit and brew the charm, and stand in the same line. If the description does not start from the original hills and rivers, seeks and distinguishes the beginning and the end, then the entirety of West Lake would not be made manifest. Therefore, the side reference to the city is exactly for the depiction of West Lake.

Although *Sightseeing Gazetteer* does not exclusively focus on West Lake, its geographical scope is not that of any administrative unit either. Although Tian mentions in his preface two local officials who praised the gazetteer as a “prefectural history”, the region it covers is far narrower than that of the prefectural gazetteers of Hangzhou, which conventionally includes all the nine subordinate counties. Rather, the text resembles those miscellanies produced in the Southern Song and the Yuan, such as *Millet Dream* and *Old Affairs*, which focus on the city of Hangzhou and its surrounding regions. The difference between the two lies in their emphases: while the miscellanies focus more on the space inside the city wall, *Sightseeing Gazetteer* presents the lake in greater detail.

Some of the later West Lake gazetteers are more selective than *Sightseeing Gazetteer* in respect of scenic sites. For instances, *Convenient Reading* drops the sections of Hangzhou and Zhe River, except for Wu Hill, due to their irrelevance to West Lake sightseeing; *Topically Arranged Excerpts* and *Dream Searching* include only a few sites in the environs of West Lake, such as those in the city, and are selective even as it comes to the West Lake region, dropping numerous sites. According to my own counting, *Convenient Reading* has a total of 309 individual sites, not including the vanished ones;

³⁰⁵ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, “Xihu youlan zhi xu”, 1.

Topically Arranged Excerpts has 131 sites, and *Dream Searching* just 72. In the preface to *Topically Arranged Excerpts*, Huang Keqian claims that the gazetteer “has collected the most wonderful sites of West Lake” (彙西湖之最勝).³⁰⁶ This is also the case with *Convenient Reading* and *Dream Searching*, which include the sites that are considered the most prominent and valuable in sightseeing. The prominence of a site often corresponds to the literary quality of its entry: In *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, numerous entries, most of which on minor sites, comprise only a few lines as they merely recount the chronology of the site’s construction and possible restoration and destruction. In contrast, in *Dream Searching*, such brief accounts are largely dropped. Its introductory essays are considerably longer, refer to famous stories and vivid anecdotes, and present the supreme aspects of West Lake.

As to their temporal scope, the two compilations by Tian Rucheng support the impression of the abundance of materials from the Song period. The numbers of the Song authors and literary works included in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* surpass those of any other dynasty, as presented in the following table:

Dynasties	Authors	Works
Tang	12	49
Song	70	195
Yuan	42	128
Ming	29	55
Total	153	427

Table 3.1: Numbers of literary works and authors in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* by dynasty.³⁰⁷

The Song predominance is also evident in *Supplement*, which contains particularly numerous entries about the Southern Song. The materials range from court politics, anecdotes of emperors, ministers, and scholar-officials to the everyday life and urban culture of Hangzhou during this period. The Song bias is accounted for by the editors of

³⁰⁶ Yu Sichong, *Xihu zhi leichao*, 4.

³⁰⁷ This is according to the statistics in Gao Liping 高丽萍, “*Xihu youlan zhi ji Zhi yu yanjiu*”, 《西湖游览志》及《志余》研究 (A Study of *The Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake* and *Supplement to the Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake*) (Master thesis, Zhejiang University of Technology, 2011), 11.

the *Four Treasuries*: “Although this book [i.e. *Sightseeing Gazetteer and Supplement*] takes “sightseeing” as its title, and records many of the scenic sites at the lake and on the hills, the contents concerning the history of the Song actually are the majority” (是書雖以遊覽為名，多記湖山之勝，實有關於宋史者為多).³⁰⁸ The overall Song dominance leads to the question of whether there was any partiality in the selection of materials, and whether this was due to any nostalgic intention of its compiler. In the discussion of the perceived greater interest in the Song past as compared to the Ming present, Roland Altenburger is cautious about drawing rash conclusions:

[F]rom this historical inclination for the Southern Song past we must not jump rashly to the conclusion that Tian’s work was a project of nostalgia. The emphasis on the Song, I would rather suggest, was first of all due to the relative wealth of source material that had been left over from the previous dynasty.³⁰⁹

In my opinion, there is insufficient evidence for any Song nostalgia conveyed by the selection of materials, given the following considerations, as the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* provided a comprehensive account of all sites that had existed in history and thus avoids any partiality. The proportion of materials, as Altenburger suggests, is more likely to be subject to the source materials that were transmitted from previous dynasties. In other words, Tian Rucheng included more Song materials simply because more of such materials were available to him. This is supported by the ratios of literary works of different periods as seen in modern anthologies of West Lake literature, which are close to that of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.³¹⁰

The temporal comprehensiveness of *Sightseeing Gazetteer* means that it also includes the sites that were vanished at Tian’s time. The later West Lake gazetteer, *Convenient Reading*, marks these sites by smaller characters, thus implying their irrelevance to contemporary sightseeing, while *Topically Arranged Excerpts* simply drops all of them.

³⁰⁸ See “Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao” in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 222.

³⁰⁹ Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 125.

³¹⁰ In a history of West Lake literature by present-day scholars, for example, who select materials from a range of sources, such as modern editions of *Complete Tang Poetry* (*Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩), *Complete Tang Essays* (*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文), *Complete Song Poetry* (*Quan Song shi* 全宋詩), and *Complete Song Essays* (*Quan Song wen* 全宋文), the ratios of authors and works of the Tang and the Song are close to those of Tian Rucheng’s text. See Peng Wanlong 彭万隆 and Xiao Ruifeng 肖瑞峰, *Xihu wenxue shi (Tang Song juan)* 西湖文学史 (唐宋卷) (A History of West Lake Literature: From the Tang to the Song) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2013), 3.

This is best understood in the context of the practice-orientation of these two texts, which give priority to the recent and current state of West Lake at a time when sightseeing was thriving.

Among the seventy-two sites in *Dream Searching*, only a few were vanished by the time the gazetteer was compiled. For example, Zhang records a certain Qin Tower (Qin lou 秦楼) that was destroyed by warfare in the course of dynastic change and replaced by folk residences;³¹¹ in the entry on “Liuzhou Pavilion” (*Liuzhou ting* 柳州亭), Zhang describes in a sad and nostalgic tone the vanishing of his grandfather’s villa as well as the many villas and gardens that used to be located there.³¹² Yet such cases are rare, and most sites that Zhang recorded had survived the dynastic transition. The main reason for the small number of vanished sites in *Dream Searching* was that most sites enjoyed such a fame that they had been reconstructed several times in history and were likely to be revived as soon as order was reestablished. By the time *Dream Searching* was being compiled, some projects of restoration were already taking place.

In contrast to *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, Zhang Dai’s *Dream Searching* put its temporal emphasis on the final decades of the Ming. According to my counting, the numbers of authors and literary works in *Dream Searching* are presented in the following table:

Periods	Authors	Works
Pre-Tang & Tang	7	13
Song	13	39
Yuan	7	10
Early Ming	10	11
Late Ming & Qing	35	180
Total	72	253

Table 3.2: Numbers of selected literary works and their authors in *Dream Searching*.³¹³

³¹¹ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 45.

³¹² *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 73f.

³¹³ There are of course people who lived in more than one period, so the categorization is made according to the flourishing period of the figure. There are also two figures, Huang Jiuwen 黄久文 and Li Jianlong 李鑑龍, whose periods are unclear and therefore were not included. See *ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 13 and 66.

While “early Ming” here refers to the Ming period up to the first publication of Tian Rucheng’s gazetteer, in 1547, “late Ming” refers to the period from 1547 to the end of the dynasty, and “Qing” to the Qing period up to the completion of *Dream Searching*, in 1671. As can be seen, the ratios of authors and works of different periods in *Dream Searching*, with the slight exception of the few Yuan authors and works, are fairly close to those of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which may serve to verify Tian’s temporal impartiality. The greatest numbers of authors and works, however, are those after the publication of Tian’s gazetteer. It covers the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, the golden age of Ming West Lake sightseeing, part of which Zhang had himself lived in. Despite this, I would suggest that Zhang’s emphasis on this period is not necessarily due to any nostalgia, either, since it could have been due to the imperatives of supplementing and updating earlier works. Even if the project of *Dream Searching* was intrigued and motivated by nostalgia, the text itself was subject to the rules and principles of gazetteer compiling. Since a local gazetteer frequently needed to be updated, the project provides an opportunity for Zhang to present the period that was the object of his nostalgia.

The imperatives of gazetteer compiling are also evident in the presentation of the early Qing situation. Zhang, in his preface, claims to have preserved the West Lake in his dream, while the real, present-day, ruined West Lake was what he fled from. Nevertheless, he not only included literary works composed in the early Qing, but also reported the developments of some sites in this most recent period. According to my counting, among the seventy-two introductory essays, eight explicitly mention the condition of the site after the fall of the Ming. The dichotomy of the prosperous Ming past and the ruinous Qing present as implied by the preface is not in full accord with the text: on the one hand, some sites already had declined in the final decade of the Ming, so the dynastic transition just worsened the situation; on the other hand, some projects of restoration were already taking place in the first decades of the Qing. For example, in the entry “Zhaoqing Monastery”, it is said that, “as it came to the early Qing, the construction followed in the previous footsteps and further increased its splendor, and the Buddhist altar was ordered. Compared with previous dynasties, the monastery was even more solemn” (及至清初, 踵

事增華，戒壇整肅，較之前代，尤更莊嚴）。³¹⁴ The entry “Soul Retreat Monastery” narrates the story of Monk Ju, a younger clansman of Zhang, who managed to restore the monastery after it had burnt down in 1640. When Zhang visited the place again, in 1657, he witnessed with admiration Monk Ju’s ability to run the monastery. In 1660, when the construction of the major hall was finished, Zhang wrote a poem to congratulate him, which was attached to the entry.³¹⁵ If a gazetteer can be expected to faithfully record the history of a place up to the most recent time, *Dream Searching* was no exception to this rule.

To understand the strategy of *Dream Searching*, which contains much fewer sites than *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and focuses overwhelmingly on the late Ming and Qing, a passage from Zhang Dai’s “Family Biographies” (*Jiazhuan* 家傳) may be illuminating:

傳吾高曾，如救月去其蝕，則闕者可見也；傳吾大父，如寫照肖其半，則全者可見也；傳吾先子，如網魚舉其大，則小者可見也。³¹⁶

To write biographies of my great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather is like restoring to the moon its fullness, for removing the eclipse, what was once a lacuna can now be viewed; to write a biography of my grandfather is like portraying a person, for having limned a half-likeness, the whole can be viewed; to write a biography of my father is like catching fish with a net, for having presented the large ones caught, the small ones can be viewed.³¹⁷

As Zhang Dai writes biographies of his family members, he points out the different strategies he adopted according to the different statuses of the portrayed personalities: both his great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather were prominent scholar-officials; even if Zhang wrote no biography of them, there were biographies written by other people, which will be transmitted to later generations. What Zhang thus needed to do was to merely supplement or correct the biographies that already existed. His father, on the other hand, had never held any higher degree or served in any high official position. As

³¹⁴ Ibid., “Xihu mengxun”, 9.

³¹⁵ Ibid., “Xihu mengxun”, 29f.

³¹⁶ Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), 279.

³¹⁷ Cf. the translation in Duncan M. Campbell, “Mortal Ancestors, Immortal Images: Zhang Dai’s Biographical Portraits”, *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 9, no. 3, (2012): 7.

Zhang wrote about his father who would have been otherwise unknown, he adopted another strategy and presented what was greatest and noblest about him.

I would suggest that both strategies are applied to Zhang's West Lake project. Since there were already numerous texts on West Lake, especially the influential gazetteer of Tian Rucheng, which includes massive materials about the Song and the Yuan periods, Zhang only needs to supplement them. This supplement is largely a temporal one, as the text focuses mainly on the periods after Tian. As it comes to the late Ming, Zhang adopts a strategy similar to that of his father's biography, records the most famous scenic sites and includes the most prominent literary works, attempting to present what was best of this period.

In terms of topical scope, all West Lake gazetteers, with the exception of Tian Rucheng's *Supplement*, are site-oriented. In other words, all materials in the compilation are linked to a certain site or several sites at West Lake, and they were probably included by the compiler due to this linkage. The materials usually comprise a description of the landscape, major historical events of the site such as construction and destruction; if the site is related to a historical figure, a short biography of the person is often included. As a result, the contents of the materials are heterogeneous and could well fall outside the activities of sightseeing.

Despite such heterogeneity, certain contents that are commonly seen in administrative gazetteers are conspicuously missing in the West Lake gazetteers: First, since West Lake was neither an administrative unit nor the location of any administrative seat, contents that belong to local administration, such as successive changes in administrative units (*yan'ge* 沿革), list of officials (*zhiguan* 職官), households and populations (*hukou* 戶口), agricultural taxes (*tianfu* 田賦), military and defense (*bingfang* 兵防), relief measures (*xuzheng* 郵政), and the civil service examinations (*xuanju* 選舉), are absent. In *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, only scenic sites, districts, lanes etc. are presented as it comes to the city of Hangzhou. Second, since the basic units of most West Lake gazetteers are individual scenic sites, contents such as water control (*shuili* 水利), local products (*tuchan* 土產), customs (*fengsu* 風俗), and prominent local persons (*renwu* 人物) are presented in quite unsystematic ways. They do not constitute any

separate section, but are occasionally referred to in the entries of individual sites. In general, the Ming West Lake gazetteers resemble works of cultural geography in the sense that they focus on certain aspects of *wen* 文 (culture, literature) of a place. There is no obvious political agenda in them, neither are they of much value in serving political, administrative, and military purposes. In her overview of the genre and history of Chinese local gazetteers, Hilde de Weerd examines three uses they were put to, that is, administrative, scholarly, and recreational, and views the “sightseeing gazetteers” as instances of the third one.³¹⁸ Although the West Lake gazetteers extend the function of mere recreation, their presentation of the topography and history of West Lake could indeed contribute to the activities of sightseeing and thus serve recreational purposes. This aspect of the West Lake gazetteers was criticized by the compilers of the *Gazetteer of West Lake*, an officially initiated and managed project, who assert in the “Editorial Principles” that Tian Rucheng’s gazetteer was compiled solely for the sake of sightseeing.³¹⁹ To avoid the same criticism, the compilers included categories that were considered important to people’s livelihood, such as “Water Control” (*Shuili*, *juan* 1–2) and “Natural Resources and Products” (*Wuchan* 物產, *juan* 24).³²⁰ Nevertheless, the bulk of *Gazetteer of West Lake* does not differ from the Ming gazetteers, which makes the claims by its compilers appear more like a mere stance.

3.2 The Division between *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement*

In his preface to *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement*, which were published together in 1547, Tian writes as follows:

敘列山川，附以勝蹟，揭綱統目，爲卷者二十有四，題曰《西湖遊覽志》。裁剪之遺，兼收並蓄，分門彙種，爲卷者二十有六，題曰《西湖遊覽志餘》。³²¹

³¹⁸ Hilde de Weerd, “Regional Descriptions: Administrative and Scholarly Traditions”, in *Treasures of the Yenching: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library*, ed. Patrick Hanan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Library of the Harvard College Library, 2003), 124 and 142.

³¹⁹ Li Wei, *Xihu zhi*, 41. See also Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 127–129.

³²⁰ De Weerd, “Regional Descriptions”, 142f.

³²¹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, “Xihu youlan zhi xu”, 1.

I described and listed mountains and rivers, attached their famous sites to them, made an outline and categorized the contents, and ended up with twenty-four *juan*, entitled *The Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake*. The leftover materials were widely and comprehensively included and divided into different categories. They constituted twenty-six *juan*, entitled *Supplement to the Sightseeing Gazetteer of West Lake*.

According to this description, *Supplement* was not a text that was compiled at a later time and served to add new materials to *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. Rather, the two texts were compiled simultaneously, and their division was deliberately made. In other words, the materials in the two compilations must have been considered categorically different from each other. The term “supplement” in the title and the claim about “leftover materials” in the preface suggest that the materials in *Supplement* are of secondary importance. At a first glance, the most notable difference between the two texts is their fundamentally different organizing principle: while the entries on scenic sites in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are geographically arranged, the *Supplement* categorizes its materials by topics into thirteen sections, as listed in the following table:

Chapters	Sections	Contents
1–2	Imperial Metropolis (Diwang duhui 帝王都會)	Kings of the Wuyue Kingdom; emperors of the Southern Song
3	Peripheral Accommodation, Idleness and Pleasure (Pianan yiyu 偏安佚豫)	Leisure activities, festivals, and ceremonies of the Southern Song court and Hangzhou residents
4–5	Flattering Powerful Ministers and Excessive Pleasure-seeking (Ningxing panhuang 佞倖盤荒)	Corrupt and nefarious ministers of the Southern Song
6	Turmoil and Sadness (Bandang qiliang 版蕩淒涼)	Destructions of Hangzhou from the Northern Song to the Yuan; fall of the Southern Song
7–9	Noble Styles of Worthy and Prominent Persons (Xianda gaofeng 賢達高風)	Virtuous officials, recluses, literati, and females

10–13	Talent and Elegance (Caiqing yazhi 才情雅致)	Literary writings
14–15	Mysterious Traces beyond the World (Fangwai xuanzong 方外玄踪)	Prominent Buddhists and Daoists
16	Fascinating Writings in the Make-up Box (Xianglian yanyu 香奩艷語)	Anecdotes about women; female writings
17–18	Appreciations of Works of Art and Literature (Yiwen shangjian 藝文賞鑒)	Painters and calligraphers
19	Famous Persons of Skills (Shuji mingjia 術技名家)	Fortunetellers and artisans
20	Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods (Xichao leshi 熙朝樂事)	Hangzhou festivals and West Lake sightseeing of the Ming
21–25	Talks in the Provincial Alleys (Weixiang congtao 委巷叢談)	Miscellaneous affairs
26	Transmission of Doubtful Affairs of the Mysterious and the Strange (Youguai chuanyi 幽怪傳疑)	Strange affairs and Ghost Stories

Table 3.3: Chapters and contents of the thirteen sections in *Supplement*.

The dichotomy of the two texts generates two questions: First, why are some materials placed in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* but others in *Supplement*? Second, why do the two texts differ in organizing principle? An examination of the two compilations reveals that the position of an entry may depend on one or several of the following factors: First, an entry may have been excluded from *Sightseeing Gazetteer* for its excessive length. An example is the entry “Virtue and Longevity Palace” (*Deshou gong* 德壽宮) in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which refers to the palace of the retired Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (1107–1187, r. 1127–1162) of the Song. Its introductory essay is rather brief and followed by the cross-reference “for more details, see ‘Peripheral Accommodation, Idleness and Pleasure’

[in *Supplement*]” (詳見《偏安佚豫志》中).³²² Second, in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, each entry refers to one place, site, or view of West Lake, and thus can be neatly placed in its spatial structure, while in *Supplement*, numerous entries refer either to multiple sites, to West Lake or the city of Hangzhou as a whole, or to no particular place at all. For example, sixty of Su Shi’s poems are included in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and nine in *Supplement*, between which there is no overlap.³²³ The difference between the two groups is that most poems in *Supplement* refer to West Lake only vaguely, such as “on the lake” (*hushang* 湖上). This partly explains why the two compilations differ in organizing principle: due to the vague indications of location, a spatial organization of the entries in *Supplement* is hardly possible. Third, the introductory essays in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* conventionally note major events of a site, such as constructions, restorations, and important rituals and ceremonies performed, from the earliest traceable time to the present. The narratives in *Supplement*, on the other hand, refer mostly to a variety of events that “merely happened” in a certain place, such as gatherings of literati, romantic affairs, and supernatural events. Fourth, if the historical figure related to a site is introduced, the narrative in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* would predominantly focus on the major events in the life of the person, while *Supplement* records more anecdotes. For example, in the introductory essay of the entry “King Yue’s Tomb”, in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, a biography of Yue Fei is included that focuses on the warfare led by him, his failure to recover the lost territory, and his execution and burial, while the entries about Yue Fei in the section “Noble Styles of Worthy and Prominent Persons” of *Supplement* includes a range of short records about his legendary birth, filial piety, disinterest in pleasure-seeking, strict military discipline, and so on.³²⁴

The third and fourth differences pointed out above to some extent resemble those between “official history” and “unofficial history”. For example, the biography of the Emperor Gaozong of the Song in the *The Dynastic History of the Song* (*Song shi* 宋史) is mainly one chronological time-line of major events, such as the making of policies, military campaigns, and promotions and demotions of high-ranking officials. The most

³²² Ibid., 143; Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 28.

³²³ This is according to the statistics in Gao Liping, “*Xihu youlan zhi ji Zhi yu yanjiu*”, 40. For Su Shi’s poems in *Supplement*, see Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 115–118.

³²⁴ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 84–86; Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 84f.

entries in *Supplement* about Emperor Gaozong, on the other hand, are short anecdotes, which mainly originate from the “brush notes” (*biji* 筆記) of the Southern Song and the Yuan periods. These anecdotes focus on various aspects of Gaozong that were considered “trivial”, such as his pastime, literary and artistic talents, interactions with imperial family and palace staff, and sightseeing experiences.

Tian Rucheng’s division of his materials into two volumes was praised by the editors of the *Four Treasuries*: “Since this supplementary text [i.e. *Supplement*] serves to include the redundant and trivial materials, the primary book [i.e. *Sightseeing Gazetteer*] can avoid the problem of heterogeneity. This was in favor of its genre categorization” (蓋有此餘文以消納其冗碎，而後本書不病於蕪雜，此其義例之善也).³²⁵ Compared with *Sightseeing Gazetteer* that appears as relatively systematic and rigid, the entire *Supplement* is more like a residual category, the materials of which cannot be placed in the former. The heterogeneity of the materials in terms of content result in thirteen rather loose categories, the boundaries between which are not always clear-cut. Poems, for example, are found in multiple sections, such as “Talent and Elegance”, “Fascinating Writings in the Make-up Box”, and “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods”. Moreover, the section “Talks in the Provincial Alleys” serves most obviously as a residual category for the other sections of *Supplement*, as it contains materials which could not have been put elsewhere. Resembling the section “Miscellaneous Records” (*zaji* 雜記 or *zazhi* 雜誌), which is commonly found in local gazetteers and typically placed toward the end of a compilation, the contents of this section are extremely heterogeneous. *Juan* 21, for example, contains materials on: 1. topographical and historical accounts of mountains, rivers, and canals of Hangzhou; 2. anecdotes about King Qian Liu 錢鏐 (852–932, r. 907–932) of the Wuyue Kingdom; 3. anecdotes about literati from the Tang to the Ming; 4. poetry on objects (*yongwu* 咏物); 5. Tian Rucheng’s comments on previous Hangzhou gazetteers and local writings; 6. remarks on Hangzhou’s place names and geographical layout. While the priority given to *Sightseeing Gazetteer* leads to a neatly ordered and systematic presentation of its contents, it is done at the expense of *Supplement*, which has to accommodate the rest of the materials, many of which are hard to categorize.

³²⁵ See “Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao” in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 222.

The titles of the thirteen sections of *Supplement*, each of which has four characters, are to some extent judgmental, as some of them correspond to personality traits. Among them, the heading of the section “Flattering Powerful Ministers and Excessive Pleasure-seeking” somewhat resembles the biographical group of “nefarious ministers” (*jianchen* 姦臣), a category that first appeared in historical writings during the Northern Song period.³²⁶ This section includes anecdotes about a range of powerful ministers, such as Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047–1126), Qin Hui 秦檜 (1090–1155), Han Tuozhou 韓侂胄 (1151–1207), Ding Daquan 丁大全 (1191–1263), and Jia Sidao, the biographies of whom are indeed placed among those of “nefarious ministers” in *The Dynastic History of the Song*.

While each section consists of multiple entries, its heading functions as a guidance toward a morally proper understanding, which is not necessarily in accordance with what these entries originally had been intended for. For example, most entries in the section “Peripheral Accommodation, Idleness and Pleasure” originally were included in several chapters of Zhou Mi’s *Old Affairs*, although there are numerous minor differences from the corresponding individual entries. Focusing on the Qiandao 乾道 (1165–1173) and the Chunxi 淳熙 (1174–1189) eras of the Southern Song, they describe the harmonious relationships among the members of the imperial family, their pleasures in sightseeing, and the comfort and joy of Hangzhou residents. In the preface to his compilation, Zhou Mi praises this period as the golden age of the Southern Song:

乾道、淳熙間，三朝授受，兩宮奉親，古昔所無。一時聲名文物之盛，號「小元祐」，豐亨豫大。至寶祐、景定，則幾於政、宣矣。³²⁷

In the Qiandao and the Chunxi eras, the throne was handed over voluntarily within the three reigns, and the parents of the two palaces were cared for,³²⁸ this is what had

³²⁶ Charles Hartman points out that “[t]he concept of a special classification of ‘nefarious ministers’ derives from Ou-yang Hsiu [i.e. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)], who introduced the grouping in the *Hsin T’ang shu* 新唐書 (*New T’ang History*) of 1060, and this innovation doubtless relates to increased Northern Song efforts to apply moral values to the understanding of history.” See Charles Hartman, “The Making of a Villain: Ch’in Kuei and Tao-hsüeh”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 58, no. 1 (1998): 106.

³²⁷ Zhou Mi 周密, “Wulin jiushi” 武林舊事 (Old Affairs of Wulin), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 2, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 313.

³²⁸ The “three reigns” (*san chao* 三朝) refers to the reigns of the three successive emperors, that is, Emperor Gaozong,

never occurred in the past. The reputation and the valuable institutions reached such a degree that the period was called “lesser Yuanyou 元祐 (1086–1094) era”. The empire reached its peak and achieved greatness, just like what the hexagrams *feng* 豐 and *yu* 豫 indicate.³²⁹ As it came to the Baoyou (1253–1258) and the Jingding (1260–1264) eras, however, it was almost like the Zhenghe 政和 (1111–1118) and the Xuanhe 宣和 (1119–1125) eras [i.e. the final years of the Northern Song].

The materials in the several chapters of *Old Affairs* focus much on the virtues of the early Southern Song emperors, such as the filial piety of Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (1127–1194, r. 1162–1189), the successor of the retired Emperor Gaozong, and thus suggest that the prosperity and joys of this period, in contrast to the decline of the late Southern Song, were the result of their virtues. As they are placed in *Supplement*, however, they are labeled by a title that suggests a view of these materials in a negative light, as the state of “peripheral accommodation” (*pianan* 偏安) is commonly viewed as shameful for the Southern Song regime, since idleness and pleasure-seeking were considered as distracting forces that would lead to decline. Here Zhou Mi and Tian Rucheng may reflect the two different attitudes to prosperity and pleasure (cf. Chapter 6). Given that Zhou compiled his text after the fall of the Southern Song, it seems that *Old Affairs* was a product of the loyalist strategy that aimed at preserving the achievements of the lost Song dynasty. Tian Rucheng, on the other hand, lived several centuries later and was not subject to Zhou’s obligation and agenda, and chose to criticize the Southern Song for his own purposes.

In *Supplement*, there is another section on prosperity and pleasures, which has a clearly positive heading: “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods”. The difference between “Peripheral Accommodation, Idleness and Pleasure” and this section is that the latter focuses on the Ming period, including Tian Rucheng’s own time, instead of the Southern Song, and the activities of local officials, literati, and commoners, rather than of the emperors. Yet it is unclear whether there is any difference between the two kinds of

Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (1127–1194, r. 1162–1189), and Emperor Guangzong 光宗 (1147–1200, r. 1189–1194). The “two palaces” (*liang gong* 兩宮) refer to the retired Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu 吳 (1115–1197).

³²⁹ The phrase “feng heng yu da” 豐亨豫大 (*feng* intimates progress and *yu* indicates great significance) originates from the hexagrams *feng* and *yu* in the *Classic of Changes* (*Yi jing* 易經) and often refers to a prosperous period. See Huang Shouqi 黄寿祺 and Zhang Shanwen 张善文, *Zhouyi yizhu* 周易译注 (*Changes of the Zhou with Translation and Annotations*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 100–104 and 321–326.

“prosperity and pleasure” respectively presented in the two sections. While the dichotomy between the two sections may reveal Tian’s own ambivalent attitude, the likely reason for the positive title of “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods” was his own identity as a (retired) scholar-official of the Ming dynasty.

In local gazetteers, important and more valuable contents are conventionally placed in the front. In *Supplement*, the text begins with the section “Imperial Metropolis”, which includes stories of kings and emperors when Hangzhou served as a capital city. It is followed by three sections, “Peripheral Accommodation, Idleness and Pleasure”, “Flattering Powerful Ministers and Excessive Pleasure-seeking”, and “Turmoil and Sadness”. The sequence of the first four sections implies a causal relationship: the city of Hangzhou started as the capital of a dynasty, presumably the Southern Song; yet the corrupt and evil officials and the indulgence in pleasure-seeking of the court weakened the dynasty from inside, which finally led to its fall. This thus constitutes an implicit criticism of the Southern Song regime.

The section “Noble Styles of Worthy and Prominent Persons”, though, is placed as the fifth only. This is rather exceptional, since in various pre-modern compilations, such as local gazetteers, encyclopedias, and historical writings, biographies of prominent and virtuous scholar-officials are almost always placed before those of nefarious and vicious ones. This reflects the idea that “positive” materials were generally more valued than “negative” ones.³³⁰ To serve didactic and educational purposes, virtuous and meritorious deeds were considered to have set up standards that could be potentially emulated; if, however, vice and unworthy behavior would be imitated, this could lead to a bad end. The unconventional sequence of the sections in *Supplement* thus has the effect of highlighting the “negative” materials in the front. Readers are invited to pay more attention to the weaknesses and failures of the Southern Song, though with due caution. Instead of taking the materials in the front sections as role models, they were rather meant as historical lessons and negative examples to learn from. This particular feature of *Supplement* was well noted by the editors of the *Four Treasuries*, who state that the book “follows ‘Emperor Gaozong’ with the section ‘Peripheral Accommodation, Idleness and Pleasure’,

³³⁰ Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 425 and 434.

thus expressing its intentions several times in each single chapter” (於高宗而後偏安逸豫，每一篇之中三致意焉)。³³¹

3.3 Anecdotes, Characterization, and Historiography

Anecdotes are a type of texts that is frequently seen in West Lake gazetteers, such as *Supplement* and *Dream Searching*. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an anecdote is the “narrative of a detached incident, or of a single event, told as being in itself interesting and striking”.³³² Jack W. Chen points out that, in traditional China, “[a]necdotes are variously referred to as *yishi* 逸事 or 軼事 (‘uncollected matters’), *yiwen* 遺聞 (‘uncollected news’), or sometimes simply *gushi* 故事 (‘old tales’).”³³³ Chen also notes that “writings incorporating such materials [i.e. anecdotes] would include such diverse genres as anomaly accounts and marvelous tales (*zhiguai chuanqi* 志怪傳奇), miscellanies and private accounts (variously known as *biji* and *zalu* 雜錄, among other terms), and so-called unofficial or secret histories (*waishi* 外史 and *neizhuan* 內傳)”.³³⁴ Anecdotes are not confined to private histories, but may also be made use of by official histories, local gazetteers, and geographic works. In the West Lake gazetteers, anecdotes can be cited from other textual sources, such as the “casual brush notes” (*biji* 筆記 or *suibi* 隨筆), or written by the compiler himself, such as his own stories at West Lake.

In *Supplement*, most anecdotes are relatively short, their lengths rarely surpassing two pages in any pre-modern edition. The anecdotes on the same person or topic are usually placed in the same section. Despite this, they are disconnected in the sense that the individual events are not linked to each other in a causal chain. To give one example, an entry on Emperor Gaozong of the Song in the section “Imperial Metropolis” reads as follows:

³³¹ See “Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao” in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 222.

³³² This is cited from Lionel Gossman, “Anecdote and History”, *History and Theory* 42, no. 2 (2003): 148.

³³³ Jack W. Chen, “Introduction”, in *Idle Talk: Gossip and Anecdote in Traditional China*, ed. Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2014), 4.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

高宗好養鵓鴿，躬自飛放，有士人題詩云：「鵓鴿飛騰繞帝都，朝收暮放費工夫。何如養箇南來雁，沙漠能傳二帝書。」高宗聞之，召見士人，即命補官。³³⁵ Emperor Gaozong was fond of keeping pigeons and released them himself. A scholar wrote a poem on it, saying: “The pigeons fly around the imperial metropolis, / A lot of efforts are made to confine them in the morning and release them at night. / What about keeping a wild goose that comes to the south? / From the desert it would be able to deliver letters of the two emperors.” As Emperor Gaozong heard of it, he summoned the scholar and ordered to appoint him an official post.

This story may instantiate the following features that are typical of the anecdotes in *Supplement*: First, it is often atemporal in the sense that there are vague indications, or none at all, of time, and also that they are self-contained stories, their plots are rarely connected with each other. In the story above, we do not know when exactly it happened; if one were to add it to the biography of Emperor Gaozong in official history, there would be a problem where to place it. As a result, anecdotes are often placed at the beginning or end of a biography, that is, outside the main chronology. Second, anecdotes often focus on events that would be categorized as “trivial matters” (*suoshi* 瑣事). In the story above, it is hard to expect that his hobby of pigeon-rearing had any notable impact on the Southern Song politics. It is for this reason that anecdotes are often disqualified by biographers in official history.

The reason for these features, I would suggest, is that anecdotes are primarily targeted at the personality traits they might reveal. Emperor Gaozong’s hobby implies his indulgence in pleasure-seeking, while the poem by the anonymous scholar hints at the moral and political obligation to bring back the two emperors abducted by the Jin forces, that is, Gaozong’s father Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082–1135, r. 1100–1126) and elder brother Emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (1100–1161, r. 1126–1127). Gaozong’s reaction suggests that he did not fully ignore his obligations and that he acknowledged criticism, which renders his image somewhat ambiguous. The narrative thus characterizes Emperor Gaozong. While the event as such may be trivial, the personality as revealed by it can be

³³⁵ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 8.

of fundamental importance and had an impact on or explaining power regarding the politics of the Southern Song. In his discussion of Song local gazetteers, James Hargett points out that many biographies of local figures present anecdotes that usually focus on aspects of character rather than details about life and career.³³⁶ This also applies to many of the anecdotes in *Supplement*, which, instead of illuminating “what they did”, are more targeted at “what kind of person they were”.

An anecdote therefore could refer to something “larger” than itself, as the principle or personality revealed by it could also apply to other things. Anecdotes are in this sense “allegorical”, as Lionel Gossman termed it, a singular instance that exemplifies and points to a general rule.³³⁷ As a result, an anecdote can be deliberately selected or fabricated to serve the function of summarizing and reflecting the whole. The principle of characterizing via an anecdote in historiography is also well acknowledged by Zhang Dai, who in his “Preface to the *Supplement to History*” (*Shi que xu* 史闕序) states as follows: “A single utterance makes the entire biography vivid; a single event makes the entire history manifest” (得一語焉，則全傳為之生動；得一事焉，則全史為之活現).³³⁸ As its title suggests, the aim of *Supplement to History* was to supplement official history with materials taken from elsewhere, such as unofficial histories and “brush notes”.³³⁹ According to Zhang’s own preface, the act of supplementing is achieved by adding materials that could make the entire history apparent, in places where official history failed to do so. In Zhang’s biographical writings, anecdotes are frequently used for characterizing. In his *Self-written Epitaph*, for example, Zhang includes a little story, about how his grandfather had taken him to Hangzhou to meet the famous literatus Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639), when he had been six years old. Since Zhang was able to compose the second part of an antithetical couplet (*dui* 對) by Chen, he was praised by him for his cleverness.³⁴⁰

As Tian Rucheng’s *Supplement* draws massive materials from the textual sources of the Southern Song and the Yuan, its entries reflect some intellectual trends of these

³³⁶ Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 434.

³³⁷ Gossman, “Anecdote and History”, 155f.

³³⁸ Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 188.

³³⁹ Huang Shang 黄裳, “Zhang Dai de *Shi que*” 张岱的《史闕》 (*Zhang Dai’s Supplement to History*), *Dushu* 读书, no. 1 (1988): 109.

³⁴⁰ Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), 370.

periods. One instance are the anecdotes about Qin Hui. In *juan* 4 of the section “Flattering Powerful Ministers and Excessive Pleasure-seeking”, fifteen entries on Qin Hui are included, most of which can be traced back to the “brush notes” of the Southern Song and the Yuan periods. In their original contexts, in which these anecdotes had been produced, they seemed to belong to the dynamics of gossiping that had a concern about contemporary (i.e. Southern Song) politics. One anecdote states that Qin, on his deathbed, devised a massive lawsuit against fifty-three literati, yet was too ill to sign the legal judgment, so that the fifty-three men escaped from death.³⁴¹ According to Charles Hartman, the sole source for this story was Zhu Xi’s biography of Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164). While Zhu himself admitted elsewhere that it came from rumor, Hartman points out that the great trial actually never took place.³⁴² Another entry states that after the death of Qin and his son Qin Xi 秦熺 (d. 1161), Qin Hui’s wife, née Wang (Wang shi 王氏), held an offering ceremony, during which a sorcerer saw Qin Hui wearing an iron cangue and suffering various punishments in the Netherworld (Fengdu 酆都).³⁴³ One feature of such anecdotes seems to be the difficulty in testing their truthfulness. In the first story, while Qin’s failure at the end of the story is in accordance with the historical fact that there was no such trial, it would be hard to say that he never “attempted” it. Some other anecdotes focus either on the “trivial” and more hidden sides of social life, such as the private household, or the supernatural world, about which little can be known. Although they may thus be dismissed as unreliable sources, they are in a sense unfalsifiable. Yet, the seeming triviality and hiddenness of these anecdotes do not undermine their power to characterize.

³⁴¹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 47.

³⁴² Hartman, “The Making of a Villain”, 131. Zhu Xi’s text is seen in his “Xingzhuang xia” 行狀下 (Biographical Sketch, Second Part) of Zhang Jun, written in 1167. See Zhu Xi 朱熹, “Huian ji” 晦庵集 (A Collection of Huian), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 1146 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 261. The anecdote, with minor differences and entitled “Qinhui sibao” 秦檜死報 (Death Retribution against Qin Hui), is also seen in Yue Ke 岳珂, “Ting shi” 程史 (History on the Nightstand), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 1039 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 492.

³⁴³ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 49. The anecdote, with minor differences and entitled “Dongchuang shifa” 東窗事發 (The Secret under the Eastern Window Was Disclosed), can also be seen in Liu Yiqing 劉一清, “Qiantang yishi” 錢塘遺事 (Leftover Affairs of Qiantang), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 12, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 3463f.

Hartman, in his study of textual materials that document the evolution of the Qin Hui image, argues that scholars of the Learning of the Way (Daoxue 道學) movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries “employ a supercharged rhetoric and a vivid anecdotal style typical of fiction to illustrate [...] personification of Ch’in Kuei [Qin Hui] as a quintessential ‘nefarious minister’”.³⁴⁴ The more balanced and nuanced portrayals of Qin Hui of the earlier period was replaced by increasingly negative ones that portrayed Qin as a man of moral failure and the political struggle at Qin’s time as that between “gentlemen” (*junzi* 君子) and “mean men” (*xiaoren* 小人).³⁴⁵ Among the entries in *Supplement*, there is almost no positive statement about Qin. The most positive one contains stories that illustrate the intelligence and cleverness of Qin, who was, for example, able to identify the clerk who had stolen the fruits of a pomegranate tree in front of the Executive Office of the Department of State Affairs (Dutang 都堂). Yet since he used intelligence and cleverness for bad ends, the entry concludes that: “His scheme and craft are like these” (其機械巧發如此).³⁴⁶ Despite the overall negative image, individual entries in this part may differ in how Qin Hui was bad. For example, several stories portray Qin’s caution, in which he warned his son Qin Xi against wearing yellow clothes, as the colour resembled that of the emperor.³⁴⁷ This may be taken as another instance of Qin’s “scheme and craft”. In another story, however, it is said that Qin “liked flattery words and did not avoid possible suspicions” (喜諛佞，不避嫌疑). He was, for example, not afraid at all when hearing the discourses that proposed him for higher political positions.³⁴⁸ Despite their mutual contradictions, Tian Rucheng merely listed the entries and did not investigate into their truthfulness. It seems here that he simply left them as

³⁴⁴ Hartman, “The Making of a Villain”, 130.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 77, 133 and 145.

³⁴⁶ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 46. The anecdote, with minor differences and entitled “Jixin bu zijue” 機心不自覺 (A Scheming Mind Unaware of Itself), is also seen in Yue Ke, “Ting shi”, 424.

³⁴⁷ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 46f. The anecdote, with minor differences, and entitled “Qin xiaoxiang huang geshan” 秦小相黃葛衫 (The Junior Grand Councilor’s Yellow Dolychos Robe), is also seen in Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁, “Sichao wenjian lu” 四朝聞見錄 (A Record of the Things Heard and Seen during the Four Reigns), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 1039 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 692.

³⁴⁸ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 48. Similar plots and the phrase “[Qin Hui] liked flattery words and did not hide himself and what he did” (喜諛佞，不避形跡) are seen in the biography of Qin Hui, in Tuoketuo 托克托 et al., “Song shi” 宋史 (The Dynastic History of the Song), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 288 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 621.

“raw materials” for further investigation, which was rather unexceptional for local gazetteers.

Why did Tian Rucheng include such anecdotes in his West Lake gazetteer? One reason seems to be the pedagogic and didactic functions such anecdotes could have. The idea that the truth embodied by the Classics was illustrated by history can be traced back to the time of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).³⁴⁹ Ng and Wang have identified and labeled two ideal types of making use of history: “historical didacticism” and “historical analogism”. While the former “provided moral edification through the lives of individuals”, the latter referred to the “idea that juxtaposition of similar phenomena in the past and present would yield invaluable comparative insights that would guide contemporary policies”.³⁵⁰ Since the Song time, local gazetteers were increasingly equated with history. For example, an idea that became widespread in the Song was that gazetteers were for localities what history was for the empire.³⁵¹ As a result, the didactic function of historical writing was also assigned to local gazetteers.³⁵²

Tian Rucheng was well aware of this. In his authorial preface, he quotes the sayings of a local official of Hangzhou, who referred to his work as a prefectural history that exhibited both the commendable and the reprehensible. By organizing the selected materials, Tian Rucheng placed them in the categories of human behaviors and personality types, which were largely shaped by Neo-Confucianism, as the section about “nefarious ministers” suggests. While there may have been contradictions between individual entries, the inclusion of all materials tended to exhaust the conceptual possibilities of a certain personality type, as in the case of Qin Hui, what a nefarious and powerful minister could have been.

Another possible reason lies in the literary and aesthetic aspects of the anecdotes. Intent on their power of characterization, these anecdotes often resort to extraordinary events and dramatic plots, embellishing history with vivid details. As Roland Altenburger remarks, in terms of literary qualities *Supplement* “actually eclipsed” *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and “was also perceived as a topically categorised story collection and served

³⁴⁹ See Johnson, “Epic and History in Early China”, 270.

³⁵⁰ Ng and Wang, *Mirroring the Past*, 151f.

³⁵¹ Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 425.

³⁵² Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers”, 426. Also see Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 32–35.

as an important source to late-Ming storywriters”.³⁵³ In the collection of vernacular stories *Second West Lake Collection* (*Xihu erji* 西湖二集, ca. Chongzhen era [1628–1644]), for example, the second story, entitled “Emperor Gaozong of the Song Was Indulgent in Idleness and Pleasure in His Peripheral Accommodation” (*Song Gaozong pianan dan yiyu* 宋高宗偏安耽逸豫), includes numerous materials that can be found in *Supplement*. Although its length is close to other vernacular short stories of this period, a closer look reveals that it is largely a collage of a range of shorter and disconnected anecdotes.³⁵⁴

In *Supplement*, many anecdotes are included not for their inherent connection to West Lake. Rather, there are often vague indications of location. In focusing on events and personalities, West Lake is not the object of primary attention in these stories. Sometimes West Lake or the city of Hangzhou are a mere backdrop against which an event occurs. It is rather the other way round, that the materials recorded and presented in the West Lake gazetteer are thus linked to the place. For example, as discussed in Chapter 1, what Lin Bu achieved in his life resulted in an abstract “spirit” of Lone Hill in particular and West Lake in general. This is no less true for figures like Yue Fei, who made his career elsewhere, but was buried at West Lake. While all events that occurred at West Lake or in Hangzhou have the potential to be connected to the place, the inclusion of them in a gazetteer on West Lake has the effect to raise this connection to a more conscious level. As a West Lake gazetteer, the *Supplement* invites readers to associate all the people and events as recorded in it with particular scenic sites of West Lake, through cross-references from the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and also their linking with West Lake as a whole. This setting was inherited by the “West Lake fiction” (*Xihu xiaoshuo* 西湖小說) of the late Ming and early Qing, such as *Second West Lake Collection* and *Charming Stories from West Lake* (*Xihu jiahua* 西湖佳話, 1673), which focus on different events and people, all of whom are linked, in one way or another to West Lake.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Altenburger, “Layered Landscape”, 122.

³⁵⁴ See Zhou Qingyuan 周清源, *Xihu erji* 西湖二集 (Second West Lake Collection) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1981), 27–44.

³⁵⁵ For a study of the Hangzhou city as a background to the emergence and development of regionalism as well as the narrative significance of West Lake as the “scene” in West Lake fictions, see Liu Yongqiang 刘勇强, “West Lake Fiction of the Late Ming: Origin, Development, Background and Literary Characteristics”, trans. and ed. Roland Altenburger. *Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques* 63, no. 1 (2009): 137–149 and 177–186.

3.4 Personal Anecdotes in *Dream Searching*

In some of the later West Lake gazetteers, such as *Dream Searching*, Tian Rucheng's division of materials into two different volumes was abandoned. Instead, these gazetteers take the form of one single text that comprises individual entries on scenic sites that resemble those in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. To compensate, in *Dream Searching*, more materials of the kind that Tian Rucheng, according to his dichotomy, would likely have placed in his *Supplement*, are included in the entries of scenic sites. For example, in the entry "Imperial Palace of the Song" (*Song danei* 宋大內), Zhang Dai includes an anecdote, which claims that Emperor Gaozong of the Song was the reincarnation of King Qian Liu of the Wuyue Kingdom. This anecdote is placed by Tian Rucheng in the section "Imperial Metropolis" of *Supplement*.³⁵⁶ The somewhat tedious notes on the construction and restoration of scenic sites, which are typical for *Sightseeing Gazetteer* entries, are reduced by Zhang, while more anecdotes, jokes, and personal opinions are added. For example, in "A General Account of West Lake", in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, Tian provides a survey of the topography of West Lake and the chronology of its major hydraulic projects, which approximates it to the entries about "West Lake" in administrative local gazetteers. "A General Record of West Lake" (*Xihu zongji* 西湖總記) in *Dream Searching*, on the other hand, does not have any such content. Instead, it is a polemical essay on the nature and charm of West Lake, which evaluates and ranks the taste of several famous literati sightseers in history.

In the West Lake gazetteers, a site is conventionally presented by a largely impersonal narrator-sightseer, whose perceptions are those shared by other literati. While *Dream Searching* is no exception to this, individual voices and perspectives are more frequently seen in both its introductory essays and literary works included. For example, an essay, entitled "Inscription on the Painting of Spring Mist and Glow Grotto" (*Ti Yanxia chun dong hua* 題煙霞春洞畫), by Li Liufang, attached to the entry "Mist and Glow

³⁵⁶ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun", 104; Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 12.

Stone House” (*Yanxia shiwu* 煙霞石屋), starts with the following landscape description of the site:

從煙霞寺山門下眺，林壑窈窕，非復人境。李花時尤奇，真瓊林瑤島也。³⁵⁷

Watching down from the mountain gate of Mist and Glow Monastery, the forests and ravines are so pretty that they are not like the sphere of humans. It is especially marvelous when the plum trees are in blossom, which truly makes the place a forest and isle of colorful jades.

This general landscape description is not much different from what we find in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. Readers can easily imagine themselves being Li Liufang, in the same way as being the general narrator-sightseer in Tian Rucheng’s text. What then follows is an anecdote about Li and his fellow sightseers:

猶記與閑孟、無際，自法相寺至煙霞洞，小憩亭子，渴甚，無從得酒。見兩僮父攜榼至，閑孟口流涎，遽從乞飲，僮父不顧。予輩大怪，偶見梁間惡詩書一板上，乃抉而擲之，僮父蹣跚而走。念此輒噴飯不已也。³⁵⁸

I still remember that I traveled with Xianmeng and Wuji from Faxiang Monastery to Mist and Glow Grotto, and took a short rest in a pavilion. We were quite thirsty, yet could not get liquor from anywhere. When we saw two vulgar men arriving with a liquor bottle, Xianmeng’s mouth watered. He urgently asked for a drink, yet the vulgar men ignored him. We found it extremely ridiculous, and happened to see a bad poem inscribed on a board between the beams, so we grabbed the board and threw it at the vulgar men, who ran away with hurting legs. Every time I remember it I cannot stop laughing.

Reporting an “accident” during sightseeing, it shows Li’s unusual behavior, which reveals a bit of his idiosyncrasy and his unique self. The two disconnected parts of the essay constitute a twist of plot, as it is frequently found in Zhang Dai’s *Dream Reminiscences*, a collection of miniatures about Zhang’s pre-conquest life. As Philip A. Kafalas points out,

³⁵⁷ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 87.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 87f.

Zhang's prose pieces in *Dream Reminiscences* are marked by "the unpredictable movement, the topic that turns out not to be the topic" and narrative "that starts with a memory very public and moves to something very personal and restricted".³⁵⁹ The event recorded by Li Liufang turns the narrative into that of real touring, which is unique, unpredictable, unrepeatable, and thus sharply contrasts with the virtual one as projected in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*.

Beside anecdotes about other persons, Zhang Dai also included stories about his own experiences. One example is the entry "Lotus Stone" (*Furong shi* 芙蓉石). Its introductory essay starts with a description of Wu Garden (Wu yuan 吳園), on Wu Hill, and a marvelous stone in it:

芙蓉石，今為新安吳氏書屋。山多怪石危巒，綴以松柏，大皆合抱。堦前一石，狀若芙蓉，為風雨所墜，半入泥沙，較之寓林奔雲，尤為茁壯。³⁶⁰

The location of Lotus Stone is nowadays a bookstore of the Wu Family from Xin'an. The hill is rich in extraordinary stones and steep peaks, and embellished with pines and cypresses, each of which has a circumference of two men's arm span. In front of the stairs is a stone, the shape of which resembles that of a lotus flower. It was hit by wind and rain, and half of it sank into the soil. Compared with rocks like Yulin and Roiling Clouds, it is even more magnificent.

After the description is the following comment:

但恨主人深愛此石，置之懷抱，半步不離，樓榭偪之，反多阨塞。若得礎柱相讓，脫離丈許，松石間意，以淡遠取之，則妙不可言矣。³⁶¹

The only regretful thing is that its owner deeply loves this stone, as if he holds it in his arms and never moves one step away from it. Pavilions and terraces are right next to the stone, so the place is too narrow and crowded. If only these buildings could give way and move several meters away, so the pines and the stone look pale and distant, it would be fabulous.

³⁵⁹ Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 212.

³⁶⁰ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun", 121.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, "Xihu mengxun", 121.

Throughout *Dream Searching*, Zhang Dai frequently accompanies the general descriptions and narratives with his own comments. By evaluating the stone and the garden, Zhang also meant to highlight his own connoisseurship. By doing this, there is often a little bit of vanity included in Zhang's texts. At the end of the essay, the following anecdote is added:

蓋此地為某氏花園，先大夫以三百金折其華屋，徙造寄園，而吳氏以厚值售其棄地，在當時以為得計。而今至吳園，見此怪石奇峰，古松茂栢，在懷之璧，得而復失，真一回相見，一回懊悔也。³⁶²

This place used to be the garden of a certain family, my deceased father purchased it for three hundred taels of silver, tore down its splendid houses, and used the materials to construct his Sojourn Garden. Mister Wu, who had sold his waste place for a high price, regarded it a success at the time. Nowadays whenever he comes to Wu Garden, and sees the marvelous stone and extraordinary peak, the hoary pines and the thick cypresses, which are like a precious jade in one's arms that is gained before yet gets lost after, he always regrets his decision.

The dramatic story about Mister Wu, who once owned a garden, yet was unaware of its potential, sold the garden and regretted it later, is of course a trivial one when compared with those records of a site's history of construction, imperial patronage, and rituals and ceremonies, yet no less interesting. Unlike the impersonal narrator-sightseer in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the reader of *Dream Searching* is virtually accompanied by the person of Zhang Dai, who frequently tells him his views of the matter and offers his own stories. The comments and stories make the prose pieces in *Dream Searching* to some extent resemble those in *Dream Reminiscences*, which represent the late Ming society and culture through Zhang Dai's own participation and eyewitness.

The insertion of anecdotes like those discussed above has an impact on the presentation of the West Lake scenic sites. As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, Richard E. Strassberg identified two different modes of representation in travel writings: objective-impersonal and expressive-lyrical. Likewise, in her study of Xie Lingyun's

³⁶² Ibid., "Xihu mengxun", 122.

poetic exposition styled travel writing, Xiaofei Tian argues that the time as presented in the text is “a grand historical time, as opposed to Xie Lingyun’s experienced time. Even Xie Lingyun’s experienced time, represented in terms of his progress from place A to place B, is less personal than generic, because [...] he represents more of a general traveler than a particularized historical person known as Xie Lingyun”.³⁶³ This grand historical time, Tian argues, can be broken up by the insertion of what she calls “personal anecdotes” that are rich in colorful details and personal sentiments.³⁶⁴ As to the West Lake gazetteers, the grand historical time and impersonal narrator-sightseer would largely apply to the introductory essays in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, while the anecdotes on individual perspectives and experiences, as seen in *Dream Searching*, though rather few in number, disrupt the general and impersonal descriptions and highlight the history lived by real persons. It would be much exaggerating to view the narratives in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Dream Searching* as representing two different types, however, since the difference between the two texts is only a matter of degree.

When Zhang Dai compiled his *Dream Searching*, he lived in a period in which *xiaopin* 小品 (vignettes, miniatures) gained popularity.³⁶⁵ Referring not to a single genre, but a range of genres, such as poems, poetic expositions, biographies, letters, and prefaces, the shared aesthetic quality of vignettes is rather “smallness” (*xiao* 小, lit. small, short, petty, or trivial), through which, however, large and distant things can be conveyed.³⁶⁶ This “smallness” could also have ideological implications and refers to something individual as opposed to collective, something private rather than public, or something heretical as opposed to orthodox. In his discussion of *Dream Reminiscences*, Kafalas illuminates that “the miniatures in Zhang’s world do represent a retreat from that public world” and “[e]ven the most public, most publicly overwhelming scenes are scaled down to pocket-size”.³⁶⁷ In *Dream Searching*, as it comes to a public event, Zhang sometimes introduces a personal perspective to it. For example, a passage in the

³⁶³ Tian, “Tales from Borderland”, 45.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 46 and 51.

³⁶⁵ This term originally referred to abridged Buddhist texts and was widely used as a literary concept from the mid to the late Ming.

³⁶⁶ See Wu Chengxue, *Wan-Ming xiaopin yanjiu*, 6.

³⁶⁷ Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 181.

introductory essay of the entry “Sire Lu Xuan’s Shrine” (*Lu Xuan gong ci* 陸宣公祠) reads as follows:

隆慶間，御史謝廷傑以其祠後增祀兩浙名賢，益以嚴光、林逋、趙忞、王十朋、呂祖謙、張九成、楊簡、宋濂、王琦、章懋、陳選。³⁶⁸

In the Longqing (1567–1572) era, Censor Xie Tingjie (*jinshi* 1559) provided sacrifices to the famous worthies of Eastern and Western Zhejiang behind the [Sire Lu Xuan’s] shrine, adding Yan Guang (fl. first century), Lin Bu, Zhao Bian (1008–1084), Wang Shipeng (1112–1171), Lu Zuqian (1137–1181), Zhang Jiucheng (1092–1159), Yang Jian (1141–1226), Song Lian (1310–1381), Wang Qi, Zhang Mao (*jinshi* 1466), and Chen Xuan (*jinshi* 1460).

What then follows is an anecdote:

會稽進士陶允宜以其父陶大臨自製牌版，令人匿之懷中，竊置其旁。時人笑其癡孝。³⁶⁹

Metropolitan Graduate Tao Yunyi (*jinshi* 1574) from Kuaiji made a tablet of his father Tao Dalin (*jinshi* 1556) by himself, ordered someone to hide it in the arms and secretly put it next to the tablets of other persons. People at the time laughed at his act of foolish filial piety.

It can be said that, like the many miniatures in *Dream Reminiscences*, the record of the public sphere at the beginning is of secondary importance and serves only as the backdrop to the personal act at the end, which is the true intention. Since Tao Yunyi was a cousin of Zhang Dai’s maternal grandfather Tao Yunjia (陶允嘉, *hao* Lanfeng 蘭風),³⁷⁰ Zhang might have known him personally and heard of the story through private channels. In dynastic histories and local gazetteers, Tao Dalin is recorded as a prominent and virtuous official.³⁷¹ Nevertheless, Tao Yunyi’s action itself is deviant from Confucian

³⁶⁸ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 60.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 60.

³⁷⁰ The information of Tao Yunjia is seen in biography of his father Tao Dashun 陶大順 (*jinshi* 1574) in Wang Yuanchen 王元臣, *Kuaiji xian zhi* 會稽縣志 (Kuaiji County Gazetteer), 1683, Harvard Yenching Library, *juan* 23, 20b–21a.

³⁷¹ In *The Official History of the Ming*, a short biography of Tao Dalin is included in the biography of his grandfather

norms, even though it takes the form of “filial piety”. The action thus introduces Tao Yunyi’s personal perspective onto public ritual that sharply contrasts with the latter. Such personal anecdotes have the potential to make West Lake a more intimate space, as they present a perspective that is closer and more familiar to the readers.

A text rich in anecdotes, *Dream Searching* contains numerous references to Zhang Dai’s own presence at West Lake. In general, local gazetteers provided ample opportunities to tell the compilers’ own stories and include their own literary works. Ma Meng-ching, for example, has noted that editions of gazetteers of Tianmu mountain in the late Ming had included numerous poems of managers, compilers, and their friends.³⁷² This is also the case of *Convenient Reading*, which included a range of West Lake poems of Gao Yingke himself. As a man who participated in the restoration of Yue Fei’s tomb and shrine, and the sacrifices in the place, Gao presented these sites and the sacrifices at length; among the fourteen maps and illustrations of the compilation, six are portrait of Yue Fei or depiction of the sites related to him, which are often accompanied by textual explanations.³⁷³ While the highlighting of Yue Fei and his sites could be due to didactic purposes, it might also serve as an vehicle for Gao’s self-promotion. A commoner who was engaged in Confucian learning from an early age but gave it up later,³⁷⁴ little is known about Gao today. It is only through his West Lake gazetteer that he is being remembered.³⁷⁵ Tian Rucheng, on the other hand, writes rather little about himself. Nine years prior to the publication of his West Lake gazetteer, Tian had already finished *Roaming and Chanting at West Lake*, a collection of thirty-eight poems composed by him and Huang Xingzeng. In his gazetteer, however, none of these poems is included.³⁷⁶ While *Convenient Reading*, a later gazetteer, included poems of Tian Rucheng and his son Tian Yiheng, this was rejected by Tian himself. In *juan* 20 of the section “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods” in *Supplement*, Tian places an anecdote at the end, in

Tao Xie 陶諧 (*jinshi* 1496). See Zhang Tingyu et al., “Ming shi”, vol. 300, 343.

³⁷² Ma Meng-ching, “Dizhi yu jiyou”, 19.

³⁷³ For sites related to Yue Fei, see Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan*, *juan* 4, 5b–28b and *juan* 5, 2a–b.

³⁷⁴ Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan*, “Xihu bianlan xu”, 1a.

³⁷⁵ For a discussion of Gao Yingke’s self-presentation, see Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lüyou shu”, 122–124.

³⁷⁶ In *A Small Collection of Tian Shuhe*, Tian Rucheng notes after an undated poem that he had lost the poems written by Huang and himself, yet it is unclear when he had lost them. See the note of “Xihu youlan wu shou” 西湖遊覽五首 (Five Poems on West Lake Sightseeing) in Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji*, *juan* 12, 19a. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that none of the West Lake poems written by him was available during the compiling of his gazetteer.

which he talks to Huang Xingzeng about the qualities required of a sightseer.³⁷⁷ Since any less important contents were conventionally placed at the end of a text, it is clear that the anecdote is de-emphasized by its placement. This may have been due to his humbleness. As mentioned in the bibliographical sketch in Chapter 1, Tian often sent his writings to friends without keeping a copy and published his collection only reluctantly. However, it might also reflect Tian's consciousness as a scholar. As Joseph R. Dennis' study of the 1579 *Xinchang Country Gazetteer* reveals, the compiling of a gazetteer might have served private purposes and often was a strategic act of local elites to publicly establish the compilers' patrilineages and gain more social status and prestige.³⁷⁸ Perhaps aware of this danger, Tian might have rejected materials related to himself in order to guarantee the impartiality of his work and avoid criticism.

Although the inclusion of the writings about compiler's own experiences is generally unexceptional in West Lake gazetteers, it is done by Zhang to a large extent. According to my counting, among the introductory essays of the seventy-two entries in *Dream Searching*, eleven explicitly mention Zhang's experiences at West Lake; among the 253 literary works attached to the entries, fifty-five (thirty-eight poems, six essays, and eleven couplets) were written by Zhang himself, their number far surpassing that of any other writer. A major source of the prose pieces is *Dream Reminiscences*, which contains eleven essays that mention the scenic sites and activities at West Lake. In *Dream Searching*, eight out of these were included. They are either incorporated into an introductory essay, or attached to an entry as a separate work, which make the two texts overlap to some extent.³⁷⁹ Among the attached literary works there is also a preface, which seems to have been written before the fall of the Ming.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 246.

³⁷⁸ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 64–114.

³⁷⁹ The eight essays in *Dream Reminiscences*, also included in *Dream Searching*, are “Benyun shi” 奔雲石 (Roiling Clouds), “Goulou shanfang” 岫嶼山房 (Goulou Mountain House), “Bao Hansuo” 包涵所 (Bao Hansuo), “Huxin ting kanxue” 湖心亭看雪 (Watching the Snow at Mid-lake Pavilion Isle), “Buxi yuan” 不繫園 (Untied Garden), “Xiang hu” 湘湖 (Xiang Lake), “Xihu xiangshi” 西湖香市 (The Pilgrims Fair at West Lake), and “Xihu qi Yue ban” 西湖七月半 (West Lake on the Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month). The titles of some essays were changed when included. The three essays, that were not included, are “Chen Zhanghou” 陳章侯 (Chen Zhanghou), “Mi gong” 麋公 (Sire of *mi* Deer), and “Jin shan jingdu”.

³⁸⁰ The preface, entitled “Bu Gu shan zhongmei xu” 補孤山種梅敘 (Supplemented Preface to *the Planting of Plum Trees on Lone Hill*), in *Dream Searching*, is included in the entry “Gu shan” 孤山 (Lone Hill) in *Dream Searching*. It is also included in Zhang Dai's *A Collection of Essays from Langhuan*. See Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 55; Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2013), 31f.

The writings on Zhang's own presence would be supportive of the claims in the paratexts to *Dream Searching* that it is a book of individual remembrances. Its title does not contain the character *zhi*, a conventional word for gazetteers, while the phrase *mengxun* (dream searching) implies a personal quest.³⁸¹ In the preface, unlike Tian Rucheng who views his gazetteer as a potential "prefectural history", Zhang claims to "preserve the West Lake in his dream". This creates the impression that the text indeed was a personal memoir rather than gazetteer. Nevertheless, the writings related to Zhang constitute only a small portion of the entire compilation, and it would be much exaggerating to view it as Zhang's own collection of West Lake literature. As Kafalas points out, *Dream Searching* lies "somewhere between the personal recollections of *Dream Reminiscences* and what is essentially a polity-affirming account in *The Stone Cabinet Book*".³⁸² It is a combination of local history, anthology of various authors, and autobiography.

It is not quite clear why Zhang Dai came up with such a combination. At Zhang's time, the famous literati in history who wrote about West Lake, such as Bai Juyi, Lin Bu, and Su Shi, had long been praised and worshiped, and their writings had become central to the cultural connotations of West Lake, while those of the late Ming period were still in the making. Zhang's compilation that puts its emphasis on the late Ming signifies a "canonization" of the authors and works of this period, a community that Zhang considers himself as belonging to. If viewed in this light, Zhang's inclusion of his personal anecdotes and literary works as potential candidates for the future pantheon of West Lake literature marks such a pursuit.

3.5 Conclusion

In terms of geographical scope, unlike administrative gazetteers, West Lake gazetteers focus on a special region rather than an administrative unit, which varies from gazetteer to gazetteer and may include West Lake, the city of Hangzhou, and notable sites in the environs. In terms of temporality, although all West Lake gazetteers span from earliest

³⁸¹ Duncan Campbell thus translated its title as "Search for West Lake in My Dreams". See Duncan Campbell, "Searching for the Ming".

³⁸² Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 189.

traceable time to the present, they have different emphases, such as the Southern Song in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement*, or the late Ming in *Dream Searching*, may be better understood in the light of their textual sources and intertextual relationships between earlier and later gazetteers than the compilers' partiality. Other gazetteers that are more oriented toward tour-guiding, such as *Convenient Reading* and *Topically Arranged Excerpts*, de-emphasize or drop vanished sites. In terms of topical scope, the vast majority of materials in West Lake gazetteers focus on the "cultural" aspects of a place, such as festival, ceremony, local custom, and most importantly, history of sites and sightseeing activity. Certain categories and contents, which are commonly seen in administrative gazetteers, are absent.

The idea of a "cultural" account of the local place led to greater variations of West Lake gazetteers in terms of content, as compilers disagreed on what the "cultural" was. The most unusual case is *Supplement*, which includes a wide variety of materials. The two texts of Tian Rucheng have established a complementary system, both of which are related to West Lake: First, through occasional cross-references, some anecdotes in *Supplement* are linked to the sites in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. Second, even if an anecdote has no or only vague indication of location, it can be related either to a person, who is then related to a site or some sites, or to West Lake as a whole. For example, all stories about Emperor Gaozong can be reflected on as it comes to the place of the former imperial palace of the Southern Song. The dichotomy of the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* and *Supplement* resembles that of "official history" and "unofficial history": while the former is mainly a group of "chronologies" of sites, the latter focuses more on the anecdotal aspects of the local place and its people. Later West Lake gazetteers took the form of one text rather than two and massively dropped the materials in *Supplement*. Nevertheless, *Dream Searching* added a range of anecdotes to its introduction of scenic sites.

In a study of the Southern Song *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Qiandao Era* and *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Chunyou Era*, Benjamin B. Ridgway concludes that "the newly risen gazetteer genre was not merely a compendium of neutral geographic data, but rather had become an important vehicle for making geo-political arguments aimed at a contemporary audience of court and literati elite".³⁸³ Tian Rucheng's work is no

³⁸³ Benjamin B. Ridgway, "Two Halls of Hangzhou: Local Gazetteers and the Grading of Geography for a Song

exception to this, which contains a range of political and moral arguments that assume a didactic function. The anecdotes in *Supplement*, many of which are cited from “brush notes”, have a strong power of characterization. As they were included, they were categorized and placed in thirteen sections, the titles of which often function as judgment of the nature of the persons and events these anecdotes refer to. The selected individual entries reveal the influence of *Daoxue*, an intellectual trend since the Song time. The section on Qin Hui, for example, consists of a range of short accounts that depict him as a “mean man” and “nefarious minister” in the moral universe of *Daoxue*. As Hartman argues, many of them are intended as (negative) moral example rather than as a balanced account and sober history. While Tian Rucheng may favor these anecdotes due to their didactic and educational value, a dimension that is emphasized by scholars of history and local gazetteers since the Song time, these anecdotes are also of literary qualities and massively taken as materials by the authors of “West Lake fiction” in the late Ming and early Qing.

While in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, the description of landscape mainly contains shared perceptions by literati sightseers, in *Dream Searching*, more comments and anecdotes reflect personal perspectives. Some of the anecdotes are “trivial” and even deviant events, the inclusion of them reflects the values typical of the late Ming period. As a result, the assumed generic and impersonal sightseer in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* is often replaced by real persons, such as those late Ming literati, who tell their own stories and show off their idiosyncrasies. Among them, there is also Zhang Dai himself, who frequently inserts his own perceptions and experiences. Nevertheless, it would be one-sided to view *Dream Searching* as Zhang’s own collection of West Lake literature or a personal memoir. As Zhang Zetong argues, *Dream Searching* has the features of local gazetteers, travel records, as well as “brush notes”,³⁸⁴ and is thus generically more hybrid than any other text. Although it is not quite clear why Zhang Dai arrives at such a hybridization, it certainly has an effect on his presentation of the West Lake landscape and history.

Dynasty City”, *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 8, no. 2 (2014): 247.

³⁸⁴ Zhang Zetong, *Zhang Dai tan’gao*, 260.

4 Between City and Wilderness: West Lake as a Middle Landscape

This chapter studies literati sightseer's tophilia of West Lake from geographical and topographical perspectives. Since the Tang and Song, Hangzhou was widely viewed as a "paradise on earth",³⁸⁵ and West Lake was an important part of what the paradise was about. This chapter attempts to partly find out the reason for its attractiveness. The approach of this chapter is twofold: it will look at the location and material setting of West Lake, and the environmental perceptions of literati sightseers. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the idea of "middle landscape", a term from Leo Marx and Yi-fu Tuan, describes an environmental ideal. As this chapter will hopefully show, similar conceptions and values can also be observed by Chinese literati.

The vast majority of West Lake writings focuses on the aesthetic aspects of West Lake, praising its beautiful landscape and proposing a leisured, secluded, and carefree lifestyle. It would be necessary, however, to look not only at polemics and claims, but also actual practices, which could also reveal the preferences of literati sightseers. It would also be useful to compare West Lake with some other places that were geographically and topographically different, which may make the nature of the former more apparent.

4.1 Location and Topography of West Lake and Conditions of Traveling

Richard E. Strassberg has summarized several features that are most common to the travel writings of imperial China: the writers were mostly degree-holding literati, usually officials and poets as well; their itineraries were primarily internal, that is, in China itself; they scorned the pursuit of commercial profit and were rarely interested in exotic,

³⁸⁵ The Southern Song scholar Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193) mentions in his gazetteer of Suzhou the popular saying: "There is paradise above, there are Suzhou and Hangzhou on earth" (天上天堂, 地下蘇杭). See Fan Chengda 范成大, "Wu jun zhi" 吳郡志 (Wu Prefectural Gazetteer), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 485 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 333. The saying, with some variation, was an influential discourse throughout the later imperial periods.

unfamiliar things beyond the realm of Chinese civilization.³⁸⁶ Wu Jen-shu and Imma Di Biase argue that despite their frequent travelings, literati since the late Ming made short- or middle-distance tours most of the time, such as those to the places outside the city wall or to a nearby city. The literati of Jiangnan, for example, rarely went beyond this region.³⁸⁷ The long-distance and difficult journeys of, for instance, Xu Hongzu 徐弘祖 (*hao Xiake* 霞客, 1587–1641), who reached the peripheral regions of the empire, despite their possible fame, were rather exceptional. As Hangzhou was an attractive city of the region, it became one of the few most visited places by literati travelers.

In a comparison between metropolises of Jiangnan, the Qing literatus Li Dou's 李斗 (1749–1817) states that: “Hangzhou is advantageous in its lake and hills, Suzhou is advantageous in its markets and shops, and Yangzhou is advantageous in its gardens and pavilions” (杭州以湖山勝，蘇州以市肆勝，揚州以園亭勝).³⁸⁸ While Suzhou and Yangzhou also had their own hills and bodies of water, they were no match of West Lake in terms of natural beauty. Thus, West Lake, which was located outside the wall of Hangzhou, became one of the most popular sites of Jiangnan, if not the most popular site. Through the relatively convenient network of land and water transportation, it became a shared site of fame of this region. If literati were to travel farther than their own county or prefecture, Hangzhou and West Lake were a much-preferred choice.

Nowadays, the area of West Lake is ca. 5.66 square kilometers excluding the islands within the lake, which are totally ca. 0.63 square kilometers; it is ca. 3.3 km from north to south, and ca. 3.8 km from east to west; the average depth of lake water is ca. 1.5 meters: a size slightly smaller than that in the Ming and Qing period.³⁸⁹ In history, the location of the city of Hangzhou largely depended on the changing location of Qiantang River. As the river gradually became distant, the administration moved from the west to the east of

³⁸⁶ Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, “Introduction”, 3f.

³⁸⁷ Wu Jen-shu, “Wan-Ming de lüyou fengqi yu shidafu xintai”, 230–233; Wu Jen-shu and Imma Di Biase, *Youdao*, 71–82.

³⁸⁸ Li Dou 李斗, *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 (*A Record of the Painted Boats of Yangzhou*) (Ji'nan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2001), *juan* 6, 175.

³⁸⁹ The size of West Lake was ca. 10 square kilometers in the Tang period and ca. 7.4 square kilometers in the Ming and Qing period. See Li Yifan 李一凡, *Xihu meixue zhaji* 西湖美学札记 (*Notes on the West Lake Aesthetics*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2015), 157 and 162. The *Sightseeing Gazetteer* mentions that West Lake “is 30 *li* in circumference.” (周繞三十里) See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 1. One *li* is equivalent to ca. 0.57 kilometer, thus 30 *li* would be equivalent to ca. 17 kilometers.

West Lake, as was of case of the late Ming.³⁹⁰ While the eastern bank of West Lake was a few dozen meters away from the western wall of the city of Hangzhou, the western, southern, and northern banks were surrounded by hills, which all belonged to Tianmu Mountain Range (Tianmu shan 天目山). A description of the West Lake landscape by UNESCO reads as follows: “West Lake was surrounded on three sides by cloud-capped hills and on the fourth by the city wall” (*sanmian yunshan yimian cheng* 三面雲山一面城).³⁹¹ The size of West Lake enables one to watch the hills from the lake banks at a relatively proper distance (as can be seen in the photo below), from where the hills appear partly visible and partly obscure and are thus imagination-provoking. All the hills around West Lake were from several dozen to a few hundred meters high, and it did not require much effort to climb up to any of them. From the top of the hills, one could get a panoramic view of the lake. Within the lake banks, there were a few causeways, bridges, natural and artificial islands that subdivided lake water into several regions. Among the causeways, Su Causeway was the longest one that connects the northern and southern banks and made traveling at the lake more convenient. Another factor that largely facilitated movement in space was boat. In most cases, the distance was shorter by water than by land. With a boat, one could visit the several major scenic sites of West Lake within a half day, such as Lone Hill Island in the north, Su Causeway in the west, and the several artificial islands in the middle. In the travel records by Ming literati, almost every author claims to have taken a boat. Some literati even chose to live in a boat to be able to move to any place at any time they pleased.

From the brief description above, it can be seen that West Lake is a place easily accessible: it is a flat stretch of water where no angry waves stir, one could roam by land or by boat with ease and comfort; its surrounding hills were relatively low, one could climb up them with little efforts; no site was mysterious, hidden, or dangerous. The

³⁹⁰ For an account of the transition of the location of Hangzhou’s city wall, see Chen Zhijian 陈志坚, *Zhou zhen qingshan xian zhen hu: Hangzhou chengzhi bianqian shihua* 州枕青山县枕湖——杭州城址变迁史话 (The Prefecture is Close to the Green Mountains and the County to the Lake: A Historical Discourse on the Transition of the Location of Hangzhou City) (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2014), 1–92.

³⁹¹ See “West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou”, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed August 11, 2018, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1334/>. This geographical feature gradually took shape after the location of Qiantang county changed from the west to the northeast of West Lake in the Eastern Han (25–220) period; in the Sui period (581–618), Hangzhou was made a prefecture (*zhou* 州), and a city wall was built. See Chen Zhijian, *Zhou zhen qingshan xian zhen hu*, 29–32 and 49.



Figure 4.1: West Lake viewed from Thunder Peak Pagoda at the Southern bank. Photograph by the author, on 16. 02. 2016.

topographical conditions of West Lake were well acknowledged by literati. Zhu Jingxun, for example, lists three merits of West Lake in his preface to Gao Yingke's *Convenient Reading*. By the second merit, he makes a comparison between the waterfall of Lu Peak (Lu feng 廬峰) and the hot springs of Wuyi 武夷 Mountain, the paths to which are difficult and which are distant from markets and towns, and West Lake, which is close to the city, where one does not need to store up food of a season to organize a trip by boat, but could simply go there in the morning and come back in the evening. By the third merit, Zhu compares West Lake with Butuo (補陀, alt., Putuo 普陀) Mountain, Jin 金 Mountain, and Jiao 焦 Mountain, which are located either in the sea or in Yangzi River. Marked by furious winds and waves, these mountains are said to be habitats of various water monsters. The water of West Lake, on the other hand, is calm and safe, limpid and mirror-like; one feels the gentleness of winds, rains, flowers and willows traveling there.³⁹² The beauty and the easy accessibility are described by Zhang Dai in "A General Record of West Lake" of *Dream Searching* in a sarcastic tone, comparing West Lake to a

³⁹² Gao Yingke, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xi'nang bianlan*, "Xihu bianlan xu", 1a–2b.

woman: “West Lake is a famous courtesan from the singing quarter, who has both beautiful appearance and a sweet voice, yet leans against her doorway and sells her smile, and everyone can approach her and flirt with her disrespectfully” (西湖則為曲中名妓，聲色俱麗，然倚門獻笑，人人得而媠褻之矣).³⁹³ In the Jiangnan region, a somewhat similar site was Tiger Hill (Hu qiu 虎丘, alt., Hu qiu 虎邱), which was about five kilometers away from the city of Suzhou. Only several ten meters in height, its size was comparable to the surrounding hills of West Lake. As a much visited and famous site of Suzhou, Tiger Hill was often taken as a counterpart to West Lake when the two cities were compared with each other.

The accessibility and visibility of West Lake also lay in artificial spots and activities. Craig Clunas argues that in the Ming period, gardens became accessible and could be visited by everyone or at least those of the respectable classes who could afford it, which is best understood in terms of conspicuous consumption and social competition for status and power.³⁹⁴ Likewise Wu Jen-shu argues that by the late Ming period, gardens of the Jiangnan region, though privately owned, were semi-public and open to the wide public at certain times of the year, and sold tickets to them.³⁹⁵ After West Lake became popular in the Song time, it had attracted tourists from different social-economic background with different tastes, including both literati and commoners. The attitude of literati to the commoner sightseers was ambivalent. On the one hand, pursuing different experiences from the city, literati frequently avoided the crowd by visiting less crowded places or at less busy hours;³⁹⁶ on the other hand, the pursuit of elegant and unique experiences by literati paradoxically turned West Lake into a place of performance. Their unusual and creative behaviors sometimes had a sensational effect. For example, Zhang Dai mentions a deer with big horns owned by his grandfather, who later gave it to Chen Jiru as a gift. As Chen dressed himself with bamboo hat and feather clothes (which was a typically Daoist outfit), took the deer and toured around West Lake, people admired and called him

³⁹³ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 1.

³⁹⁴ Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 94–97.

³⁹⁵ Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕, *Youyou fangxiang: Ming Qing Jiangnan chengshi de xiuxian xiaofei yu kongjian bianqian* 優游坊廂：明清江南城市的休閒消費與空間變遷 (Leisure in the Urban Districts: The Leisure Consumption and the Spatial Transition of the Cities of Jiangnan in the Ming-Qing Era) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2013), 172–177.

³⁹⁶ Wu Jen-shu, “Wan-Ming de lüyou fengqi yu shidafu xintai”, 241–244; Wu Jen-shu and Imma Di Biase, *Youdao*, 109f.

“immortal descended from Heaven” (*zhexian* 謫仙);³⁹⁷ Huang Ruheng 黃汝亨 (1558–1626) and his friend used to design a bamboo raft, name it “Floating Plum Balustrade” (*Fumei jian* 浮梅檻) and take a tour with poets and monks at West Lake. People who watched it were like a wall, viewed it as something that had never been before, and compared it with the romance of Bai Juyi and Su Shi, the two most prominent literati in the cultural history of West Lake.³⁹⁸

During the Ming and Qing periods, the conventional way of sightseeing at West Lake was to start at noon, go out of the city of Hangzhou through a western gate, visit several major scenic sites (often by boat) of the lake, and go back to the city at dusk. Yuan Hongdao by his visit in 1597 noticed that residents of Hangzhou went sightseeing at the lake only from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. of the day.³⁹⁹ On some occasions, people stayed overnight outside the city and returned the next day. For example, on the birthday of Guanyin Bodhisattva, pilgrims visited Upper India Monastery and stayed there up to the next morning. Due to the relatively small size of West Lake and its convenient means of traffic, it was easy to make a short-time and short-distance tour from the city. For those who wished to make more exhaustive tours that cover more sites, the numerous monasteries around West Lake provide places of accommodation. When Pu Fangjun and his fellow literati sightseers for example visited West Lake in 1623, they often stayed overnight in a monastery nearby when the sightseeing of a day was finished, so that the next day they could start from where they ended before.⁴⁰⁰

Besides traveling and sightseeing, West Lake was also considered a place suitable for residence. Li Liufang asserts that “among the excellent mountains and waters under Heaven, where one could reside, roam, eat, drink, and sleep day and night yet will not get tired, there is no place that surpasses West Lake” (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).⁴⁰¹ Zhang Dai mentions a range of villas and

³⁹⁷ See “Migong” 麋公 (Sire *mi* Deer) in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 79f.

³⁹⁸ See Huang Ruheng's “Fumei jian ji” 浮梅檻記 (A Record of Floating Plum Balustrade) in Xu Fengji et al., *Qingbo xiaozhi (wai bazhong)*, 328f.

³⁹⁹ See Yuan Hongdao's “Duan qiao Wanghu ting xiaoji” 斷橋望湖亭小記 (A Short Record of Broken Bridge and Lake-watching Pavilion) in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 47f.

⁴⁰⁰ Pu Fangjun, “You Mingsheng hu riji”, 1006–1009.

⁴⁰¹ See Li Liufang's “Tihua wei Xu Tianzhong” 題畫為徐田仲 (Writing on the Paintings for Xu Tianzhong), in Li Liufang 李流芳, “Tanyuan ji” 檀園集 (A Collection of Tanyuan), in *Yingyin Wen yuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyan Pavilion edition*), vol. 1295

gardens on the banks of West Lake such as those near Liuzhou Pavilion, a place between the western city wall and the eastern bank, which included Sojourn Garden (Ji yuan 寄園), owned by Zhang's grandfather Zhang Rulin.⁴⁰² Although a local person of Shaoxing, Zhang had lived in the villa of his grandfather and studied there as a child.

The city of Hangzhou contributed to the West Lake tourism in various ways. It provided material means needed for traveling, and offered a range of people such as boatmen, sedan chair bearers, tour guides, restaurant runners, courtesans and entertainers, who made a living by serving tourists. To literati both local and empire-wide, West Lake was a common place in Hangzhou for social interactions, where they gathered, went sightseeing, held banquets, and composed poems. As an important local center or even the imperial capital since the Tang period, the layers of history had left abundant traces in Hangzhou. Numerous historical and cultural sites were located densely both in the city and at West lake. In their travel records, no literatus pays attention merely to the physical appearance of the lake; rather, they frequently note the construction and reconstruction of a site, the historical figure it was related to etc. Although sightseeing was a means of accumulating knowledge, the cultures as embodied by the sites were not exotic or strange, but familiar to the Chinese literati sightseers. Actually many literati had already read much about West Lake before they first visited it. To them, West Lake presented what was the best in the Chinese cultural realm, rather than what was outside of it.

4.2 The Conception of Nature and West Lake

Why had West Lake been so attractive? The immediate answer of late imperial literati would be its beautiful landscape, which was a great work of nature. In “A General Account of West Lake” of his gazetteer, Tian Rucheng regards West Lake as a “wonderful natural environment that requires no decoration [of man]” (天然妙境，無事雕飾).⁴⁰³ Yet Tian's description is hardly true given the fact that West Lake had survived only because of a series of human efforts in history. As mentioned in Chapter 1, West Lake

(Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 407.

⁴⁰² Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 73.

⁴⁰³ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 2.

continuously silts up due to the sediments brought by streams nearby. Without numerous times of dredging in history, it would not have survived. The fate of West Lake largely depends on human influences not only due to its small size and fragility, but also to its geographical proximity to the city of Hangzhou. At the level of discourse and ideology, officials who proposed the dredging projects in history valued West Lake for its significance in local economy, such as the important function of freshwater reservoir for agriculture and everyday life of Hangzhou residents. Sightseeing, on the other hand, was in a marginal position and even not mentioned at all.⁴⁰⁴ At the level of practice, however, numerous works were done that had objectively improved the beauty of West Lake to a large extent. While the enlarged lake surface, causeways, and artificial islands altered the size and layout of West Lake, bridges, pavilions, shrines, trees and flowers were built and planted during the water projects to beautify the lake. The numerous dredging projects in history virtually saved West Lake from perishing and praised by modern geologist Zhu Kezhen 竺可桢, who in an article, published in 1921, views the survival of West Lake as an example of “man conquering nature” (*ren ding sheng tian* 人定胜天).⁴⁰⁵

Yet the dichotomy of nature and artificiality becomes problematic, when one looks at the fact that human efforts are themselves considered as a potential imitation of the work of nature in Chinese culture. As Dore J. Levy points out, “the essential unity of conscious creation (human artifice) and spontaneous creation (nature)” in traditional Chinese conceptions are viewed as “complementary aspects of the universe of experience”.⁴⁰⁶ Man as a part of nature should conform to what is perceived as natural and cosmological order. As Yi-fu Tuan points out, the entirety of Chinese gardens or their various parts may be seen as idealized Daoist, Buddhist, or shamanistic microcosms, the overall message of which is peace and harmony.⁴⁰⁷ The Ming garden designer Ji Cheng 計成 (1582–1642), for example, puts forward in his *The Craft of Gardens* (*Yuan ye* 園冶) the idea that “gardens should be made in such a way as if they are created by nature” (虽由人作，宛自

⁴⁰⁴ See for example memorial of Su Shi in Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 413–415. For an abridged and slightly different version, see *ibid.*, 3f. Also see the memorial of Yang Mengying in *ibid.*, 4–6.

⁴⁰⁵ Zhu Kezhen, “Hangzhou Xihu shengcheng de yuanyin”, 279.

⁴⁰⁶ Dore J. Levy, “The Garden and Garden Culture in *The Story of the Stone*”, in *Approaches to Teaching The Story of the Stone* (Dream of the Red Chamber), ed. Andrew Schonebaum and Tina Lu (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2012), 124.

⁴⁰⁷ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 145f.

天开).⁴⁰⁸ Gardens are supposed to be harmonious with the natural environment, to explore and highlight its beauty and take advantage of it. The gardens at West Lake are a complex that embodies a range of ideologies summarized by Li Yifan 李一凡 as follows: 1. Confucian thoughts, 2. Thoughts of religious Daoism and immortals, 3. Thoughts of Yin-Yang and Five Elements, 4. Buddhist thoughts, 5. Spheres created by literature and art, 6. Thoughts of retreating (from human realm into nature), 7. Belief in the sacred nature.⁴⁰⁹ A radical separation of architecture from its natural environment is relatively alien to Chinese thoughts.

As the culture of West Lake tourism reached a peak in the late Ming, a sharp criticism emerged that viewed the lake as being “contaminated” by the vulgarity of the crowds of sightseers. Tian Rucheng, for example, comments as follows:

歌童舞女，已非本色，而閭巷鄙人，以戲子傀儡雜之，溷聒眺聽，誠所謂花上曬裊、松下喝道者也。⁴¹⁰

While singing boys and dancing girls do not belong to the original appearance [of the lake], vulgar men from the alleys mix them with actors and puppeteers. The dirty scenes and noises are indeed what is called “hanging out pants on flowers and shouting to turn people away under pine trees”.

Not against sightseeing itself, Tian views the appreciation of landscape and the cultivation of one’s personality with wine and poem composition as the sole authentic and proper activities at West Lake. What is done by “vulgar men”, on the other hand, is irrelevant to what one achieves through sightseeing and even harmful to it. Since Tian published his gazetteer in 1547, his judgment is based on the observations before the heydays of West Lake tourism in late Ming. Yet his view became largely representative, as late Ming literati sightseers frequently record behaviors of the crowds of sightseers and laugh at them. The attempt to set up aesthetic standards and to distinguish from ordinary tourists may be seen as motivated by the status anxiety of literati, when other social groups became increasingly competitive in the late Ming. Yet the criticism by literati is

⁴⁰⁸ Zhang Jiaji 张家骥, *Yuan ye quanshi 园冶全释 (Complete Annotations of The Craft of Gardens)* (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2002), 168.

⁴⁰⁹ Li Yifan, *Xihu meixue zhaji*, 324f.

⁴¹⁰ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 242.

not confined to commoner tourists. Zhang Jingyuan 張京元 (*jinsi* 1604), for example, records his feelings on Mid-lake Pavilion Isle (Huxin ting 湖心亭), an artificial island of the lake, that “I resented those plaques with four characters and couplets in the pavilion that had occupied the crossbeams and ridgepoles. From where could I borrow the fire of Xianyang and bring this ill karma to an end?” (恨亭中四字匾、隔句對聯，填楣盈棟，安得借咸陽一炬了此業障)⁴¹¹ When Zhang visited the isle at dusk, watched the sun, the crescent moon, the mountains at the bank and their reflections in the water, he was so excited that he shouted wildly. Yet he viewed the literary writings as disturbing, or at least superfluous to the place. The literary qualities of these writings are rather irrelevant, it is their excessive presence that annoys. More radical than Zhang Jingyuan, Zha Jizuo 查繼佐 (1601–1676) even expresses in his preface to *Dream Searching* his distaste of the entirety of the “gardens and pavilions, peach and willow trees, bamboo flutes and drums, and boats with storied houses” (*yuanting taoliu, xiaogu louchuan* 園亭桃柳、蕭鼓樓船).⁴¹² As Zhang Dai laments the destruction of the numerous West Lake sites and the disappearance of sightseeing activities caused by dynastic transition, implicitly relating it to the fate of the lost Ming dynasty, Zha Jizuo surprisingly celebrates such loss. In Zha’s opinion, the original quality of West Lake is by itself good (*benzhi zi miao* 本質自妙)⁴¹³ and surpasses any decorations of man. Despite the identity of a Ming loyalist, Zha rejects the significance attached by Zhang to the event and looks at things from another perspective.⁴¹⁴ Yet Zhang and Zha do not necessarily disagree with each other if one looks at the fact that the former sometimes also portrays the activities of commoner sightseers in a quite negative way, which largely represents a kind of attitude among late Ming literati.

⁴¹¹ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 67. “The fire of Xianyang” refers to the fire that burnt down the imperial palace at Xianyang 咸陽, the capital of the Qin 秦 (221–206 B.C.), at the end of the dynasty.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun xu”, 4.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun xu”, 4.

⁴¹⁴ Hu Yimin argues that Zha Jizuo used to invite Zhang Dai to work with him on a project of Southern Ming history with a text, entitled *A Record to be Blamed* (*Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄), and refused by Zhang. Zha’s criticism of Zhang in his preface and elsewhere thus may be seen as the result of his displeasure. See Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan*, 120f.; Han Jinyou, “Zhang Dai nianpu”, 93.

4.3 West Lake as a Middle Landscape

The Janus-faced nature of West Lake was well acknowledged by the Northern Song Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), who in his prose work “Record of the Hall of Possessing Beauty” (*Youmei tang ji* 有美堂記) views Hangzhou as a place of combined beauty. Ouyang argues that the charming mountains and waters are mostly found in the quiet wilderness and lonely towns, while magnificent and prosperous cities are located in the pivotal places and traffic hubs. It is only Jinling (i.e. Nanjing) and Qiantang (i.e. Hangzhou) that “possess the beauty of mountains and waters and facilitate the entertainment of wealth and status” (有山水之美以資富貴之娛).⁴¹⁵ Ouyang Xiu concludes that Hangzhou “combines all the beauties under the Heaven” (兼有天下之美)⁴¹⁶ and thus satisfies both people who seek reclusion and detachment and those who enjoy splendour and socializing.⁴¹⁷

Although West Lake was located only a few dozen meters outside the wall of Hangzhou and functioned in many ways as an integrated part of the region, literati often presented the former as in sharp contrasts with, even opposite to the latter. One device that contributed to the perceived contrast might be the city wall that separated the two. This was evident when the western city wall from Gushing Gold Gate to Qiantang Gate (Qiantang men 錢塘門) began to be destroyed since 1913, the second year of the Republican era (1912–1949), residents of Hangzhou were shocked and claimed that “West Lake was moved into the city” (*Xihu banjin cheng* 西湖搬进城).⁴¹⁸ This phrase later became a local idiom that referred to radical changes in one’s life. As the scholar Zhong Yulong 钟毓龙 holds that the beauty of West Lake no longer matched the time when it was blocked by the city wall,⁴¹⁹ in pre-modern times the western wall had created two sharply contrasted landscapes. The crowded and narrow urban view is

⁴¹⁵ Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 409. For an abridged and slightly different version of Ouyang Xiu’s text, see Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 62f.

⁴¹⁶ Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 409.

⁴¹⁷ For an analysis of Ouyang Xiu’s prose work, see Ridgway, “Two Halls of Hangzhou”, 229–235.

⁴¹⁸ See Zhong Yulong 钟毓龙, *Shuo Hangzhou* 说杭州 (Talking about Hangzhou) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1983), 191. A similar expression is seen in the entry “Yongjin men” in *A New Gazetteer of West Lake (Xihu xin zhi* 西湖新志). See Cui Hao 崔灏 et al., *Hushan bianlan (fu Xihu xin zhi)* 湖山便览 (附西湖新志) (A Convenient Reading of the Lake and the Hills, and A New Gazetteer of West Lake) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 402.

⁴¹⁹ Zhong Yulong, *Shuo Hangzhou*, 191.

replaced by an open scene of vast lake water and its surrounding hills at a distance when one went out of the city.

Yi-fu Tuan notes that, despite the in-betweenness of the middle landscape, it is often widely accepted as the antithesis of the city. One example is the attitude to the countryside generated by urbanization: “Once society had reached a certain level of artifice and complexity, people would begin to take note, and appreciate, the relative simplicities of nature.”⁴²⁰ It also applies to the case of West Lake. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Yuan Hongdao and Li Liufang preferred to stay at West Lake and were reluctant to enter the city of Hangzhou due to their claimed fear for cities. The only site inside the city wall visited by Yuan was Purple Sun Palace (Ziyang gong 紫陽宮), which he passed only hastily. He felt sorry for the extraordinary stones in the temple: “How could they be humiliatingly located in the city and thus separated from those lazy people from the remote mountains and forests? This is lamentable!” (奈何辱之郡郭之內，使山林僻懶之人親近不得，可歎哉)⁴²¹ Despite such claims, Chou Chih-p’ing indicates that Yuan Hongdao did not truly live like a recluse in his lifetime. Rather, the majority of his travel records refers to Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Beijing, the metropolises at the time. Although he had lived at quiet and secluded places, he was never able to stay there for long. His claim of obsessions with mountains and rivers therefore is very much a stance.⁴²²

On the one hand, West Lake tourism largely benefited from its proximity to the city of Hangzhou, and literati by no means rejected all these benefits. On the other hand, they needed to find a place that was sufficiently different from the city. The binary opposition of West Lake and the city shaped the experiences of literati, as alternative experiences were actively sought. Passionately praising its natural beauty, literati celebrated a simple, care-free, secluded, and peaceful life at West Lake. Sometimes literati expressed other-worldly concerns, the feelings of transcendence triggered by landscape. These

⁴²⁰ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 103. Xiaolin Duan considers West Lake aesthetic as “a result of the rapid development of urban life, which forced people to seek out less crowded places”, and thus an instance of Tuan’s view. See Duan, “Scenic Beauty outside the City”, 127f.

⁴²¹ See “Wu shan” 吳山 (Wu Hill), in Yuan Hongdao, “Xihu jishu”, 463.

⁴²² Chou Chih-p’ing 周質平, “Yuan Hongdao de shanshui pi jiqi you ji” 袁宏道的山水癖及其遊記 (The Obsession with Landscapes and the Travel Notes of Yuan Hongdao), *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 13, no. 4 (1984): 6. (doi:10.6637/CWLQ.1984.13(4).4-14), 5–7. Also see Liping Wang, “Paradise for Sale”, 48.

other-worldly concerns were profoundly an anti-urban stance, given that it is the life and affairs in the city that they attempted to suspend during sightseeing. Gao Lian, for example, proposes a kind of enlightenment that the “secluded appreciation” (*youshang* 幽賞) of the West Lake views will supposedly lead to. Gao’s enlightenment has a strong Buddhist flavor, as he frequently refers to its terms and concepts. Under the entry “*Talking about the Moon at the Three Lives Rock*” (*Sansheng shi tan yue* 三生石談月), for example, Gao states as follows:

忽聽山頭鶴唳，溪上雲生，便欲駕我僊去，俗抱塵心，蕭然冰釋。恐朝來去此，是即再生五濁慾界。⁴²³

Suddenly one hears the sound of the crane that comes from the top of the mountain, and sees the clouds that emerge above the stream, and thus desires to leave the mundane world like an immortal, and all concerns about the world have vanished like ice. I fear that if one left this place when the morning comes, one would be born in the Desire Realm of Five Turbidities again.

By doing this, Gao associates the act of sightseeing with a mental process of detaching from this-worldly concerns. It is the lonely and quiet environment of West Lake instead of the city of Hangzhou that is considered conducive to such detachment.

While the vast majority of sightseers were concentrated at some most famous scenic sites of West Lake, scholar-officials were able to build their residents at less populated places. Li Ba 李芟 (*hao* Goulou 峒嶼), for example, had a villa at the foothill of Taoguang Hill (Taoguang shan 韜光山), which was located in the west of West Lake. It was complimented by Li Shixing 李時行 (*jinsi* 1541) in a letter to him as follows, who attempted to borrow the villa for several months:

吾觀西湖雖有山水之佳樂然，不免簫鼓爭喧，歌舞溷迹，終非棲息之所也。唯公紫蓋仙樓，僻在西湖之西，一迳潛通四山[...]雖終日游而不厭。⁴²⁴

⁴²³ See Gao Lian’s essay in “Xia shi youshang” 夏時幽賞 (Secluded Appreciations in Summer), in Gao Lian, “Sishi youshang lu”, 4483.

⁴²⁴ This is cited from Lu Chuan 盧川, “Zhong wan-Ming Xihu shiwen yanjiu” 中晚明西湖詩文研究 (A Study of the West Lake Essays and Poems of the Mid and Late Ming), (Master thesis, Shanghai Normal University, 2009), 44. For

I have observed that West Lake, despite its joy of elegant hills and waters, cannot get rid of competing noises of flutes and drums and dirty traces of songs and dances, and thus does not belong to the places of living after all. It is only your Ziyi Storied House of immortals that is located in the remote place west of West Lake and has a path that covertly leads to the four hills [...] One could roam all day long without satiety.

The desired and valued environment contrary to the city was not only sought, but also created. Zhang Dai mentions a Bao Yingdeng 包應登 (*zi* Hansuo 涵所, *jinshi* 1604), who had lived an extremely extravagant life at West Lake for twenty years and built storied houses and terraces unparalleled at the time. Despite the luxury, however, his villa looked a bit like village houses from outside. The *ad hoc* rustic style is commented by Chen Jiru in a poem that “[a]s the garden is constructed magnificent to the utmost, / It is inclined to imitate villages” (造園華麗極，反欲學邨莊).⁴²⁵ This would support the Chen Baoliang’s 陳寶良 idea of “ruralization of urban dwelling” in the Jiangnan region since the mid-Ming, an aspect of which is to seek rural lifestyles in the cities.⁴²⁶

Despite the preference for and pursuit of hidden and quiet environment, such pursuit had its limit. Another entity the comparison with which helps to understand the position of West Lake is Tianmu Mountain as mentioned above, a mountain range that lay in the west of West Lake and stretched for several hundred *li* from west to east. The surrounding hills at the northern, western, and southern sides of West Lake and the hills inside the wall of Hangzhou all belonged to the eastern end of it. To say that West Lake was a middle landscape between city and wilderness does not mean that it was geographically located between the two. Actually Tianmu Mountain was also to some extent transformed by human activities: for centuries people had identified and named scenic sites such as rocks and peaks, constructed pavilions, terraces, inns, and monasteries such as Jing

accounts of Li Ba’s villa, see “Goulou shanfang” in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi”, 31f., “Xihu mengxun”, 36–38.

⁴²⁵ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 38. Accounts of Bao Yingdeng’s presence at West Lake by Zhang Dai are seen in the entries “Bao Hansuo” 包涵所 (Bao Hansuo) in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi”, 46f.; “Qinglian shanfang” 青蓮山房 (Green Lotus Mountain House) and “Bao yazhuang” 包衙莊 (Bao’s Estate) in Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 38f. and 84f.

⁴²⁶ See Chen Baoliang 陳寶良, *Ming dai shehui shenghuo shi* 明代社会生活史 (A History of Social Life of the Ming Period) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), 346.

Mountain Monastery (Jingshan si 徑山寺) at Yuhang 餘杭 County, that belonged to the prominent “Five Mountains of Meditation Monasteries” (Chanyuan wushan 禪院五山) established in the Southern Song.⁴²⁷ This process, which is called by Wolfgang Kubin the civilizing of “the hitherto untamed nature until it became part of the human realm” of the Jiangnan region,⁴²⁸ resembles that at West Lake and would also turn Tianmu Mountain into a middle landscape. Therefore it is mistaken to view Tianmu Mountain as sheer wilderness. Its difference from West Lake is only a matter of degree.

Compared with West Lake, most hills of Tianmu Mountain Range were more distant from the city of Hangzhou, less populated and visited. This is evident in a preface of *A Gazetteer of Jing Mountain (Jingshan zhi 徑山志)*, written by Li Yeran 李燁然 (*jinsi* 1610) in 1624, who states that Jing Mountain, “being slightly distant from the provincial metropolis, is a hidden and obscure place of Buddhist meditation; rarely had people passed and inquired about it” (以去省會稍遠，而禪那幽杳之地，鮮有過而問焉者).⁴²⁹ Likewise in *A Gazetteer of Western Tianmu Primary Mountain (Xi Tianmu zushan zhi 西天目祖山志)*,⁴³⁰ Luo Jinsen 羅錦森 laments in his preface in 1803 that “this heavenly born prominent mountain is for the sake of roaming and sightseeing, yet unfortunately located at a peripheral corner” (天生名山，用待遊覽，惜位於偏隅), so that few scholar-officials and those who were fond of roaming had been there in the past periods.⁴³¹ Yet it seems that the contrast between West Lake and the hills of Tianmu cannot be fully explained by the latter’s distant location from the city of Hangzhou, as

⁴²⁷ See Liu Changdong 刘长东, “Songdai Wushan Shicha sizhi kaolun” 宋代五山十刹寺制考论 (On the System of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries in Song Dynasty), *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教学研究, no. 2 (2004): 100–102. Among the other four mountains, Soul Retreat Monastery and Pure Compassion Monastery, that were located on the surrounding hills of West Lake, also belonged to Tianmu Mountain.

⁴²⁸ Wolfgang Kubin, “The Myriad Things: Random Thoughts on Nature in China and the West”, in *Concepts of Nature: A Chinese-European Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Hans Ulrich Vogel and Günter Dux (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 522.

⁴²⁹ Song Kuiguang 宋奎光 and Li Yeran 李燁然, “Jingshan zhi” 徑山志 (A Gazetteer of Jing Mountain), 1624, in *Zhonghua shanshui zhi congkan* 中华山水志丛刊·山志卷 (A Collected Edition of Mountain and Water Gazetteers of China: Mountain Gazetteers), vol. 21, ed. Shi Guangming 石光明, Dong Guanghe 董光和, and Yang Guanghui 杨光辉 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2004), 8.

⁴³⁰ The Tianmu Mountain Range was divided into Eastern Tianmu (Dong Tianmu 東天目), with its major peak at Lin’an 臨安 County, and Western Tianmu (Xi Tianmu 西天目), with its major peak at Yuqian 於潛 County.

⁴³¹ Guangbin 廣賓 and Jijie 際界, “Xi Tianmu zushan zhi” 西天目祖山志 (A Gazetteer of Western Tianmu Primary Mountain), in *Zhonghua shanshui zhi congkan* 中华山水志丛刊·山志卷 (A Collected Edition of Mountain and Water Gazetteers of China: Mountain Gazetteers), vol. 21, ed. Shi Guangming 石光明, Dong Guanghe 董光和, and Yang Guanghui 杨光辉 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2004), 257.

many literati traveled a long distance from other places of Zhejiang or even other provinces to see West Lake. Luo continued that “in the place which immortals step on and hide themselves, Buddha values and possesses it; in the region which is rarely visited by scholar-officials, monks rest there and take it as their residence” (夫以神仙蹈隱之地，佛乃妙而有之；士大夫罕遊之區，禪侶乃安而宅之).⁴³² Despite the strong Buddhist and otherworldly flavour of Tianmu Mountain, however, it would be wrong to think that the Buddhist presence surpassed that at West Lake. In Wu Zhijing’s *A Gazetteer of Buddhism in Wulin*, all Buddhist monasteries and pagodas that had been built in the region of Hangzhou Prefecture dating from the third century up to Wu’s own time are listed. According to my counting, the numbers of Buddhist establishments of different geographical regions are seen in Table 4.1 below:

Geographical Regions	Numbers
The City of Hangzhou	67
The Southern Hills outside the City	102
The Northern Hills outside the City	197
Outer Seven Counties:	
Haining 海寧 County	21
Fuyang 富陽 County	14
Yuhang 餘杭 County	10
Lin’an 臨安 County	12
Xincheng 新城 County	7
Yuqian 於潛 County	2
Changhua 昌化 County	1
Total	433

Table 4.1: Numbers of Buddhist establishments in *Gazetteer of Buddhism in Hangzhou*.⁴³³

⁴³² Ibid., 257.

⁴³³ The geographical division was made by Wu Zhijing himself. See Wu Zhijing 吳之鯨, *Wulin fan zhi* 武林梵志 (Gazetteer of Buddhism in Hangzhou) (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2006), 1–166.

As this table indicates, the majority of Buddhist establishments were located neither in the city (67), nor in the outer seven counties (67 in total), but on the hills around West Lake (299 in total),⁴³⁴ which were neither too close nor too far from the city.⁴³⁵ Although Tianmu Mountain Range was a large area, its monasteries were highly concentrated on a tiny part, that is, the hills of its eastern end.⁴³⁶ The spatial concentration of Buddhist establishments is also verified by a research of the distribution of Buddhist temples recorded in the Southern Song *Lin'an Gazetteer of the Xianchun Era* by Jeffrey Liu and Ziling Wan. After their locations are converted into geographical coordinates, five noticeable hot zones are seen on the map with higher temple density. Four are in the surrounding regions of West Lake and one inside the city of Hangzhou.⁴³⁷ To explain the distribution, Liu and Wan mention the rationale provided by Pierre Bourdieu that religion is an enterprise with an economic dimension but at the same time cannot openly admit the participation. They state that “[f]or religious institutions to flourish, they should be situated within the social-economic territory that generates power and legitimacy within a certain cultural context”.⁴³⁸

There was an ambivalent attitude of literati to Buddhist establishments. On the one hand, they criticized the famous Buddhist sites for being too crowded. Wang Shixing, for example, comments on Upper India Monastery that “it was filled with noises of men and women, and not a place for one to practice self-realization” (士女市囂，非修真棲也).⁴³⁹ On the other hand, literati were also part of the crowd as well as its observers. Buddhist

⁴³⁴ The hills of Tianmu Mountain Range included those in several counties such as Yuhang, Lin'an, Yuqian as well as those outside Hangzhou city that belonged to Qiantang 錢塘 County and Renhe 仁和 County.

⁴³⁵ A problem of the data is that Wu Zhijing's account includes all Buddhist establishments that had ever existed in history instead of those of any single period, which is called by Desmond H. H. Cheung “an historical and imagined Buddhist landscape of Hangzhou”. See Cheung, “A Socio-cultural History”, 113. Nevertheless, one can be certain that my conclusion applies to several historical periods when Buddhism was thriving in Hangzhou such as the Southern Song and the late Ming.

⁴³⁶ This is in accordance with an observation of the monasteries nationwide in the 1685 *Jiangpu County Gazetteer* (*Jiangpu xian zhi* 江浦縣志), *juan* 7: “Although monasteries are places where monks can withdraw from the world, it so happens that most of them are located in the most scenic spots in the country” (梵刹琳宮，雖緇流羽士所潛踪，大約處邑之行勝者居多). See Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 108. The gazetteer views the geographical proximity as the reason why so many prominent worthies and lofty scholars visited them in history. For a study of the interaction and mutual benefiting of gentry and Buddhist monasteries in the late Ming, see Brook, *Praying for Power*, 159–223.

⁴³⁷ Jeffrey Liu and Ziling Wan, “The Making of a Sacred Landscape: Visualizing Hangzhou Buddhist Culture via Geoparsing a Local Gazetteer the *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志”, *Religions* 13, no. 8 (2022): 8–9.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴³⁹ Wang Shixing, *Wang Shixing dili shu sanzong*, 78f. Wang made his tour in the spring of 1578, so it was probably during the pilgrimage in Hangzhou that centered on the birthday of Bodhisattva Guanyin on the nineteenth day of the second month and lasted several months, when Upper India Monastery became a focal place for pilgrims nationwide.

elements were a large part of literati sightseeing, as frequently they were invited and accompanied by monks as tour guides or friends,⁴⁴⁰ visited and lived in monasteries, and drank tea and had conversations with Buddhist clergy in the pursuit of enlightenment and pleasure. Xiaolin Duan argues that West Lake provided an appropriate contact zone for both groups, as monks would have left themselves open to criticism if they had met literati in the city.⁴⁴¹

While the attitude to West Lake in contrast to the city was uttered by literati frequently and explicitly, its comparison with the hills of Tianmu was rare and hard to discern. Both were viewed as opposite to city, and the same kinds of experiences were sought most of the time. Yet a careful reading of the literati's discourses may offer some clues. In *juan* 10 of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, for example, Tian Rucheng notes about "Stone Man Hill" (Shiren ling 石人岭), a site among the northwestern hills of West Lake, that "here the lake and the hills are deep and remote to the utmost" (湖山至此，幽邃極矣).⁴⁴² Placed at the end of *juan* 10, Stone Man Hill is the final point of a sightseeing route. In the next chapter, *juan* 11, the assumed sightseer starts from another place nearby and turns southward. Likewise, at the end of *juan* 11, Tian notes about "Hidden Gurgle Hill" (Youcong ling 幽淙岭) that "when the sightseeing tour reaches this place, it is like an arsenal that has been fully opened. All the jewelries and treasures are exhibited, nothing is hidden anymore" (遊覽至此，譬諸洞開武庫，珍寶橫陳，無復底蘊).⁴⁴³ The descriptions in the two cases depict the subjective feelings and mark the psychological limits of sightseers at some point when they traveled westward: "West Lake" stopped there, and one should turn back or go another direction. This is common for West Lake gazetteers, which present scenic sites in such a way that they end somewhere as it comes to the mountainous western region, leaving the western regions a blank space. Potentially functioning as a traveler's guidebook, none of these texts recommend and encourage reader-sightseers to explore farther west.

When literati went sightseeing at West Lake, they occasionally encountered sites whose environment were too quiet to bear, and found the place uninhabitable. For

⁴⁴⁰ Wu Jen-shu, "Wan-Ming de lüyou fengqi yu shidafu xintai", 239; Wu Jen-shu and Imma Di Biase, *Youdao*, 88–90.

⁴⁴¹ Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 148.

⁴⁴² Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 101.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 108.

example, in his travel record “Watching the Snow at Mid-lake Pavilion Isle” (*Huxin ting kanxue* 湖心亭看雪),⁴⁴⁴ Zhang Dai writes about his lonely travel in a cold winter evening. After three days of heavy snow and when there was nobody at the lake, he took a small boat to the isle. Zhang’s essay represents quite a number of late Ming travel records in the sense that it depicts the author’s passion and obsession with landscape, betraying a narcissistic appeal.⁴⁴⁵ Yet under the entry in *Dream Searching*, to which his essay was attached, he also notes that “if one ascends it [Pure Joy Belvedere (Qingxi ge 清喜閣) on the isle] under the night moon, it is so silent and lonely as if one has entered the ocean palace of Dragon [King’s] people filled with treasures. The crystal moonlight soaks [into the belvedere] and the moisture of water arises. The place is remote and people are few, thus one could not stay for long” (夜月登此，闐寂淒涼，如入蛟宮海藏，月光晶沁，水氣滄之，人稀地僻，不可久留).⁴⁴⁶ The attitude to the isle here reveals that the longings for seclusion, quietness, and solitude would reach only a certain degree before one turns back and moves towards the opposite direction.

4.4 Shift of Balance in the Late Ming Period

The discussions above suggest a subtle balance sought and kept by literati sightseers, as they value a place that is distant from and alien to the city, but rather not too distant and not too alien. West Lake became a popular place due to not only its proximity to the city, but also its intermediate nature between metropolis and wilderness. This balance became problematic in the late Ming as the conditions of sightseeing changed. As will be seen, referring to one of Yi-fu Tuan’s patterns, the middle landscape is viewed as threatened by the city on one side and by wilderness on the other, while in fact both the city and the middle landscape were expanding at the expense of wilderness.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ The essay was primarily included in *Dream Reminiscence*, and included later in his *Dreaming Searching* with a new title, “Huxin ting xiaoji” 湖心亭小記 (A Small Record of Mid-lake Pavilion Isle), which was attached to the entry “Huxin ting” 湖心亭 (Mid-lake Pavilion Isle). See Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi”, 49, “Xihu mengxun”, 67f.

⁴⁴⁵ See Liu Yongqiang, “West Lake Fiction of the Late Ming”, 188.

⁴⁴⁶ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 67.

⁴⁴⁷ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 105.

In the Southern Song, the population of Hangzhou, which served as the imperial capital, increased sharply. As a result, not only was the space in the city wall more crowded, but new markets and towns in the suburban area outside the city wall were also formed.⁴⁴⁸ The increase in population, the flourishing of the city, and the enthusiasm for West Lake sightseeing led to the extension of urban culture into the West Lake space. An entry in *Supplement* states that the beauty of West Lake was rarely known by the early Tang; it was after several centuries of exploration, especially the efforts of Bai Juyi and Su Shi, that the charm of West Lake was gradually discovered. The process was completed in the Southern Song, when “the stored appearances of West Lake had been exhaustively exposed” (西湖底蘊，表褻殆盡).⁴⁴⁹ Another entry states that before the Song, there were still many empty places in the western and southern parts of the city of Hangzhou as well as the northern part of West Lake, where no trace of man was found; as it came to the Southern Song, some regions of West Lake became so densely populated by buildings that someone wrote verses to reflect the situation: “Uniform storied houses and terraces stretch for thirty *li*, / One does not know where to find Lone Hill” (一色樓臺三十里，不知何處覓孤山).⁴⁵⁰ In the early Northern Song, Lone Hill was where the residence of the recluse Lin Bu was located. Although the place was less than two kilometers away from the western city wall of Hangzhou, it is said that Lin had lived there for twenty years without ever entering the city.⁴⁵¹ In the Southern Song, a reclusive life at Lone Hill seemed impossible.

The situation reemerged in the late Ming: an entry in *Dream Searching* compares Su Causeway located in the western part of West Lake with Sun Causeway (Sun di 孫堤),⁴⁵² which connected Lone Hill and the northeastern lake bank: “Su Causeway is distant from the city [...] the travelers are quite sparse. Sun Causeway leads directly to Xiling [Bridge], and carriages, horses, and roamers come and go like weaving” (蘇堤離城遠[...]行旅甚

⁴⁴⁸ Lin Zhengqiu 林正秋, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an* 南宋都城临安 (The Capital Lin'an of the Southern Song) (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1986), 24–37; Xu Jijun, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 179–180.

⁴⁴⁹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 281.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁴⁵¹ See for example the entry on Lin Bu in *ibid.*, 94.

⁴⁵² The Sun Causeway, with the alternative name “Variegated Brocade Pond” (Shijin tang 十錦塘), was named after Sun Long who had constructed it. In the present-day West Lake, it is called “Bai Causeway” (Bai di 白堤) in memorial of the Tang literatus Bai Juyi.

稀。孫堤直達西冷，車馬遊人，往來如織。⁴⁵³ Although people continued to celebrate Lin Bu as a model recluse at Lone Hill, the place was by no means conducive to the life of a recluse.

The bustling and noisy nature of West Lake is summarized by Zhang Dai as follows:

余嘗謂住西湖之人，無人不帶歌舞，無山不帶歌舞，無水不帶歌舞，脂粉膩綺，即邨婦山僧，亦所不免。因憶眉公之言曰：「西湖有名山，無處士；有古剎，無高僧；有紅粉，無佳人；有花朝，無月夕。」⁴⁵⁴

I once said that among those who lived at West Lake, nobody was without singing and dancing, no hill was without singing and dancing, no water was without singing and dancing. Even village women and mountain monks could not avoid rouge, powder, and silk clothes. This reminds me of the words of Meigong [i.e. Chen Jiru]: “At West Lake, there are famous mountains, but no real recluses; there are ancient monasteries, but no lofty monks; there are pretty girls, but no elegant ladies; there are flowery mornings, but no moonlit evenings”.

In Zhang Dai’s description, West Lake had become an entertainment quarter, where even the monasteries and monks were for the sake of pleasure. Although Zhang, like many other literati at the time, often portrays the activities of the crowds of sightseers in a sarcastic tone, he himself did not necessarily reject such activities and even passionately embraced them. In *Dream Reminiscence*, Zhang depicts his love of gardens, houses, courtesans, operas, clothes, tea, antiques, cockfighting etc., and expertise in such activities, which were typical ingredients of urban culture. How should we make sense of the contradiction between discourses of the late Ming literati and their actual practices? As mentioned above, literati complained about the noisy environment of Buddhist monasteries, yet were themselves visitors of them; they laughed at the ostentation of the crowds of sightseers, yet their own behaviors and inventions often had a sensational effect. One possible explanation is that literati intended to make an aesthetic or social distinction between themselves and commoner sightseers, who were considered vulgar

⁴⁵³ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 47.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 28.

and lacking appreciation of West Lake's true beauty.⁴⁵⁵ It is also possible to view the ambivalent feelings and attitudes as complementary to each other. As Wolfram Eberhard notes, life in and outside the city respectively corresponded to the Confucian and Daoist ideals, and scholar-officials often shifted to the other as one became unbearable.⁴⁵⁶ The conception of middle landscape suggests that a desired environment is somewhere between two extremes and thus a matter of degree. West Lake and the city may be seen as having constituted a whole, the two parts of which enabled an alternation of two lifestyles.

The presence of elements of urban culture and large crowds of commoner sightseers made West Lake a less desired place in the eyes of literati sightseers, who attempted various ways to solve the problem. One way is to visit less crowded places or at less busy hours, as Zhang Dai's visit to the Mid-lake Pavilion Isle in a cold, snowy evening suggests. Another way was to explore spaces and identify scenic sites in the environs of West Lake. Since the region of West Lake had been almost exhaustively explored and utilized, they turned their gaze to remoter areas. Zhang Dai, for example, includes "Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies" (Jiu xi shiba jian 九溪十八澗) in his compilation, a site located in the southwest of West Lake and close to the northern bank of Qiantang River. Compared with West Lake, Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies was generally more other-worldly in nature:

其地徑路崎嶇，艸木蔚秀，人煙曠絕，幽闐靜悄，別有天地，自非人間。溪下為十八澗，地故深邃，即緇流非遺世絕俗者，不能久居。⁴⁵⁷

The place's paths and roads are rugged, its grass and trees are luxuriant and pretty, it is hidden and quiet and belongs to a world other than the realm of man. Below the

⁴⁵⁵ Craig Clunas in his study of Wen Zhenheng's 文震亨 (1585–1645) *Treatise on Superfluous Things* (*Changwu zhi* 長物志) understands its writing on connoisseurship very much as a discourse of social distinction, a difference that is asserted against what is closest and represents the greatest threat. See Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 73. Timothy Brook likewise argues for a mechanism of fashion, that is, endless struggle of status competition, in the cultural realms of the late Ming. See Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), 218f. For a study of the competition for social status between literati and commoners, conspicuous consumption, and distinction of identity of the late Ming, taking sightseeing as an example, see Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕, *Pinwei shehua: Wan-Ming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* 品味奢华：晚明的消费社会与士大夫 (Taste and Extravagance: Late Ming Consumer Society and the Gentry) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 185–195.

⁴⁵⁶ Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and Rulers: Social Forces in Medieval China*, Second, Revised Edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 45.

⁴⁵⁷ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun", 98f.

creek is Eighteen Gullies, the place is deep and remote, even among Buddhists, no one is able to live there for long except for those who abandon the world and isolate themselves from profanity.

At his time, Zhang Dai claims, even those who are familiar with West Lake and all its scenic sites are unaware of the existence of such beauty. Given that Zhang's account of West Lake scenic sites is selective and lists the most praiseworthy sites only, it is likely that he is recommending this largely unknown site to the readers.⁴⁵⁸

Another site was West Creek (Xixi 西谿), a wet land located in the northwest of West Lake. There were several hundred households at the place that formed village and market place. Wu Bentai 吳本泰 (*jinsi* 1634), a local person of Hangzhou, who had lived in retreat at West Creek since 1645, notes three of its merits in his *A Gazetteer of Buddhism and Seclusion at West Creek* (*Xixi fanyin zhi* 西谿梵隱志, author's preface 1651) – its beautiful landscape, its proximity to the city, and its habitability:

饒梅竹茶筍，而香雪十八里，遂成佳話矣。然啟北郭扉，不越一由旬地，而可庵、可廬、可稻、可蔬、可舟、可梁、可濯、可湘。⁴⁵⁹

[West Creek] is rich in plum trees, bamboo, tea trees, and bamboo shoots. Its fragrant snow [i.e. flowers] stretches for eighteen *li* and becomes a charming story. Starting from the northern gate [of Hangzhou], one does not even travel more than one *youxun*⁴⁶⁰ [to get there]. Monasteries and huts can be made, rice and vegetables can be planted, boats can be taken, houses can be built, its water can be used for cleansing and boiling.

Elsewhere in his gazetteer, Wu states that “the environment of West Creek is like a beautiful lady wearing clothes made of ramie. She has not yet entered the palace of Wu, and is thus serene and indifferent to gains; she is superior in the world for what she is”

⁴⁵⁸ It seems that Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies remained largely unknown up to the late Qing period: when the Qing scholar Yu Yue, who holds that the site is the best place of West Lake, planned to go there, the sedan chair bearer was unaware of its existence and unwilling to go there when asked to. See Yu Yue's “Chunzai tang suibi” in Xu Fengji et al., *Qingbo xiaozhi (wai bazhong)*, 332.

⁴⁵⁹ Wu Bentai 吳本泰, “Xixi fanyin zhi” 西谿梵隱志 (A Gazetteer of Buddhism and Seclusion at West Creek), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 3, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 691.

⁴⁶⁰ One *youxun* 由旬 is equal to several ten *li*.

(西谿之境，如苙羅美人，未入吳宮，澹冶幽嫺，自然絕世).⁴⁶¹ This metaphor implicitly contrasts West Creek with West Lake, as the latter was often compared to Xi Shi (西施, lit. “Lady Shi of the west”), a legendary beauty in the Spring and Autumn period (eighth to fifth century B.C.) who was sent to the palace of Wu 吳 and offered to the king. West Creek was less known, quieter, and more “natural” (*ziran* 自然), to quote the word Wu uses, which were all advantageous qualities in his opinion. He thus recommended people to go there.

After the fall of the Ming, West Creek was much preferred by people who hid from the turmoil, and by Ming loyalists who rejected cooperation with the new Qing regime. In the study of the social networks of Hangzhou literati in the seventeenth century, Wang Taokai 王濤鏞 identifies and lists at least eighteen well-known literati from Hangzhou and elsewhere who were staying at West Creek in the early Qing.⁴⁶² He notes that the “recluses” at West Creek did not live in absolute seclusion, but had quite a lot of interactions with the outside world. The location of West Creek relative to the city of Hangzhou permitted both necessary contacts with the literati society at large and the maintenance of an independent and detached personality.⁴⁶³ The attractiveness of West Creek is stated by Zhang Dai in a comparison with West Lake:

余謂西湖真江南錦繡之地，入其中者，目厭綺麗，耳厭笙歌，欲尋深谿盤谷可以避世如桃源、菊水者，當以西谿為最。余友江道闇有精舍在西谿，招余同隱，余以鹿鹿風塵，未能赴之，至今猶有遺恨。⁴⁶⁴

I say that West Lake is truly a beautiful brocade of Jiangnan. Yet to those who enter it, their eyes get tired of its gorgeous appearance, their ears get tired of its pipe songs. If one wishes to find deep creeks and curved valleys like Peach Blossom Source and Chrysanthemum River where one could hide away from the world,⁴⁶⁵ West Creek

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 716.

⁴⁶² Wang Taokai 王濤鏞, “Xihu meng xun: Shiqi shiji Hangzhou shiren de shehui wangluo yu wenhua shenghuo” 西湖梦寻: 17世纪杭州士人的社会网络与文化生活 (West Lake Dream: Social Networks and Culture of Hangzhou Intellectuals in the 17th Century) (Ph.D. diss., Nankai University, 2012), 122f.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 122.

⁴⁶⁴ Zhang Dai, *Tao 'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 100.

⁴⁶⁵ The “Peach Blossom Source” (Tao yuan 桃源) refers to the fictional land in Tao Qian’s 陶潛 (fl. 5th century) “Taohua yuan shi bing xu” 桃花源詩并序 (Peach Blossom Source Poem and its Preface). The “Chrysanthemum River” (Ju shui 菊水) refers to a beautiful river as recorded in Li Daoyuan’s 酈道元 (fl. 6th century) *Commentary on*

should be taken as superior. My friend Jiang Dao'an had a refined villa at West Creek and invited me to join him in retreat. Immersing in the meaningless worldly affairs at the time, I was unable to go there. Still today there is lingering regret in me.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, after returning to Shaoxing in 1649, Zhang Dai lived in Joy Garden at Dragon Hill. Despite the location in the city, Dragon Hill was a hidden place with thick trees,⁴⁶⁶ and thus might also be considered a middle landscape. Although Zhang never managed to live at West Creek, the passage above reveals what appealed to him.

The locations of Lone Hill, Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies and West Creek are pointed out in Fig. 4.2. The relatively distant locations and inconvenient accessibility of the latter two were advantageous insofar as they kept most sightseers away. As West Lake became increasingly “contaminated” by urban culture, the regions farther west became more preferable than before.

4.5 Conclusion

In his study of West Lake fiction, Liu Yongqiang 劉勇強 argues that “[w]ith West Lake as their basis, the writers of literati fiction avoided the predicaments of the difficult choice between the city and the mountain forest as the right place to live”.⁴⁶⁷ This attitude is also reflected in the practice of literati sightseers at West Lake: they were often part of the crowd and participated in the same activities as others, yet frequently criticized and ridiculed the “vulgarity” of commoner sightseers; some literati chose to hide from the crowd, while some made a strong impression through newly designed objects or idiosyncratic types of behavior, and were often watched and admired by large numbers of people; others avoided entering the city of Hangzhou, yet lingered at West Lake, which was quite close to its western wall, taking advantage of West Lake’s proximity to and dependence on the city, but appreciating its qualitative difference from urban space. This

the Water Classic (Shui jing zhu 水經注). Both names were often used to refer to hidden paradises in later periods.

⁴⁶⁶ See the entry “Wolong shan” 臥龍山 (Crouching Dragon Hill) in Dong Qinde 董欽德, *Shaoxing fu zhi 紹興府志* (Shaoxing Prefectural Gazetteer), 1683, Harvard Yenching Library, *juan 4*, 1b–2a.

⁴⁶⁷ Liu Yongqiang, “West Lake Fiction of the Late Ming”, 177.

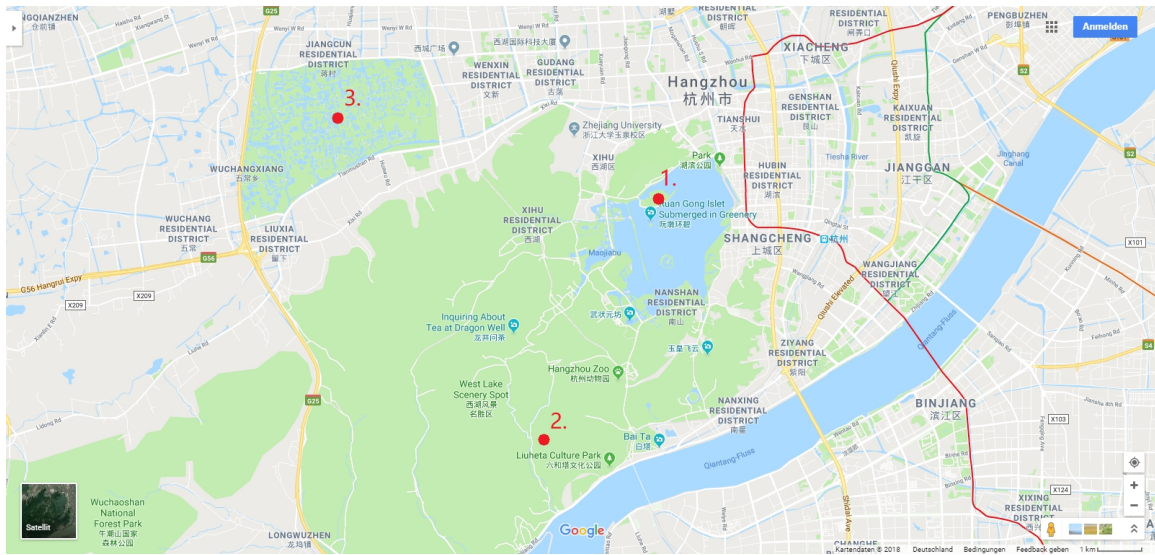


Figure 4.2: Locations of Lone Hill (1), Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies (2), and West Creek (3).⁴⁶⁸

ambiguity should not be judged as mere hypocrisy. Rather, I would suggest that a balance was sought between conflicting values. West Lake was a middle landscape, to use Yi-fu Tuan's term, not because it was geographically located between a city and the wilderness, but because of its intermediate nature between the two polarities. This in-betweenness is part of its attractiveness. The balance shifted as West Lake became increasingly charged with urban elements in the late Ming period, and literati had to find remoter places, which were closer to "wilderness" and thus more desirable.

Despite its intermediate and mixed nature, in literati's discourses West Lake is considered and perceived dominantly as opposite to the city rather than the wilderness. Although the topography of West Lake had been heavily transformed and domesticated by human efforts, it seems that literati still viewed it as natural and their sightseeing as harmony with nature, while the densely located buildings, the large number of sightseers, and their "vulgar" activities were considered by them as contamination. The wilderness, on the other hand, is rarely mentioned as a reference; in fact, sheer wilderness was beyond the perception of most literati. This becomes apparent in the case of the wide area of the Tianmu Mountain Range, which was largely uninhabited and rarely visited.

⁴⁶⁸ The original map was taken from Google Maps, access August 19, 2018.

Sometimes literati compared West Lake with other sites, such as Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies and West Creek. These were also middle landscapes that had been transformed by human efforts. Since they were more distant from the city of Hangzhou, less crowded and loaded with elements of urban culture, these places were appreciated as more “natural”, while in fact the city of Hangzhou and its environs were expanding at the cost of wilderness since the late Ming.

5 Late Ming Nostalgia in *Dream Searching*

This chapter studies aspects of the late Ming nostalgia in *Dream Searching* by Zhang Dai, who was a Ming loyalist and a “remnant subject” in the Qing period. Although “nostalgia” is a Western term that originated from a Swiss medical discourse in the seventeenth century and has been reconstructed in quite different cultural contexts, Philip Kafalas, in his study of *Dream Reminiscences*, argues that it has a long history in Chinese culture, even though there was no obvious word for it in the Chinese language. In other words, nostalgia was foreign to China in name only.⁴⁶⁹ The discourses of nostalgia are relevant to different layers of *Dream Searching*. They are found in the paratexts, such as the title, the author’s preface, five undated prefaces that were respectively written by five of Zhang’s friends and fellow remnant subjects – namely, Wang Yuqian, Qi Zhijia 祁豸佳 (*juren* 1627), Zha Jizuo, Jin Bao 金堡, (1614–1680, *jinshi* 1640), and Li Changxiang 李長祥 (*jinshi* 1643) – and the comments by Wang Yuqian. It seems that the five prefaces were written after Zhang’s own preface, as several of them mention it and respond to it. The discourses of nostalgia are also present in the text, though not very conspicuously. Their significance as such as well as for the work deserves due attention. As Peter Bol reminds us, even though a gazetteer is merely a collection of materials, this does not preclude any intellectual and polemical purposes. Although explicitly nostalgic concerns are encountered in *Dream Searching* only occasionally, it is conceivable that the project as a whole served certain nostalgic purposes and played a role in Zhang’s life as a loyalist and remnant subject. This potential function of the work will also be explored in the present chapter.

The remnant subjects of the Ming are a complex phenomenon and can be viewed from different perspectives. Zhao Yuan 趙園 points out that being a remnant subject is not only a matter of political stances, but also one of values, lifestyles, emotions and feelings, and even of perceptions of time and space.⁴⁷⁰ In Zhang Dai as a prolific writer,

⁴⁶⁹ Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 143f.

⁴⁷⁰ Zhao Yuan 趙園, *Ming Qing zhi ji shidafu yanjiu* 明清之际士大夫研究 (A Study of Scholar-officials during the Ming-Qing Transition) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 289.

we do see a complicity in his post-conquest writings when it comes to the issues of loyalism and nostalgia, while *Dream Searching* has its own perspectives and emphases.

5.1 Discourses of Nostalgia in the Paratexts

As with his other post-conquest writings, Zhang Dai makes explicit his political stance also in *Dream Searching*. Two systems of year counting are used in the text: for the years up to the fall of the Ming, in 1644, the years are counted by era (*nianhao* 年號); whereas after 1644, years are only counted according to the “stems-and-branches” (*ganzhi* 干支), without any reference to reign eras. Thereby he meant to express his refusal to recognize the new Qing regime.⁴⁷¹ The “Author’s Preface” (*Zixu* 自序, 1671) is a polemical essay on the late Ming nostalgia. It is as follows:

余生不辰，濶別西湖二十八載，然西湖無日不入吾夢中，而夢中之西湖，實未嘗一日別余也。前甲午、丁酉，兩至西湖，如湧金門商氏之樓外樓、祁氏之偶居、錢氏余氏之別墅及余家之寄園，一帶湖莊，僅存瓦礫，則是余夢中所有者，反為西湖所無。及至斷橋一望，凡昔日之弱柳夭桃、歌樓舞榭，如洪水湮沒，百不存一矣。余乃急急走避，謂余為西湖而來，今所見若此，反不若保吾夢中之西湖，尚得完全無恙也。因想余夢與李供奉異：供奉之夢天姥也，如神女名姝，夢所未見，其夢也幻；余之夢西湖也，如家園眷屬，夢所故有，其夢也真。

今余僦居他氏已二十三載，夢中猶在故居。舊役小僮，今已白頭，夢中仍是總角。夙習未除，故態難脫，而今而後，余但向蝶菴岑寂，蘧榻於徐，惟吾舊夢是保，一派西湖景色猶端然未動也。兒曹詰問，偶為言之，總是夢中說夢，非魔即囈也，因作《夢尋》七十二則，留之後世，以作西湖之影。余猶山中人歸自海上，盛稱海錯之美，鄉人競來共舐其眼。嗟嗟！金鑿瑤柱，過舌即空，則舐眼亦何救其饑哉！⁴⁷²

⁴⁷¹ This also applies to Zhang Dai’s other post-conquest writings, such as *Dream Reminiscences*. See Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 177f.

⁴⁷² Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun xu”, 7.

Born at a wrong time, I have been separated from West Lake for twenty-eight long years. Yet not a day passes however that West Lake does not enter my dreams; this West Lake of my dreams has never left me for a single day. I have since revisited West Lake twice, in the *jiawu* [1654] and *dingyou* [1657] years, arrived at Gushing Gold Gate, only to discover that of the estates that once lined the shores of the lake – the Tower beyond Tower of the Shang Family, the Occasional Dwelling of the Qi Family, the country villas of the Qian and Yu families,⁴⁷³ and the Sojourn Garden once owned by my own family – nothing remained but the shards and rubble. That which fills my dreams exists no longer beside West Lake. When I reached Broken Bridge and gazed out, I found that only one in ten of the fine willows and the tender peaches, the singing pavilions and the dance terraces that once stood there, had survived, the rest as if washed away by a great flood. So I fled from the place hastily, saying to myself that I had come here to view West Lake, yet only to find this, it would thus be better to seek to preserve the West Lake of my dreams, for that West Lake at least remains complete and intact. My dream, therefore, is different in kind to that of the Palace Attendant Li.⁴⁷⁴ He dreamed of the Queen Mother of Heaven Mountain, who belonged to divine women and famous beauties; he dreamed of things unseen, his dream was the stuff of illusion. I dream of West Lake, which is like family gardens and close relatives; I dream of what once had been, my dream is of reality.

Today I have lived in a rented accommodation of others for the past twenty-three years. In my dreams, however, I still find myself in my home of old. The little servants of that lost age have all grown grey haired, but in my dreams their hair is still gathered in the tufts of youth. The habits of a lifetime are ingrained; it is impossible to change old attitudes. From today on I will but dwell in solitude in my

⁴⁷³ Shang Family (Shang shi 商氏) refers to the family of Shang Zhouzuo 商周祚 (*hao* Dengxuan 等軒, *jinshi* 1601), Qi Family (Qi shi 祁氏) to the family of Qi Biaoqia 祁彪佳 (*hao* Shipei 世培, 1602–1645, *jinshi* 1622), Qian Family (Qian shi 錢氏) to the family of Qian Xiangkun 錢象坤 (*hao* Linwu 麟武, *jinshi* 1601), Yu Family (Yu shi 余氏) to the family of Yu Huang 余煌 (*zi* Wuzhen 武貞, *jinshi* 1625). Zhang Dai also mentions the names later in the entry “Liuzhou ting” 柳州亭 (Liuzhou Pavilion) in *ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 73f.

⁴⁷⁴ Palace Attendant Li refers to Li Bai 李白 (701–762), who had served as Palace Attendant (*gongfeng* 供奉). The dreaming of the Queen Mother of Heaven (Tianmu 天姥) refers to a poem by Li Bai, entitled “Bidding Adieu to Queen Mother of Heaven Mountain after a Dream Voyage to Her” (*Meng you Tian mu yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別). See Li Bai 李白, *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集 (The Complete Collection of Li Taibai), annotated by Wang Qi 王琦 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 705–708.

Butterfly Retreat,⁴⁷⁵ linger idly on the wicker couch of my grass hut, seek only to safeguard my dreams of old – the vistas of West Lake stretch out before my eyes untouched by the ravages of time. When questioned by my children about such things at times, I will choose to respond, but to do so is as if I were recounting a dream within a dream; if not the demons of the dark speaking then simply the incoherent mutterings of a sleep talker. Thus did I compose the seventy-two entries of my *Dream Searching*. I bequeath them to future generations in the hope that they may provide a gossamer image of West Lake as it once was. I am like that man of the mountains who, returning from a visit to the shores of a distant sea, spoke so highly of the delicacies of the oceans that his fellow villagers vied to lick his eyes. Alas! Golden pickles and jade white scallops melt into nothingness the moment they enter the mouth—how then can licking my eyes satisfy their cravings?⁴⁷⁶

This preface contains the following important motifs:

Firstly, the remembrances of the past are described as acts of dreaming, and West Lake of the late Ming is presented as in Zhang's dreams. The name of his dwelling, Butterfly Retreat, echoes the famous allegory of the butterfly in *Zhuangzi*. While the allegory conveys the idea of non-differentiation of the states of waking and dreaming,⁴⁷⁷ in Zhang's discourse, the real world is challenged by the world in dreams, which Zhang claims to turn to. The West Lake of the present, which is in ruinous conditions, is dwarfed by that in the dream world, which is prosperous and pleasant. The West Lake in the dream is also a timeless one, as it remains intact and can be recollected as long as one dwells in solitude and lingers idly at home. The search of such a world seems to reflect the notion of nostalgia as articulated by Kafalas in his study of *Dream Reminiscences*, that is, a longing for happiness, fulfillment, and unity, which is shaped by and symbolically

⁴⁷⁵ The name of the dwelling, "Butterfly Retreat" (Die an 蝶菴), which is also one of the several *hao* names of Zhang Dai, alludes to the allegory in the chapter "Discussion on Making All Things Equal" (Qiwu lun 齊物論) of the book *Zhuangzi* 莊子: "Once Zhuang Zhou dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He did not know he was Zhuang Zhou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakably Zhuang Zhou. But he did not know if he was Zhuang Zhou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuang Zhou" (昔者莊周夢為胡蝶，栩栩然胡蝶也，自喻適志與，不知周也。俄然覺，則蘧蘧然周也。不知周之夢為胡蝶與，胡蝶之夢為周與)。

⁴⁷⁶ This is a modified version of the translation in Campbell, "Searching for the Ming".

⁴⁷⁷ For a discussion of the issue, see A. C. Graham, *Chuang-tzū: The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzū* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), 20–22 and 48–61.

manifested by the image of paradise in Western culture.⁴⁷⁸ It is an idealized vision of a past from the perspective of the present.

Zhang's idea of seeking and preserving the old dream has been respectively rejected by Jin Bao and Li Changxiang in their prefaces. Jin Bao mentions the Buddhist view that everything, no matter big or small, is created by the heart-mind (*xin* 心), arguing that "if the seeking of the old dream is nothing but dwelling and traveling back and forth among floating dusts in a cup of water, how could it then be related to the grand prospect?" (若只以舊夢是尋，尚在杯水浮芥中往來盤礴，何足與於寥廓之觀。)⁴⁷⁹ Li Changxiang likewise argues that both the past and the present West Lake are groundless and one cannot say that there was once a West Lake in the Ming.⁴⁸⁰ In a discussion of several types of dreams in Chinese culture, Tsao Shu-Chuan 曹淑娟 argues that Zhang Dai's dream belongs to the "dreams as thought and intention of the mind" (*xinzhi jiexiang zhi meng* 心志結想之夢), that is, dreams that reflect the will and ideal of the dreamer. Although she does not mention the prefaces by Jin Bao and Li Changxiang, the views of the two would belong to the "dream as a sign of dependent arising and empty nature" (*yuanqi xingkong zhi meng* 緣起性空之夢) under her categorization.⁴⁸¹ They are also in line with the idea in *Zhuangzi* that the distinction between waking and dreaming is a false dichotomy, as mentioned above. Despite the rejection of Zhang's view, the difference between the three preface-writers may be superficial: while Zhang Dai contrasts and dwarfs the present with the past, Jin Bao and Li Changxiang go further and view all the worlds as equally illusory. Both could be part of an escapist strategy, which, by the detachment from reality and the denial of its authenticity, serves to overcome the trauma of the dynastic transition and the sad situation of the present.

Secondly, there are contrasts between the past and the present West Lake, which are paralleled by the contrasts between Zhang's own youth and old age. As Kafalas illuminates in his discussion of the scholarly survey of nostalgia, we look back not because we are able to return to or regain it. Rather, such an act is, paradoxically, a

⁴⁷⁸ See Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 157–160.

⁴⁷⁹ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun xu", 1.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, "Xihu mengxun xu", 3.

⁴⁸¹ Tsao Shu-Chuan 曹淑娟, "Chiren shuo meng, ning heng zai meng: Lun Zhang Dai de xun meng qingjie" 痴人说梦，宁恒在梦——论张岱的寻梦情结 (A Foolish Person Talks about Dreams and Prefers to Stay in the Dreams Forever: On the Dream Searching Complex of Zhang Dai), *Ehu yuekan* 鹅湖月刊 19, no. 3 (1993): 27–31.

longing for a true present.⁴⁸² By looking back to the past, such as, say, childhood, Kafalas argues that one is “not evoking the experience of childhood, but rather the experience of revisiting childhood”.⁴⁸³ Contrary to this, Zhang claims that his habits are ingrained and attitudes impossible to be changed. It is an attempt to fill the gap between the past and the present by presenting the past as something that is “inscribed” in oneself, and the self in the present is the same as the one in the past, while the outside world has changed catastrophically. Thus, Zhang highlights both discontinuity and continuity, and thus also the tension between the two. The environment of the past has vanished and is irretrievable, while the self that derived from it still endures.

Thirdly, there is the wish to preserve, through textual representation, the old West Lake that Zhang had left twenty-eight years before, that is, prior to 1644, and to bequeath it to future generations. As Kafalas points out, the essays in *Dream Reminiscences* “eventually take on the role of the subject matter they depict; once the sites of memory are no longer present, the essays themselves become the sites”.⁴⁸⁴ In his preface, Zhang presents his work as something similar to what Pierre Nora termed as “sites of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*). In Nora’s opinion, there are sites of memory because there are no longer “real environments of memory” (*milieux de mémoire*).⁴⁸⁵ It is the deliberate attempt to preserve the activities when they no longer occur spontaneously and naturally.⁴⁸⁶

Zhang Dai’s preface enacts the cultural expressions initiated by Meng Yuanlao’s seminal work, *Dream of Hua*, which was written after the fall of the Northern Song and describes the geographical layout, the landscape, and the customs of Kaifeng. A text on the lost dynasty’s capital, *Dream of Hua* has created in its preface a range of “patterns of nostalgia” that can be largely detached from the object and applied to other places and historical periods. Stephen Owen, in his analysis of the poem “There the Millet is Lush” (*Shuli* 黍離) in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shi jing* 詩經), argues that it “gives so little indication of its frame of reference” and “what is remembered in our reading of this poem

⁴⁸² Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 159–163.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁴⁸⁵ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

is itself an act of remembering”.⁴⁸⁷ In other words, it is the act instead of the object of remembering that is noted in the poem. Likewise, the contrast between the lost dynasty, and its joyful cultural activities, and the sad present, which is paralleled by the author’s two different stages of life, youth and old age, became a repeated pattern, which was adopted by authors of later periods, who found themselves in similar situations. In a discussion of Zhang’s attempt to preserve West Lake on paper, Hu Siao-chen 胡曉真 doubts its effectiveness and argues that the textual representation is often disappointing, as readers are unable to get in touch with the object of remembrance personally.⁴⁸⁸ A similar idea is found in Zhang’s own parable, in which villagers could only lick the eyes of the man, who returns from a visit to the sea. Despite this, the “patterns of nostalgia” in the preface, which are related to the fundamental perceptions of time of humans, could evoke nostalgic feelings among readers, even though the late-Ming West Lake as represented by the text certainly means more to Zhang than to readers of later periods, who have no direct experience of it. Zhang also uses examples in his preface to reflect the quite universal perceptions of time that stimulate our nostalgic feelings: “Today I have lived in a rented accommodation of others for the past twenty-three years. In my dreams, however, I still find myself in my home of old. The little servants of that lost age have all grown grey haired, but in my dreams their hair is still gathered in the tufts of youth.”

Among Zhang Dai’s post-conquest writings, *Dream Reminiscences* also expresses similar nostalgic concerns as *Dream of Hua* and *Dream Searching*. All the three texts have the term *meng* 夢 (dream) in the titles and contained the same motifs in their author’s prefaces. One difference between the two prefaces by Zhang is that the preface to *Dream Reminiscences* does not contrast young and old ages of the author. This is

⁴⁸⁷ Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1986), 21f. The theme of the poem *Shuli* remains controversial. An influential interpretation is that in “Mao xu” 毛序 (Preface to the Mao Commentary), which states that “the poem is expressive of pity for the old capital of the Zhou 周 dynasty. A great officer of Zhou, travelling on the public service, came to it, and, as he passed by, found the places of the ancestral temple, palaces, and other public buildings, all overgrown with millet. He was moved with pity for the downfall of the House of Zhou, moved about the place in an undecided way, as if he could not bear to leave it, and made this piece.” See Cheng Junying 程俊英 and Jiang Jianyuan 蔣見元, *Shijing zhuxi, shangce* 詩經註析(上册) (Annotations and Interpretations of the *Classic of Poetry*, Volume One) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 194.

⁴⁸⁸ Hu Siao-chen 胡曉真, “Liluan Hangzhou: Zhanzheng jiyi yu Hangzhou jishi wenxue” 離亂杭州——戰爭記憶與杭州記事文學 (Hangzhou in Disorder: War Memory and Event-Recording Texts about Hangzhou), *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 36 (2010): 54.

because it was probably written in 1646,⁴⁸⁹ when Zhang was about fifty years old and temporally still close to the time span that was the object of nostalgia, whereas the preface to *Dream Searching* was written in 1671, when Zhang was over seventy years old.

Evidently, Zhang Dai's preface is rather at odds with the text. As Kafalas points out, nostalgia is not a "discipline", that is, a systematic, analytical method of inquiry, but is subject to "misinterpretation, distortion, and selective amnesia into which that comfort leads us".⁴⁹⁰ It seems that the prose pieces in *Dream Reminiscences*, which are arranged neither chronologically nor spatially or topically and thus seem random, more reflect the act of remembering. In contrast, *Dream Searching* appears to be a rather systematic account of the major scenic sites at West Lake that are spatially arranged. The histories of an individual site are presented in a chronological order, starting with the earliest traceable time and ending with the most recent period, the early Qing, and are thus not restricted to the late Ming or Zhang's own time. While in the preface, West Lake is presented through Zhang's eyes and the scenic sites are mentioned largely due to their connections to Zhang himself, the text is in many ways a gazetteer in nature rather than a personal collection or memoir, and it includes texts by multiple writers of different periods, thus offering perceptions that cannot be reduced to those of Zhang's own.

Also, the narratives in the text differ from those of the preface. While the preface one-sidedly highlights the destruction of old sites, the text is more comprehensive and records separate events. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the destruction of some sites was not only due to the dynastic transition, as the landscape was already in decline in the final decade of the Ming; moreover, some projects of restoration were taking place in the early Qing. From one or two entries, a lively picture of the reconstruction of some sites can actually be derived. An individual entry is usually written for its own purpose and has its

⁴⁸⁹ Zhang Dai does not mention the date of his preface, and there is controversy over its date in present-day scholarship. Hu Yimin and Zhang Zetong hold that it was written in 1646, when Zhang Dai (b. 1597) was fifty years (*sui* 歲) old, while Peng Yuping and Zhao Chanyuan find it unconvincing and argue for the period of the writing of *Dream Reminiscences* between 1644 and 1674. See Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu*, 211 and 252; Zhang Zetong, *Zhang Dai tan'gao*, 245 and 287; Peng Yuping and Zhao Chanyuan, "Chaodai gengdie yu Zhang Dai wenshi chuanguo zhi tixing guanlian", 131f. I support the idea that it was written in 1646: the preface mentions that "the last fifty years pulled together into a single dream" (五十年來，總成一夢), which suggests that Zhang was about 50 years old; in the year of 1646, Zhang in his exile was hiding in a Buddhist temple, so it is logical for him to claim to confess his sins before the Buddha.

⁴⁹⁰ Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 156.

own emphasis, which are not necessarily related to nostalgic concerns. The “Soul Retreat Monastery”, for example, is a short account of Monk Ju, aiming to record and praise his ability to run the monastery and manage its restoration.

Thus, Zhang’s title and preface should be seen as adding a personal dimension of nostalgia to a text that is largely a gazetteer by generic nature. Although they are “bad indications” of what the text is about, they have an impact on the text. As Gérard Genette argues, although a paratext merely makes known an intention or an interpretation and has no authority over the text, it shapes the way the text is read. A paratext often provides contextual knowledge: people who know the biographical facts of Proust’s partly Jewish ancestry and his homosexuality, for example, read his *A la recherche du temps perdu* differently from people who do not.⁴⁹¹ In a study of *Dream of Hua*, Stephen H. West argues that the work “took on a larger significance than a simple account of customs, and became a nostalgic memoir of a fallen dynasty. This is a rather forced association since [...] sorrow appears only briefly in the preface and the rest of the work is a rather happy account of capital life”.⁴⁹² The preface makes some pre-modern and modern commentators look beyond the substance of the text itself to its general presentation and the mood that the work as a whole evokes in a reader.⁴⁹³ The traditional evaluations of *Dream of Hua* suggest that expressions of grief and frustration, however few, receive disproportional attention.⁴⁹⁴ A similar effect can be expected for *Dream Reminiscences* and *Dream Searching*. Their titles and prefaces highlight the historical background of the fall of the dynasty and the fate of an individual who experienced the fall, and thus constitute a context, in which every individual entry is read and understood. As to the presentation of every single scenic site in *Dream Searching*, the knowledge of the preface functions as an underlying reminder that the site as its prosperous and joyful past may be lost today. The contrast between the prosperity of the past, on the one hand, and its loss, on the other, generates a tension, which cannot be derived from an individual entry alone.

⁴⁹¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 8–12.

⁴⁹² West, “The Interpretation of a Dream”, 93.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 93f.

⁴⁹⁴ See for example a range of notes and comments written by pre-modern scholars and bibliophiles in Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Dongjing menghua lu”, 71–78.

5.2 Discourses of Nostalgia in the Text

Although the individual entries in *Dream Searching* are largely impersonal accounts of topography and history of scenic sites at West Lake and diverse experiences of multiple writers, in a few cases we see actual statements of nostalgia by Zhang Dai. In the entry “Liuzhou Pavilion”, for example, Zhang provides at the beginning of the introductory essay a narrative of the place from the early Song to the time of Sun Long’s reconstruction project and a description of its landscape. Then, the essay enumerates a range of sites that could be found there and contrasts it with the situation at the time of Zhang’s revisit, in 1654:

過小橋折而北，則吾大父之寄園、銓部戴斐君之別墅。折而南，則錢麟武閣學、商等軒冢宰、祁世培柱史、余武貞殿撰、陳襄範掌科各家園亭，鱗集於此。過此，則孝廉黃元辰之池上軒、富春周中翰之芙蓉園，比間皆是。今當兵燹之後，半椽不剩，瓦礫齊肩，蓬蒿滿目。李文叔作《洛陽名園記》，謂以名園之興廢，卜洛陽之盛衰；以洛陽之盛衰，卜天下之治亂。誠哉言也！余於甲午年，偶涉於此，故宮離黍，荊棘銅駝，感慨悲傷，幾效桑苧翁之遊苕溪，夜必慟哭而返。

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Crossing a small bridge and turning to the north, there were Sojourn Garden of my grandfather and the retreat of Dai Feijun of the Ministry of Personnel. Turning to the south, on the other hand, took one in close succession to the gardens and pavilions once owned by Qian Linwu, Grand Secretary in the Hall of the Heir Apparent, by Shang Dengxuan, Minister of Personnel, by the Censor Qi Shipei, by Yu Wuzhen, Senior Compiler in the Hanlin Academy, and by the Chief Supervising Secretary Chen Xiangfan.⁴⁹⁶ Beyond these gardens stood the Above-the-Pond Studio of the Provincial Graduate Huang Yuanchen and Hibiscus Garden of Zhou Zhonghan of Fuchun, mansion upon mansion. Today, such was the destruction wrought by the recent war, that not a single beam from these structures remains intact, the shards and rubble lie piled up to one’s shoulders, and everywhere one sees the sight of

⁴⁹⁵ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 73f.

⁴⁹⁶ Dai Feijun 戴斐君 refers to Dai Ao 戴澳 (*hao* Feijun 斐君, *jinshi* 1613) and Chen Xiangfan 陳襄範 to Chen Eryi 陳爾翼 (*hao* Xiangfan 襄範, *jinshi* 1616).

overgrown vegetation. In his *Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang*, Li Wenshu [i.e. Li Gefei 李格非 (fl. 1090s)] claimed that from the rise and fall of the gardens of Luoyang, one could predict the prosperity and decline of the city, and that from the prosperity and decline of Luoyang, one could predict the order and chaos of the empire. How true his words! In the *Jiawu* year, I happened to find myself here again, and was moved to despair by the sight of the palaces overgrown with millet,⁴⁹⁷ and the bronze camel lying amidst the bramble.⁴⁹⁸ Like the Old Man of Mulberry and Hemp, on his travels to Tiao Stream,⁴⁹⁹ I wept before going back [from the place] every single night.⁵⁰⁰

The text here echoes the preface, in which Zhang enumerates the villas and gardens that lay in ruins by his visit in 1654. The site of Liuzhou Pavilion was located outside Gushing Gold Gate of the western city wall of Hangzhou. In 1648, a banner garrison was founded by the Qing court in the place.⁵⁰¹ In 1650, a garrison wall was ordered to be built, which “was 4.9 kilometers in circumference, 6.33 meters in height, and 3.33 meters in width” and “caused significant change of the city’s spatial layout, as well as a serious dislocation of local Hangzhou people”.⁵⁰² However, Zhang does not mention the garrison in the text, although the location of the site would have implied it. Instead, he sees “shards and rubble” and “vegetation”, that is, the remains of the things that used to be in the place. The acts of Zhang thus facilitates what Stephen Owen calls “the ceremony of

⁴⁹⁷ The phrase “old palace and lush millet” (*gugong shuli* 故宮雜黍) refers to the poem *Shuli* in *Shi jing* as mentioned above.

⁴⁹⁸ The phrase “bramble and bronze camel” (*jingji tongtuo* 荊棘銅駝) refers to an anecdote in the biography of Suo Jing 索靖 in the *Book of the Jin* (*Jin shu* 晉書). It is written that Suo Jing had the capacity to foretell events far into the future, and knowing that the empire was about to fall into disorder, he pointed at the bronze camel sitting outside the gate of the palace and sighed: “I’ll be seeing you lying amidst the brambles soon enough.” See Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., “Jin shu” 晉書 (Book of the Jin), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition), vol. 256 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 39.

⁴⁹⁹ The “Old Man of Mulberry and Hemp” (*Sang zhu weng* 桑苧翁) refers to Lu Yu 陸羽. In the biography of Lu Yu in the *New Book of the Tang* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書), it is written that he became a recluse at Tiao Stream (Tiao xi 苕溪) and began to call himself the Old Man of Mulberry and Hemp. On occasion he was out walking in the wilds alone intoning a poem about a fallen tree. Long he lingered there, disconsolate, before weeping as he made his way home. See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al., “Xin Tang shu” 新唐書 (New Book of the Tang), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition), vol. 275 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 645.

⁵⁰⁰ This is a modified version of the translation in Campbell, “Searching for the Ming”.

⁵⁰¹ Wang Liping in her study of the garrison writes that “the banner officers commandeered the central section of the western city between Qiantang Gate and Gushing Gold Gate, forcing almost ten thousand families to evacuate the densely populated area.” See Wang, “Paradise for Sale”, 142.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 141 and 144.

huai-ku, ‘meditation on the past’: a vision of the past followed by present response, which takes stock of what survives and what is gone”.⁵⁰³ The naming of persons, villas, and gardens marks the loss of each of them, as is pointed out by Wang Yuqian in the comment on the text about Liuzhou Pavilion: “The writing down of official titles and art names is exactly what the feelings about rise and decline in the following text lie in. The author has very deep intentions!” (書爵書號，正寓後來一段興廢之感。作者煞有深意).⁵⁰⁴

A similar logic is found in the entry “Little Penglai” (Xiao Penglai 小蓬萊). In its introductory essay, Zhang provides at the beginning a description of the garden Little Penglai in the late Ming, a marvelous stone in it named “Roiling Clouds” (Benyun 奔雲), and an account of its owner, Huang Ruheng. At the end of the essay there is a report about the garden’s condition at the time of Zhang’s revisit to the place in the Qing:

今當丁酉，再至其地，牆圍俱倒，竟成瓦礫之場。余欲築室於此，以爲東坡先生專祠，往鬻其地，而主人不肯。但林木俱無，苔蘚盡剝。「奔雲」一石，亦殘缺失次，十去其五。數年之後，必鞠爲茂草，盪爲冷煙矣。菊水桃源，付之一想。⁵⁰⁵

It is the *dingyou* year [1657] now, and again I have come to this place. The walls have all crumbled away and it has become a field of shards and rubble. I wished to have a chamber built here to serve as a shrine solely for Master Dongpo [i.e. Su Shi], but when I went to purchase the land I found that the present owner was unwilling to sell. The forest trees have all disappeared and the moss and lichen has all been scraped away. “Roiling Clouds” also lies broken and discarded, half of the original rock missing. I fear that with the passage of another few years it will become overgrown with rank grass, only to disappear like cold mist. Like Chrysanthemum River and Peach Blossom Source, I call to mind the paradise of old.⁵⁰⁶

Zhang Dai’s claims that he visited Liuzhou Pavilion every single night and wept there and that he went to purchase the land of Little Penglai to build a shrine for Su Shi contradict

⁵⁰³ Owen, “Place: Meditation on the Past”, 432.

⁵⁰⁴ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 73.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 82.

⁵⁰⁶ This is a modified version of the translation in Campbell, “Searching for the Ming”.

the preface, in which he claims to “flee from the place hastily” after seeing the ruins. Another contradiction is pointed out by preface writers Jin Bao and Li Changxiang, who propose a kind of enlightenment and detachment, and Wang Yuqian, who comments on the text about Liuzhou Pavilion that “what I fear most is the reading of such kind of text” (吾最怕讀此等文),⁵⁰⁷ but nevertheless have read the entire *Dream Searching* and written prefaces for and comments on it. These undermine the effectiveness of the approaches that one can detach oneself from reality by viewing all possible worlds as illusory or dwelling in the dream of the past peacefully. The longing for the West Lake sites in the past reveals the concerns about such entities, which would lead to the concerns about their future fate and present situation.

The occasional expressions of nostalgia in the text of *Dream Searching* have the same effect as the paratexts. Hu Siao-chen views both *Dream Reminiscences* and *Dream Searching* as emphasizing personal experiences and witnessing, as Zhang Dai often represents himself in his texts.⁵⁰⁸ While the personal records of Zhang actually constitute only a small portion of the text in *Dream Searching*, Hu’s opinion may be taken as a proof that such contents are paid more attention to.

5.3 Nostalgia and Zhang Dai’s Ming Loyalism

In the entry about “Liuzhou Pavilion”, quoted further above, Zhang Dai alluded to several anecdotes that have dynastic meaning: the “old palace and lush millet” and “bramble and bronze camel” refer to the palaces of kings or emperors that were conventionally associated with the lost dynasty. Another expression refers to a statement by the Northern Song scholar Li Gefei. In the postface to his local gazetteer *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* (*Luoyang mingyuan ji* 洛陽名園記), Li states the following: “The order and chaos of the empire are indexed by the prosperity and decline of Luoyang, and the prosperity and decline of Luoyang are indexed by the fall and rise of its gardens” (天

⁵⁰⁷ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 73.

⁵⁰⁸ Hu Siao-chen 胡晓真, “Lüelun Ming Qing xushi wenxue zhong de chengshi shuxie” 略论明清叙事文学中的城市书写 (A Brief Study of the Writings on Cities in the Narrative Literature of Ming and Qing), *Shuwu* 书屋 2, (2008): 46.

下之治亂，候於洛陽之盛衰而知；洛陽之盛衰，候於園圃之廢興而得）。⁵⁰⁹ Li argues that since Luoyang is located at the center of the empire and of great military significance, it would suffer first as soon as there is warfare. Thus, the order and chaos of the empire would follow that of Luoyang and its gardens. The geographical position and military significance of Hangzhou, however, was different from Luoyang, although Zhang Dai never discusses this issue. From history, it is known that the Jiangnan region and Hangzhou were lost only after the loss of the northern territories and the capital city of Beijing. It is thus likely that his text is more lyrical than polemical, as Zhang does not suggest any temporal or causal relationship between the fall of the Ming empire and the decline of West Lake, but takes the latter as something symbolic, which reminds us of the chaos and destruction empire-wide. Here, Zhang makes a leap from the local to the imperial, from the place-specific to the abstract, and from the intimate to the imagined, viewing the former as reflecting or instantiating the latter.

In the first half of his life, Zhang Dai was an aficionado of traveling and sightseeing. In *Dream Reminiscences*, the prose pieces are fragmentary records of the things and places throughout the empire that he had visited, while *Dream Searching* focuses exclusively on West Lake and Hangzhou. Nevertheless, the places in the two texts only constitute a small portion of the entire Ming empire. They may instantiate a logic close to what Angela Miller terms the “dilemma of place-centered nationalism”, that is, the demands of place-specific landscapes with those of national meaning.⁵¹⁰ As Zhang always starts from the local places that he had first-hand knowledge about in his individual prose pieces, his works in their entirety assume meanings of the Ming dynasty.

In what sense could West Lake represent the Ming empire? The sites recorded in *Dream Reminiscences*, which also include West Lake, were dotted on the different regions of the map of the Ming, yet they were all marvelous ones and enjoyed fame empire-wide, while the selected literary works in *Dream Searching* were mostly written by prominent literati. Thus the two projects of Zhang Dai reveal an attempt to preserve the best things the Ming dynasty had once produced in the cultural realm. If Zhang

⁵⁰⁹ Li Gefei 李格非 et al., *Changwu zhi, Luoyang mingyuan ji, Gen Yue ji* 長物志, 洛陽名園記, 艮嶽記 (Treatise on Superfluous Things, A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang, A Record of Mount Gen) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 18.

⁵¹⁰ Angela Miller, “Everywhere and Nowhere: The Making of the National Landscape”, *American Literary History* 4, no. 2 (1992): 208 and 213.

imagines a community, it is a hierarchical one. It is through the presentation of the top of the hierarchy that it is made known.

Another difference between the author's prefaces to *Dream Reminiscences* and to *Dream Searching* is that is that the former expresses a kind of regret and confession. When enumerating the luxury and splendor of the past, Zhang views them as "cases of guilt" (*zuian* 罪案) and the poverty of the present as "retributions" (*guobao* 果報) for them. Hiding in a Buddhist monastery at the time, Zhang claims to "have brought the prose pieces before the Buddha and confessed the sins one by one" (持向佛前, 一一懺悔).⁵¹¹ This echoes the preface by Meng Yuanlao, who claims that "when silently remembering those years, of the style and sophistication of the things that belonged to each season, of the gentleness and comeliness of human feelings – these became naught to me but disconsolance and vexation" (暗想當年, 節物風流, 人情和美, 但成悵恨),⁵¹² although he does not elaborate on this point. In Zhang's post-conquest writings, regrets and confessions are occasionally seen. The last four lines of his "Inscription on the Portrait of Myself, Dican" (*Diean tixiang* 蝶庵題像), for example, read as follows: "Both my loyalty and my filial piety are deficient, / All the time I feel ashamed and guilty. / Irons assemble and pile up like a mountain, / Out of which a big 'fault' is forged" (忠孝兩虧, 仰愧俯作。聚鐵如山, 鑄一大錯).⁵¹³ In present-day scholarship, the sincerity of such claims is often questioned and denied.⁵¹⁴ As to the case of *Dream Reminiscences*, the text provides vivid accounts of the delightful cultural activities of the late Ming, as if Zhang still felt enough pleasure to write them down, which makes his confession of past

⁵¹¹ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Tao'an mengyi xu", 3. Timothy Brook, in his study of Buddhism and late Ming gentry culture, reveals that despite the passion to visit religious places and associate religious people, Zhang Dai was not a devout Buddhist and remained an interested outside observer. See Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 37–53. Nevertheless, it is possible that he did not completely reject any supernatural explanations of worldly affairs, such as the concept of *fengshui* 風水, and the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命). For a summary, see Zhang Haixin 张海新, "Zhang Dai jiqi shiwen yanjiu" 张岱及其诗文研究 (A Study of Zhang Dai and His Poems and Essays) (Ph.D. diss., Fudan University, 2011), 208–215.

⁵¹² Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., "Dongjing menghua lu", 1. The translation is taken from West, "The Interpretation of a Dream", 70.

⁵¹³ Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 419.

⁵¹⁴ See for example Owen, *Remembrances*, 138; Chen Pingyuan 陈平原, "'Dushi shiren' Zhang Dai de weiren yu weiwen" "都市诗人"张岱的为人和为文 ("Urban Poet" Zhang Dai: His Life and Prose), *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲 278, no. 5 (2003): 77–82; Chen Qiuhong 陈秋宏, "Ziwei muzhiming de yiwo shuxie: Yi Xu Wei, Zhang Dai wei tantao duixiang" 〈自為墓誌銘〉的自我書寫——以徐渭、張岱為探討對象 (The Writing on the Self in *Self-made Epitaph*: Taking Xu Wei and Zhang Dai as Object of Discussion), *Youfeng chuming niankan* 有鳳初鳴年刊, no. 10 (2007): 179–182; Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 198; Luan Baoqun's preface in Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2013), *Qianyan*, 1–6.

sins look like a mere pose. This also seems to be evident when the prefaces to *Dream Reminiscences* and *Dream Searching* are compared: although both texts record to a large extent the same things, namely, landscape and sightseeing, and the same period, the late Ming, the preface to *Dream Searching* says nothing negative about them, and the voice of regret or confession is missing.

I would suggest that the different attitudes between the two prefaces are largely derived from the Confucian norm of lowering oneself and lifting the other. An example may illuminate this: a biography written by Zhang Dai focuses on the Ming loyalist Yu Zengyuan 余增遠 (zi Ruoshui 若水, *jinshi* 1643).⁵¹⁵ While his elder brother Yu Huang 余煌 (*jinshi* 1625) had committed suicide in 1646, Zengyuan lived an impoverished, reclusive, and inactive life in the Qing period. In the biography, Zhang highly praises the Yu brothers, arguing that both of them had fulfilled the requirements of loyalty. Later, in Zhang's *Illustrated Eulogy to Three Kinds of People of the Ming in Shaoxing Who Suffered no Decay*, both Yu brothers are placed in the category of "The Establishment of Virtue" (Lide 立德).⁵¹⁶ This leads to a paradoxical conclusion: Zhang would also feel ashamed and guilty if he were in Zengyuan's position. Given that Zhang's choice after the conquest was much like that of Zengyuan, that is, he did not commit suicide but lived in seclusion, it is likely that Zhang's judgment about Zengyuan also commented himself.⁵¹⁷ By this I do not mean to downplay Zhang's complicated and ambivalent attitudes on this issue, but to suggest that Zhang's blame for himself and praise for the lost Ming dynasty and other loyalists were the two sides of the coin and reflect the typical stance of a loyalist, and it is only the combination of the two that will produce a comprehensive and valid picture. This said, the different attitudes between *Dream Reminiscences* and *Dream Searching* can be explained by the different natures of the two texts: while the former

⁵¹⁵ See "A Biography of Master Yu Ruoshui" (*Yu Ruoshui xiansheng zhuan* 余若水先生傳), in Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2016), 371f.

⁵¹⁶ Yu Huang is placed in the subcategory of "Loyalty and Integrity" (Zhongjie 忠節) and Yu Zengyuan "Reclusion" (Yindun 隱遁). See Zhang Dai 張岱, *Ming Yuyue san buxiu tu zan* 明於越三不朽圖贊 (Illustrated Eulogy to Three Kinds of People of the Ming in Shaoxing Who Suffered no Decay), printed by Wang Yizu 王子餘, 1918, 21a–b and 84a–b.

⁵¹⁷ Duncan M. Campbell writes on the issue that "Yu Zengyuan's difficult lot, the decision he had made to live on beyond the end of his dynasty, was of course precisely the decision that Zhang Dai himself had made, and in both this biography and the shorter one attached to his portrait of his friend, dressed in the plain robes of a Ming commoner, Zhang Dai is also seeking to defend himself from accusations of a failure to live up to the appropriate moral expectations." See Campbell, "Mortal Ancestors", 20.

focuses on Zhang's witnessing and participation, and thus reflects his personal experiences, the latter is mainly a collection of essays on scenic sites and an anthology of writings by several dozen authors, most of whom were of the late Ming, though it also included a range of Zhang's own writings. In other words, *Dream Reminiscences* is more a text about Zhang himself, while *Dream Searching* more presents West Lake as a shared space and the zeitgeist of an era. The major difference between the two texts thus does not lie in the choice of materials, but in the perspective through which they are presented. Most late-Ming authors quoted in *Dream Searching*, such as Xu Wei, Yuan Hongdao, and Li Liufang, were members of a like-minded community, to which Zhang himself also belonged.

Although Zhang Dai, like many other Ming loyalists, had feelings of guilt and regret, his choice was more moderate when compared with those who preferred a more inactive and self-torturing life. Take Yu Zengyuan as an example: for two decades, Yu never entered a city, nor was he willing to have any interaction with friends. When dying, he rejected medical treatment, saying: "I prayed for my death twenty years ago, how could I pray for my life twenty years later?" (吾祈死二十年前，顧祈生二十年之後乎).⁵¹⁸ Zhang Dai, for his part, had moved back to the city of Shaoxing and visited the markets in the city, wrote poems, biographies, and epitaphs for friends, sent drafts of his works to them for review, visited places in Zhejiang and Jiangxi to collect sources for his project of Ming history, and was pleased when one of his sons promised to build a boat for him that he could take for sightseeing.⁵¹⁹

Zhao Yuan, in her study of remnant subjects, holds that the identity of a remnant subject depends on "what one does not do" (*you suo bu wei* 有所不為).⁵²⁰ It is through the abandonment of certain social and cultural activities, which are much broader than the mere service as an official for the new Qing regime, that differentiated those who were remnant subjects from those who were not. As Arthur Schopenhauer illuminates, the

⁵¹⁸ This is according to Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) "Yu Ruoshui Zhou Weiyi liang xiansheng muzhiming" 余若水周唯一兩先生墓誌銘 (Epitaph for the Two Masters, Yu Ruoshui and Zhou Weiyi). It seems that the praying for death is a widespread mentality of remnant subjects. See Zhao Yuan, *Ming Qing zhi ji*, 370 and 344f.

⁵¹⁹ See "Shi er xu zao yi xiao huachuan changyang qianyan wanhe jian wei laoren zhongyan zhi ji xian yi zhixi sanshou" 弒兒許造一小划船徜徉千巖萬壑之間為老人終焉之計先以志喜三首 (My Son, Shi, Promises to Construct a Small Rowing Boat for Me to Roam between Hundred Rocks and Thousand Valleys as a Plan for the Rest of the Old Man's Life. Thus I Write Three Poems in Advance to Record My Joy) in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 98f.

⁵²⁰ Zhao Yuan, *Ming Qing zhi ji*, 328. The phrase is in *Lunyu* 13: 21.

person who commits suicide does not relinquish the will to life, but rather wills it: “The person who commits suicide wills life, and is only unsatisfied with the conditions under which life has been given to him.”⁵²¹ Yu Huang’s suicide and Yu Zengyuan’s inaction should be seen not as denials of life itself, but as motivated by higher requirements, such as loyalty and integrity, which render the present life, in which such requirements were not met, unworthy. However, as the rule of the Ming was never restored, the life of remnant subjects had taken the form of continuous self-denial and self-abandonment. In extreme cases, it seemed that loyalty to the Ming was reduced to a few abstract moral principles and prohibitions, while the meaning of life was reduced to a minimum, as the case of Zengyuan suggests.

Dream Searching, in this light, can be understood as an attempt to actively construct meanings not through what one does not do, but through what one does, that is, the tophilia of late-Ming West Lake. Compared with abstract moral principles, emotions may be more nebulous and unexplained, yet they might have played an important role in Zhang Dai’s conception of life as a remnant subject. As the old dynasty became increasingly distant, loyalty to it eclipsed in society. Zhang’s own sons, for example, were already participating in the provincial examination in 1654, which signified acknowledgement of Qing rule.⁵²² The literary project of *Dream Searching*, under such circumstances, evokes emotions of affection and affinity through recollection of what was considered praiseworthy. While the project was (partly) motivated by nostalgic feelings, it in turn confirmed and nourished such feelings.

By doing so, Zhang Dai gives content to the subject he is loyal to, that is, the Ming not only as a political system, but also as aesthetic qualities, cultural values, and wonderful personal experiences, which in a sense justify his loyalty. It would be problematic to ask whether an emotion is “rational”, as emotions are in a sense their own justification. This does not mean that Zhang was uninterested in the Ming as a political entity: in *The Stone Cabinet Book*, for example, he does concern about political issues

⁵²¹ Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation, Vol. I*, trans. and ed. Judith Norman, Alistair Welchman and Christopher Janaway (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), 425.

⁵²² See “*Jiawu erbei fu shengshi bu gui zoubi zhao zhi*” 甲午兒輩赴省試不歸走筆招之 (Summoning My Sons Who Went to the Provincial Examination and Did not Return in the Year of *jiawu* [1654]), in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 39f; “*Jiawu cier xiadi gui ershou*” 甲午次兒下第歸二首 (Two Poems Written after the Failure in the Examination and Return of My Second Son in the Year of *jiawu*), in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 96f.

and praises frequently the achievements of the Ming empire. Nevertheless, as the case of *Dream Searching* suggests, the loyalty of remnant subjects should not be reduced to abstract principles, but also included emotional ties with what one loved and what was considered lovable.

5.4 Aspects of Time in *Dream Searching*

In a study of *Dream Reminiscences*, Stephen Owen considers its prose pieces, which seem to be disorderly enumerations and accidentally encountered fragments, as “significant form”:

The historian’s work involves fixed cycles and sequences of events, linear processes that drive inexorably toward the destruction of dynasties, the ruin of families, and the death of writers. But the disorderly storehouse of memory and memoir disrupts that linearity; all life becomes equally accessible and, in a sense, repeatable.⁵²³

In other words, the temporal randomness of the prose pieces has the effect of undermining the perception of a linear time. This avoids the trauma that things would gradually decline and finally lead to “the fall of the state and the destruction of the family” (*guo po jia wang* 國破家亡), as Zhang mentions in his preface to *Dream Reminiscences*.⁵²⁴ The idea of Owen is supported by Philip Kafalas, who argues that Zhang gives us snapshots in *Dream Reminiscences* that are largely beyond time and eliminate the possibility of trend, and thus serve to overcome the rupture in dynastic time.⁵²⁵ Another form is instantiated by the miscellanies produced in the Southern Song and the Yuan periods, *Old Affairs* and *Millet Dream*, which represent the city life in Hangzhou at certain points or periods of time, as the authors themselves had experienced. The city and the lake seem static, as no major transition in time is discernible. Moreover, the records of festivals in the two miscellanies support the impression of circular time.

⁵²³ Owen, *Remembrances*, 139.

⁵²⁴ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi xu”, 3.

⁵²⁵ Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 173 and 177.

Compared with *Dream Reminiscences* and the two miscellanies, *Dream Searching* has quite a different form. Its individual entries are not temporally, topically, or randomly, but spatially organized. The history of a site is a linear narrative from the earliest traceable time to the present, with an emphasis on the late Ming. There are records of the decline and destruction in the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing, and the construction and restoration of some sites in the early Qing are also truthfully recorded. Moreover, Zhang often fails to indicate the accurate date or period of a scene. For example, in the entry “Jade Lotus Pavilion”, Zhang mentions that so many roamers gather near the pavilion to hire a boat and start their tours of the lake that it is like a market place, and that several hundred wild ducks are often seen on the lake water from the place.⁵²⁶ It is unclear whether this referred to the late Ming, or the early Qing, which would suggest a static, everlasting state.

Zhang Dai was aware that the compiling of a local gazetteer could endanger the principles and identity of a remnant subject. In 1672, he was invited to be the chief manager of the *Kuaiji County Gazetteer*. Reluctant to do so, he merely wrote the “Editorial Principles” (*Fanli* 凡例) for it.⁵²⁷ The reason for Zhang’s reluctance may be that the gazetteer was an official project, but it may also be that a local gazetteer is not only a document of the things of the past, but also practical and thus oriented at the present as well as the future. In a letter to a friend, Zhang explains his unwillingness to participate in the project in the following statement: “I, the unworthy one, am an abandoned person of the past. I watch the springs and rocks like trunk-watching, and have not heard of the things outside the door” (不肖以廢棄陳人，株守泉石，並不與聞戶外之事).⁵²⁸ While the phrase “trunk watching” (*zhushou* 株守), in its original context in the book of *Han Fei zi* 韓非子,⁵²⁹ is used to criticize those who want to govern the people of the present age with the policies of the early kings, Zhang thereby highlights his stance of gazing at the past only. This contrasts with the “Editorial Principles”, in which he also addresses the military and economic aspects of the locale. In the fourth entry, for

⁵²⁶ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi xu”, 7.

⁵²⁷ See Hu Yimin, *pingzhuan*, 73–75; Hu Yimin, *yanjiu*, 167f.

⁵²⁸ See “Yu Zhang Ereng” 與張疆仍 (To Zhang Ereng) in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 322f.

⁵²⁹ In an allegory in the chapter “Five Vermin” (*Wu du* 五蠹) of the book of *Han Fei zi*, a man was tilling a field when a hare rushed against the trunk of a tree and died. Thereupon the man cast his plough aside and watched that tree, hoping that he would get another hare.

example, Zhang mentions the geography of the surrounding regions of Kuaiji, arguing that the county was not well defended and the minor bandits nearby needed to be paid more attention to; in the sixth entry, he criticizes the taxing system of Zhejiang, proposing a reform in certain regards.⁵³⁰

This said, how could the project of *Dream Searching*, which includes linear narratives of the distant past, the past of Zhang's young age, and the present time, and maybe also a projection of the future, serve nostalgic purposes and overcome the sufferings caused by the dynastic transition and the miserable present? As Peter Bol points out, a locality has a history that often transcends the dynasties; its history continuously accumulated as dynasties rose and fell.⁵³¹ In Xiaolin Duan's opinion, the strategy of concentrating on the recording of places, which have a longer history than dynasties and have a natural and cultural history of their own, has the effect of diluting the potency of the dynastic cycle.⁵³² While Bol and Duan develop this idea from local writings of the Song, it also applies to *Dream Searching*. The text has no obvious political agenda, but instead constructs a natural and cultural history of West Lake. The rise and fall of a scenic site is not necessarily identical with the rise and fall of dynasties, although governance did have an impact on both individual sites and West Lake as a whole. This aspect of the locality has been pointed out by Zha Jizuo in his preface. While Zhang Dai laments in his preface the loss of many late Ming sites, Zha argues that a West Lake without such "decorations" was a better place:

余以為西湖本質自紗，濃抹固佳，淡妝更好。湖中之繁華綺麗雖凋殘已盡，而湖光山色未嘗少動分毫，東坡所謂「晴光灑灑」、「雨色溶溶」，故端然自在也。⁵³³

I hold that West Lake is wonderful by nature. Thickly smeared, it would indeed be good; lightly powdered, it would be even better. Although the prosperity and splendor of the lake had fully withered, the sight of the lake and the color of its hills

⁵³⁰ See "Kuaiji xianzhi fanli" 會稽縣志凡例 (Editorial Principles of the *Kuaiji County Gazetteer*) in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 487f.

⁵³¹ Bol, "The Rise of Local History", 53 and 60f.

⁵³² Duan, "Scenic Beauty outside the City", 57.

⁵³³ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun xu", 4.

did not change a bit; what Dongpo once called “the shimmer of light on the water” and “the blur of color of the rain” are standing firmly there.⁵³⁴

Even Zhang Dai himself, who emphasizes the destruction of the scenic sites in his preface, claims in “A General Record of West Lake” that West Lake has a nature or essence that can be appreciated by the prominent literati who were, though few, from different historical periods:

深情領略，是在解人。即湖上四賢，余亦謂樂天之曠達，固不若和靖之靜深；鄴侯之荒誕，自不若東坡之靈敏也。其餘如賈似道之豪奢，孫東瀛之華贍，雖在西湖數十年，用錢數十萬，其於西湖之性情、西湖之風味，實有未曾夢見者在也。世間措大，何得易言遊湖！⁵³⁵

The appreciation of the deeply emotional quality of the scenes is only to be found in the man of understanding. Of the four worthies of the lake too, I have made the following comment: “Letian’s [i.e. Bai Juyi] untrammelled understanding was certainly not as admirable as Hejing’s [i.e. Lin Bu] tranquil profundity; the Marquess of Ye’s [i.e. Li Mi 李泌 (722–789)] liking for the fantastic was nowhere near as worthy as Dongpo’s delicately tuned sensibility.” As to the others, such as the improvident Jia Sidao or the profligate Sun Dongying [i.e. Sun Long], although both these men spent several decades living besides the lake and expended millions on its upkeep, there remained aspects of the disposition and piquancy of the lake that they could never even dream of attaining. This being the case, how then could it be possible to begin discussing touring the lake with the pedants of this present age!⁵³⁶

In his comparisons, Zhang refers to the literati and officials of the Tang, Song, and Ming who were known for their enthusiasm about West Lake. According to Zhang, each of

⁵³⁴ The phrases “the shimmer of light on the water” (*qingguang lianyan* 晴光灩澦) and “the blur of color of the rain” (*yuse kongmeng* 雨色空濛) originate from the second poem of two poems by Su Shi on West Lake, entitled “Drinking on the Lake when it Shines after the Rains” (*Yin hushang chuqing houyu* 飲湖上初晴後雨), the first two lines of which read: “So charming is the shimmer of light on the water in sunshine, / And wonderous too the blur of color across the hills in the rain” (水光瀲灩晴方好，山色空濛雨亦奇). See Su Shi 蘇軾, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu* 蘇軾全集校注 (The Complete Collection of Su Shi: Collated and Annotated), ed. Zhang Zhilie 張志烈, Ma Defu 馬德富, and Zhou Yucuo 周裕鍇 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2010), 848f.

⁵³⁵ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 2.

⁵³⁶ This is a modified version of the translation in Campbell, “Searching for the Ming”.

them appreciated a certain aspect or several aspects of West Lake, which seemed to be a timeless and unchanging entity that spanned all the dynasties. By enumerating and commenting on the figures, Zhang also implicitly places himself among the “men of understanding” (*jieren* 解人), who appreciate and are sentimental about some essential qualities of West Lake. The focus on the more universal aspects in a sense distracts from the vicissitudes and thus the sufferings caused by them. Even though these aspects had been undermined by the destruction of the dynastic transition as Zhang emphasizes elsewhere in *Dream Searching*, it could nevertheless be revived in the future. In this sense, *Dream Searching*, like other post-conquest writings by Zhang, may instantiate Kafalas’ idea that “nostalgia is ultimately looking not back but forward into an idealized and as yet imperceptible future”⁵³⁷ and should be seen as compiled for the sake of a certain kind of future, even though the rule of the Ming could never be restored. It is in a particular past that the identity of the place lies, which holds out the prospect for a future.

It seems that the attitudes of Zhang Dai as a remnant subject had experienced subtle changes in the post-conquest period, which is also reflected in the perceptions of time. In its early stages, Zhang either turned his gaze to the snapshots in the late Ming, as *Dream Reminiscences* instantiates, or expressed his hope for the restoration of Ming rule, as some of his poems instantiate.⁵³⁸ After he returned to live in Shaoxing, however, Zhang began to participate in some cultural activities. In 1673, for example, Zhang revisited the famous site of the Orchid Pavilion (*Lan ting* 蘭亭) in Shaoxing and wrote a public proposal for it. Zhang claims in the text that it was the *guichou* 癸丑 year, that is, twenty-two sixty-years cycles after Wang Xizhi’s 王羲之 initial gathering in 353, also a *guichou* year, and thus proposes a new gathering for the purification ritual at the place.⁵³⁹ This activity had the potential of reviving the culture of the site and continuing its history as a repetitive pattern, which was not necessarily identical with the cycle of rise and decline of dynasties, but largely the result of the efforts and creativity of literati.

⁵³⁷ Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 184.

⁵³⁸ See, for example, “He wan’ge ci sanshou” 和輓歌辭三首 (Three Poems in Response to [Tao Yuanming’s] *Elegies*, 1645 or 1646) and “Xiaoling mojian ge” 孝陵磨劍歌 (Song of Grinding a Sword at the Filial Mausoleum [of the Hongwu Emperor], 1647) in Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 31–33 and 49f.

⁵³⁹ See “Guichou Lan ting xiuqi xi” 癸丑蘭亭修禊檄 (Public Proposal of the Gathering for the Purification Ritual in the Year of *guichou*) in *Ibid.*, 285f.

5.5 Conclusion

Through a textual analysis of Zhang Dai's *Dream Searching* in this chapter, I have identified two kinds of writing. They are the products of two different principles – that of historiography and gazetteer compiling, and that of individual remembering. They somewhat resemble what Pierre Nora terms as “history” and “memory”, respectively. History, according to Nora, is more all-encompassing, “does not restrict itself to addressing the most sacred objects”, and has “abandoned its claim to bearing coherent meaning and consequently lost its pedagogical authority to transmit values”.⁵⁴⁰ In general, *Dream Searching* is subject to the principle of history. It consists of fragmentary accounts, records events in a more undifferentiated way, and allows possible contradictions, a typical feature of gazetteer as document. It is less committed to pedagogical and didactic purposes. The narratives of individual sites are diverse and not necessarily in accordance with the “grand narrative” of West Lake as suggested by the discourse of nostalgia; some entries even describe a vivid picture of the reconstruction of sites after order was restored in the early Qing. By contrast, the writings of individual remembering, as in the title, the prefaces, and several entries in the text, highlight a certain aspect of West Lake only, that is, a glorious past that is lost in the present. Highly emotional, the nostalgic person tends to ignore things that are not conducive to such feelings. As Aleida Assmann argues, “remembrance” (*Erinnerung*) is associated with forgetting, the two of which enable each other; it is subject to relocation, transformation, distortion, reevaluation, and renewal.⁵⁴¹ Nevertheless, the truthfulness of remembrance cannot be questioned, since it no longer belongs to the category of “truth” (*Wahrheit*) and true history, but rather to the realm of “authenticity” (*Authentizität*).⁵⁴² Zhang's nostalgic writing, therefore, is more prescriptive than descriptive and an expression of meanings and values. It is enabled by the selection of a particular account of the past and present, which is itself value-laden. Compared with history, which “belongs to everyone and to no one, whence its claim to universal authority”,⁵⁴³ the discourse of nostalgia presents what mattered to Zhang's self

⁵⁴⁰ Nora, “Between Memory and History”, 9–11.

⁵⁴¹ Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Spaces of Remembrance: Forms and Transformations of Cultural Memories) (München: Verlag C. H. Beck oHG, 2009), 29f.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 253.

⁵⁴³ Nora, “Between Memory and History”, 9.

and is thus a personal matter, although it was also socially shaped and reflected what was common for, say, remnant subjects in the early Qing. As each kind of writing is shaped by its literary tradition, *Dream Searching* refers to a range of perceptions of space and time, which have led to the fragmentary, if not contradictory images, of West Lake.

6 Indulgence in West Lake Sightseeing and Its Criticism

In this chapter I discuss some negative views and critiques of West Lake sightseeing. As Yi-fu Tuan points out, the aesthetic appreciation of untamed nature in China emerged much earlier than in the West. The fourth century A.D. marks the beginnings of the aesthetic appreciation of mountains; during the Song dynasty paintings of the “mountain and water” (*shanshui* 山水) genre achieved preeminence.⁵⁴⁴ Yet, the activities of sightseeing were not uncontroversial, but often looked at with cautious and suspicious eyes. This is especially true when it became an indulgence, which the Southern Song emperors and officials at West Lake were considered to have best exemplified.

Although sightseeing as a kind of pleasure-seeking always risked being criticized, it seemed that the situation of West Lake became critical only in the Southern Song. On the period of the first Southern Song Emperor, Gaozong, Tao Jing-shen writes that “[i]n traditional Chinese historiography the Southern Sung [Song] is considered a weak dynasty, humiliated as a vassal state by the Chin [Jin] (Jurchen) dynasty (1115–1234). Kao-tsung [Gaozong] is criticized for being a weak ruler unable to avenge Sung’s humiliation at the hands of Chin and unable to recover the Sung’s former northern territory”.⁵⁴⁵ Although the Southern Song dynasty had enjoyed decades of economic and cultural prosperity, the achievement was undermined by the idea that the pursuits of pleasure and comfort had distracted its emperors and officials from the obligation of recovery. Such pursuits were considered dangerous, since they would potentially lead to decline, as the lesson of the Southern Song would teach us.

The criticism of the Southern Song via West Lake sightseeing already began in the Southern Song period itself. In the literary writings of this period, the Jingkang 靖康 Calamity (i.e. the fall of the Northern Song, in 1127), the peripheral position of the Southern Song, and the lost territory in the north were frequent motifs. This was even true at the times when the recovery of the lost territory seemed unfeasible and unlikely.⁵⁴⁶ In a

⁵⁴⁴ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 71f.

⁵⁴⁵ Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 5, Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 644.

⁵⁴⁶ Ying Shouyan 应守岩, for example, divides the *ci* poems of the Southern Song into four periods, that is, “early

study of the “patriotic West Lake *ci* (詞, song lyric)” of the Southern Song, Xinda Lian points out that “[f]rustrated by circumstances of the time and the general ‘lack of morality,’ patriotic intellectuals—among them many practitioners of the song lyric—worried about the future of the country and searched for solutions to its problems. As a consequence of this collective anxiety, West Lake became a prominent site for political criticism and the outpouring of patriotic sentiment”.⁵⁴⁷ Since Hangzhou served as the *de facto* capital of the Southern Song, it was deemed representative of the empire, while West Lake, the major scenic site of Hangzhou and the center of local sightseeing, was often chosen to reflect the “decadence” of the emperors and officials or even considered to have led to it. As a result, West Lake was often perceived as symbolic of the entire dynasty. It was since the Southern Song period that West Lake had a bad reputation, or at least a negative aspect, which could hardly be ignored by literati sightseers of later periods. This was also true for the late Ming, when enthusiasm for West Lake reached new peaks and was comparable to that of the Southern Song. In the writings by late Ming literati, including travel records, poems, and gazetteers, this negative aspect of West Lake is often mentioned and discussed. Although the meanings of the individual constituent sites of West Lake are highly diverse and do not necessarily bear such ideological “burdens”, there are some sites that would especially remind of the Southern Song and its weaknesses and failures, such as the tomb of general and “national hero” Yue Fei, who failed to recover the northern territory due to the lack of support from the government,⁵⁴⁸ and the former imperial palace of the Southern Song, which had been destroyed in the early Yuan and was in a ruinous condition.

6.1 Hangzhou as Conceptual Periphery

After the collapse of the Northern Song in 1127, the first Southern Song emperor, Gaozong, had to flee from one place to another due to political and military turmoils.

period” (*nandu chu* 南渡初), “period of restoration” (*zhongxing qi* 中兴期), “period of momentary comfort” (*gouan qi* 苟安期), and “period of decline” (*shuaiwang qi* 衰亡期). See Ying Shouyan 应守岩, *Nan Song Xihu ci jiedu* 南宋西湖词解读 (Interpretations of the West Lake *ci* Poems of Southern Song) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2013), 331. The *ci* poems that express concerns mentioned above can be found in all the four periods.

⁵⁴⁷ Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 210.

⁵⁴⁸ Twitchett and Smith, *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors*, 682.

Associated with this process was a long and heated debate in the court over the selection of the new capital city, in which various factors, such as political, military, and economic conditions were considered. It was not until 1138 that a final decision was made to relocate the capital in Hangzhou, which had been renamed Lin'an 臨安 (lit. "approaching peace") in 1129. Hangzhou became the "Temporary Residence" (Xingzai 行在) of the emperor, while the nominal capital remained Kaifeng 開封, the capital of the Northern Song, which had fallen into the hands of the Jurchen Jin regime in 1127 and was continued to be considered the rightful capital in the hope that it would someday be reclaimed.

Although Hangzhou served as the capital for the rest of the Southern Song period, its status remained controversial, as opposing voices were occasionally heard.⁵⁴⁹ The problem of Hangzhou's status of imperial capital was partly derived from the conception of "dynastic legitimacy" (*zhengtong* 正統). A rather complicated discourse, the consideration of the legitimacy of a dynasty may contain factors, such as blood tie and lineage relations, conquest, and succession of the "authentic Way" (*daotong* 道統). Among these, there were also geographical factors: First, Zhu Xi and like-minded scholars argued that the Southern Song did not have genuine legitimacy until it was able to reunite China by driving out the Jurchen. In other words, full legitimacy, as contrary to the partial one of the Southern Song, meant the occupation of all Chinese territories, the most important part of which was the "Central Plain" (Zhongyuan 中原).⁵⁵⁰ Second, the ideal location of the capital of a legitimate dynasty would be not only in the "Nine Regions" (Jiuzhou 九州), but also within the realm delineated by the "Five Sacred Mountains" (Wuyue 五嶽), that is, between Northern Mountain and Southern Mountain, and between Eastern Mountain and Western Mountain,⁵⁵¹ a standard that Hangzhou did not meet. The conceptual periphery and remoteness of the Southern Song regime were termed "peripheral accommodation" (*pianan*), which connoted its problematic situation of legitimacy and the inauthentic status of its capital. This is evident, for example, in the

⁵⁴⁹ For discussions of the selection of the capital of the Southern Song, see Lin Zhengqiu, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 24–37; Xu Jijun, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 1–12.

⁵⁵⁰ Ng and Wang, *Mirroring the Past*, 162 and 178.

⁵⁵¹ Tang Xiaofeng 唐晓峰, *Renwen dili suibi* 人文地理随笔 (Jottings of Human Geography) (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2005), 21–25.

1178 memorials to Emperor Xiaozong by Chen Liang, who viewed the Central Plain around Luoyang as the locus of the “standard energy” (*zhengqi* 正氣) and Zhejiang as possessing only the “peripheral energy” (*pianqi* 偏氣), of heaven and earth. Chen’s philosophy of spatial variations of cosmic and natural energy led him to warn of the prospect of inadequate legitimacy if the court remained in the southeast, which might lose its mandate to rule.⁵⁵²

The choice of Hangzhou as the capital was largely due to Emperor Gaozong’s personal preference, while most officials favored another city, Nanjing (named Jiankang 建康 at the time).⁵⁵³ From 1130 to 1137, the court was constantly on the move between the two cities. As a strong candidate and rival of Hangzhou, Nanjing was closer to the Central Plain heartland and to the border between the Southern Song and the Jin, and thus served as a better command center when the Song took the initiative again. Hangzhou, on the other hand, was in a remoter region, where the waters of Jiangnan constituted a natural obstacle to the cavalries from the north, and thus a safer refuge. The choice of Nanjing in the reign of Gaozong thus often signified a more active and more aggressive stance and a gesture of defiance toward the Jin, while that of Hangzhou signified a more passive and defensive stance, the lack of will to or the (temporary) unattainability of the restoration of control over the north.⁵⁵⁴ As the court finally revealed long-term intentions to stay in Hangzhou and ignored alternative proposals, it was often viewed as an attempt to seek peace, security, and comfort at the cost of political and moral obligations. In *Leftover Affairs of Qiantang* (*Qiantang yishi* 錢塘遺事), compiled by the Yuan literatus Liu Yiqing 劉一清, for example, it is asserted at the beginning as follows:

高宗不都建康而都於杭，大為失策。士大夫湖山歌舞之餘，視天下事於度外，卒至喪師誤主、納土賣國，可為長歎息也。⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “Proto-Nationalism in Twelfth-Century China? The Case of Ch'en Liang”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39, no. 2 (1979): 417–424.

⁵⁵³ Twitchett and Smith, *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors*, 660–662.

⁵⁵⁴ Lin Zhengqiu, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 32; Xu Jijun, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 7; Twitchett and Smith, ed., *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors*, 696f; Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 88. Also Xinda Lian points out that “[t]he key issue was Lin'an's being seen as safe expedient for the preservation of what remained of the old Song empire compared with the potential for Jiankang to become a powerful political center and frontier fortress in the future recovery of the lost territories.” See Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 220f.

⁵⁵⁵ See “Mulu” 目錄 (Table of Contents), in Liu Yiqing, “Qiantang yishi”, 3455.

Emperor Gaozong did not choose Jiankang, but Hangzhou as the capital, this was a big mistake in strategy. Apart from the enjoyment of lake and hills, singing and dancing, scholar-officials viewed affairs under Heaven as beyond consideration, which eventually led to the loss of troops, the misguidance of the sovereigns, the cession of territory, and the betrayal of the country. This makes one lament for long.

In the literary writings of the Southern Song and afterwards, Hangzhou and West Lake were often portrayed as a small and peripheral place. An anecdote records a *ci* poem by Wen Jiweng 文及翁 (*jinshi* 1253), an examination candidate from Sichuan Province. When he roamed with fellow candidates at West Lake after he had passed the civil service examination, Wen was asked whether Sichuan also had such beautiful views, and thus wrote a *ci* poem, the first several lines of which read as follows:

一勺西湖水。渡江來、百年歌舞，百年酣醉。回首洛陽花世界，煙渺黍離之地。

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A mere ladle of West Lake water, / Since the crossing of the [Yangtze] River, / There were a hundred years of singing and dancing, / A hundred years of drunken stupor. / Looking back to Luoyang, the world of flowers, / A faraway place covered with mists, where millet droops its heads.

As Xinda Lian suggests, the discourses about the smallness of West Lake may be inspired by allegories in the book of *Zhuangzi*, such as the frog in the well: “The minuteness and the limits of the lake are fittingly associated with the small-mindedness and the shortsightedness of its denizens.”⁵⁵⁷ Describing West Lake as a ladle of water, the poem categorizes its singing, dancing, and drunken stupor as behaviors of self-indulgence and self-enclosure, and West Lake a peripheral place that is remote from the Central Plain around Luoyang.⁵⁵⁸ Likewise, the Yuan literatus Qu Shiheng 瞿士衡 writes in a poem

⁵⁵⁶ The entry on Wen Jiweng is seen in Li You 李有, “Gu Hang zaji” 古杭雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of Ancient Hangzhou), in *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (A Collected Edition of Wulin Anecdotes), vol. 1, ed. Ding Bing 丁丙 and Ding Shen 丁申 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2008), 89. The phrase “a hundred years of singing and dancing” (*bainian gewu* 百年歌舞) is missing in this edition. The entry, with minor differences, is also seen in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 271.

⁵⁵⁷ Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 214f.

⁵⁵⁸ For analyses of Wen Jiweng’s poem, see Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 378f; Ying Shouyan, *Nan Song Xihu ci jiedu*, 27–29 and 362f; Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 213–217.

on Yue Fei's tomb that "The storied houses and terraces for singing and dancing imitated those of Bianzhou Prefecture [where the Northern Song capital Kaifeng was], / Pathetically the kingdoms of Man and Chu fought on the horns of a snail" (歌舞樓臺擬汴州，可憐蠻觸戰蝸牛).⁵⁵⁹ Referring to the allegory in *Zhuangzi*, in which two tiny kingdoms on the horns of a snail strove about territories and fought, the verses allude to the smallness of the Southern Song territory as well as the narrow spirit of its regime. The allegory was also referred to in a poem on the destroyed Southern Song imperial palace by Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375). In a sarcastic tone, Liu writes that "The world on the horns of the snail was big, / The aura of the *ao* turtles' heads was extraordinary" (蝸角乾坤大，鰲頭氣勢殊).⁵⁶⁰

6.2 Attitudes to Prosperity and Pleasure

In general, there were two attitudes to prosperity and pleasure, which were reflected in West Lake writings of various periods. One was to view them positively, as a result or reflection of peaceful times and good governance, while the other viewed them negatively, as dangerous and potentially leading to dynastic decline. Both views being teleological, the difference is that the former one rather looked backward and saw prosperity and pleasure as effects, while the latter one rather looked forward and saw them as causes. Both views mark the attempt to place a certain period in the historical framework of prosperity and decline, order and chaos, which appeared alternately. The underlying principle may be the argument from *Laozi* that "reversal is the movement of Dao" (*fan zhe Dao zhi dong* 反者道之動), that is, "both in the sphere of nature and in that of man, when the development of anything brings it to one extreme, a reversal to the other extreme takes place."⁵⁶¹ According to Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990), this theory was maintained by both Confucianism and Daoism and had a great effect upon the

⁵⁵⁹ The poem is cited from Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 86.

⁵⁶⁰ The poem is cited from Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun", 106. The allegory of the legendary *ao* 鰲 turtles is from the book of *Liezi* 列子, in which the five mountains of immortals were carried by the heads of fifteen giant *ao* turtles. Yet an even bigger giant came and caught six turtles with only one hook, and two of the mountains finally sank into the sea.

⁵⁶¹ See the chapter "The Background of Chinese Philosophy" in Fung Yu-lan 馮友蘭, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Derk Bodde (New York: The Free Press, 1966), 19.

Chinese people: “Convinced of this theory, they remain cautious even in time of prosperity, and hopeful even in time of extreme danger.”⁵⁶²

The first attitude is evident, for example, in Li Gefei’s statement that the order and chaos of the empire are indexed by the prosperity and decline of Luoyang, as mentioned in Chapter 5. As a widely cited saying, its logic also appears in numerous accounts of places other than Luoyang. For example, the pseudonymous author of *A Record of the Splendor of the Capital City*, Naide weng, claims in his preface that the landscape and cityscape of the Southern Song Hangzhou even dwarf the famous gardens of Luoyang as recorded in Li Gefei’s account.⁵⁶³ Boasting the prosperity of Hangzhou and West Lake, Naide weng praises the Southern Song dynasty of his day and, as Christian de Pee points out, expresses the legitimate governance of the imperial house.⁵⁶⁴

After a peace treaty was signed between the Song and the Jin courts in 1141 and the Song imperial family seriously considered Hangzhou as the capital city, the senses of peace and prosperity began to replace those of danger and crisis.⁵⁶⁵ In the following decades, West Lake was frequently regarded as a significant symbol and related to the political achievements of the government.⁵⁶⁶ This was especially true for the literati who wrote poems in response to the orders of the retired Emperor Gaozong and his successor Emperor Xiaozong.⁵⁶⁷ Using flamboyant and flattery words, these poems praise peace, harvest, and good weather of Hangzhou and West Lake and relate them to the good governance and virtues of the emperors.

In the discourses that praise the Southern Song court, a motif that is frequently seen is the “[the ruler’s] sharing of joys with the people” (*yu min tong le* 與民同樂), an ideal promoted by Mencius.⁵⁶⁸ In Zhou Mi’s *Old Affairs*, for example, it is mentioned that when the retired Emperor Gaozong, officials, and palace staff went sightseeing together at West Lake, they did not forbid the sightseeing and business of commoners there, but

⁵⁶² Ibid., 19.

⁵⁶³ Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Ducheng jisheng”, 1.

⁵⁶⁴ Christian de Pee, “Nature’s Capital: The City as Garden in The Splendid Scenery of the Capital (Ducheng jisheng, 1235)”, in *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127–1279*, ed. Joseph S. C. Lam, Shuen-fu Lin, and Christian de Pee (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), 200.

⁵⁶⁵ Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 87.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 91.

⁵⁶⁷ For a record of such works, see *juan 7* of *Old Affairs* in Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Wulin jiushi”, 142–152. For a short study of the *ci* poems of this kind, see Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 310–313.

⁵⁶⁸ Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 91. For Mencius’ idea, see *Mencius* 1B: 1.

“shared the joys of the people when peace was becoming longer and longer” (承平日久，樂與民同).⁵⁶⁹ In his retirement, Emperor Gaozong owned a garden on the eastern bank of West Lake named Collected Views Garden (Jujing yuan 聚景園). Not only did the garden imitate the scenes of West Lake, but the palace staff was also ordered to simulate activities at West Lake, such as exhibitions of jewels, flowers, toys, games, and foods of the marketplace.⁵⁷⁰ As Emperor Gaozong went sightseeing at West Lake, he visited taverns and read poems on the walls, summoned and awarded to local people, traveled to scenic sites by boat and rested there, which often caused a sensational effect and was watched and admired by throngs of Hangzhou residents.⁵⁷¹ The idea of pleasure-sharing was echoed by a short story on Emperor Gaozong in the *Second West Lake Collection* of the late Ming. Although the story criticizes Gaozong in many places, it nevertheless admits at the end that “at that time people were happy and cheerful, every household was rich and in abundance. It was only because [Gaozong] shared his joys with the people that [the Song] owned the realm for one hundred and fifty more years” (那時百姓歡悅，家家饒裕。唯因與民同樂，所以還有一百五十年天下).⁵⁷²

Mencius, however, also holds that “life springs from anxiety and affliction, and death from ease and joy” (生於憂患而死於安樂).⁵⁷³ While the story in the *Second West Lake Collection* considers the prosperity and pleasure as the reason why the dynasty lasted for so many years, people of the second attitude viewed it in opposite ways. A possible point of reference is *Dream of Hua* by Meng Yuanlao, who in his preface highlights a present time, in which all remembrances of the past “become naught but disconsolance and vexation” (*dancheng changhen* 但成悵恨). As Stephen H. West suggests, the work “is meant both to describe the material splendor and imperial power of the former [Northern Song] capital, and to present the excitement and pleasure they elicited as cautionary examples of the persistent and cyclical nature of history”.⁵⁷⁴ Another example is the comment on *Old Affairs* by editors of *Four Treasuries* that “the book presents the lake

⁵⁶⁹ Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Wulin jiushi”, 42.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., “Wulin jiushi”, 41 and 142f.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., “Wulin jiushi”, 43 and 147f.

⁵⁷² Zhou Qingyuan, *Xihu erji*, 39.

⁵⁷³ See *Mencius* 6B: 15.

⁵⁷⁴ Stephen H. West, “The Pains of Pleasure: The Lanterns of Kaifeng”, in *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127–1279*, ed. Joseph S. C. Lam, Shuen-fu Lin, and Christian de Pee (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), 139f.

and the hills, singing and dancing, and depicts luxuries and splendors. It records its flourishing, and thus records exactly the reason for its decline” (湖山歌舞，靡麗紛華，著其盛，正著其所以衰).⁵⁷⁵ By juxtaposing the two states of prosperity and decline, both texts contextualize the former in a cyclical process.

The reasons why prosperity and joy would lead to decline and sadness could be manifold. An anecdote in Luo Dajing’s 羅大經 *Jade Dew in the Crane Forest* (*Helin yulu* 鶴林玉露, 1248) narrates that when the Jin emperor, Wanyan Liang 完顏亮 (1122–1161, r. 1150–1161), read a famous *ci* poem written by the Northern Song literatus Liu Yong 柳永 (d. 1053), entitled “Ten Miles of Lotus Flowers” (*Shili hehua* 十里荷花), that boasted about the wealth and beauty of Hangzhou, he admired the scene so much that he decided to invade the Song in 1161.⁵⁷⁶ In the version of the story as included in *Supplement*, after reading the poem, Wanyan Liang orders a painter to enter Hangzhou secretly and paint West Lake. He then hangs the painting on a screen, and imagines himself to stand on top of Wu Hill.⁵⁷⁷ The logic of the anecdote is that wealth and prosperity would invite danger from outside. Since Wanyan Liang was assassinated in a rebellion during the invasion, however, from the perspective of the Jin the logic of this story is that one’s desire and pursuit of charming things would lead to self-destruction. As Gang Liu, in a discussion of this anecdote, argues, “Liu Yong’s song lyric could rather be called a sharp-edge sword, for it brought misfortune to both the invaded and the invader.”⁵⁷⁸

Another influential idea of the causal relationship between prosperity and decline is that the calamities in history were the punishment of Heaven for an excess of luxury. An entry in the section “Turbulence and Sadness” of *Supplement*, for example, describes the extravagant and luxurious lifestyle of Hangzhou residents as well as the siege at the end of the Yuan period, during which six to seven Hangzhou residents in ten had starved to death. The text ends by raising the question: “Is this due to the luxury and excessiveness

⁵⁷⁵ Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Wulin jiushi”, 197.

⁵⁷⁶ Luo Dajing 羅大經, “Helin yulu” 鶴林玉露 (Jade Dew in the Crane Forest), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition*), vol. 865 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 255. For a short analysis of Liu Yong’s poem, see Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 181f.

⁵⁷⁷ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 119f.

⁵⁷⁸ Liu, “The Poetics of Miscellaneousness”, 147.

in the past, and the Creator was warning them in this way?” (豈平昔浮靡暴殄之過，造物者有以警之與)⁵⁷⁹ Likewise Zhang Dai, in his preface to *Dream Reminiscences*, claims that his sufferings in the present were the “retribution” (*guobao* 果報) for his luxury and joys in the past.⁵⁸⁰ The idea here seems to be a hindsight that attempts to make sense of the calamities in history.⁵⁸¹ Moral qualities are sought and taken to be the historical forces, as prosperity and decline that had happened were realized by the agent of Heaven or Creator, which calculates merits and demerits of man and rewards and punishes accordingly.⁵⁸² Such an idea has the effect of psychological relief, as the suffering of the guilty is more acceptable than that of the innocent.

In another argument, which is more frequently seen, the divine power is absent. Rather, it simply holds that pleasure-seeking could make one indulge in a hedonistic life, weaken the spirit, and distract from one’s duties. A famous example that illuminates this is the metaphor of Xi Shi, the legendary beauty of the Spring and Autumn period. The metaphor first appeared in the second of two poems by Su Shi, entitled “Drinking on the Lake when [the Sun] Shines after the Rain” (*Yin hushang chuqing houyu* 飲湖上初晴後雨), which compares the landscape of West Lake in different weather to different appearances of Xi Shi: “So charming is the shimmer of light on the water in sunshine, / And wonderous too the blur of color across the hills in the rain. / I wish to compare West Lake to West Lady, / Lightly powdered or thickly smeared, the fancy is just as apt” (水光瀲灩晴方好，山色空濛雨亦奇。欲把西湖比西子，淡粧濃抹總相宜).⁵⁸³ It is for this reason that West Lake had also been renamed “West Lady Lake” (Xizi hu 西子湖). The metaphor of a beautiful woman being frequently seen in the West Lake writings of later periods,⁵⁸⁴ the relationship between the two can be understood in manifold ways. As

⁵⁷⁹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 81.

⁵⁸⁰ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao’an mengyi xu”, 3.

⁵⁸¹ Hu Siao-chen 胡曉真 holds that the entry in *Supplement* reflects the fears caused by calamities and deaths that accumulated in historical memories. See Hu Siao-chen, “Liluan Hangzhou”, 55.

⁵⁸² The the entry in *Supplement* may instantiate what Wilt L. Idema terms “the inverse proportionality of virtue and its rewards, vice and its deserts”, which in his opinion characterizes fictions of the late Ming (ca. 1550–ca. 1650): “The basic operative notion is that of recompensation within one’s lifetime: man as a moral agent is master of his own fate, which he shapes by his own good and bad deeds. Heaven is not anymore an inscrutable power that arbitrarily destroys and saves but is now described as an impersonal, automatically operating abacus.” See Wilt L. Idema, “Time and Space in Traditional Chinese Historical Fiction”, in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*, ed. Chun-chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 366 and 369.

⁵⁸³ Su Shi, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 848f.

⁵⁸⁴ For example, after Yuan Hongdao traveled by boat at West Lake for the first time, he compares the moment to Cao

Stephen Owen points out, the significance of a metaphor could extend the one intended by its creator: “A great metaphor is one that seems apt and is essentially uncontrollable: a simple statement of intention behind the metaphor, even within the discourse itself, cannot control what the metaphor does.”⁵⁸⁵ The most obvious linkage between West Lake and Xi Shi is their beautiful appearances. It suggests a gentle, feminine characteristic of the West Lake landscape that reminds of a woman. It may also evoke the view of West Lake as an intimate or private space, as the relationship between man and woman suggests.⁵⁸⁶ As it came to the Southern Song, however, this metaphor of Xi Shi was endowed with a negative meaning. For example, as an entry in *Supplement* states: “From the Shaoxing [1131–1162] to the Chunxi [1174–1189] eras, [the empire] was relatively well-off. Rulers and ministers were at ease and indulged in pleasures at West Lake and the hills, and the tears of New Pavilion were not seen anymore” (紹興、淳熙之間，頗稱康裕，君相縱逸，耽樂湖山，無復新亭之淚).⁵⁸⁷ The statement is followed by two poems, which were composed at the time and described such indulgence, and the conclusion that “therefore critics took West Lake as a bewitching creature and compared it to Xi Shi who had ruined the State of Wu (585–476 B.C.)” (是以論者以西湖為尤物，比之西施之破吳也).⁵⁸⁸ Although Xi Shi was often praised for her beauty, it should be noted that she was also described as a *femme fatale*, who distracted King of Wu from the state affairs and thus is deemed to have contributed to the fall of the State of Wu. As the primary scenic site of the capital, the significance of West Lake reached its peak in the Southern Song period, and it was thus taken to be a great contribution to the indulgence of emperors and officials and became a “scapegoat for the government’s lack of

Zhi’s 曹植 (192–232) encounter with Goddess of Luo River (Luo shen 洛神) in a dream. See Yuan Hongdao, “Xihu jishu”, 460.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Zhang Dai compares three lakes of Zhejiang to three kinds of women, as to West Lake, “a famous courtesan from the singing quarter”.

⁵⁸⁵ Owen, *Remembrances*, 139.

⁵⁸⁶ For example, a literatus and a courtesan often developed a personal relationship with each other. Su Shi had fancied a Hangzhou courtesan named Wang Zhaoyun 王朝雲 and married her as concubine. Samuel Y. Liang in his study of the courtesan culture in late Qing Shanghai argues that courtesan houses were inclined to be a private space and the sojourners’ surrogate home, while its courtesans, madams, servants, and clients acted as if they were family members. See Samuel Y. Liang, “Ephemeral Households, Marvelous Things: Business, Gender, and Material Culture in Flowers of Shanghai”, *Modern China* 33, no. 3 (2007): 380–387.

⁵⁸⁷ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 10. The “tears of New Pavilion” (*Xin ting zhi lei* 新亭之淚) refers to the tears of officials of the Eastern Jin (Dong Jin 東晉) dynasty, who after the fall of the Western Jin (Xi Jin 西晉) dynasty, an event comparable to the fall of the Northern Song, wept at New Pavilion in Nanjing for the lost territory.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 10. A similar text to the entry is seen in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 4.

commitment to fight against the northern enemies”.⁵⁸⁹ The sightseeing activities and pleasures were considered not only as a reflection of the degeneration of the regime, but also as having caused this degeneration.

One narrative that apparently well verified this view is that of Jia Sidao, the “bad last minister” of the Southern Song. Richard L. Davis argues that although the charge leveled against Jia is groundless and actually “[t]he Chia Ssu-tao [Jia Sidao] administration invested substantially in the defense of strategic areas”, his “critics, past and present, have dismissed him as a fraud, someone who [...] cared little for the empire’s defense”.⁵⁹⁰ A series of anecdotes in the section “Flattering Powerful Ministers and Excessive Pleasure-seeking” of *Supplement* depict a Jia Sidao who, in his semi-retirement, spent most of the time on Ge Hill, which was located at the northern bank of West Lake, playing cricket-fighting games and having fun with former palace women, courtesans, nuns, and gamblers.⁵⁹¹ A popular saying at the time went like this: “At the court there is no Grand Councilor; / On the lake there is a Grand Councilor” (朝中無宰相，湖上有平章).⁵⁹² Like in the case of Emperor Gaozong, officials offered to Jia a range of flattering writings in praise of his achievements and virtues. In these writings, Jia is portrayed as living a peaceful and care-free life, comparable to that of an immortal. A pavilion was built and named “Half Leisure Pavilion” (Banxian ting 半閒亭) in his mansion.⁵⁹³ The usually positive value of “leisured and care-free” (*xian* 閒), that is commonly seen in literary works on West Lake, is now contextualized in a time when the Southern Song was in the face of impending danger, and thus has a sarcastic implication. As the Southern Song indeed fell a few years later, these anecdotes imply a causal relationship and attribute the responsibility to Jia’s morally depraved behavior.

Despite the bad reputation of West Lake since the Southern Song period, one should be cautious about the assertion of an essentialist and negative view of the place. It is true that the West Lake landscape, which was commonly viewed as soft, gentle, and misty, was often gendered and compared to the femininity of a woman, as Su Shi’s metaphor of

⁵⁸⁹ Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*, 99.

⁵⁹⁰ Twitchett and Smith, ed., *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors*, 33 and 918.

⁵⁹¹ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 58.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁹³ See the entry “Half Leisure Pavilion”, in Liu Yiqing, “Qiantang yishi”, 3482. A similar entry is seen in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 58.

Xi Shi instantiates. The same is also true for opponents of West Lake sightseeing: Chen Renjie 陳人傑 (1218–1243), for example, records two lines from a poem written by a friend: “The beauty of the Southeast / Has feminized men” (東南嫵媚，雌了男兒).⁵⁹⁴ In most cases, however, the West Lake landscape was not viewed as inherently negative. It seems that to most literati, the significance of a place depended on what people developed out of it. The indulgence of the Southern Song regime was rather considered as a deviance of men, which, though dangerous and harmful, was contingent and could be avoided.

The ambivalent attitudes are reflected in the discourses on the authentic and the deviant. Such a division is made, for example, in the realm of music. Joseph Lam has shown that “from early times in China, attitudes toward ritual and popular performances were strictly bifurcated: ritual music was admired and praised while performance for entertainment, especially that featuring women, was regarded as morally dubious”.⁵⁹⁵ Behind this was the idea of the division of “elegant” and “licentious” styles of music. As to sightseeing, most literati who criticized the Southern Song regime were not against sightseeing at West Lake *per se*, but also appreciated its landscape and were themselves participants in its sightseeing activities. Some of them propose proper ways of sightseeing that avoid potential problems. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the authentic and worthy activities of sightseeing at West Lake were promoted by literati in contrast to the “vulgar” ones of commoners. For example, an entry in the section “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods”, in *Supplement*, states that “those who roam at West Lake should do nothing but immerse in the pure light of hills and waters and cultivate their thoughts with wine and poems” (遊湖者，挹山水之清暉，以詩酒冶思而已).⁵⁹⁶ An entry in the section “Talks in the Provincial Alleys”, also in *Supplement*, which was probably written by Tian Rucheng himself, states that “from the Xuande (1426–1435) to the Zhengtong (1436–1449) eras,

⁵⁹⁴ See Chen Renjie’s preface to a *ci* poem of him written to the tune of “Spring in Qin Garden” (*Qinyuan chun* 沁園春) in Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, ed., *Quan Song ci* 全宋詞 (Complete *ci* Poems of the Song) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), vol. 5, 3079.

⁵⁹⁵ This is cited from Beverly Bossler, “Floating Sleeves, Willow Waists, and Dreams of Spring: Entertainment and Its Enemies in Song History and Historiography”, in *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127–1279*, ed. Joseph S. C. Lam, Shuen-fu Lin, and Christian de Pee (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), 2. For a further description and discussion of the ambivalent attitudes to music, see also Bossler, “Floating Sleeves, Willow Waists, and Dreams of Spring”, 7–13.

⁵⁹⁶ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 242.

the empire, especially Hangzhou, was prosperous, and the banquets of literati and commoners were elegant and not excessive” (宣德、正統間，海內熙皞，而杭州尤繁盛，士庶燕會，雅而弗淫).⁵⁹⁷ In an admiring tone, the entry describes the societies and gatherings of literati, officials, and recluses of Hangzhou that flourished in the Yuan and the early Ming periods, which unfortunately had vanished.⁵⁹⁸ Here Tian made a division into “rightful” and “deviant” ways of sightseeing, proposing the former and opposing the latter, although it is less than clear where to draw the line between the two.

6.3 Indulgence in West Lake Literature

While the tension between indulgent pleasure-seeking and Confucian ideology always existed, it became more apparent in the Southern Song context. The fact of the loss of nearly half of the former Song territory and the conception of peripheral accommodation undermine the view that prosperity of the Southern Song and the pleasures of its emperors and officials are truly praiseworthy. Rather, they were seen as acts of indulgence in a part and the ignorance of the whole. In a study of classic Chinese novels, Andrew Plaks has discussed a kind of psychological thinking that he terms “self-enclosure and self-absorption”.⁵⁹⁹ In Plaks’ opinion, “[t]he contrast between self-contained wholeness and one-sided self-absorption finds expression in traditional Chinese texts in [...] the paired concepts *pian* (偏) and *quan* (全).”⁶⁰⁰ The character *pian*, which in Plaks’ opinion is captured in the English word “partiality”, also appears in the word *pianan* (peripheral accommodation). While it encompasses a wide range of semantic usages in traditional China, the partiality as a psychological state and a deficiency in the mental constitution was often made parallel to the political-geographical peripheral state in the criticism of the Southern Song regime.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 257.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 257.

⁵⁹⁹ The self-enclosure and self-absorption involve “the paradox of selfhood whereby the single-minded pursuit of an ideal of self-containment may lead, by a kind of reverse logic, to a destructive state of insular self-absorption.” See Andrew Plaks, “Self-enclosure and Self-absorption in the Classic Chinese Novel”, in *Minds and Mentalities in Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Halvor Eifring (Beijing: Culture and Art Publishing House, 1999), 30.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 30.

Although West Lake and its scenic sites are rich in meanings, as a whole it is predominantly perceived as a pleasant and intimate place. I Lo-fen 衣若芬 compares the “Ten Views of West Lake”, which was constructed in the Southern Song period, with the “Eight Views of Xiao River and Xiang River” (Xiao-Xiang bajing 瀟湘八景), pointing out that one difference between the two sets of views is that the major type of imagery in Xiao-Xiang literature is “sorrow for departure and urge to return” (*henbie sigui* 恨別思歸), which is almost absent in the writings on the Ten Views of West Lake.⁶⁰¹ Influenced by a range of local stories of Hu’nan Province, especially the Qu Yuan 屈原 lore, the presentations of the Xiao-Xiang Views emphasize in general the miseries of “literati not being appreciated” (*shi buyu* 士不遇), loneliness, and longing for homeland.⁶⁰² The West Lake Views, on the other hand, create the impression of an Elysium. Another difference is that Xiao-Xiang Views one-sidedly on the time of twilight, while West Lake Views contain not only views of all the four seasons of a year, but also of different times of a day, and thus suggest temporal comprehensiveness. The two features are well perceived in a comment on the Ten Views of West Lake in *Millet Dream*: “The views of the four seasons are different, and the pleasant and joyful things associated with them are also inexhaustible” (四時之景不同，而賞心樂事者亦與之無窮矣).⁶⁰³ In this way, West Lake is presented as a self-sufficient place, where one was able to live a comfortable life successively.

The image of West Lake as a pleasant and intimate place did not first appear in the Southern Song, but can be traced to earlier periods. Su Shi, for example, expressed in a poem, which was composed when he served for the first time as official in Hangzhou, his tophilia for the place: “Unable to be a petty hermit, I would like to be a middle hermit, / Can I acquire a long retirement instead of temporary ones in this way? / Where could I,

⁶⁰¹ I Lo-Fen 衣若芬, “‘Xiaoxiang’ shanshuihua zhi wenxue yixiang qingjing tanwei” [瀟湘]山水畫之文學意象情境探微 (The Literary Imagery in Hsiao-Hsiang Landscape Paintings), *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 20, (2002): 202; I Lo-Fen 衣若芬, “‘Jiangshan ruhua’ yu ‘hua’? Jiangshan’: Song Yuan ti ‘Xiaoxiang’ shanshui hua shi zhi bijiao” [江山如畫]與[畫?江山]——宋元題「瀟湘」山水畫詩之比較 (“Landscape Like a Picture” and “Landscape in the Picture”: On the Song and Yuan Poems on the “Xiaoxiang” Landscape Paintings), *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 23, (2003): 39.

⁶⁰² I Lo-Fen 衣若芬, “Xiaoxiang bajing: Dongya gongtong muti de wenhua yixiang” 瀟湘八景：東亞共同母題的文化意象 (Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang: The Culture Image of East Asia), *Dongya guannianshi jikan* 東亞觀念史集刊 6, (2014): 47.

⁶⁰³ Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Mengliang lu”, 97.

the homeless one, go if I leave this place? / In my hometown there is no such wonderful [landscape of] lake and hills” (未成小隱聊中隱，可得長閑勝暫閑？我本無家更安往，故鄉無此好湖山).⁶⁰⁴ In another poem, which was written after he left Hangzhou, Su identified himself a Hangzhou person and expressed his wish to live there permanently: “I had lived in Hangzhou for five years, / What I remember now is that I was originally a Hangzhou person. / Returning to my old hill, I would find no home there, / Thus I wish to choose a place for residence next to West Lake” (居杭積五歲，自意本杭人。故山歸無家，欲卜西湖鄰).⁶⁰⁵ In a third poem, Su states his connection to Hangzhou in the previous life: “In my previous life I had been to Hangzhou already, / Wherever I went, I constantly had the feeling of visiting an old place. / I further desire a grotto, in which I can live as a retired official, / The idle place as large as a hut will make me stay” (前生我已到杭州，到處長如到舊遊。更欲洞霄為隱吏，一菴閑地且相留).⁶⁰⁶ While the idea of “previous life” may be simply viewed as an expression of intimacy with West Lake, it is echoed and “verified” by an anecdote: when Su visited Zhiguo Monastery (Zhiguo si 智果寺) at West Lake, he found the environment familiar and even knew the number of the steps leading up to the hall. He thus told a local monk that he had been a Buddhist monk of the monastery in his previous life.⁶⁰⁷ The poems and anecdote reveal Su’s attachment to Hangzhou and West Lake. Since he had been assigned official posts in various places in his career, often as a demotion, Su laments frequently his departure and longs for return in his writings, which are similar to the kind of feelings seen in the Xiao-Xiang

⁶⁰⁴ This poem is the fifth one of a set of poems, entitled “Liu yue ershiqi ri Wanghu lou zuishu wu jue” 六月二十七日望湖樓醉書五絕 (Five Quatrains Written in Drunkenness on the Twenty-seventh Day of the Sixth Month at Lake-watching Tower). See Su Shi, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 687. The poem, with some differences, is included in the entry “Qin lou” in *Dream Searching*. See Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 45. The term “middle hermit” (*zhongyin* 中隱) originates from a poem of Bai Juyi, the first six lines of which read: “The great hermit lives in the marketplace, / The petty hermit enters countryside. / The countryside is too desolate, / The marketplace is too noisy. / It would be better to be a middle hermit, / Who hides himself in an idle official post” (大隱住朝市，小隱入丘樊。丘樊太冷落，朝市太囂喧。不如作中隱，隱在留司官). See Bai Juyi 白居易, *Bai Juyi shiji jiaozhu* 白居易詩集校注 (The Collection of Poetry of Bai Juyi: Collated and Annotated), ed. Xie Siwei 謝思焯 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), vol. 4, 1765.

⁶⁰⁵ These are the first four lines of the poem “Song Xiangyang congshi Li Youliang gui Qiantang” 送襄陽從事李友諒歸錢塘 (Biding Farewell to Attendant of Xiangyang, Li Youliang, at His Returns to Qiantang). See Su Shi, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 4175. The four lines, with some differences, are included in *Supplement*. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 118.

⁶⁰⁶ The poem, entitled “Guo jiuyou” 過舊遊 (Passing an Old Place), is seen in Su Shi, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 1319, and included in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 118.

⁶⁰⁷ Zhang Dai, *Tao’an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 15f.

literature.⁶⁰⁸ Such feelings, however, are largely absent in his Hangzhou writings. Frustrated by both court politics and bad living conditions of some local places, Su found preferable dwelling in Hangzhou and West Lake, which is marked by a prosperous city, beautiful natural landscape, leisure, and a hedonistic lifestyle of wine, courtesans, and sightseeing, and had the feelings of being at home.

While the perceptions of Su Shi are influential and largely representative of West Lake literature, they are countered by Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (1140–1207) in a song lyric (*ci*) on Fly Hither Peak (Feilai feng 飛來峰), a hill near West Lake. It was said that the peak was from India and had flown to Hangzhou. In his “On the Cold Spring Pavilion” (*Ti Lengquan ting* 題冷泉亭), the poetic persona regrets that the peak has left its place of origin: “I regret that / These beautiful scenes here were originally of my homeland, / Now they have been rendered strangers” (恨此中，風月本吾家，今為客).⁶⁰⁹ Xinda Lian points out that during his stay in Hangzhou, Xin wrote only three or four song lyrics about the lake.⁶¹⁰ The origin and state of the peak here reminds the poet of himself, as he had also left his hometown in the north, which was occupied by the Jurchen Jin, and fled to the south. By calling himself a “stranger” (*ke* 客), the poetic persona presents the place as alien environment, and thus rejects the mainstream image of West Lake.⁶¹¹ This self-alienation from the place seems to explain Xin’s silence on West Lake: as a “stranger”, he refuses to take part in the rich literary compositions of the place, and dismisses the valuation of the place as it had been established and represented by Su Shi and others. The silence as such is telling.

In the poems that were written in response to the orders from Emperor Gaozong and Emperor Xiaozong, the loss of the northern territory is not mentioned at all. Instead, some poems favor the motif of completeness. An anecdote records that Zeng Di 曾覲 (1109–1180) at an imperial banquet on the Mid-Autumn Festival in 1182 offered a song

⁶⁰⁸ For a discussion of the influence of the pictorial representations of Xiao-Xiang landscape on Su Shi, see I Lo-Fen 衣若芬, “Yuedu fengjing: Su Shi yu ‘Xiaoxiang bajing tu’ de xingqi” 閱讀風景：蘇軾與「瀟湘八景圖」的興起 (Reading Landscape: Su Shi and the Rise of Paintings of Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang), in *Qiangu fengliu: Dongpo shishi jiu bainian jinian xueshu yantaohui* 千古風流：東坡逝世九百年紀念學術研討會 (Everlasting Charm: Scholarly Seminar on the Nine Hundredth Anniversary of the the Death of Dongpo), ed. Wang Jingzhi 王靜芝 et al., (Taipei: Hongye wenhua gongsi, 2001), 9–13.

⁶⁰⁹ Tang Guizhang, ed., *Quan Song ci*, vol. 3, 1886.

⁶¹⁰ Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 222.

⁶¹¹ For an analysis of the *ci* poem, see Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 223–227.

lyric to the retired Emperor Gaozong, the last two lines of which read: “Why bothering using a jade axe? / The golden vessel has been without lack through the ages” (何勞玉斧，金甌千古無缺).⁶¹² This pleased Gaozong so much that he responded: “The song lyrics on the moon have never before mentioned the anecdote of the gold vessel. This is innovative!” (從來月詞，不曾用金甌事，可謂新奇).⁶¹³ The anecdote of gold vessel was derived from “Biography of Zhu Yi” (*Zhu Yi zhuan* 朱異傳) in the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (*Nan shi* 南史) and referred to the territorial integrity of a state.⁶¹⁴ The pursuit of completeness and gratification in the period of Gaozong is viewed as unconvincing and destructive, which is conveyed by the term “poison of peace and joy” (*yan'an zhi zhen* 燕安之鴆).⁶¹⁵

An anecdote about Jia Sidao well describes the mentality of self-enclosure and self-absorption:

似道嘗于湖中作絕句云：「寒食家家插柳枝，留春春亦不多時。人生有酒須當醉，青塚兒孫幾箇悲。」殆所謂朝不謀夕者，寧復有經國之遠猷哉！⁶¹⁶

Sidao used to compose a quatrain at West Lake: “On the Cold Food Festival every household inserts willow branches [at home], / Attempting to make spring stay, the spring will be only a little longer. / In the lifetime one should get drunk as long as there is wine, / How many sons and grandsons would grieve at the green tomb?” He was probably the one who did not even concern about the evening in the morning, how could he have any far-sighted plan for governing the state?

The anecdote, by depicting Jia as a man who concentrated on the pleasure of the present and ignored the future, testifies for his alleged carelessness about the empire’s defense. It

⁶¹² Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 34. The entry, with minor differences, is also seen in *juan 7* of *Old Affairs*. See Meng Yuanlao et al., *Dongjing menghua lu* et al., “Wulin jiushi”, 150f. The jade axe refers to the folklore of Wu Gang 吳剛, who was punished to endlessly cut down a self-healing osmanthus tree on the moon. See Duan Chengshi 段成式, “Youyang zazu” 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge* Siku quanshu 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition), vol. 1047 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 643.

⁶¹³ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 34.

⁶¹⁴ See Peng Wanlong and Xiao Ruifeng, *Xihu wenxue shi*, 313. In “Biography of Zhu Yi”, Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (464–549, r. 502–549) stated that “Our country is like a golden vessel that is without any lack” (我國家猶若金甌，無一傷缺).

⁶¹⁵ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 13.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

also marks the impossibility of sustaining the self-contained wholeness, as the very attempt to ignore the outside world or the future reveals that it cannot be ignored. Given that the Southern Song at the time was threatened by powerful Mongol enemies, Jia's poem seems to reveal a desperate attempt to escape from the distressful situation.

Since patriotic literati of the Southern Song and early Yuan used West Lake as a vehicle for political criticism, a tension between national crisis and West Lake sightseeing was formed. This legacy became a "lingering spirit" for all later periods. Nevertheless, the image of West Lake in general remained largely positive even in the Southern Song. This may be due to the reason that topophilia, which had a long tradition in Chinese culture, prevented utterly negative views of West Lake. As Xinda Lian argues, "West Lake carries many values from the past that refuse to be easily replaced."⁶¹⁷ This is especially true for the images and values of West Lake established by the cultural giants, such as Bai Juyi, Lin Bu, and Su Shi, whose legacy had to be honored by the literati of the Southern Song and afterwards.

6.4 Discourses of Obsession in the Late Ming

In the late Ming, a new wave of enthusiasm for West Lake sightseeing emerged. In the West Lake writings of this period, however, criticism was rarely seen. In *Dream Searching*, for example, Zhang Dai records a large-scale and extravagant gathering at West Lake, organized by the prefect of Hangzhou, Liu Mengqian 劉夢謙 (*jinshi* 1634), in the early Chongzhen era, comparing it to the sightseeing of Su Shi. The difference between Liu from Su, however, was that the former was demoted after the news about his gathering reached the capital city. Although Liu's gathering took place at a time when the Ming was declining, Zhang makes no attempt to condemn it. On the contrary, he laments the loss of the joy and charm of Su Shi's time, which would never again return.⁶¹⁸

The reasons for such a change could be manifold. One aspect that shaped the attitude of late Ming literati to sightseeing was their position vis-à-vis the state. Timothy Brook argues that the gentry society of this period "was arrayed a different set orientations [...]"

⁶¹⁷ Lian, "How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify", 216.

⁶¹⁸ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, "Xihu mengxun", 64.

to economic rather than political power, to locality over state, and to an enlarged private realm pushing back the state's monopoly on public authority".⁶¹⁹ The distinction between the role of the "official" and the role of the "literatus", as Der-Liang Chiou puts it,⁶²⁰ became more apparent. Many prominent literati sightseers of this period were not officials or *jinshi* degree holders; as to officials, there were also conflicts between the two roles. Due to the disappointing court politics, increasing difficulties in civil service examinations etc., an official career had become less desirable. The many activities of the gentry society were thus better understood as a "response to the pressures to evade political service and redetermine elite status in cultural terms".⁶²¹ Comparing the Southern Song West Lake sightseeing culture with that in the late Ming, one difference is that the group of sightseers of the former, who was largely represented by emperors and ministers, was frequently linked to governance of the state, while the latter was more presented as a "cultural" activity, which was hardly relevant, or even opposite to politics.

Although the late Ming literati sightseers also criticized the Southern Song regime as they visited the sites that reminded them of the Southern Song past, they did not view their own sightseeing as problematic. For example, despite the occasional and vague expressions of regret and feelings of guilt in Zhang Dai's post-conquest writings, he never linked the cultural practices of the late Ming, which also would have included his own ways, to its decline. In his history of the Ming, *The Stone Cabinet Book*, Zhang attributes the fall of the Ming to the negligence of the imperial duties and fiscal exploitation of the Wanli Emperor, the factional struggles at court, the excessive frugality of the Chongzhen Emperor, and the nefarious eunuch Wei Zhongxian.⁶²² Yuan Hongdao, once at an ancient site related to Xi Shi, argues that female beauty should not be viewed as the sole reason for the fall of a state. Had the King of Wu been militarily prepared and not thrown his loyal general Wu Zixu's corpse into the river, Yuan states, Wu would by no means have

⁶¹⁹ Brook, *Praying for Power*, 311.

⁶²⁰ Chiou Der-Liang 邱德亮, "Pishi wenhua: Lun wan-Ming wenren guitai de meixue xingxiang" 癖嗜文化: 論晚明文人詭態的美學形象 (The Culture of Hobby [p]: On the Grotesque Figure of Literati in the Ming-Ching Era), *Wenhua yanjiu* 文化研究, no. 8 (2009): 63.

⁶²¹ Brook, *Praying for Power*, 325.

⁶²² See the comments in the "Shenzong benji" 神宗本紀 (Basic Annal of the Shenzong Emperor), "Menhu liezhuan" 門戶列傳 (Biographies of the Members of Political Factions), "Liedi benji" 烈帝本紀 (Basic Annal of the Lie Emperor), and "Huanzhe liezhuan fuhou" 宦者列傳附後 (Appendix to Biographies of Eunuchs), in Zhang Dai 張岱, *Shigui lunzan* 石匱論贊 (Comments and Eulogies in the Stone Cabinet Book) (Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2014), 10, 132, 211, and 244.

fallen even if one hundred girls like Xi Shi had been presented.⁶²³ Likewise, Yu Huai 余懷 (1616–1696), in a travel diary in 1650, claims that it was rather due to the nefarious minister than extravagance and luxury that the State of Wu fell.⁶²⁴ All three authors being admirers of a hedonistic lifestyle and participants in various cultural practices, they seem to make a distinction between the “political” and the “cultural” realm, and attempt to defend the latter.

In the entry on “Ge Hill”, in *Dream Searching*, four poems by Qi Zhijia are included, one of which reads as follows: “Half of the Grand Councilor’s mansion was located at the lake bank, / Day after day, songs and music were heard from the painted boat. / Once he was sent to Xunzhou, however, it vanished like smoke,⁶²⁵ / And Ge Hill was returned to Zhichuan [i.e. Ge Hong 葛洪, *zi* Zhichuan 稚川, fl. fourth century] as before” (平章甲第半湖邊，日日笙歌入畫船。循州一去如煙散，葛嶺依然還稚川).⁶²⁶ Ge Hill was named because it was said that the famous Daoist Ge Hong used to live and practice the way of immortality there. When Jia Sidao served as Grand Councilor, he lived in a mansion on Ge Hill and had numerous wonderful gardens and villas constructed nearby, all of which turned into ruins after the fall of the Southern Song. Thus, in later periods, Ge Hill became a place, where literati meditated on the Southern Song past and its failure. In his poem, Qi presents Ge Hill and West Lake as a “cultural” instead of a “political” place, the fate of which is rather subject to the mechanism of culture. Ministers and officials rose and fell in history, when they were powerful, they did make a strong impression at West Lake; but in the long run, its landscape is shaped primarily by cultural celebrities like Ge Hong, whose fame and influence last longer than dynasties and outlive political crises.

The attitude of the late Ming literati cannot be explained by the political situation alone, but also by intellectual and cultural contexts. One trend in literati discourses of the

⁶²³ See the discourse in the travel record “Ling yan” 靈巖 (Soul Rock), in Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道, *Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao* 袁宏道集箋校 (Collection of Yuan Hongdao: Collated and Edited), collated and ed. Qian Bochong 錢伯城 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 165.

⁶²⁴ Yu Huai 余懷, *Banqiao zaji (wai yizhong)* 板橋雜記 (外一種) (Miscellaneous Records of Ban Bridge [and Another Text]), proofread and annotated by Li Jintang 李金堂 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 125.

⁶²⁵ It refers to the event that Jia Sidao was demoted and sent to Xunzhou 循州, and assassinated on the way.

⁶²⁶ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 63. For an account of Qi Zhijia’s obsessions, see the entry “Qi Zhixiang pi” 祁止祥癖 (Qi Zhixiang’s Obsessions), in Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 66f.

period was the popularity of the concept of *pi* 癖, translated as “obsession” by Judith T. Zeitlin.⁶²⁷ The word originally had been a medical term and referred to an obstruction of the digestive track. The meaning of the concept began to crystallize in the fifth century and reached the height of its influence during the late Ming and early Qing periods. What was special about the concept of obsession, by the sixteenth century, was the disappearance of most scruples or fears about its perils as seen in earlier periods, and its glorification alongside the related virtues of sentiment (*qing* 情 [alt. passion]), folly (*chi* 癡), and madness (*kuang* 狂 [alt. eccentricity]).⁶²⁸

As an illness, there were two features of *pi*: first, it was an accumulation; second, it was located in a peripheral position of the body and thus denoted “leaning to one side” and “off-center” (*pi* 僻).⁶²⁹ Both features have been inherited by the concept of *pi* as obsession. In the late Ming and early Qing discourse, it was believed that through accumulation and habitual practices one could reach a height in the things one was obsessed about. In “Biographies of Wonderful Crafts” (*Miaoyi liezhuan* 妙藝列傳), in the *Stone Cabinet Book*, Zhang Dai states as follows: “To every single craft and art that is practiced by the people in the world, there is a principle that one can climb up to the peak and create the ultimate” (世人一技一藝，皆有登峰造極之理).⁶³⁰ This is made possible, Zhang says, only when the artist imbues his occupation with full strength. The result is that the artist reaches something beyond art itself, as the artists portrayed in the biographies instantiate: “Art is identical with the Way, man is connected to the Heaven. Although the gentlemen in the biographies were engaged in art, they were actually in advance of art” (藝與道合，人與天通，諸君子雖藝乎，而實進於藝矣).⁶³¹

As the late Ming and early Qing were marked by individualist ideas, obsession was considered as what one’s individuality lay in. In *Dream Reminiscences*, Zhang Dai holds

⁶²⁷ The word, as pointed out by Judith T. Zeitlin, has been translated as addiction, compulsion, passion, mania, fondness for, weakness for, love of, fanatical devotion, craving, idiosyncrasy, fetishism, and even hobby in English. While Zeitlin chooses the word “obsession”, which usually refers to “an idea, emotion, or impulse that repetitively and insistently forces itself into consciousness, even though it may be unwelcome”, she does not stress the negative and involuntary aspect of the word in the discussion of the term in the late Ming and early Qing context. See Judith T. Zeitlin, “The Petrified Heart: Obsession in Chinese Literature, Art, and Medicine”, *Late Imperial China* 12, no. 1 (1991): 2f.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2; Chiou Der-Liang, “Pishi wenhua”, 85.

⁶³⁰ Zhang Dai, *Shigui lunzan*, 181.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 181.

that “one cannot befriend a man who is without an obsession, for he is without deep emotion; one cannot befriend a man who is without a flaw, for he is without true vital energy” (人無癖不可與交，以其無深情也；人無疵不可與之交，以其無真氣也).⁶³² The same sentence also occurs in his “Biographies of Five Strange Persons” (*Wu yiren zhuan* 五異人傳), which includes biographies of five men in Zhang’s own clan.⁶³³ Unlike conventional biographies, which record the major events and achievements of a person, these five biographies focus solely on the respective obsessions of the five men, namely money, wine, indignation, construction of gardens, and reading, as if they were the only pursuits in their lifetime. The five men being neither high-ranking officials nor famous literati, Zhang found their obsessions most worth recording:

其一往深情，小則成疵，大則成癖。五人者皆無意於傳，而五人之負癖若此，蓋亦不得不傳之者矣。⁶³⁴

When their unwavering deep feelings were small, they formed flaws; when they were big, however, they formed obsessions. None of the five men intended their deeds to be transmitted, yet since their obsessions had reached such a level, probably they have to be transmitted as well.

It is through lifelong obsessive practices that the five men became extraordinary, and were thus worth noting. The principle also applies to the biographical writings by Zhang himself. In his “Self-written Epitaph”, Zhang states that, “as long as I started to conceive, I realized that neither my personality nor my writing was good, and several times I had stopped writing. Nevertheless, if I enumerate my various obsessions, then they are worth being transmitted as well” (甫構思，覺人與文俱不佳，輟筆者再。雖然，第言吾之癖錯，則亦可傳也已).⁶³⁵ It seems that there is an inclination in Confucian thought to view sages and worthies, by achieving perfect personality, as more or less similar to each other.⁶³⁶ To Zhang Dai, however, it is rather partiality, as the concept *pi* implies, that

⁶³² Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 66.

⁶³³ Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2013), 205.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁶³⁶ For example, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) in an essay mentions two worthies who never met each other, yet both learned from the Sage, and their words and deeds overlapped to a great extent. See Wang’s “Tongxue yishou bie

differentiates one person from others and has a potential value.

In the Ming discourses, obsession is often presented as something, which a person practices at the cost of other things. This also applies to “mountains and waters”, namely nature and landscape, as an obsession. Tian Rucheng, for example, includes an entry in his *Supplement*, in which he praises his friend Huang Xingzeng, whose art name was “Mountain Man of the Five Sacred Mountains” (Wuyue shanren 五嶽山人), as a model traveler and sightseer: “You are truly a mountain man and obsessed with mountains and waters” (子誠山人也，癖耽山水).⁶³⁷ Tian writes in this entry that, in 1538, Huang was about to travel from his hometown Suzhou to Beijing for the Metropolitan Examination. When Tian visited him and talked to him about the wonderful sites of West Lake, Huang changed his mind, traveled to Hangzhou instead, and stayed at West Lake for months. Another example is Bao Yingdeng, who, according to Zhang Dai, was a person “obsessed with springs and stones” (*you quanshi zhi pi* 有泉石之癖).⁶³⁸ Bao built boats, gardens, storied houses, and terraces at West Lake, which were unparalleled at the time. The underlying idea here seems to be that so much money was spent in order to achieve the maximal qualities. The extravagance is commented by Zhang as follows:

窮奢極欲，老於西湖者二十年。金谷、鄴塢，着一毫寒儉不得，索性繁華到底，亦杭州人所謂「左右是左右」也。⁶³⁹

In such an excess of extravagance and wantonness did he grow old beside West Lake for twenty years, the splendour of his gardens not a jot inferior to those of Golden Valley or Mei Village, nothing less than the apotheosis of luxury and magnificence. This is what the locals of Hangzhou would call: “It is how it is.”⁶⁴⁰

An obsessive pursuit was often associated with the overcoming of difficulties. When Zhang Dai was at the top of Mount Tai for the first time, there were heavy clouds; when

Zigu” 同學一首別子固 (An Essay to My Fellow Student Zigu, Bidding Farewell to Him), in Wang Anshi 王安石, “Linchuan wenji” 臨川文集 (A Collection of Linchuan), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries: Photographic Print of the Wenyuan Pavilion edition), vol. 1105 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2008), 591.

⁶³⁷ See *juan* 20 of the section “Joyful Affairs of Prosperous Periods”, in Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi yu*, 246.

⁶³⁸ Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Xihu mengxun”, 38.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, “Xihu mengxun”, 84. Golden Valley (Jin gu 金谷) was the villa of Shi Chong 石崇 (249–300); Mei Village (Mei wu 鄴塢) was the castle of Dong Zhuo 董卓 (d. 192). Both men were notorious for their extreme extravagance.

⁶⁴⁰ This is a modified version of the translation in Campbell, “Searching for the Ming”.

he returned to a lower height, he found the trip unsatisfactory, and decided to go there again the next day. A local broker told him that climbing up the sacred mountain twice would bring misfortune, but for unstated reasons, probably the passion for “mountains and waters”, Zhang was again at the top.⁶⁴¹ Zhang also once visited the Mid-lake Pavilion Isle at West Lake in a cold winter evening: after three days of heavy snow, when neither humans nor birds could be heard anymore, Zhang took a small boat to the isle alone. Zhang writes about his experiences at the pavilion as follows:

到亭上，有兩人鋪氈對坐，一童子燒酒，爐正沸。見余大驚喜，曰：「湖中焉得更有此人！」拉余同飲。余強飲三大白而別。問其姓氏，是金陵人，客此。及下船，舟子喃喃曰：「莫說相公癡，更有癡似相公者。」⁶⁴²

Arriving at the pavilion, I found two people already seated there, facing each other upon a felt rug. A servant boy was heating some wine and the water had just come to the boil. They were greatly surprised and delighted to see me. “How is it that this fellow too is out upon the lake?” They exclaimed as they pressed me into joining them for a drink. I forced myself and downed three large cupfuls before taking my leave. Inquiring after their names, I was told that they were from Jinling and just happened to be visiting. As I got back on the boat, the boatman muttered under his breath: “I thought that you, my good sir, were foolish (*chi* 癡), but there are men who are just as foolish as your good self.”⁶⁴³

Despite Zhang’s little capacity for wine, he forced himself to drink three large goblets.⁶⁴⁴ Since Zhang visited the place at a time when almost nobody else was there, his passion surpassed all other commoner and literati sightseers and thus reached a height of individuality.

As Der-Liang Chiou understands it, obsession reveals and is part of the “amateur ideal” of literati: the objects and activities of obsession were built on the aesthetic ideal that were non-productive and non-instrumental, which, in practice, paradoxically had

⁶⁴¹ See the passages in *Dai zhi*, in Zhang Dai, *Langhuan wenji* (2013), 71.

⁶⁴² See Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 49, “Xihu mengxun”, 67f.

⁶⁴³ This is a modified version of the translation in Campbell, “Searching for the Ming”.

⁶⁴⁴ Zhang Dai mentions his limited drinking capacity in “Zhang Donggu haojiu” 張東谷好酒 (Zhang Donggu Is Fond of Wine) in *Dream Reminiscence*. See Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi. Xihu mengxun*, “Tao'an mengyi”, 124f.

become popular on the cultural market and favored by rich and powerful consumers.⁶⁴⁵ As a result, the teleological argument that pleasure-seeking would lead to decline is less frequently seen in late Ming discourses. What is emphasized instead is rather the values of things as in themselves. Yu Huai, in his travel diary in 1650, for example, mentions the conventional idea that the extravagance and luxury of the King of Wu caused the fall of Wu, and the sorrow and anxiety of the King of Yue caused the rise of Yue, and then makes the surprising statement that one should prefer the fall of Wu to the rise of Yue. Both states being short-lived, Yu argues, the King of Wu at least enjoyed decades of pleasures, while the King of Yue resorted to intolerable means and experienced great suffering in order to achieve triumph, which Yu finds not worth the costs.⁶⁴⁶

Zhang Dai mentions his friend Qin Yisheng 秦一生, who spent much of his time on “mountains, waters, music, and performance” (*shanshui shengji* 山水聲伎). In 1638, shortly after Qin’s death, Zhang arrived at West Lake. As he went for a walk alone on a causeway, probably the Su Causeway, he conceived an essay, entitled “In Memory of Qin Yisheng” (*Ji Qin Yisheng wen* 祭秦一生文). In this essay, Zhang makes the following statement:

世間有絕無益於世界，絕無益於人身，而卒為世界人身所斷不可少者，在天為月，在人為眉。⁶⁴⁷

In the world, there are things, which are by no means beneficial to the world and by no means beneficial to the human body, yet they are those, which the world and the human body cannot afford to lose, such as the moon is to the sky, and the eyebrows to a person.

What Qin was engaged in, Zhang argues, was like the moon or the eyebrows: although they were by means “beneficial” to the livelihood, they were appreciated for their artistic and aesthetic values. Zhang contrasts Qin with those people, who pursue “fame and benefits” (*mingli* 名利), yet have no idea what “mountains, waters, music, and performance” are, and are thus unworthy. The example of the eyebrows may have been

⁶⁴⁵ Chiou Der-Liang, “Pishi wenhua”, 74–80.

⁶⁴⁶ Yu Huai, *Banqiao zaji (wai yizhong)*, 125.

⁶⁴⁷ Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 434f.

inspired by the famous memorandum by Su Shi, who proposed a hydraulic project for West Lake, a result of which was the construction of the Su Causeway. In the memorandum, Su listed five reasons why West Lake must not be given up. Although they mostly focus on aspects of economy and people's livelihood, such as the government's production of liquor, irrigation, and transportation, at the very beginning he declares that, "Hangzhou has West Lake just as a person has eyebrows and eyes" (杭州之有西湖, 如人之有眉目也).⁶⁴⁸ Here Su seems to highlight the aesthetic value of West Lake, an aspect that Zhang would categorize as "not beneficial". Zhang's essay on Qin Yisheng may also be read as a self-expression and self-justification, as Zhang himself was much engaged in the same activities.⁶⁴⁹ The same issue is also mentioned when Zhang reflects on himself. His "Inscription on My Little Portrait" (*Ziti xiaoxiang* 自題小像) reads as follows:

功名邪落空，富貴邪如夢，忠臣邪怕痛，鋤頭邪怕重，著書二十年邪而僅堪覆甕，之人邪有用沒用？⁶⁵⁰

The pursuit of honor and fame was all in vain, / The wealth and high status in the past are now like dreams. / A loyal subject, I fear the pains [caused by suicide], / Using a hoe [to do agricultural work], I hate its weight. / Writing books for twenty years, my works only deserve to cover a jar. / This man [on the portrait], is he useful or useless?

Unlike Qin Yisheng, who is praised, Zhang portrays himself in a sarcastic way. The different attitudes to Qin and to Zhang himself are probably due to the persons addressed: As mentioned in Chapter 5, it is the norm to honor others and lower oneself. Therefore, the combination of the two texts will make his true opinion become more apparent. Zhang's discourse about being useful or useless may again have been inspired by Su Shi, who wrote a poem on the "Water Music Pavilion" (*Shuiyue ting* 水樂亭), two lines of which read: "I only prefer to go to the empty hill and be under its stone wall, / Where I love this pure stream that has a sound, yet is useless" (但向空山石壁下，愛此有聲無用

⁶⁴⁸ This is cited from *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 3.

⁶⁴⁹ Duncan M. Campbell considers the possibility that Zhang Dai's "biographical investigation of the lives of his friends and his family was also a pursuit of an understanding – and representation – of his own self." See Campbell, "Mortal Ancestors", 3f.

⁶⁵⁰ Zhang Dai, *Zhang Dai shiwen ji*, 414.

之清流).⁶⁵¹ The truth is that Su and Zhang do not view the enjoyment of mountains and waters as useless, but rather as having a value of their own.

While many things could become objects of obsession, they were not valued equally. Zeitlin notes that obsessions became less variant and highly conventionalized in the literature as they grew in popularity in the sixteenth century, as strange, peculiar, and incomprehensible obsessions seen in earlier times, such as hearing donkey brays and eating human scabs, had largely vanished.⁶⁵² Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛 (1567–1624) categorized a range of “hobbies” (*shihao* 嗜好) into four ranks: those out of “natural inclination” (*tianxing* 天性) that could not be blamed; those that bordered on obsession (*pi*) and yet were not harmful; those that were disturbing to the everyday life; and those that were excessive and terrible. Among the enumerated hobbies, “the fondness of roaming at mountains and waters, of Xie the Duke of Kangle [i.e., Xie Lingyun 谢灵运], and the favor of new books that were not heard of before, of Li the Duke of Wei [i.e., Li Deyu 李德裕]” (谢康乐好遊涉山水, 李衛公喜未聞見新書), both belong to the first category.⁶⁵³ Among the various obsessions, sightseeing was a much preferred one for several possible reasons. The first reason was that it could easily be practiced. As most destinations of sightseeing tours were the famous sites of the Jiangnan region, it was convenient to travel there. West Lake, for example, was a much visited place; even commoners, such as pilgrims, could afford the trip there. The second reason was that it was hardly harmful to the body. As mentioned in Chapter 4, a sightseeing tour at West Lake was neither dangerous nor tiring, and one could roam by land or by boat with ease. Even though late Ming literati sometimes performed their passions through the overcoming of difficulties, it seems that such behaviors were harnessed at the same time and took place within certain limits. The third reason was that the obsession with “mountains and waters” was often considered an elegant pursuit. As shown in Chapter 4, experiences as opposed to everyday life and urban culture were actively sought and

⁶⁵¹ The poem, entitled “Dongyang Shuiyue ting” 東陽水樂亭 (Water Music Pavilion at Dongyang), is seen in Su Shi, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 968. It seems that the poem is mistakenly considered by Tian Rucheng as referring to Water Music Grotto (Shuiyue dong 水樂洞) at West Lake and included in the entry of this site. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, 31.

⁶⁵² Zeitlin, “The Petrified Heart”, 10.

⁶⁵³ Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛, *Wu zazu* 五杂俎 (Five Interwoven Ribbons), proofread and punctuated by Fu Cheng 傅成 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 129.

conceived by literati sightseers. Gao Lian, for example, frequently notes in his entries about “secluded appreciations” that these West Lake sights could enable one to transcend the “mundane world” (*chensu* 塵俗), at least temporarily, and to achieve a kind of enlightenment.

In the early Qing, the late-Ming spirit gradually faded away along with the death of the remnant subjects, such as Yu Huai and Zhang Dai, who profoundly embraced the culture in which they had once lived. In the writings of the High Qing, both the Southern Song regime and the late Ming literati were subject to harsh criticism,⁶⁵⁴ while the prosperity and the pleasures at West Lake were often linked to the good governance of the Qing regime. Literati of this period seemed to prefer “peaceful” rather than “passionate” ways of sightseeing, and extraordinary and astonishing styles of behavior were rarely seen.

6.5 Conclusion

In the Northern Song, the West Lake landscape, which was considered gentle, pleasant, intimate, evoking the feelings of a woman, was already well-known. It made West Lake a much-desired place, yet at the same time also a potential target for those who questioned and criticized sightseeing. This became true in the Southern Song period, during which the perceptions of West Lake and its sightseeing were endowed with more political and social values due to the new status of Hangzhou as the imperial capital. Two conflicting discourses appeared in this period: on the one hand, in the writings, which were presented to the emperors and focused on the leisure and entertainment of the imperial family, peace and prosperity were linked to good governance, and participation in the sightseeing activities of the people were praised as virtue; on the other hand, patriotic literati, especially those who proposed an aggressive stance toward the Jurchen Jin and were frustrated by the political situation, viewed pleasure and comfort at West Lake by the emperors and ministers as potentially dangerous and a sign of the negligence of the duty to restore the northern territories. While the latter view was shaped by the negative

⁶⁵⁴ For example, the editors of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* almost never fail to criticize the authors of the four miscellanies that present the prosperity of Southern Song Hangzhou.

attitude to pleasure-seeking in general, what is special in this case is the state of “peripheral accommodation” of the Southern Song regime. The idea that the regime was only able to rule a peripheral part of the Chinese territory eclipses the economic and cultural achievements of the Southern Song, contextualizes and makes the pursuits of pleasures an act of indulgence. In the writings of these literati, West Lake is often presented as a peripheral, remote, tiny, alien, and temporary place and contrasted with the lost territories in the north. After the Southern Song, West Lake was often taken as a scapegoat of the “sins” of its regime and a cause for the fall of the dynasty. Although criticism of the Southern Song did not change the dominant image of West Lake, it nevertheless highlighted a negative aspect, which could hardly be ignored by later sightseers. Some literati, such as Tian Rucheng, attempted to differentiate between “authentic” and “deviant” ways of sightseeing, although it was not quite clear where to draw the line.

The second peak of enthusiasm for West Lake during the late Ming continued the concerns since the Southern Song. Yet unlike the Southern Song sightseers, who were often represented by emperors and ministers, the late Ming sightseers were marked by an extended group of literati, who viewed their activities more as “cultural”, rather unrelated to politics, and having a life of their own. West Lake sightseeing thus conveys the idea of withdrawal from official career, which also finds its expression in Xiao-Xiang literature. Yet unlike Xiao-Xiang landscape, which dominantly provokes the feelings of loneliness, sorrow, and frustration, West Lake literature is marked by passion and pleasure. In the discourses of literati sightseers, instead of the “push” of the less desirable official career, West Lake sightseeing is overwhelmingly presented as caused by the “pull” of its beauty and the pursuit of individualist obsessions. The teleological argument that connects pleasure-seeking to the fate of a dynasty is less often seen and even refuted. What is emphasized are the intrinsic values of sightseeing as in themselves and the passionate, often obsessive and single-minded pursuit, which reveals the alternative ways of establishing oneself, beyond the official career, as pursued by some late Ming literati.

7 Conclusion

This study has explored the forms and contents of the West Lake gazetteers from Tian Rucheng to Zhang Dai as well as several discourses in West Lake literature. These two topics, while different in their direction, are both closely related to place-making. The inclusion and exclusion of materials by compilers decide the significance of the place of West Lake; the categorization, sequence of individual entries, paratexts, and comments contextualize the materials included and shape the way they are read. The discourses studied in from Chapter 4 to 6 are only three among the much wider range of contents of West Lake literature. Nevertheless, they were particularly influential ones and attracted more attention. As discussed in Chapter 1, “place” is a space which people have made meaningful. It is a way of seeing, knowing, and understanding the world. These discourses, therefore, are themselves constitutive in the making of the place of West Lake.

From Chapter 2 to 3, I focused on the editorial principles of West Lake gazetteers. They have revealed that West Lake gazetteers are not only different from the prefectural gazetteers and miscellanies, but also differ with each other in the aspects of categorization, scope and emphasis. The structures of West Lake gazetteers and their possible relationship with the practice of sightseeing are explored in Chapter 2. My textual research has revealed that the sightseeing routes as described in *Sightseeing Gazetteer* are far from those that can be neatly followed in an actual sightseeing tour, as these routes have different starting points and are often disconnected from each other, and factors, such as distances, schedules, means of transportation, food, and accommodation, are altogether ignored. Another approach examines the sightseeing routes in the travel records of the Ming and Qing literati, which show considerable differences from those in *Sightseeing Gazetteer*. Factors, such as season, weather, schedule, past experiences, and accidents, all shaped the movement in space. Moreover, the “ideology” of many literati sightseers also conflicted with that implied by Tian’s text, as literati often preferred a free and unrestricted style, to follow their whims, and to create their unique traces at West Lake. Some of the later gazetteers adopted Tian’s overall structure and attempted to

improve it and approximate it to a traveler's guidebook, changed the sequence of the sections so that they were spatially more continuous and more in accordance with the habit of sightseers at the time, de-emphasized or deleted vanished sites, and included maps of smaller regions and with higher precision. Nevertheless, such modifications have not fully solved the problems.

It is thus unlikely that Tian Rucheng and other compilers wanted readers to mechanically follow the routes as presented in their gazetteers rigidly and simplistically. Instead, the spatial organization might have been intended for other functions: first, it enabled the identification of each site through its relative positions to other sites, made known the sites in a given area, and invited reader-sightseers to conceive their own routes based on those in the text; second, if the practical dimension is dismissed, and the text is evaluated for its own sake, then the spatial organization has its merits, as the sequence of the scenic sites in the text indeed resembles that of real sightseeing tours. The texts thus simulated travel records and facilitated the so-called "recumbent roaming", a notion popular among literati at the time.

In Chapter 3, I have explored the various criteria of selection of materials. Referring to no administrative unit, the spatial scopes of West Lake gazetteers are quite flexible, as compilers freely chose the sites in the environs of West Lake they found noteworthy. While *Sightseeing Gazetteer* includes lengthy writings about the remote past, especially the Song, later gazetteers rather emphasize the recent and contemporary situations. This is due either to the requirement to update or supplement Tian's original work, or to the intention of facilitating contemporary sightseeing. The topical scope also varies from gazetteer to gazetteer: while *Supplement* includes a variety of materials, most of which would be categorized as miscellaneous history, later gazetteers dropped most of such materials.

Among the materials in *Supplement*, a major type is the anecdote, that is, a short narrative about a detached incident or a single event. These anecdotes are not necessarily about the West Lake landscape or sightseeing. Yet they have a strong power for characterization, and the character illuminated by an anecdote has the potential to be "attached" to the place and contribute to the *genius loci*. While many events have only vague indications of location, or even took place outside Hangzhou, as most anecdotes

about Yue Fei, they could nevertheless be related to the West Lake landscape as a whole. This is evident in the meditation on the past by literati sightseers, and also in “West Lake fiction”, which also include a range of the anecdotes found in *Supplement*. In this sense, the anecdotes in *Supplement* contributed greatly to the meanings and significance of West Lake as a place.

In *Dream Searching*, Zhang Dai has included a range of anecdotes that reflect the tastes of late Ming literati, that is, records about things that were “trivial”. Moreover, Zhang frequently accompanied an account of a scenic site with his own anecdotes and comments. The general narrator of the *Sightseeing Gazetteer* is replaced by a more personal and idiosyncratic one. The introduction of a personal perspective and the focus on more private things bring forth a sense of familiarity, and could thus turn West Lake into a more intimate space.

Through an exploration of the forms and contents of West Lake gazetteers, several dimensions and functions can be summarized. While gazetteers in general were often seen as local history, this rule also applies to the project of Tian Rucheng. Viewing his work as a candidate for “prefectural history”, Tian emphasized the documentary function and historical didacticism, which are revealed by the lengthy and comprehensive historical accounts and anecdotal contents of his two texts. There is also a practical dimension of West Lake gazetteers, which might serve as a traveler’s guidebook. The spatial organization of *Sightseeing Gazetteer*, which was quite exceptional for gazetteers at the time, suggests such an intention. This potential function became the primary concern in *Convenient Reading* of Gao Yingke, who modified and improved the original structure of Tian to make it more suitable for tour-guiding. Zhang Dai, for his part, included writings about his own experiences to a great extent, so that his *Dream Searching* created an impression of West Lake as viewed through his individual lens. It should be noted that all West Lake gazetteers were multi-functional, and the differences were rather in their emphases. The different dimensions may conflict with each other. The comprehensive and lengthy records of the remote past made *Sightseeing Gazetteer* inconvenient for contemporary sightseers, while its spatial organization is disadvantageous in searching a certain topic. As a result, a later compiler often had to undermine one dimension for the sake of another. The introduction of a personal

perspective in *Dream Searching* is also problematic: while there is considerable textual borrowing from earlier texts, even verbatim copying, it is contrasted by occasional highly individualist expressions. This has made the image of the persona in the introductory essays somewhat ambiguous.

The compiling of West Lake gazetteers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a contested and creative field, as a compiler often made considerable modifications of numerous aspects to the previous texts. The individual gazetteers differ not only in their fundamental structure, but also in the basic categories, scopes, and proportions of the compiler's own writings. Compared with administrative gazetteers, West Lake gazetteers are far less uniform. Some gazetteers lie on the periphery of the established genre of local gazetteer, such as *Supplement*, which overwhelmingly presents anecdotal aspects of the local place and has a strong flavor of "unofficial history"; and *Dream Searching*, which is a hybrid work – a history of scenic sites, an anthology of multiple authors, and at the same time also a personal memoir.

One reason for such variations are the different social processes of the individual gazetteers. This is more apparent when compared with administrative gazetteers, which were in many ways related to the government. The study by Joseph R. Dennis has shown that the Ming court had attempted to mandate gazetteer compilation by requiring locales to compile and submit gazetteers and circulating written editorial guidelines, which also contributed to the standardization of the genre.⁶⁵⁵ Beside the court, administrative gazetteers were often initiated, managed, and sponsored by local governors, prefects, or magistrates. By contrast, West Lake gazetteers could extend beyond the official agenda. When Tian Rucheng started his project, he was a retired official and private scholar. It seemed that he intended his work to gain official approval and sponsorship in the future. After the work was finished, he presented it to incumbent officials of Zhejiang and Hangzhou, some of whom had it printed. Its comprehensive and lengthy account and the concern about history are typical for officially printed gazetteers. Decades later, some commercial publishers were interested in Tian's work, reediting and republishing it for profit. Unlike Tian's original work, Gao Yingke's *Convenient Reading* was intended for a good sale in the tourist market. While Tian feared the potential criticism that his work

⁶⁵⁵ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*, 35–48.

was only for the sake of sightseeing, Gao did not hide any such motive at all, but made it known to readers in the title and preface. His modifications of Tian's original work, though only partly successful, support his claim of the intended practical orientation. When Zhang Dai compiled his *Dream Searching*, the Ming dynasty was already gone. As a remnant subject, Zhang refused any cooperation with the new Qing government; in his lifetime, the work was never published. It is most likely that Zhang never intended it to gain any official recognition. As a result, he did not mind the potential criticism of partiality. His *Dream Searching* was more like a supplement to the previous works. The supplement was not only a temporal one, as most records and literary works are about the more recent period, but also offered an individualist perspective to the entirety of the beautiful landscape and cultural significance of West Lake. Rather than serving as an update that was to replace the previous works, *Dream Searching* enriched them.

From Chapter 4 to 6, I studied several discourses about West Lake. In Chapter 4, I explored the (perceived) nature of West Lake, attempting to find out the reasons for its attractiveness. As one of the most popular scenic sites of Jiangnan region and China since the Song time, the case of West Lake suggests that the topophilia of Chinese literati was largely represented by the love of "middle landscape". On the one hand, West Lake was qualitatively different from the space within the city walls; on the other hand, it had been largely transformed and domesticated by human efforts and was thus different from sheer wilderness. On a conceptual level, West Lake well instantiates the form of topophilia as elaborated by Yi-fu Tuan, according to which "an environmental value requires its antithesis for definition".⁶⁵⁶ The city and West Lake, which were geographically close to each other, constituted a complementary opposition in literati's lives. It was the urban culture, which was both necessary and unsatisfactory at the same time, that literati attempted to (temporarily) escape from. Nature, in this case, was rather something conceived in the city and a product of urbanity itself. In T. S. Oakes' words, "nature captured is more a state of mind than an objective reality".⁶⁵⁷ While according to Tuan, the middle landscape "is seen as threatened by the city on the one side and by wilderness

⁶⁵⁶ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 102.

⁶⁵⁷ T. S. Oakes, "The Cultural Space of Modernity: Ethnic Tourism and Place Identity in China", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11 (1993): 52. Although Oakes refers to the conceptions in the modern industrial society, the idea can also be applied to the case of West Lake in the late imperial period.

on the other”,⁶⁵⁸ the wilderness seems to be beyond the perception of Chinese literati, who rarely went far away from the geographical and cultural realms they were familiar with. Take West Creek as an example: while it was more distant from the city of Hangzhou, less crowded and loaded with elements of urban culture when compared with West Lake, and thus more “natural” and more desirable in the eyes of some literati, it was also a middle landscape and had already been transformed when literati were in touch with and appreciated it. While literati viewed their presence at West Lake and West Creek as a return to nature, their activities were part of the expansion of both the city and the middle landscape at the cost of wilderness.

The study of Zhang Dai’s late Ming nostalgia in his *Dream Searching*, in Chapter 5, reveals fragmentary, if not contradictory images, of West Lake. In terms of space, West Lake is related to a much larger entity, the Ming empire. It is a leap from what is familiar and intimate to what is imagined. Borrowing the famous argument by Li Gefe, Zhang attempted to make a connection between the two, yet it is relatively unconvincing and looks more like a cliché. Rather, the discourse is more lyrical than polemical: it is the destruction of the most beautiful thing that the sadness about “the fall of the state and the destruction of the family” best expresses. Just as the sites in *Dream Reminiscences*, West Lake represents the Ming because it was the best of what the dynasty once had. This is also the case for the selective account of West Lake writings by prominent literati of the late Ming, which creates an imagined stylistic community empire-wide. In terms of time, several conflicting temporalities are discerned in the book. In Zhang’s preface, the late-Ming West Lake is viewed as forever gone. It remains intact in the memory, yet when it is transmitted through literary representation, the effectiveness is doubtful. In “A General Record of West Lake”, on the other hand, West Lake is viewed as a place with enduring qualities, which spanned multiple dynasties and yet could only be appreciated by a small number of “men of understanding” of different periods, including Zhang himself. Although the preface sharply contrasts a glorious past with a ruinous present, which is echoed in one or two passages in the text, the narratives of individual sites in the text, however, rather suggest that this picture is simplistic and inaccurate. According to them, the local histories of sites were not identical with dynastic history, but had their

⁶⁵⁸ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 104f.

own natural and cultural dynamic. Despite the disaster of the dynastic transition, they could nevertheless be revived, as some sites were actually being restored in the early Qing. In this sense, *Dream Searching* is a future-oriented work, aiming at a potential of West Lake that was considered to have once been realized in the late Ming.

Chapter 6 has studied some negative views of West Lake, the criticism and the defense of its sightseeing. It offers an opportunity for seeing how a discourse was responded to and changed over time. In the Northern Song, the images of West Lake shaped by literary giants like Su Shi were already well-known. According to Xinda Lian, patriotic poets of the Southern Song were unsuccessful in their poetic creation, because West Lake carried many values from the past that refused to be easily replaced, and poets had to honor these values: “[S]ome things did not change. West Lake remained ‘feminine’—beautiful, mild, and gentle. It was still a small body, limited in scope; it would not become another Yangzi or Lake Dongting simply because some poet wished it.”⁶⁵⁹ While it is true that West Lake could hardly be transformed into grand and sublime views, as they were typical for the works of patriotic poets, it is exactly the comparison and contrast between West Lake and greater entities that created a tension and ridiculed the former. With some polemical exaggeration, West Lake was portrayed as a peripheral and tiny space, which was dwarfed by the larger spaces: it was the opposition of West Lake to the Central Plain heartland, of “a small ladle of water” to the entire realm. The spatial smallness was equated with the spiritual small-mindedness and shortsightedness of the political elites in the Southern Song capital, which rendered the topophilia of West Lake and sightseeing as an indulgence. Sometimes literati simply rejected the values as conveyed by West Lake and turned away from it. Xin Qiji, for example, was relatively silent on West Lake and portrayed his poetic persona as a stranger in the place. The self-alienation rendered West Lake a strange and temporary place and contrary to its conventional images. Sometimes literati worked on a previous motif and imbued it with new meanings: as the lake was compared to the legendary Xi Shi, the image of her as a *femme fatale* was highlighted. If compared with the Southern Song, late Ming literati were more willing to distance themselves from the political realm and portrayed West Lake as a “cultural” space. On the one hand, they denied the causal relationship between

⁶⁵⁹ Lian, “How Does an Objective Correlative Objectify”, 216.

sightseeing and governance; on the other hand, they emphasized the importance of culture: it is rather culture, they argued, that dwarfs politics, has an enduring value, lives longer than dynasties, and transcends political vicissitudes. It is the non-instrumental cultural products, which one achieves through obsessive practices, that are truly worth recording and being transmitted to later periods.

The discourses studied in the three chapters may contribute to the understanding of the complicated processes, in which West Lake was perceived, and its image, its *genius loci*, was created. One factor that shaped the perceptions of the place was its location and material setting, such as the climate conditions, the topography, the flora and fauna, and the human landscape. In the Northern Song, West Lake largely became what was seen in later periods. As discussed in Chapter 4, the proximity to the city of Hangzhou and the half-natural, half-domesticated state of West Lake were important reasons for its attractiveness. Another factor were the largely contingent historical events. The discourses studied support the idea, as argued in Chapter 1, that the significance of an event as perceived by literati was “attached” to the place – the fact that Hangzhou served as the temporary capital of the Southern Song led literati to raise West Lake to the epitome or symbol of the entire dynasty. The possibilities realized in the environmental practices in the past shaped the imaginations and experiences of later literati, many of whom followed the exemplary figures of the past. As Tim Cresswell argues, place is not simply an outcome of social processes, but is, “once established, a tool in the creation, maintenance, and transformation”.⁶⁶⁰ By selecting and promoting a history, literati mapped an identity onto the space, which allowed them to produce a vision of their own practices.

The images of West Lake in the three cases were derived from different frames of reference adopted. Recall Yi-fu Tuan’s idea that an environmental value requires its antithesis for definition. As a middle landscape, West Lake was largely experienced as an antithesis of urban spaces and urban life; for Zhang Dai, it was an idealized opposition between the prosperous and joyous Ming past and the ruinous and melancholic Qing present; patriotic literati instead compared West Lake to the Central Plain heartland.

⁶⁶⁰ Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 46.

Facing the rich histories and cultures of West Lake, literati were often selective, as they highlighted and promoted a particular understanding of the place and excluded any rivaling views. As Aleida Assmann points out, the “man of action” is “without knowledge”; at the moment of action, he can only employ a fraction of the entirety of his knowledge and memories.⁶⁶¹ The study of West Lake as a “middle landscape” reveals that literati sightseers’ sense of West Lake was often romantic. They sought or cultivated environments that met their own aesthetic standards, while they avoided or ignored the “vulgar” activities of commoner sightseers, or even viewed them as disturbance and contamination. Zhang Dai’s *Dream Searching* also highlights a Ming past that is lost in his own present time. It is only in this past, Zhang claims, that he will “dwell in solitude” and “linger idly”. In contrast to the local gazetteer as a more all-encompassing and indifferent historical account, his remembrance is selective and consists of what mattered to Zhang personally and what he found valuable. As to the criticism of West Lake sightseeing, the negative sides and dangers of pleasure-seeking and overindulgence are emphasized. The exclusive understanding of West Lake has a tendency to an essentialist way of thinking about the place: West Lake is nothing but this; all other views fail to grasp its true spirit.

In her study of the Yangzhou sites, Tobie Meyer-Fong reveals that the construction of a site’s meanings by literati was not merely a scholarly quest for historical truths, but also expressed the literati’s practice to establish their own identities by writing themselves into the construed traditions.⁶⁶² This also applies to West Lake. In each discourse of the three chapters, a practical orientation can be identified. The image of West Lake as a middle landscape contained a quasi-pastoral ideal; to say that West Lake is a paradise is to make it such a place. As to Zhang Dai’s case, the remembrance of the lost splendor ultimately did not look to the past, but was for the sake of a meaningful and authentic present. The criticism by the patriotic literati also primarily mirrored their political stance and purpose. These cases attest to a relationship between past, present, and future as it has been described by Doreen Massey: “[C]onflicting interpretations of the past, serving to legitimate a particular understanding of the present, are put to use in a battle over what is

⁶⁶¹ Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, 64. The term “man of action” originates from Friedrich Nietzsche’s (1844–1900) essay “Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben” (On the Use and Abuse of History for Life).

⁶⁶² Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture*, 75.

to come. What are at issue are competing histories of the present, wielded as arguments over what should be the future.”⁶⁶³ In Massey’s opinion, traditions do not only exist in the past, but are actively built in the present also. In Zhang Dai’s case, for example, his identity as a remnant subject was based on a particular past of the place; while his work largely focused on a bygone period, it nevertheless was meant to be “bequeathed to future generations”, as he puts it.

One limitation of the present study is its temporal scope. As a study of West Lake gazetteers and perceptions, attitudes, and values, it only covers the period from the Song, when West Lake gained fame and popularity, to the early Qing, when the Ming enthusiasm for West Lake faded away, with an emphasis on the late Ming, while the subsequent Qing period is only mentioned on rare occasions. Regarding the topics and aspects of the study, one can ask the following questions: how did the structure of the West Lake gazetteer as invented by Tian Rucheng evolve in later periods? As it came to the modern era, when West Lake topography changed, new places such as public parks were built, and new means of transportation such as buses were introduced. How did compilers of gazetteers and tourist guidebooks respond to these developments? How did the categories, scopes, and contents of West Lake gazetteers further change over time? Associated with the further expansion of urban space, especially in the modern era, did West Lake experience an environmental crisis? Has a new pattern of city, suburban area, and wilderness emerged? Was Zhang Dai’s nostalgic sentiment echoed by literati of Hangzhou when facing warfare, turmoils, destruction, and regime changes? Did the idea that indulgence in sightseeing contributed to decline of the country continue to be taken seriously? While there are certainly studies on some of these aspects done by others, more in-depth explorations are still needed.

⁶⁶³ Massey, “Places and Their Pasts”, 185.

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