

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

(RE)MAKING THE VIEW: THE SHIFTING IMAGINARY OF WEST LAKE, FROM
THE 13th TO THE 19th CENTURY

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to Wumeng He, for his love and support through all these years.

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ABSTRACT

Examining the images of West Lake from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century in China, this dissertation focuses on the representation of the place as a topographic, historic, and cultural site. Following two lines of inquiry, this dissertation explores the boundaries and efficacies of site-specific paintings while probing the long-perceived Song (960–1279) lineage of West Lake paintings. This dissertation considers paintings of West Lake as images constructed from vision, experience, memory, and history. These images participated in the promotion of local identity in the Ming dynasty (1358–1644) and the forging of an imperial landscape during the Qing (1644–1912).

This dissertation comprises an introduction, five chapters grouped into three parts, a conclusion, a coda, and two appendices.

Chapter 1 identifies three key visual formats in the representation of West Lake: the bird's-eye panoramic, the close-up scenic, and the linearized panoptic. Each format considers a different way of experiencing West Lake: the desire to overlook the lake from a high vantage point, the impulse to personally explore the seasonal and temporal changes on the lake, and the need to tour the lake in a boat. Chapter 2 demonstrates two spatiotemporalities in the representation of West Lake during the Ming dynasty: the past and the present. Embodying modernity and nostalgia at the same time, West Lake was represented as the lingering ghost of the Song capital city and the display window of the Ming metropolis. Chapter 3 reconstructs the formation of a Song lineage of West Lake paintings during the Yuan (1271–1368) and Ming

periods. Parsing visual and textual materials from the tenth century, this chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the process of rooting the subject matter in the Southern Song (1127–1279) court, while investigating the reasons behind such historical and cultural construction. Chapter 4 explores the imperial footprints on the landscape of West Lake in the Qing era, in situ and on paper. This chapter considers court-commissioned images of West Lake as devices for imperial surveillance and stages for political spectacles. Chapter 5 traces the circulation of West Lake images between Beijing and Jiangnan since the eighteenth century to understand the production, consumption, and perception of politicized images of West Lake.

By demonstrating the close relationship between the mass/imperial tours and site-specific paintings, this dissertation considers landscape paintings as agents that confine and regulate viewers' experiences with the site. By reconstructing the process of consolidating a Song lineage of West Lake images, this dissertation focuses on the making of (art) history through image building and art-history writing. It challenges the traditional wisdom in the study of Chinese painting that the Song court actively participated in the depiction of West Lake. In doing so, this dissertation positions paintings of West Lake in the context of the identity building of the Ming, the forming of multiethnic landscape of the High Qing era, and the secularization of political images after the eighteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

On the morning of September 20, 2011, a loud boom rattled the quiet exhibition hall of Zhejiang Art Museum. As the smoke cleared from the canvas surface that bore the controlled blast, an image of a stone pagoda was gradually revealed, a spectral materialization conjured by multimedia artist Cai Guoqiang in a work he titled *Leifeng Tower* (plate 1.1).

This image of the Leifeng Pagoda, resonating with a photograph taken by Sidney Gamble in 1918, imprints the ancient pagoda in its solitariness (plate 1.2). Standing on the southern hill of West Lake since 977 CE, this pagoda had witnessed the rise and fall of Hangzhou City and the equally shifting fortunes of West Lake. The making of the image by gunpowder and explosion epitomizes the historic lake as an indelible icon of the scenic and cultural landscape of China.

1. The Ecological, Economic, and Sociopolitical History of West Lake

West Lake (西湖) is a small, shallow, freshwater lake located outside the west city wall of Hangzhou.¹ One of China's most well-known historic landmarks and ranked among the top three most visited sites in China, attracting more than twenty million tourists each year, West Lake has been listed since 2011 as a World Heritage Site.² An image of one of its most famous scenes,

¹ The present-day West Lake has an area of around 3322.88 acres (2.51 square miles) with an average depth of 2.27 meters. The size of West Lake which is approximately 1/10,000th of Lake Michigan.

² The UNESCO list cites history of the lake dating back to the Tang Dynasty (618-907). "West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou," United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization and World Heritage Convention, accessed December 1, 2020, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1334>. See Zhongguo lvyou yanjiu yuan 中國旅遊研究院(China Tourism Academy), *Zhongguo jingqu fazhan baogao* 中國旅遊景區發展報告 2013-2019 (China Tourism Scenic Development Report, 2013-2019). Beijing: Lvyou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2013-2019. According to the data of the most-used map app Amap, West Lake attracted around 28 million visitors in the year of 2018, topping all other scenic sites in China. See *Xihu Wenlv Dashuju Baogao* 西湖文旅大數據報告 (Report of the Big Data on Tourism of West Lake), West Lake Scenic Site and Amap.com, accessed December 1, 2020, <https://www.dydata.io/datastore/detail/1755555607290712064/>.

“Moon Reflected on Three Ponds” (三潭印月), is printed on the back of the one-yuan bill. In 2016, scenes of West Lake were imprinted on the dinnerware of the state banquet during the G20 summit in Hangzhou.

But West Lake was not always the celebrated and esteemed attraction that it is today. In wartime and in times of peace, West Lake experienced episodes of destruction and reconstruction. The representations of West Lake in art and text coincided with these ups and downs and evolved into two distinct trends, one that captures the modern landscape and one that dwells on the image of the past. To understand the pictorial representation of West Lake, one must consider this eco-economic and sociopolitical history.

Eco-economic History of West Lake

For the people of Hangzhou, West Lake has provided a bounty of natural resources.³ Ever since human communities settled in the surrounding area, people had the incentive to exploit the resources of this open-access lake and eventually converted it to agricultural land.⁴ Unlike most other comparable lakes, however, West Lake had escaped this fate, a reprieve that ended sometime in the seventh century, when the city of Hangzhou became an important commercial center during the Tang dynasty (618–907) and the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). During this period, West Lake served a vital public good as the water source for residential use for the

³ The lake encompasses rich wetland suitable for aquaculture while supplying water for irrigation for nearby agricultural lands. Being adjacent to the city, it could provide freshwater for residents of the city. It was also a resort for tourists with various pursuits.

⁴ As a widely used taxonomy of property rights, “open-access” is defined as a situation in which all comers have “the right to enjoy or experience the resources without changing it quantitatively or qualitatively.” D. A. Starrett, “Property Rights, Public Goods and the Environment,” in *Handbook of Environmental Economics*, vol. 1, eds., K. Maler, J. R. Vincent (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2003), 99-100.

city's fast-growing population.⁵ At that time, the major task of managing West Lake was to find the balance between allowing aquaculture and keeping the lake clean. Local government was motivated to institute regulations to conserve the lake and to prohibit private agricultural exploitation and conversion. Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846) and Su Shi (蘇軾, 1037–1101) both did significant works in this respect.

A second important moment in West Lake's fate occurred when it became a site of political importance during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). When Hangzhou was appointed the imperial "temporary visiting headquarters" (行所在), aquaculture and irrigation were altogether banned so that freshwater could be reserved for residents of the city. In the Ming era, the booming tourist industry and the revitalization of a Southern Song landscape of West Lake also forbade aquaculture and irrigation of all sorts to protect water and land for sightseers and to avoid proper destruction. From the fifteenth century onward, this lake has been a symbol of local culture and identity. By that time, West Lake had become a recognized cultural asset, and its social value rapidly accumulated over time, significantly exceeding its value as potential fertile farmland. In its environmental-economic history, West Lake reflects a transformation from a "tragedy of the commons" to a public cultural good.

⁵ "Public goods" is defined as goods that are "non-rival" in consumption and "non-excludable." In other words, one's usage of the public goods does not affect other individuals' opportunity to consume the goods. Furthermore, no individuals could stop others from consuming the public goods. See Jonathan Gruber, "Public Goods," in *Public Finance and Public Policy*, third edition (New York, NY: Worth Publishers, 2011), 182-183.

Sociopolitical History of West Lake

The sociopolitical history of West Lake is a mix of proper management and destructive neglect. During the Tang and Northern Song dynasties, renowned poets and scholar-officials lived or worked on the lake. The scholar-recluse Lin Bu (林逋, 967–1028) built his hermitage on Gushan Islet, and his many poems express his eremitic lifestyle there. In addition, competent mayors like Bai Juyi and Su Shi indulged in viewing and touring the lake and composed poems about the scenes, the environment, and eremitic sentiments. Their contribution to the lake also took physical forms as they supervised several important irrigation projects that forever changed the waterscape of the lake.⁶ These poets' engagement with the lake added to its cultural value while defining it as an unspoiled, wild, otherworldly place for reclusion and contemplation.

In the Southern Song, however, West Lake was no longer a wild place, having become the playground for imperial families, aristocrats, and high-level politicians. Along its banks, private mansions and gardens of the ruling class interspersed with imperial monasteries. State banquets, official festival celebrations, and ritual ceremonies took place on the lake throughout the year, empowering it as a site of political significance.

⁶ Bai Juyi commissioned the Baidi Causeway to reserve water for irrigation and Su Shi presided over the project to remove the wild rice stems from the water and built a dike with the dredged sediments. Bai Juyi “began to build dikes to defend against the Qiantang River tide and released the flood to irrigate thousands of acres of land. He dredged the six wells of Li Mi which allowed farmers to supply their land with water.” (始築堤，捍錢塘潮，鐘泄其水溉田千頃，浚李泌六井，民賴以汲田). Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修; 1007-1072) et al. eds., “Bai Juyi zhuan” 白居易傳 (Biography of Bai Juyi), *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐書 (New Book of Tang), juan 119, *Siku quanshu* electronic version. “(Su Shi) takes the dredged sediments from the lake to accumulate a dike in the middle of the lake, which extends over thirty li from the south end to the north end. It became a long dike for commuters.” (取葑田積湖中，南北徑三十里，為長堤以通行者). Toqto'a (脫脫; 1314-1356) and Alutu (阿魯圖; active 14th century) et al. eds., “Su Shi zhuan” 蘇軾傳 (Biography of Su Shi), *Song Shi* 宋史 (History of Song), juan. 338, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

In the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), West Lake was seriously damaged in the wake of the Mongol troops who conquered the Southern Song imperial city. The century-long destruction left West Lake in ruins in the early to mid-Ming dynasty (1368–1644). In the sixteenth century, the local gentry class, seeking to restore the lake by any means, successfully solicited a generous donation of gold from a eunuch from Beijing, Sun Long (孫隆, active sixteenth century). The irrigation, dredging, and construction projects that followed brought new life to the lake, making it the most visited tourist attraction nationwide at a time of booming tourism.

During the Ming-Qing dynastic turn, the lake underwent damage that was quickly repaired by three generations of the Qing (1640–1912) rulers. The golden age of the lake occurred under the reigns of Kangxi (1654–1722; r. 1661–1722), Yongzheng (1678–1735; r. 1722–35), and Qianlong (1711–99; r. 1735–96), when imperial pagodas, pavilions, terraces, and monasteries were erected and vegetation and flowers were planted to adorn them. Toward the end of the Qing dynasty, these sites became the targets of rebellion and war. In the twentieth century, the lake was remodeled as a modern public space, with new roads and expositions being hosted in the newly updated landscape. Throughout the history of West Lake since the Tang dynasty, occupation, regulation, and rehabilitation during peaceful and prosperous times alternated with periods of neglect and destruction during wars and upheavals, revealing the inherent periodicity of West Lake in terms of environment protection, water conservation, political status, and cultural value.

2. Portraying West Lake

The rise and fall of West Lake coincided with the fluctuation in the trends and tendencies in its portrayal. During harmonious and affluent times like the Southern Song, mid-late Ming, and High Qing eras, under the proper management of central and local administrations, the lake would flourish as a tourist attraction. In these times, paintings of the lake usually present the picturesque views of contemporary West Lake. The quantity of paintings would also increase. When the lake suffered from over-exploitation and destruction during times of turmoil in the Song-Yuan, Yuan-Ming, and Ming-Qing transitions, paintings of it would allude to a past historical moment when the lake was tranquil and transcendental. The lake's past and present are thus the two intertwining themes in its pictorial representations.

According to textual records, West Lake became a theme for pictorial representation as early as the Tang and Northern Song dynasties.⁷ However, the earliest extant painting on this

⁷ There are several extant textual records documenting the emergence of pictorial representations of West Lake in paintings and in maps. The famous poet-recluse Lin Bu wrote a poem titled “Seng you shi Xihu moben zhe, jiu Gushan zuoce linluo misui jian, Zhuang chu Heng Mao zhi suo, qie tiyun: Lin Shanren yinju, jinshu eryun yichengzhi (僧有示西湖墨本者，就孤山左侧林萝秘邃间，状出衡茅之所，且题云：林山人隐居，谨书二韵以承之) (A monk showed an ink-colored picture of West Lake, depicting the secluded and dense bushes of the east side of the Gushan, to mimic the appearance of Mt. Heng and Mt. Mao. I will thus inscribe it as “the hermitage of hermit Lin” and brush two poems to commemorate it). See Lin Bu, *Lin Hejing Ji* 林和靖集 (Anthology of Lin Hejing), *Sibu Congkan jingming chaoben* 四部丛刊景明抄本, juan 4, 42. A couplet believed to have written by Su Shi's also mentions a screen depicting the scenery of West Lake. Although Hu Zai (胡仔; 1075-1170), was skeptical about the actual existence of such a screen, he nonetheless transcribed Su Shi's lines in his *Fisherman in Recluse in the trumpet vine Stream* (Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianhou ji 苕溪渔隐从话). Hu Zai, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianhouji yibaijuan: tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji* 苕溪渔隐从话前後一百卷：苕溪渔隐从话後集 (100 volumes of the Fisherman in Recluse in the Trumpet Vine Stream: Sequel to Fisherman in Recluse in the Trumpet Vine Stream), juan 37, *Qing Haishan Xianguan congshu ben* 清海山仙馆丛书本, 6b-7b. Zhou Zizhi (周紫芝; 1082-1155) mentions about a Map of West Lake (Xihu tu 西湖圖) being submitted to Emperor Shenzong (1048-1085; r. 1067-1084). Zhou Zizhi, *Taicang Timi ji* 太仓稊米集 (A Small Grain in the Large Barn), juan 33, *Siku quanshu electronic version*.

theme can be dated only to the thirteenth century.⁸ The mid-to-late Ming dynasty witnessed a boom in the output and refinement of West Lake paintings, along with many artistic innovations in the methods of representation. Another boom occurred during the eighteenth century under the patronage and promotion of Emperor Qianlong. The two image booms during the Ming and the Qing constitute the majority of the West Lake paintings still in existence today. They also enriched the repertoire of West Lake images, making it one of the most depicted sites in China.

When the lake endured destruction, the site became a trope for the idealized, bygone dynasty in the writings and paintings of the “left-over” literati. Painters of West Lake during these periods lamented the past by bringing viewers to a historical space in their works. Literati painters would also explore the transcendental lake in an imaginary space, as a way to escape from the painful reality.

The three prime moments in the history of West Lake coincided with three image booms: the Song period (when West Lake first became a subject for painters), the mid-late Ming (when the second boom led to a sudden increase in the quantity of the paintings and introduced a new format), and the High Qing period (when the image of West Lake was mass-produced across media). The positive correlation between the well-being of West Lake and the output of paintings suggests that the changing fortunes of the lake itself affected the production and consumption of these images.

⁸ The most reliable painting of West Lake that could be dated to the 13th century is the West Lake (西湖圖) scroll in Shanghai Museum traditionally attributed to Li Song (李嵩; ca.1190-ca.1230). The date is based on Miyazaki Noriko. Miyazaki Noriko, “Seiko wo meguru kaiga” (西湖をめぐる絵画, Paintings of West Lake), Chugoku kinsei no toshi to bunka 中國近世の都市と文化 (City and Culture in early modern China), ed. Umehara Kaoru (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1984), 199-245.

3. Studies on West Lake Paintings: A Summary of Scholarship

Over the past three decades, there has been a surge in scholarly interest in West Lake-themed images. The scholarship on West Lake paintings adopted a wide range of methodologies, including visual analysis, literary analysis, and psychoanalysis to cover an array of perspectives, such as imperial patronage, social history of art, and material culture.

Published in 1984, Miyazaki Noriko's (宮崎法子) chapter in *Chugoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* is a thorough study of the Shanghai *West Lake* scroll formerly attributed to Li Song.⁹ Miyazaki identifies several topographic features of the painting and dates it to later than 1271. She attributes this work to a follower of Li Song in the early Yuan dynasty.

Hui-shu Lee furthers the exploration of West Lake paintings and the Southern Song court. Lee's approach is to "root the objects, primarily paintings, in both the physical and cultural landscapes of the Southern Song."¹⁰ As Lee acknowledges in her book *Exquisite Moments*, published in 2001, the many uncertainties regarding the painters' identities and the paintings' subject matter and conditions today hinder analysis of Southern Song paintings of West Lake.¹¹ Lee's book is of great value to the scholarship on paintings of West Lake and Southern Song art, as she seeks to overcome these obstacles with extensive use of visual and textual materials.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Hui-shu Lee, "Preface," *Exquisite Moments: West Lake and Southern Song Art* (New York: China Institute, 2001), 12. Lee's chapter in *Quyū yu Wāngluò* shares similar perspectives and methodology. See idem, "Nansong Lin'an tumai yu wenhua kongjian jiedu," 南宋臨安圖脈與文化空間解讀 (Mapping Lin'an: cultural spaces in the Capital of Approaching Peace), *Quyū yu Wāngluò: jin qiannian lai zhongguo meishushi yanjiu guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 區域與網絡——近千年來中國美術史研究國際學術研討會論文集 (Region and Network: Papers from the International Symposium on the Research of Nearly One Thousand Years of Chinese Art History), (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2001), 56-90.

¹¹ Ibid.

Lee's research locates West Lake in two courses of inquiry: situating the lake in the physical landscape of Hangzhou, and contextualizing it in the cultural landscape of the Southern Song capital city. The first issue is approached through a detailed reading of the Shanghai *West Lake* scroll attributed to Li Song and the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* (西湖清趣圖) in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. Using the two scrolls to reconstruct the physical landscape of West Lake and Hangzhou during the Southern Song dynasty, Lee experiments with the potentials of topographical images as visual evidence.

The second course of inquiry is pursued through an analysis of the ten scenes of West Lake (西湖十景) theme in poetic writings and paintings. Lee regards some paintings of the Southern Song as visualizations of the celebration of the four seasons, a popular trend in the city of Hangzhou and across the nation. A central nexus in such celebration is West Lake, as the newly emerged ten scenes convey seasonal and temporal sentiments through the picturesque sceneries of the lake. Her work is pioneering in the study of West Lake paintings as it situates the images of the lake in two conventions, the physical/topographical and the cultural/painterly.

Following on from Hui-shu Lee's foundational work, Wang Shuangyang's dissertation seeks to provide a comprehensive summary of West Lake paintings from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. Paintings of West Lake are grouped by dynastic periods from the Tang to the Qing.¹² Wang examines images of West Lake in the context of period styles while also trying to

¹² Wang Shuangyang 王双阳, "Zhuangwu de jizhi-gudai xihu shanshuitu yanjiu" 狀物的極致——古代西湖山水圖研究 (Extreme realism: a study of West Lake landscapes in pre-modern China) (PhD diss., Chinese Academy of Fine Arts, 2009).

forge an overarching, continuous lineage of this subject matter. This is a pioneering approach to studying paintings of West Lake as a consistent pictorial theme across time.

In the recent decade, there has been growing interest in studying West Lake paintings produced at the court of Qing. Several master's theses from Taiwan enrich the scholarship on late imperial paintings of West Lake. For instance, Su Tingyun (蘇庭筠) examines such paintings under the patronage of Emperor Qianlong.¹³ She argues that West Lake images that were created for the emperor were painted in the style of traditional ink-monochrome painting, with scant traces of the Western painting techniques that were frequently used in many other court paintings during this time. She asserts that these paintings were not loyal representations of the site per se but a romanticized version. Su suggests that the poetic and culturally laden landscape appealed to the taste of the Chinese literati class and showcased Qianlong's appreciation of the Han Chinese aesthetic and traditions.¹⁴

In her study on Wang Yuanqi's (王原祁, 1642–1715) *Ten Views of West Lake* (西湖十景圖), Chang Yun (張筠) discusses the political connotations of the painting within the discourse of traditional landscape painting, topographical painting, and court patronage. She argues that the artist's fusion of a "traditional" style in landscape painting following the lineage of Dong Qichang (董其昌, 1555–1636) with the map-making techniques and topographical painting traditions in imperially commissioned images of West Lake advocated for a new "orthodox"

¹³ Su Tingyun, "Qianlong gongting zhizuo zhi Xihu tu" 乾隆宮廷製作之西湖圖 (West Lake images produced by the court of Qianlong) (M.A. thesis, Central University, Taiwan, 2009).

¹⁴ Ibid, 90-92.

style in delineating the specific sites in the Qing dynasty.¹⁵ This new style situates traditional landscape painting styles within the framework of the imperial landscape of the Qing emperors.

Around the same time, Ma Meng-ching published several papers on the printed gazetteers of West Lake.¹⁶ Ma's research positions these gazetteers within the context of the tourism boom toward the late Ming period. Through extensive research on the many facsimiles of the *Gazetteer of Sightseeing at West Lake* (*Xihu youlan zhi*; 西湖遊覽志), Ma discusses the multiple parties' involvement in the publishing of local gazetteers in Hangzhou: the prefectural administration, the gentry class, and the commercial print houses. She demonstrates that with the rise of tourism toward the end of the Ming dynasty, gazetteers were designed to cater to common tourists such that their form and content were gradually assimilated by tourist guidebooks. Ma Meng-ching's works examine the image of West Lake in the Ming dynasty in the discourses of print culture and tourism boom.

Eugene Wang investigates the evolving perceptions of the Leifeng Pagoda, one of the landmarks of West Lake from ancient to modern China.¹⁷ As a site that is the subject of

¹⁵ Chang Yun 张筠, "Wang Yuanqi Xihu shijing tu- Qing gong zhengtongpai dijinghua de chansheng ji zhengzhi yihan 王原祁《西湖十景圖》——清宮正統派地景畫的產生及政治意涵 (Wang Yuanqi's Ten Views of West Lake: Topographic landscapes in the orthodox school of the early Qing Dynasty and their political significances) (M.A. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2014).

¹⁶ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingshengzhi huo lvyoushu: Ming Xihu youlan zhi de chuban licheng yu Hangzhou lvyou 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 tourists guidebooks: the printing history of the Ming-period Xihu Youlanzhi and tourism in Hangzhou)," *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New History), no. 4 (December 2013): 93-138; "Dizhi yu jiyou: Xihu Hezhi yu wanming Hangzhou kanke de mingshengzhi" 地志與紀遊：《西湖合志》與晚明杭州刊印的名勝志 (Local gazetteers and travel writing: The Combined Gazetteers of West Lake and scenic spot gazetteers in late Ming Hangzhou)," *Mingdai yanjiu* 明代研究 (Ming dynasty research), no. 22 (June 2014): 1-49.

¹⁷ Eugene Wang, "Tope and Topos: The Leifeng Pagoda and the discourse of the demonic," in *Writings and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, eds., J. T. Zeitlin, L. H. Liu, and Ellen Widmer (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2003), 488-552.

discussion—or *topos*, in his terms—the pagoda is perceived through an array of psychological and cultural lenses—“the supernatural, the numinous, and the demonic.”¹⁸ This study views the Leifeng Pagoda as the topic of literary and artistic explorations that gradually became a symbolic topography of the demonic. The outstanding construction of the pagoda during the Qing period and its tragic collapse during the Republican era were interpreted, conceived, and responded to with great discursive and artistic enthusiasm. Wang’s work brings in the Freudian concept of the demon to understand artists’ psychological response to the landmark of the lake.

Xiaolin Duan’s recent research focuses on the ten views of West Lake as a pictorial and literary theme of the Southern Song dynasty.¹⁹ It is a comprehensive summary and a well-substantiated analysis of the topic that pairs paintings with poems to understand the social and cultural life of the people of Hangzhou. Drawing on visual and textual sources, Duan’s research views paintings of West Lake (especially in the theme of the ten views) as embodiments of the sightseeing culture in Southern Song Hangzhou. Through these pictures, one can envision the popular culture of the historical city in its prime.

The persistent scholarly interest in the study of West Lake paintings demonstrates that the topic is of value to the field of Chinese art. The many methodologies applied and the varied conclusions of such scholarship suggest the great potential of interpreting images of West Lake. However, as Hui-shu Lee acutely highlights, the anonymity of painters, the uncertainty of subject

¹⁸ Ibid, 490.

¹⁹ Xiaolin Duan, “Scenic Beauty Outside the City: Tourism around Hangzhou’s West Lake in the Southern Song (1127-1276)” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2014); idem, “The Ten Views of West Lake,” in *Visual and Material Cultures in Middle Age China, 800-1400*, eds., Susan Shi-shan Huang and Patricia Ebrey (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 151-189; idem, *Rise of West Lake: A Cultural Landmark in the Song Dynasty* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2020).

matter, and the lack of extant works make it difficult for scholars to draw concrete conclusions. Even though scholars have sought quite a number of effective ways to overcome these problems, it is still desirable to return to the basics of the images and work from scratch when conditions allow and new materials surface.

4. Other Perspectives Relevant to the Study of West Lake Paintings

In addition to these monothematic works that focus primarily on images of the lake, other perspectives on the study of Chinese paintings impact studies of West Lake paintings. In the following section, a brief summary of topics in Chinese art that are of significant relevance to the study of paintings of West Lake is provided. Although these studies do little in the way of reviewing paintings of the lake per se, they nonetheless add to the methodological repertory of West Lake scholars while constituting the larger academic discussions on pertinent topics.

On Topographical Paintings and the Representation of Sites

The study of West Lake paintings is often positioned within the discourse on topographical/site-specific paintings. This topic is often approached with a distinction between faithful representations of a site (the “schematic”/“functional”) and painterly renditions of it (the “descriptive”/“pictorial”).²⁰ Alfreda Murck regards the *Xiaoxiang bajing* (瀟湘八景, Eight views of Xiao and the Xiang River) as a theme in landscape paintings that had become so loaded with

²⁰ The distinction of the “schematic” and the “descriptive” trajectories in site-specific paintings is first proposed by Cahill in his study of images of Huangshan. A “schematic” representation of a site alludes to the topographical features and attains to present it in a map-like depiction. On the contrary, a “descriptive” rendering transforms the site into a poeticized, romanticized or idealized space for various expressive purposes. James Cahill, “Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Picture,” in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 254.

poetic associations that it no longer resembled the actual site.²¹ This was also the case for several paintings of the Red Cliff. Jerome Silbergeld distinguishes two ways of depicting Su Shi's Red Cliff poems, one that follows the poetic narrative and one that delineates the site more truthfully.²² This divergence between the literary and the naturalistic (observed) landscape implies two ways of representing a site in paintings which, in Cahill's terms, are the "descriptive" and the "schematic."²³ Following this line of inquiry, the Shanghai *West Lake* scroll should be placed on the descriptive end of the spectrum and the map in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* (咸淳臨安志, Gazetteer of Lin'an in the Xianchun reign) in the schematic end.

However, the debate over whether paintings of West Lake should be regarded as topographical representations persists. Miyazaki uses satellite images, modern-day maps, and historical texts to argue that the Shanghai *West Lake* scroll is true to the site.²⁴ Hui-shu Lee challenges this view in suggesting that the deliberate choice of vantage point and the presentation of the scenery demonstrate that the painting was curated for imperial viewership.²⁵ Chang Yun regards Wang Yuanqi's *Ten Scenes of West Lake* as a combination of a topographical representation and traditional literati styles.²⁶ Wang Shuangyang's research reveals that Wang Yuanqi never visited West Lake and that his knowledge of its topography was based entirely on secondhand representations.²⁷ He argues that Wang Yuanqi's struggle between making a

²¹ Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Asia Institute, Harvard University Press, 2000).

²² Jerome Silbergeld, "Back to the Red Cliffs," *Arts Orientalis*, no. 25 (1995): 19-38.

²³ See note 21

²⁴ Miyazaki, "Seiko o meguru kaiga."

²⁵ Lee, *Exquisite Moments*, 24-26.

²⁶ Chang Yun, "Wang Yuanqi Xihu shijing tu", 105-106.

²⁷ Wang Shuangyang, "Zhuangwu de jizhi", 72.

traditional literati landscape “free of his will” and confining his representation to the topographical elements resulted in an unprecedented mixture of both.²⁸

Besides the discussion on the fidelity to the topography, depicting a place can have more complex connotations. Wu Hung argues that famous places (*shengji*, 勝跡) became a “timeless place that has attracted generations of people” and “has become a persistent subject of literary and artistic commemoration and representation.”²⁹ Individual history and experience were canceled and incorporated into the “countless layers of human experiences,” while geographical specificity in representing these famous places aligned with these historical and cultural heritages of the *shengji* places. Following Wu’s argument, the topographical features of the site could become charged with literary and cultural meanings. As such, the dualism between a poetic landscape and a faithful representation of the site would no longer be an effective analytical framework to study site-specific paintings.

Discourse on Local Identity

Other scholars view the representation of a famous place as a means of building the image of the region. Jennifer Purtle regards the paintings produced in Fujian during the Song and Yuan dynasties as a medium “in which Fuchien (Fujian) regionalism and identity are explored.”³⁰ Purtle argues that by painting the mountains and rivers in their native Fujian, the artists were trying to establish a regional identity to compete with other regions. In her article “Topographical Motifs in Middle Ming Su-chou: An Iconographical Implosion,” Mette Siggstedt

²⁸ Ibid, 73.

²⁹ Wu Hung, “Ji: Traces in Chinese landscape and landscape art,” *Cahiers d’Extreme-Asie* 17 (2008):188.

³⁰ Jennifer Purtle, “Foundations of a Min regional visual tradition, visibility, and identity: Fuchien painting of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties,” in *Quyū yu Waangluo*, 91-140

supports Purtle's approach.³¹ She proposes that the depiction of topographical motifs in Suzhou during the mid-Ming period demonstrates the artists' effort to construct a local identity but ultimately confined these paintings within the geographical as well as the stylistic borders of the Wu (吳) region. Artists painted the sites of Suzhou as a social activity, during which sites were selected not only for their natural beauty but also for their cultural associations. The relationship between celebrating a site and building local culture is fully articulated in Tobie Meyer-Fong's *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, in which she argues that writing on specific sites was part of the culture building of a city or region.³²

Images of West Lake produced during the Ming dynasty are also examined within the discourse of regional identity. Ma Meng-ching revealed that the woodblock-printed tourist books with illustrations of West Lake during the Ming dynasty were all designed and published in Hangzhou, most likely by local illustrators or publishers to gain recognition and publicize the beauty of the lake.³³ Li Na's studies on late Ming illustrations of West Lake suggest that the tourist boom in the mid-late Ming dynasty fostered the production and consumption of images of the lake.³⁴ As tourist guides and souvenirs, the images became tropes of the scenic landscape of Hangzhou. These illustrated books were designed, edited, and published by local agencies including government officials and commercial press.

³¹ Mette Siggstedt, "Topographical Motifs in the middle Ming Su-chou: an iconographical implosion, in *Quyū yu wangluo*, 223-268.

³² Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

³³ Ma Meng-ching, "Mingshengzhi huo lvyoushu"; idem, "Dizhi yu jiyou."

³⁴ Li Na, "Hushan shenggai yu wanming xihu de yishu fengshang" 《湖山勝概》與晚明西湖的藝術風尚 (Scenic Sites of the Lake and Mountain and late-Ming art fashion), *Zhejiang Xuekan*, no. 6 (2011): 62-68.

Studies on the Imperial Patronage in the Qing Court

Studies on the Qing imperial patronage consider paintings produced in the court as expressions and demonstrations of imperial will, interest, and power. The studies on the role of Manchu emperors in the production of art deepened the understanding of the paintings of West Lake commissioned at the Qing court.

How to represent the southern part of China in court-commissioned paintings is the topic of several scholarly works. Maxwell K. Hearn views Wang Hui's (王翬, 1632–1717) representation of Emperor Kangxi's southern inspection tours as means of appeasing the gentry class in the heartland of Han Chinese culture by adopting the Chinese traditional long-scroll format and painting styles.³⁵ Wu Hung argues that the *Twelve Beauties* screen commissioned by Emperor Yongzheng creates a feminine landscape in which the south was portrayed as a submissive and inviting embodiment of female beauty.³⁶ Cheng-hua Wang suggests that the cityscapes of Suzhou produced under the patronage of Emperor Qianlong were intended as generalized views of an idealized city in a time of peace and prosperity.³⁷

In addition, with the application of Western techniques in the medium of Chinese landscape paintings, court paintings of the Qing fused the “Chinese-ness” of the landscape and

³⁵ Maxwell K Hearn, “The Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour: A narrative program by Wang Hui” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990).

³⁶ Wu Hung, “Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Qing court art and the Dream of the Red Chamber,” in *Ming Qing Women and Literature*, eds., Widmer and K.I.S. Chang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 307-365.

³⁷ Cheng-hua Wang, “Qianlong chao Suzhou chengshi tuxiang: Zhengzhi quanli, wenhua xiaofei yu dijing suzao” 乾隆朝蘇州城市圖像：政治權利、文化消費荷地景塑造 (Citiscapes of Suzhou during the Qianlong reign: political power, cultural consumption and the building of topographical image), in *Yishu, quanli yu xiaofei: zhongguo yishushi yanjiude yige mianxiang* 藝術、權利與消費：中國藝術史研究的一個面向 (*Art, Power, and Consumption: One Perspective on the History of Chinese Art*) (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 2011), 127-195.

format with the “Otherness” of the stylistic and technical innovations to demonstrate the empire’s multicultural outlook. On the other hand, Ma Ya-chen’s dissertation regards the *Shengshi zisheng tu* (盛世滋生圖, Burgeoning life in a resplendent age) scroll by Xu Yang (徐揚, active eighteenth century) as a negotiation between the artist’s demographic identity as a native Suzhou painter and his role as a court painter who had to cater to Qianlong’s political ambitions.³⁸ Ma views Xu’s painting as the channel through which the images of Suzhou were presented to the central government, on one end, and Qianlong’s achievements in the southern tours were showcased to people in the south, on the other.

The political significance of the southern inspection tours and their relation to court-commissioned paintings has been the subject of scholarly interest. Maxwell Hearn and Harold L. Kahn both agree that the paintings of these tours were not only documenting the trip but also showcasing the authority and power of the Manchu regime. Kahn observes that the southern inspection tour taken during Qianlong’s time was not an effort to appease the Han Chinese in the south, unlike that of Emperor Kangxi.³⁹ On the contrary, it was an opportunity for the emperor to demonstrate his Manchu and Mongol identities to reinforce the prestige of the conquering elite.⁴⁰ Michael G. Chang’s analysis of Emperor Qianlong’s southern inspection tours considers the pictorial projects of Xu Yang means of demonstrating ethno-dynastic rulership.⁴¹

³⁸ Ma Ya-chen, “Picturing Suzhou: Visual Politics in the Making of Cityscapes in the Eighteen-century China” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2006).

³⁹ Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor’s Eye: image and reality in Ch’ien-long reign* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), 104.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 81.

⁴¹ Michael G. Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2007), 178-189.

In addition to the way in which paintings of imperial patronage represented the south, the question of how emperors presented themselves in paintings is also relevant to the discussion of images of West Lake. Wu Hung claims that Emperor Qianlong's costume portraits demonstrate his "uncontrollable desire to dominate any existing tradition, whether it be Confucian, Daoist, or Buddhist."⁴² In paintings of the southern inspection tours, the emperors were represented as the active agents supervising their land and people, as well as the objects of the viewer's gaze.

These studies offer a set of methodological approaches and theoretical frameworks to study paintings of West Lake. In return, an investigation of such paintings will also contribute to these fields of inquiry.

5. Methodological Approaches

To study paintings of West Lake, this dissertation follows two main threads: the representation of place and space in landscape paintings, and the conceived Song lineage of West Lake paintings.

Representing Place and the Power of Landscape

First, this dissertation addresses the key question of how to represent West Lake—a real, physical, experienced place and a historic site that exists in the realm of cultural memory—in painting. According to Edward Casey, landscape painting is a genre through which the represented place is reinstated.⁴³ According to Casey, a landscape painting could never be a

⁴² Wu Hung, "Emperor's masquerade- 'costume portraits' of Yongzheng and Qianlong," *Orientations*, 26. 7 (July and August 1995):40-41.

⁴³ Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape painting and Maps* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 121.

perfect re-presentation that is the second presentation of the place itself as the subject of landscape is a de-totalized totality.⁴⁴ Rather:

If this presentation of nature can also be seen as its self-presentation (because it is the natural landscape itself that comes forth in the painting), it is in and through such a representation that, without taking its place, stands in its place. The topos of the topic, the place of the landscape, is taken up in the representation that both stands for and stands in for this place. In this way, place is at once signified and reinstated, reinstated-as-signified, assigned in a painting that represents it. Place is not replicated but transmuted in the work.

It is also re-placed, given a place of its own, a place to the second power that is none other than its own place in the very place of another. If this is still a matter of representation, it does not occur as representation but re-implacement, that is, by means of finding another place in the painting that represents it.⁴⁵

As a place to be represented, West Lake is reconstituted in the place of a landscape painting through multiple sets of re-implacement. The initial implacement transforms the experienced place (West Lake) onto the pictorial place (the surface of the painting). The second level of re-implacement conveys the landscape painting with the temporal, seasonal, and sentimental factors of how the place is experienced. Third, by expressing and evoking psychological and emotional responses in viewers, the landscape of West Lake brings it to our world as re-implaced in the painting.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 5-7.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 19.

Following Casey's theory of re-impacement, this dissertation considers three basic visual formats in the representation of West Lake, each of which corresponds to Cassey's "three senses of re-impacement in art": the "place at," the "place of," and the "place for."⁴⁶

In the case of *place at*, a painter is concerned with the precise location of a place, thus with its exact topography. When a painter proffers the place of landscape, in contrast, they reinstall this place in a representational transformation that modifies some of its aspects while keeping the place itself recognizable to the viewer. . . . To attain poetic truth, a third sense of re-impacement is required: creating a place for the vision that such truth calls for.⁴⁷

The first format, the bird's-eye panoramic, is a topographic rendering of West Lake that represents the "place of landscape" such that it captures certain physiographical features of the lake while fulfilling other needs. In these works, West Lake is recognizable to the viewer. However, the artistic rendition, be it ink-monochromatic or rule-lined, is a representational place where the lake is "reinstalled" pictorially.

The second format, the closeup scenic, refers to paintings of West Lake that convey an array of sentiments about nature, time, and the human world from contemplating and experiencing the lake. These images should be considered topo-poetic representations of West

⁴⁶ Ibid, 30. Casey's distinction of the "three senses of re-impacement" is not to categorize landscape paintings into three groups. These levels of re-impacement could co-exist and collaborate in a single work to produce a more complicated process of re-impacement. By citing Casey's terms of re-impacement, I do not suggest that paintings of West Lake should be categorized as such. Rather, I see landscape of West Lake as dynamic integrations of different "senses of re-impacement."

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Lake as they construe the “place for” landscape that it creates a “place for the vision that such [poetic] truth calls for.”⁴⁸

The last format, the linearized panoptic, is a unique composition that straightens the ecliptic lakeshore onto the horizontal handscroll. Works in this format are concerned with the “place at” experience of landscape painting as it purveys a vicarious in situ experience at West Lake. The viewer is situated in the position of a boat on the lake, looking across the lakeshore to the surrounding mountains, while taking a tour around the entire lake. It offers an immersive viewing experience for tourists onsite and virtual. It also construes the “place of” re-implacement as it transforms the circumambience of the physical lake into a two-dimensional place of representation.

Along the theoretical thread of place and landscape, this dissertation also explores the power of landscapes. W. J. T. Mitchell views landscapes as active agencies that engage with place and space as a part of a triadic unity.⁴⁹

One might think, then, of space, place, and landscape as a dialectical triad, a conceptual structure that may be activated from several different angles. If a place is a specific location, a space is a ‘practiced place,’ a site activated by movements, actions, narratives, and signs, and a landscape is that site encountered as an image of “sight.” . . . No one of these terms is logically or chronologically prior to the others; one could speak of spatial activities as producing or modifying a place, or of the properties of a place making possible some spatial activities and preventing others (thus, place may be seen as having

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell, “Preface to the Second Edition,” *Landscape and Power*, second edition (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), x-xi.

a kind of agency, despite de Certeau's notion that space the active and dynamic term). Landscape could be seen as the first cognitive encounter with a place, and an apprehension of its spatial vectors.⁵⁰

Therefore, "the expression of power in the landscape [is] a manifestation of law, prohibition, regulation, and control."⁵¹

Ping Foong demonstrates that landscape painting is an effective and powerful "medium for expressing imperial and civil authority."⁵² Paintings at the Northern Song court represent imperial power and authority while expressing social and political thoughts. Scholars' reflections on these paintings were also their way of participating in the discussion of politics and rulership. These views on the power of landscape consider the medium not as passive and faithful representations of sites but as active agencies that exert power through its expressive and regulatory capacities. Such view is the theoretical thread of this dissertation.

Rather than attempting to reconstruct the cultural and political map of the Southern Song city of Lin'an (臨安, present-day Hangzhou) from paintings of West Lake, this dissertation regards images of the lake as agencies that situate the place and the space within specific temporalities, localities, concepts, and emotions. Focusing on the place, West Lake, and the space—be it historical, political, contemplative, urban, or scenic—representations are not regarded as second-power presentations (re-presentations) of the lake. Rather, this dissertation

⁵⁰ Ibid, x.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Foong Ping, *The Efficacious Landscape: On the Authorities of Painting at the Northern Song Court* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2015), 6.

considers pictorial representations of the lake as constructed and substantiated re-implacement of West Lake that allude to aspects of its topography, history, culture, and sentiments.

On the Southern Song lineage of West Lake paintings

The second main thread in this dissertation traces the (re-)construction of the Song lineage of West Lake paintings. Through close analyses of textual and visual evidence, questions are raised about the prominently held view that Southern Song court painters like Li Song, Xia Gui, Liu Songnian, and Chen Qingbo (陳清波, active 1253–58) were commissioned by the court to depict the scenery of West Lake and that their portrayals convey certain levels of imperial authority or taste.

It is widely conceived that these painters who held official titles in the Southern Song Academy of Painting frequently depicted West Lake. Since the Ming dynasty, there have been substantial records of Southern Song court painters' involvement in depicting West Lake (see appendix 1). A handful of surviving paintings in the collections of major museums worldwide also seem to substantiate the Song lineage of West Lake paintings. Building on these textual and visual materials, modern scholars interpret West Lake images as expressive means to present imperial spectatorship and to encapsulate certain cultural, political, and social aspects of the imperial city.⁵³

Such analyses are predicated on the assumptions that these works are authentic paintings by the Southern Song artists and that they were commissioned by emperors and empresses of the imperial courts. However, with more visual materials unearthed in recent decades, art historians

⁵³ See Huis-hu Lee, *Exquisite Moments*, and “Nansong Lin’an tumai”; Xiaolin Duan, “The Ten Views of West Lake”; idem, *Rise of West Lake*.

are more able to accurately date many of the paintings that were traditionally attributed to Southern Song court painters. Furthermore, recent scholarship also began to question the validity and functionality of the so-called Southern Song Imperial Academy of Painting and its potential impacts on court painters.

Two important approaches are persistent in the study of court paintings: to interpret the political meanings in these paintings, discussing court paintings within the discourse of imperial patronage and collection, royal taste, and the expression of power and authority; and to distinguish court paintings from those of other organizations (literati, religious, or ritual).⁵⁴ There has been ample research on the Imperial Academy of Painting during the Northern Song dynasty as an official entity and an active agency in the patronage and collection of paintings. Scholars of Chinese art have taken the institution of the Northern Song as the natural predecessor of the Imperial Academy of Painting of the Southern Song to assume that the two organizations functioned in identical ways.

⁵⁴ For some examples of the first approach, see Ping Foong, *Efficacious Landscape*; Idem, "Monumental and Intimate Landscape by Guo Xi" (PhD diss., Princeton: Princeton university, 2006); Hui-shu Lee, *The Domain of Empress Yang (1162-1233): Art, Gender and Politics at the Southern Song Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Idem, *Exquisite Moments*; Scarlet Jang, "Issues of Public Service in the Themes of Chinese Court Painting" (PhD diss., Berkeley: University of California, 1989); Patricia Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Julia Murray, "Ts'ao Hsun and Two Southern Song History Scrolls: Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival and Welcoming the Carriages," *Ars Orientalis*, 15 (2000): 1-29; Idem, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Howard Rogers, "Court Painting under the Qianlong Emperor," in *The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor, 1735-1895*, eds., J. H. Chou and C. Brown (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 303-317; Masha S. Weidner, "Aspects of Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court, 1260-1368," in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, ed. C. T. Li (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 37-59; James Cahill, "The Imperial Painting Academy," in *Possessing the past: Treasures from the national Palace Museum, Taipei*, eds., W. C. Fong and J. C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 159-199; Craig Clunas, *Screen of Kings: Royal Art and Power in Ming China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013). For some examples of the second approach, see Maggie Bickford, *Ink Plum: The Making of a Chinese Scholar-Painting Genre* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996); Susan Bush, and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); James Cahill, *The Lyric Journey: Poetic Painting in China and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002). Please note that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, they work in tandem in many scholarships on court paintings.

However, recent works challenge the view that the Southern Song Imperial Academy of Painting inherited the function and authority of the Northern Song precedents. Scholars have noted that painters who held titles in the court also worked for other projects beyond imperial commission.⁵⁵ Their association with the academy was much looser than that of their Northern Song counterparts. Thus, it is hard to determine if a work by a court painter was indeed commissioned by the court, the emperor(s), or the empress(es). It is just as difficult to argue that such a work is a representation or reflection of imperial taste or interest. In a recent state-of-the-field summary on court paintings, Patricia Ebrey addresses this dilemma: “For the Southern Song, it is often difficult to say whether a painting was done at court or by a professional painter working in Hangzhou.”⁵⁶

Huiping Pang’s groundbreaking work on the Southern Song Academy of Painting takes a step further to clarify the confusion over the existence of the institution and debunks the myth over its functionality. Via a thorough examination of textual documents, she argues that the Imperial Academy of Painting during the Southern Song was a vague concept. Painters who held titles in the so-called academy did not have physical offices; they were summoned by the court for special occasions while they depended on other private or organizational commissions to

⁵⁵ For some examples, see James Cahill, *The Painters’ Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Huiping Pang, “Zouchu gongqiang: you ‘huajia shisan ke’ tan Nansong gongting huashi zhi mingjian xing” 走出宮牆：由“畫家十三科”談南宋宮廷畫師之民間性 (Getting out of the palace: From the “Thirteen divisions of painters” to the painters’ folk-ality), *Yishushi Yanjiu* 藝術研究, no. 7 (2005): 179-215.

⁵⁶ Patricia Ebrey, “Court Painting,” in *A Companion to Chinese Art*, eds., M. J. Powers and K. R. Tsiang (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 34.

make a living.⁵⁷ With these new discoveries in mind, it is crucial for art historians to reevaluate the institutional functions of the academy in the Southern Song.

6. Thesis

Following this line of inquiry, studies on West Lake paintings are of special importance, as they exist in the intersection of court patronage and professional/private production.

Through stylistic analysis and comparisons, this dissertation dates to the Ming-Qing period several major works that were traditionally attributed to court artists of the Southern Song: *Scenic Attractions on West Lake* (西湖清趣圖, formerly attributed to Li Song; see appendix 2), *Willows and Boats on West Lake* (西湖柳艇圖, formerly attributed to Xia Gui; see chapter 1), and *Ten Scenes of West Lake* (西湖十景圖冊, formerly attributed to Ye Xiaoyan; see chapter 1). In doing so, it invalidates the key visual materials that were used to support the Song lineage of West Lake landscape paintings.

This dissertation then distinguishes the images of West Lake produced in the Song period (maps and Chan paintings) from the concept of a “Southern Song painting of West Lake” (site-specific landscape paintings done by court artists) constructed during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Thus, it traces the art-historiographical construction of a “Southern Song painting of West Lake” and considers it in light of the discourses on local identity of the Ming era and imperial control of the Qing regime. Through a retrospective examination of the art-historical

⁵⁷ Huiping Pang, *Xuni de Diantang: Nansong Huayuan zhi Shengshe Zhizhi yu Houshi Xiangxiang* 虛擬的殿堂：南宋花園之省舍職制與後世想像 (“Southern Song Painting Academy”: Its Organization and Post-1279 Historiographical Reconstruction) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2018).

writings on West Lake paintings, this dissertation probes the efficacies and meanings of the constructed Southern Song *image* of West Lake.

I propose that during the Yuan and Ming periods, West Lake, and its association with the Southern Song court, was incorporated in the building of the local identity of Hangzhou and the more general Jiangnan region. In drama, folklore, and paintings, West Lake was treated as the lingering ghost of the fallen Southern Song. This sentiment triggered the production of paintings on this subject that claimed to be produced by the court painters of the Southern Song. These paintings delineate specific, easily recognizable sites on West Lake in landscape scrolls. They usually follow the perceived styles of Li Song (using rule-lined technique) or Xia Gui (using axe-cut texturing strokes). Furthermore, they often bear the signatures of famous Southern Song artists who originated from Hangzhou.

The emergence of these paintings nurtured the foundation for the proliferation of catalog records of these alleged Southern Song West Lake paintings. In return, these catalog records boosted enthusiasm in fabricating such paintings. This reciprocal process enhanced the impression that painters of the Southern Song court actively engaged in depicting West Lake.

The rulers of the Qing utilized this method of shaping identity through *image* building, as they collected, endorsed, and reflected on numerous “fake” Southern Song paintings of West Lake. By comparing themselves to the able governors of Hangzhou of the Song dynasty in their inscriptions on these purported Song paintings, Qing emperors initiated dialogues with their predecessors. Through claiming, occupying, and imprinting West Lake in situ and in paintings, the Manchu conquerors merged the image of the lake with its perceived reflection of the Song dynasty in their design of an all-encompassing, multiethnic imperial landscape.

In conclusion, the thesis of this dissertation argues that the concept of a Southern Song West Lake was filtered through a sensibility characterized by a tourism boom, construction of local identity, and imperial appropriation during the Ming and Qing periods.

7. The (Trans)locality and (Trans)temporality in the Representation of West Lake

Following these two main threads, this dissertation is composed of five chapters grouped into three parts, that is, three analytical frameworks that are also arranged by temporal sequence.

Part 1 explores the formal qualities of paintings of West Lake, an investigation that traces the origins of the theme to the Song dynasty. Part 2 discusses the doubleness in time and space in the representation of West Lake. It examines two vital timelines in the development of West Lake images during the Ming period, one that presents the new look of the recently renovated tourist site and the other that traces the formation of a Southern Song lineage of West Lake paintings. Part 3 considers the emperors' role in the lake during the Qing dynasty within the discourse of landscape and power.

The chapters also follow a quasi-temporal order from the Song to the Ming and Qing. Chapter 1 surveys three basic visual models in the pictorial representation of West Lake. It further considers the composition, layout, and visual effect of the three models. It argues that all these elements emerged from particular experiences of the lake: the enthusiasm to overlook the lake from above, the trend to engage with the lake at different times and locations, and the fad of touring the lake in boats. Through the expression of these different experiences, these visual models offer artists of different time periods and regions a rich repertoire of pictorial tools.

Chapter 2 investigates the two coexisting spatiotemporalities in the images of West Lake during the mid-late Ming dynasty. In the Wanli reign (1573–1620), with the financial support of

a eunuch from Beijing, local gentry, and officials, West Lake was reinstated as one of the most visited tourist sites in China. Its new looks inspired new fashions in lake tours and images. Meanwhile, through fantasizing the lake as the embodiment of the long-gone Southern Song regime, the local communities of Hangzhou sought to fortify a local identity that took pride in its association with the past dynasty. This identity-building process reciprocally brought economic and cultural benefit to citizens of Hangzhou. The new landscape of the lake is now contextualized in the reconstructed image of the Southern Song, giving West Lake and its images a double temporality that worked in tandem to elevate the economic, political, and cultural status of Hangzhou.

Chapter 3 scrutinizes and challenges the perceived Southern Song lineage of West Lake paintings. Since the Ming era, catalogs, inscriptions, and other writings on art emphasized the close relationship between Song court patronage and paintings of West Lake. Through close analyses of textual and pictorial sources, this chapter traces the formation of this lineage during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. Investigating the process of fabricating the two model painters of West Lake, Li Song and Xia Gui, I argue that the successful (re)construction of a Song lineage of the lake is achieved through a combined local effort from artists, connoisseurs, and elites of Hangzhou and the broader Zhejiang Province.

Chapter 4 investigates Emperors Kangxi's, Yongzheng's, and Qianlong's footprints on the landscape of West Lake. Onsite, imperial marks were prominently imprinted in the form of stelae, pavilions, and plaques. In painting, the imperial presence and spectatorship are visualized through court-commissioned landscapes of West Lake, depictions of the southern inspection tour, and images created by the emperors themselves. Many of these works are discussed under the Foucauldian discourse of visibility and power. Using the model of the panopticon, I argue

that the *Southern Inspection Tour* (南巡圖) scroll by Xu Yang is an adaptation of the panoptic device that situates the emperor at the center and his subjects on the periphery. The discussion on the court-commissioned paintings also considers the images as spectacles created for viewers of various social status. Imperial traces, presence, and vision are conveyed in paintings produced by the artists of the Qing court as devices of surveillance and stage for spectacle.

Chapter 5 discusses how West Lake, as mobile images, facilitated the cultural and artistic communications across region and media. The translocality and multimediality of West Lake images is a key feature of the mid-late Qing dynasty. At this time, an image of the lake could also be detached from its location in Hangzhou to represent a place elsewhere. This “displacement” was crucial in transplanting the culture of Jiangnan China and the historical lineage of the Song dynasty to other places under the multiethnic empire. The landmark of Hangzhou eventually became a cultural icon of China.

This examination of West Lake images will contribute to the field of art history. First, it deals with the issues inherent in transforming real places into pictorial representations by analyzing three models present in West Lake paintings, adding to the scholarship on topographical paintings, cityscapes/capitalscapes, and site-specific paintings.⁵⁸ Second, it participates in the discussion of the function of landscape conveyed through representation and medium, a hotly debated topic in Chinese art history for the past three decades.⁵⁹ Furthermore,

⁵⁸ Scholars of Chinese and Japanese art who studied topographical painting, paintings of sites and cityscapes include Jerome Silbergeld, Alfreda Murck, Julia Orell, Wang Cheng-hua and Matthew McKelway. Silbergeld, “Back to the Red Cliffs”; Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*; Orell, “Picturing the Yangzi River”; Wang Cheng-hua, “Qianlong chao Suzhou chengshi tuxiang”; Matthew McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

⁵⁹ Richard Barnhardt, Wen Fong, James Cahill, Wu Hung, and Craig Clunas have been the predecessors discussing the issue of how landscape paintings convey meaning and function. In particular, Craig Clunas’s book *Chinese Painting and Its Audience* deals with the issue of how paintings were viewed. Ping Foong’s book is the most up-to-

by dating three major works and retracing the process of art-historical construction, it raises doubts about the long-conceived belief that the Southern Song court commissioned numerous paintings of the lake from court painters. While this analysis provides a more accurate understanding of Southern Song art, it also sheds light on the reception of Song art during the Ming-Qing period. In addition, it provides insights into the relationship between political power, cultural identity, and image production, an important perspective in art history that over the past thirty years has become very influential in the study of Chinese visual culture beyond literati paintings.⁶⁰

Finally, the analysis of West Lake is at the frontier of the study of the Song dynasty. In a 1988 state-of-the-field article on Song dynasty study in China, the author claims that “the study of cultural history [of the Song] has shown a promising start.”⁶¹ Compared to the studies of the economic, political, and institutional history of the Song dynasty, the study of the art history of the period got a late start in China. In West Lake, however, the study of the art of the Song emerged and flourished in the twentieth century. While connoisseurship of Song paintings remains an essential approach to studying the art of the Song, political aspects of Song paintings

date analysis of the efficacy of landscape in a political context. Richard Barnhardt, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees: Some Landscape Themes in Chinese Painting* (New York: China Institute in America, 1972); Wen C. Fong, “Pictorial Representation in Chinese Landscape Painting,” in *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, eds., Wen C. Fong, Alfreda Murck, Shou-chien Shih, Pao-chen Chen, and Jan Stuart (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984). Wen C. Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th-14th Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992); James Cahill, *The Lyric Journey: Poetic Painting in China and Japan*; Craig Clunas, *Chinese Painting and Its Audience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Ping Foong, *The Efficacious Landscape*. Wu Hung’s book pays particular attention to how medium and format of painting entail different visual experience and effect. Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁶⁰Wang Cheng-hua’s article provides a good summary of the scholarship in the field of politics and art. Wang Cheng-hua, “Chuantong Zhongguo huihua yu zhengzhi quanli 傳統中國繪畫與政治權利 (Traditional Chinese painting and political power), *Art, Power, and Consumption: One perspective on the history of Chinese art*, 18-68.

⁶¹Yang Weisheng and Lee-fang Chien, “A brief survey of Song dynasty studies in China over the past decade,” *Bulletin of Sung and Yuan Studies*, no 20 (1988): 8.

were also deeply explored.⁶² Recently, the study of the Southern Song has often centered around the discussion of Hangzhou and West Lake, as perspectives in literary, dramatic, art, and material culture studies became increasingly influential.⁶³ Although the validity of using dynastic time to frame the discussion of artistic output, consumption, and perception is the target of Wu Hung's 2022 book *Chinese Art and Dynastic Time*, the study of paintings of West Lake is inevitably imbued with the perceptions of the Southern Song dynasty, as the image of the lake is deeply rooted in the perceptions of the dynasty.⁶⁴ This dissertation provides a critical investigation into the idea of a Song *image* of West Lake, exploring as it does so the process and results of conveying a concept of a dynasty in the discourse of image building.

⁶² Jerome Silbergeld, "Chinese paintings studies in the West: A state-of-the-field article," *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46 (November 1987):852-855, 870-871.

⁶³ The collected essay in *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127-1279* demonstrates this trend to engage with West Lake in the study of Southern Song history from multiple perspectives. Joseph Sui Ching Lam, Shuen-fu Lin, Christian De Pee, and Martin J. Powers eds., *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127-1279* (Hongkong: The Chinese University Press, 2017).

⁶⁴ Wu Hung. *Chinese Art and Dynastic Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022).

PART 1

Re-Implacing West Lake

CHAPTER 1

The Topographic, the Topo-Poetic, and the Immersive: Representing West Lake in Three Key Visual Formats

How to represent a lake in paintings? One straightforward method is to show the entire lake from a bird's-eye perspective, a format similar to a map that captures the lake's topographic features. The *West Lake* scroll, loosely attributed to Li Song, demonstrates such a top-down view of the entire West Lake, along with its immediate surroundings, from a vantage point high above and to the east of the lake (plate 2.1). *A View of the Two Lakes and Mountain House, Catskill Mountains, Morning*, by Thomas Cole (1801–48), is another example of overlooking two lakes from an elevation (plate 2.2).

Another way to portray a lake is to depict only a section of it from a close-in standpoint on the shore. Gustave Courbet's (1819–77) *View of Lac Léman* depicts a vista showing a part of the lake, a neighboring mountain, and a portion of a lakeshore beach (plate 2.3). A similar composition is found in Kawase Hasui's (1883–1957) print *Lake Chuzenji, Nikko* (plate 2.4).

These two visual formats—the bird's-eye panorama and the close-up—are the most conventional ways of representing lakes in paintings, and they are found throughout history and across cultures. However, since the sixteenth century, artists in China have explored a unique model to transmute an ecliptic lake into a linear composition on various media. This format, hereafter called the “linearized panoptic,” linearizes the circular lake into a continuous horizontal

composition. To accomplish this, the circle is divided into segments along its circumference; these circle segments are then transposed to segments of a line whose starting point and endpoint meet on what had been the circumference of the circle. This “line,” when shortened to fit the medium, is configured to a two-dimensional surface to represent the “circumference” of the elliptical lake. In Chinese, this format is sometimes called *yanbian* (沿邊圖, a picture of going along the borders) or *zhouwei tu* (周圍圖, a picture of circumferential encirclement).

In this chapter, I use these three basic visual formats, distinguished mainly by composition, style, and viewing experience, as devices to investigate West Lake images within different genres and traditions. The three basic formats—the bird’s-eye panorama, the scenic close-up, and the linearized panoptic—emerged during different periods and evolved over time.⁶⁵ Artists adopted, utilized, altered, and sometimes integrated these prototypes for expressive, promotional, or propaganda purposes. The first two formats took their earliest forms in the Southern Song period; the third format emerged in the Ming dynasty. Each format corresponds to a particular trend in landscape and site-specific paintings, benefiting from and contributing to the larger artistic and social context.⁶⁶ They also conformed to, and thus reflect, the standardized

⁶⁵ This categorization is intended for the clarity of discussion. It was not a historical or art-historical division.

⁶⁶ The term “topographical paintings,” according to Edward Casey, is defined as “the use of painting for topographic purposes, that is, for conveying more or less accurate, exactly depicted, pictorial representations of a given landscape.” In the study of Chinese paintings, “topographical paintings” are often used interchangeably with the term “site-specific painting.” However, the two terms need to be distinguished for the purpose of discussion in this dissertation. Topographical paintings, as used by Casey convey geographical features of a place. Site-specific paintings, on the other hand, denotes landscape paintings that depict a particular place. The site being represented in a site-specific painting can be identified in various ways that include the representation of topographical features. However, there are cases in Chinese art that a painting of a specific site does not purvey any identifiable topographical features of its landscape. For Casey’s discussion on topographical paintings, see Edward Casey, *Representing Place*, 9-14. For a discussion of “topographical paintings” in Chinese art, see James Cahill, “Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Picture,” 254; Li-tsui Flora Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains: Grand Tour and Mingshan Paintings in Sixteenth-century China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2009), 25.

vision and experience of the lake as set forth by poets, writers, and tourists of various social strata.

Furthermore, these three formats can be inserted into the narrative of modern art history in areas like topographical (site-specific) paintings and in the relationships between map and painting, landscape and politics, and landscape and sightseeing.⁶⁷ This categorization, however, does not suggest a chronological order or a historical development of this theme. Formats coexisted and sometimes cooperated in images throughout time to create more diverse representations of the lake. In the following sections, I refer to examples of each format and discuss them in terms of representation, style, visual effect, function, sociopolitical context, and significance.

1.1 The Bird's-Eye Panoramic Format as Scenic Overlook of the Lake

The bird's-eye panoramic format depicts the entirety of the lake and its surroundings from a high and remote perspective. It captures the silhouette of the lake, aligning key landmarks and scenic spots on the lake according to their geographical locations and exhibiting such basic features as the lake's locale, shape, and general layout. As such, it functions much like a map, depicting borders, locations of features, and proportioned distances between them. It also represents West Lake more-or-less isomorphically, capturing features of the lake in precise representations.

⁶⁷ Cahill uses West Lake images as examples of his more "pictorial and descriptive" pole of the spectrum. Orell challenges this identification by bringing another West Lake image as counter-example to Cahill's argument, suggesting a relationship between the map-like qualities and painterly landscape, further complicating the issue of topographical representations in Chinese painting history. Vinograd recalls West Lake as a rare subject involving specific places before the Yuan dynasty, putting it in line with other site-specific paintings like images of Wangchuan Villa, and Lu Hong's *Ten Views of the Thatched Cottage*. Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Picture," 255-256; Julia Orell, "Picturing the Yangzi River in Southern Song China (1127-1279)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011), 196-197; Richard Vinograd, "Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng's 'Pien Mountains' of 1366," *Ars Orientalis*, 13 (1982): 11.

The earliest extant illustration of West Lake in the bird's-eye panoramic format is a map from the Southern Song dynasty.⁶⁸ In the *Lin'an zhi* (臨安志, Gazetteer of Lin'an) from the Xianchun (咸淳) reign (1265–74), an illustration titled *Map of West Lake* (西湖圖, hereafter the *Lin'an zhi* map) depicts the lake and its surrounding environment seen from a birds-eye perspective in a map-like manner (plate 2.5). Oriented to the west, the image places the lake in the center, with the neighboring city on the east side and the encircling mountains on the other three sides. The Sudi Causeway and its six bridges, the Gushan Islet, the Baidi Causeway, and the Duan Bridge are depicted on the lake. Small trapezoidal and rectangular shapes mark the well-known shrines and temples. A few parallel curvy strokes denote waves on the lake's surface. The bottom half of the lake is left intentionally blank, contrasting with the densely inscribed areas neighboring it. Scenic spots on the lakeshore are subsequently marked in symbolic architecture-shaped graphs and written words. Moving outward, a semicircle of overlapping mountains, depicted in generic mountain forms with repetitive triangular shapes, shelters the lake like a screen. Farther away, names of distant towns in the suburbs of Hangzhou are listed in all directions toward the edges of the picture. On the bottom, a simplified layout of the west half of the city of Hangzhou (which is immediately adjacent to the lake) is shown. Emphasis is given to the four city gates along the city wall.

⁶⁸ Three Song dynasty facsimiles of the *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* are now in the collection of Nanjing Library, National Library, Beijing, and Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo. Several Qing dynasty reprints of are available in multiple collections. The attached image is a reproduction based on a Tongzhi period facsimile of *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* now in the collection of Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Qian Shuoyou, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, Qiantang Wangshi Zhenqitang ke Tongzhi liunian buke ben 錢塘汪氏振綺堂刻同治六年補刻本, Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

Although the picture possesses some landscape features, such as the willow trees on the lake, the waves on the water, and the mountain forms, it more closely resembles a map/diagram than a general landscape painting in James Cahill's definition, as it is much more "schematic" than "descriptive."⁶⁹ The architecture, bridges, and mountains are painted in a minimalist and formulaic manner, with scant individualistic and identifiable features. The written labels marking place -names fill the picture, leaving half the lake untouched. The dense writing, the overlapping scenic spots, and the sheltering mountains encircle the lake and confine it physically and visually to the center of the image, creating a donut-shaped composition. The viewer's gaze is drawn to the centralized lake, but its emptiness, ironically, negates any closer analysis.

Like many other maps of premodern China, multiple perspectives can be discerned in this map.⁷⁰ For instance, the buildings, pagodas, hills, and city gates and walls are seen in a "level-distance" perspective, showing the east side of the architecture and the mountain. Meanwhile, the whole map is composed as though seen from high above, placing the implied viewer in the sky. A satellite image captured from Google Earth (plate 2.6) exhibits a similar perspective. Using multiple perspectives, the image creates two kinds of space: a flat map with symbols and written place-names that chart the landscape schematically, and a semi-landscape with erect mountains and buildings that convey a sense of height, depth, and three-dimensionality.

Although the bird's-eye panoramic format might have first emerged on maps of local gazetteers, it was also found in landscape paintings. A comparison of the aforementioned map

⁶⁹ Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings," 254.

⁷⁰ Cordell Yee points out that pre-modern Chinese cartographers utilized more than one perspective so that the map would look more "realistic" while fulfilling its charting function. Cordell Yee, "Chinese Cartography among the Arts: Objectivity, Subjectivity, Representation," in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 128.

with a famous handscroll attributed to Li Song presents a case study of how this format was applied in ink-monochromatic landscape. The handscroll, titled *West Lake* (西湖圖, hereafter the Li Song scroll), now in the Shanghai Museum (plate 2.1), is different from the *Lin'an zhi* map in style and emphasis but comparable in terms of composition and perspective.⁷¹ At first glance, the differences between the two images are apparent. First, the emphasis of each is distinct. The Li Song scroll focuses primarily on the lake, narrowing the lens to capture only the lake proper and its most immediate surroundings and omitting places far from the lake. The lake is also centralized and empty but for the several boats, large and small, that connect the waterway and enliven the lake. Second, the two images diverge in terms of painting technique and brushwork. The buildings, trees, and rocks in the Li Song scroll are painted with varied ink tones and texturing strokes. The crisp and dark contours of the Leifeng Pagoda (雷峰塔) and the houses beneath it are set against the light ink wash on the rocks and foliage, situating the artificial structure in the humid and misty natural environment. This juxtaposition of artificiality, marked by darker and stricter brushwork, and nature, denoted by lighter and looser brushwork, is evident throughout the entire picture. As such, the Li Song scroll treats the lake as the main subject of an atmospheric landscape, representing the scenes and creating a mood in more detail, whereas the *Lin'an zhi* map simply presents the geographical locations and layout. In the painting, the contrast between the two components—the man-made infrastructure and the natural environment—is distinguishable by brushwork and tonal gradation. Unlike the map, there are no

⁷¹ The scroll, although attributed to the Southern Song painter Li Song, is now dated to the 13th century by Miyazaki Noriko. Scholars believe it is by the hands of a follower of Li Song. Miyazaki Noriko, “Seiko wo meguru kaiga,” 199-245.

written inscriptions on the pictorial surface in the Li Song scroll. The lack of written texts reinforces its verisimilitude while undermining its cartographic functions. As a result, this landscape painting deviates from the map in terms of visual effect and function. The map emphasizes places and locations in their spatial and geographical context, while the landscape painting represents the entirety of the lake through the lens of a typical *shanshui* (山水) genre.⁷²

Despite the differences, the similarities are noteworthy. First, like the *Lin'an zhi* map, the scroll situates viewers high above the east side of the lake, the side where the city of Hangzhou is situated. Second, the general composition of the two images is similar. In both works, the Baidi and Sudi Causeways, the Gushan Islet, the Baochu Pagoda (保俶塔) to the north, the Leifeng Pagoda to the south, and the city gates and walls to the east encircle the lake in the center of the painting, establishing the hexagonal layout (plate 2.7) that would become the model for numerous later works.

⁷² The notion that landscape paintings should convey a sense of seasonal and atmospheric mood is advocated by Northern Song court painter and theorist Guo Xi 郭熙 (after 1000-ca.1090). Landscape paintings should construct an ideal scenery which is harmonious and meaningful to evoke an imaginary visual tour to the nature. “Clouds and vapors in a real landscape differ through the four seasons. They are genial in spring, profuse in summer, sparse in autumn, and somber in winter...Mists and haze [on mountains] in a real landscape differ through the seasons. Spring mountains are gently seductive and seem to smile. Summer mountains seem moist in their verdant hues. Autumn mountains are bright and clear, arrayed in colorful garments. Winter mountains are withdrawn in melancholy, apparently asleep.” “A great mountain is dominating as chief over the assembled hills, thereby ranking in an ordered arrangement in ridges and peaks, forests and valleys as suzerains of varying degrees and distances. The general appearance is of a great lord glorious on his throne and a hundred princes hastening to pay him court...” “It is generally accepted opinion that in landscape there are those through which you may travel...” See Guo Xi, *Linquan Gaozhi* 林泉高致 (The Lofty Message of Forest and Streams), *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 中國畫論類編 (Classified Compilation of Chinese Theories of Painting), ed. Yu Jianhua (Beijing: Zhongguo Gudian Yishu chubanshe, 1957). English translation by Susan Bush and Hsiao-Yen Shih. Guo Xi, “On Landscape Painting,” in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, eds. Susan Bush and Hsiao-Yen Shih (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 151, 168.

The two contemporaneous examples suggest that the bird's-eye panoramic format emerged almost simultaneously in two types of images: a map-like illustration in a woodblock-printed official gazetteer and an ink-monochromatic landscape painting. Although the two genres were at first quite distinctive, they gradually became interwoven and eventually forged a style that yielded more dynamic representations of the lake.

The leisurely activities on and near the lake were essential for the production and consumption of West Lake images during the Ming and Qing dynasties. With the rise of mass tourism and the development of woodblock printing techniques, the bird's-eye panoramic format took new shapes in the form of the popular *shengji tu* (勝績圖, pictures of famous scenic attractions) genre.⁷³

The aforementioned hexagonal layout exemplified by the *Lin'an zhi* map and the Li Song scroll became a prototype for artists of later generations. *Map of the Entire West Lake*, in the *Hushan shenggai* (湖山勝概, scenic sites on the lake and mountains), published in the Wanli era (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, presents a perfect example of this prototype in the cartographic trajectory and its development in the woodblock-printed medium during the sixteenth century (plate 2.8). The landmark Beigao (北高峰) and Nangao Peaks (南高峰), the two pagodas (Baochu and Leifeng), and the three city gates frame the lake in the typical hexagonal layout. Taking a bird's-eye view from the east, this illustration closely follows the

⁷³ Ma Mengching's two articles place images of West Lake in the *Shengji tu* genre within the socio-historical context of mass tourism, suggesting that local identity and tourist culture promoted illustrations of West Lake in the *Shengji tu* type during the mid-late Ming dynasty. Ma Meng-ching, "Mingshengzhi huo lvyoushu", 93-138; "Dizhi yu jiyou," 1-49.

Lin'an zhi map format. However, compared with the Southern Song model, the rocks and hills in the Ming dynasty print are rendered with texturing strokes. The layering texturing brushwork on Beigao and Nangao Peaks resemble the iconic style of Huang Gongwang (黃公望; 1269–1345) (plate 2.9) that was adapted for woodblock illustrations.⁷⁴ However, this imitation of landscape painting is interrupted by the formulaic shapes symbolizing architecture. The trapezoidal roof on top of the rectangular walls occurs repeatedly, referring to the built infrastructures of the lake. A viewer can rely only on the written inscriptions within the rectangular walls to differentiate and identify each of them.⁷⁵

Several scenic maps of Hangzhou that were produced during the Qing dynasty and the Republican era also conform to the bird's-eye panoramic format in the hexagonal layout. In the *Most Up-to-Date Scenic Map of West Lake* (最新西湖風景圖) (plate 2.10), dated to the 1910s, the composition is taken onto a large, poster-sized (54 x 77.5 cm) map. The mountains are colored with three tones of green and textured with the repetitive use of “hemp-fiber strokes.” The architecture is done in vermilion and light blue colors to contrast with the mountains and the trees. The juxtaposition of artificial structure and natural environment is brought forth vividly

⁷⁴ In the Wanli Era of Ming Dynasty, woodblock printing technique advanced tremendously. The carvers of Huizhou worked primarily in Hangzhou to produce illustrated novels, plays, tourist books and painting manuals. The style of Huang Gongwang, exemplified by the short hemp-fiber strokes on the mountain ridges is stylized in the new medium. See Wang Bomin 王伯敏, *Zhongguo banhua tongshi* 中國版畫通史 (A Complete History of Chinese Woodblock Prints), (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2002); Oki Yasushi 大木康, *Mingmo jiangnan de chuban wenhua* 明末江南的出版文化 (Print Culture of Late-Ming Jiangnan), trans. Zhou Baoxiong, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 156-163.

⁷⁵ In pre-modern Chinese art, the distinction between maps and paintings, or *tu* and *hua* was never so clear. The two systems often went in hand in hand, the *tu* diagrams the universe and the *hua* pictures it. See Wu Hung, “Picturing or diagraming the universe,” in eds. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and George Metailie, *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 192-193.

to viewers through the contrast of colors. Scenic spots are labeled individually on the map. Two vertical banners frame the two sides of the map and provide recommendations for itineraries to readers and viewers. The outer frame of the poster map is a ring of decorative motifs, including mirrors, flowers, and embroidery. This map is sensual and aesthetic in the sense that it is larger, more legible, colorful, and decorative.⁷⁶

The interpretation of this hexagonal, east-west-oriented layout bifurcated during the Ming-Qing dynasties; while the conventional orientation and layout persisted, new viewpoints were established, and different orientations were adopted. A map of Hangzhou restored from Marco Polo's (1254–1324) notes represents the lake and the adjacent city from a north-to-south point of view (plate 2.11). In contrast, a map of West Lake published in *Hangzhou fuzhi* (杭州府志, Gazetteer of the Hangzhou municipality) (plate 2.12) during the Wanli reign (1572–1620) overlooks the lake from the south. The city wall is consequently placed on the right edge of the map, and the Sudi Causeway parallels the central vertical axis. This map follows the modern-day cartographic orientation that places north at the top, as with all other maps found in this gazetteer. The new south-north orientation conformed to the conventional east-west orientation in West Lake representation, providing new views from high and remote vantage points from multiple directions. Two Qing dynasty maps, one from *Zhejiang tongzhi* (浙江通志, Complete

⁷⁶ Around 20 maps of similar scale, color and composition can be found in *Hangzhou gujiu ditu ji* 杭州古舊地圖集 (Ancient maps of Hangzhou). All of them took the typical bird's-eye panorama format similar in the *Lin'an Zhi* map and the Li Song painting. These images suggest that this format remained one of the most popular types throughout time. Hangzhou shi Dang'an Guan 杭州市檔案館 (Hangzhou Archives), *Hangzhou Gujiu Ditu Ji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2009).

gazetteer of Zhejiang), published during the Yongzheng reign, and one from *Hangzhou fuzhi*, published during the Qianlong reign, both take the north-south perspective, looking down at the lake from the north (plates 2.13, 2.14). Until this point, a bird's-eye panorama of West Lake had been presented from three cardinal directions: east, south, and north.

The bird's-eye panorama format became especially prevalent in printmaking, appearing in the geography volumes of the many *leishu* (類書) encyclopedias and in tourist guidebooks.

These pictures embrace elements from maps and landscape paintings, further blurring the boundary between the two. In addition, the physical dimensions of this group of West Lake pictures were extended to occupy more pages and longer scrolls. The illustration of West Lake in the pictorial encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui* (三才圖會, collected illustrations of the three realms) (plate 2.15) takes up six leaves, while the one in *Xihu youlan zhi* (西湖游覽志, Gazetteer of sightseeing in West Lake) covers fifteen (plate 2.16). As a result, the whole composition was broken into several sections. Thus, even though the original bird's-eye panoramic composition was intended to represent the entirety of the lake within a single pictorial frame, the woodblock medium forced several breaks in the composition to incorporate more scenes and details. However, in the media of woodblock-printed books and painted handscrolls, the width of the pictures is relatively fixed, so artists often needed to elongate the prints or scrolls to extend the layout. As a result, the lake's single-view panorama became sectional. An all-encompassing view of the entire lake was no longer feasible in these elongated images of the lake.

Another trend in the development of the bird's-eye panoramic format is the imitation of landscape paintings in woodblock-printed illustrations. *Picture of West Lake* from *Mingshan*

shenggai ji (名山勝概記, Gazetteers of famous mountains) and *Boating in Spring on West Lake* (西湖春泛) from *Xu Fancha tu* (續泛槎圖, Sequel to images of the floating raft), exemplify the tendency to create images following Li Song's landscape painting in the woodblock medium (plates 2.17, 2.18). Both pictures adopt the prototypical hexagonal layout and the bird's-eye perspective but omit the written labels for place-names. *Boating in Spring on West Lake* added a lyrical inscription to the top-right corner of the pictorial surface, including a title, a poem, and two seals. The calligraphy and the seals were carved on the woodblock with the rest of the picture and printed onto the surface, a process different from writing directly on a painting and impressing one's seals on it. This was intended to mimic the ideal literati landscape painting, which encompasses pictorial image, lyrical inscription, and seals.⁷⁷ The landscape elements are executed with repetitive texturing strokes, and the architecture is painted with more individuality. Though occupying two facing pages, the picture does not break over the book spine, thereby maintaining its visual coherency. As a result of all these factors, this illustration of West Lake represents a reconfiguration and reproduction of the Li Song scroll in the medium of a woodblock print. These pictures were mass-produced and widely circulated to accommodate the increased popular appreciation of West Lake images and the demand of middle-class citizens and tourists to own pictures of the lake.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ The Three Perfections, or Sanjue 三绝, refer to the arts of poetry, calligraphy, and painting executed on one work. It was seen as the ultimate form of literati art because it embodies the three arts as expressive outlets of the author/painter's feelings and emotions. See Qi Gong, Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, ed, *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, Princeton University Press, 1991.

⁷⁸ Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-ca.1684) records that during spring times, the images of the lake, mountain and monasteries flooded the market so much so that they exceeded the price of famous Song and Yuan paintings. Zhang Dai, "Xihu xiangshi" 西湖香市 (incense market on West Lake), in *Tao An Mengyi* 陶庵夢憶 (Reminiscences in the Dream of Tao An), juan 7, *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), 82-83.

Despite the new trends and developments in this visual format, paintings in this model seek to represent a sensibility of vision, a vista as it would have been experienced or desired by tourists of West Lake. The earliest representation of West Lake presenting a bird's-eye panoramic view might have sprung from the desire to *tiao* (眺, look out from a distance at) and *wang* (望, gaze into the distance at) West Lake. Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846), the famous Tang poet and then-mayor of Hangzhou, commissioned a painting of Hangzhou as seen from one of the city's towers. He named the painting *Hangzhou junlou dengwang tu* (杭州郡樓登望圖, Climbing up the city tower of Hangzhou and gazing into the distance) and composed a poem titled “Overlooking [the City] at Night from the Seaview Pavilion, Fresh and Extraordinary Views, Chanting a Poem, and Sending It to Mr. Zhang of the Water Division” (江樓晚眺，景物鮮奇，吟玩成篇，寄水部張員外).⁷⁹ The poem describes the scenes on the outskirts of Hangzhou as seen from a viewpoint high above the city. The painting was sent to the poet Zhang Ji (張籍, 766–830), who then sent a poem back to Bai titled “In Response to Bai's Climbing up the City Tower of Hangzhou and Gazing into the Distance” (答白杭州郡樓登望圖).⁸⁰ This

⁷⁹ Bai Juyi, *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏長慶集, *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 juan 20, Song keben 宋刻本 (Song dynasty woodblock printed facsimile).

⁸⁰ This poem is recorded in *Hangzhou Fuzhi* (preface 1685), juan 38, Kangxi sanshisannian zengke ben 康熙三十三年增刻本, 26b.

exchange documents the patronage of the now-lost painting of a bird's-eye vista of Hangzhou's outskirts, which probably included a view of West Lake.

Another poem by Bai Juyi, titled "Hangzhou chun wang" (杭州春望, Spring scenery seen from a distance in Hangzhou), illustrates the vista seen from the Seaview Pavilion (望海樓), which incorporates views of the Qiantang River, the city of Hangzhou, and West Lake:

The lights from the Seaview Pavilion echo the morning glow,

The white embankment of the Zhejiang River steps on the clear sands.

The sounds of the tides enter the Temple of Wu Yuan,

The willow-colored spring hides in the house of Su Xiaoxiao.

When the persimmon is ripe, the girls in red skirts weave the silk,

As the pear tree blossoms, the houses with green banners sell wines.

Who paved the roads on the southwest of the lake?

The grass flutter with the waist of the dress.

望海樓明照曙霞，護江堤白踏晴沙。

濤聲夜入伍員廟，柳色春藏蘇小家。

紅袖織綾誇柿蒂，青旗沽酒趁梨花。

誰開湖寺西南路，草綠裙腰一道斜。⁸¹

These and many other records suggest that climbing up the pavilions and watchtowers located on the west side of the city to acquire panoramic views of the river, the city, and the lake was a well-celebrated activity among scholar-officials of Hangzhou, whose appraisal of the views from these observation decks further promoted this practice. In addition, Bai's and Zhang's poems also demonstrate that paintings were purposefully commissioned to delineate the scenery. The perspective indicated in the poems is similar to those depicted in the *Lin'an zhi* map and the Li Song scroll.

In present-day West Lake, two observation spots on Mt. Wu (吳山)—the Jianghu Pavilion (江湖樓, Pavilion of the river and the lake) and the Chenghuang Pavilion (城隍閣)—present almost identical views of the lake (plate 2.19). In addition to the sightseeing spot on Mt. Wu, an entry in *Mengliang lu* (夢梁錄; Records on dreaming the beam) records a recently refurbished Fengle Pavilion (豐樂樓, Pavilion of abundance and joy) just outside of Yongjin Gate (湧金門). According to *Mengliang lu*, the Fengle Pavilion was “extravagant and magnificent, rising to the clouds, presenting an extraordinary view of the lake and mountains,”

⁸¹ This poem is recorded in *Baishi changqing ji*, juan 20.

and “the gentry class and the literati frequently gather here for social affairs and get-togethers.”⁸²

The pavilions on Mt. Wu and the Fengle Pavilion are potential spots for a high and remote view of the lake from the east, just as represented in the *Lin'an zhi* map and the Li Song scroll.

In the Ming dynasty, a spatial shift occurred in West Lake tours. Tourist attractions and observation spots to the north and northeast of the lake gradually replaced the traditional viewpoints from mountains and watchtowers in the east and southeast of the lake to become the most populated tourist centers. According to the famous Ming writer Du Mu (都穆; 1459–1525), by climbing up Baoshi Peak on the north shore of the lake, one could get a full view of the lake and surrounding mountains. He relates this sightseeing experience to Su Shi’s journey to the Red Cliff:

I heard that there is a Baoshi Peak on top of West Lake, which has many scenic attractions. Therefore, one night, I climbed up the peak under the moonlight. . . . Seen from above, the lake is like a jade of ten thousand miles. Mt. Wu compels it like a screen. Other peaks like Mt. Fenghuang, Nanping, Wansong, and Ciyun are all curvy and lingering, marching onward competitively. East of the lake is Qiantang River. . . West of it is mountains hiding in the mist and cloud. West Lake is truly the supreme site of all under heaven.

⁸² Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (active 13th century), *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (Records on Dreaming the Beam; preface 1274 or 1334), juan 12, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

壬戌秋，八月既望，予至杭。聞西湖之上，有寶石山，甚勝。將以斯夕，翫月其上，故人周學諭與予。自山之陰而登，酌元學士黃晉卿讀書之軒，俯瞰全湖。一碧萬頃，而吳山前據，類屏障然。其他若鳳凰、南屏之山，萬松、慈雲之嶺，又皆蜿蜒迴拱，欲趨而先。其東則錢塘之江，瀰漫浩渺，極目無際。而西陵諸山，出沒煙霏翠靄間，誠天下之絕境也。⁸³

This travel diary describes the vista from Baoshi Peak, looking down and beyond West Lake and the surroundings. It was documented in many tourist books of West Lake, presenting a recommended itinerary for readers.

In addition, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xinang bianlan* 西湖志摘萃補遺悉囊遍覽 (Abridged and supplemented portable edition of gazetteer of West Lake, hereafter called *Xihu bianlan*), published in the Wanli reign, also states that the north side of the lake was the most populated area.⁸⁴ Fan Jingwen's (范景文; 1587–1644) poem agrees with this finding: “Among the many tourists of the lake, half was gathered on the misty and rainy Duan Bridge (湖邊多少游觀者，

⁸³ Du Mu, “You Baoshi shan ji” 游寶石山記 (Travelogue of Baoshi Peak), *Gujin you mingshan ji* 古今游名山記 (Travel Diaries of Famous Mountains Past and Present), juan. 10, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

⁸⁴ Gao Yingke (高應科; active 17th century) *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xinang bianlan* 西湖志摘萃補遺悉囊遍覽 (Abridged and supplemented portable edition of Gazetteer of West Lake), Ming Wanli kanben 明萬曆刊本 (Ming Wanli reign printed facsimile).

半在斷橋煙雨間.)”⁸⁵ With this spatial shift in tourism, the north-south orientation that surveys West Lake from a bird’s eye perspective from the north bank will become the new norm. The map of Marco Polo and two maps from gazetteers of the Qing dynasty that situate viewers on the north side of the lake illustrate the influence of behavioral changes in mass tourism on the topographical representations of a place.

1.2 The Scenic Close-Up Format and the Seasonal Engagement with the Lake

The scenic close-up format of West Lake representation zooms in to take shots of individual scenes. While the bird’s-eye panorama format takes a top-down perspective to incorporate the entire lake, the scenic close-up format expresses seasonal mood and human experience related to the lake. These two angles—bird’s-eye and close-up—go hand in hand to assimilate a comprehensive view of West Lake, as described in Su Shi’s words: “A macro view delights in the novel structures, while the micro scenes encompass the ancient hermitage” (雄觀快新獲，微景收昔遁).⁸⁶

Textual records suggest that toward the end of the Southern Song or the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, the theme of the ten scenes of West Lake propagated among painters as a means to celebrate seasonal variations. As *Mengliang lu* records:

⁸⁵ This poem is recorded in Zhang Dai’s *Xihu Mengxun* 西湖夢尋 (Searching for Dreams on West Lake), in *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 124.

⁸⁶ Su Shi, “Seng Qingshun xinzuo Chuiyun Ting” 僧清順新作垂雲亭 (Monk Qingshun newly built the Impending-Cloud Pavilion). This poem is recorded in the *Su Wenzhong gong quanji* 蘇文忠公全集 (Complete Anthology of Su Shi), juan 4, Ming Chenghua ben 明成化本 (Ming Chenghua reign reprinted edition).

Recently, painters claim that the most extraordinary views of the West Lake in the four seasons are: Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway, Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing Courtyard, Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake, Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge, Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows, Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor, Glow of Sunset upon Leifeng Peak, Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds, Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain, and Moon Reflected on Three Ponds.

近者畫家稱湖山四時景色最奇者有十：曰蘇堤春曉、曲院荷風、平湖秋月、斷橋殘雪、柳浪聞鶯、花港觀魚、雷峰夕照、兩峰插雲、南屏晚鐘、三潭映月。⁸⁷

In poetry, the ten scenes of West Lake theme also began to gain recognition in the thirteenth century.⁸⁸ Zhu Mu's (祝穆) *Fangyu shenglan* (方輿勝覽; exhausting overview of all part of the empire), published in 1239, notes:

⁸⁷ According to the author's preface, *Mengliang lu* was completed in the year of Jiayu 甲戌. Scholars debate about the correct date of this Jiayu year as it could either be 1274 or 1334. Although we could not pin down this book to a specific year, we know that most of the content describe and record the lifestyle of urban Hangzhou during the Xianchun reign (1265-1274), which is at the end of the Southern Song dynasty. Wu Zimu, *Mengliang lu*, juan 12 "Xihu," 7b-8a.

⁸⁸ The 13th century saw the surge in the output and refinement of the "Ten Scenes of West Lake" poems. Zhang Ju 張矩 (fl. 13th-14th century) composed a set of ten *ci* poems on the subject, each titled with one of the Ten Scenes. His poems attracted many imitators and challengers. Chen Yunping 陳允平 (fl. 13th century), a friend of Zhang Ju, accepts Zhang Ju's challenge, and writes ten poems in response. Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298) was also so prompted by Zhang Ju's poems that he composed a set of his own. In all of these poems, West Lake was portrayed as a romantic and beautiful natural setting for amorous affairs and leisure activities. Many of the poems describes the life of a courtesan in the lakeshore brothels. Others recount the pleasurable activities like going on spring excursions, hiking, picking flowers, watching cranes, drinking wines, resting in boats, etc.

Some busybodies composed ten titles that are called, “Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway,” “Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge,” “Glow of Sunset on Leifeng Peak,” “Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain,” “Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing Courtyard,” “Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor,” “Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows,” “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds,” and “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds.”

好事者嘗命十題，有曰平湖秋月、蘇堤春曉，斷橋殘雪，雷鋒落照，南屏晚鐘，麴院風荷、花港觀魚、柳浪聞鶯、三潭印月、兩峰插雲。⁸⁹

The ten scenes of West Lake theme incorporates views of four seasons, from dawn to midnight, on and around the lake, which also engages with the senses. As such, the ten scenes of West Lake regulates the way tourists encounter the site.

The proliferation of this subject during the Ming-Qing periods propelled the ten scenes of West Lake to become one of the most well-known pictorial themes in modern and contemporary China, a theme so fetishized that Lu Xun (魯迅, 1881–1936) openly denounced the phenomenon, calling this urge to make things complete in units of ten “ten views syndrome” (十景病).⁹⁰

While the first format deals with the top-down view over the lake, the second format engages with the personal experience of blending in with the lake. The appreciation of the lake underwent significant changes over time. During the Tang and the Northern Song dynasties,

⁸⁹ Zhu Mu, *Fangyu Shenglan*, juan 1 “Lin’an Fu,” *Siku quanshu* electronic version, 6b-7a.

⁹⁰ Lu Xun, “More Thoughts on the Collapse of Leifeng Pagoda,” in Lu et al., *Selected Works of Lu Hsun* (Beijing: Beijing Foreign Language Press, 1956), 96.

West Lake was a suburban reservoir that still possessed wild beauty. Lin Bu, a celebrated scholar-recluse who took residence on Gushan Islet, was regarded as the ideal of scholar hermits.

A poem by Lin Bu reads:

I occasionally built a cottage on the spring and rocks,
to cuddle with the pines and snow in winter and overlook West Lake.

The monk was kind and skilled at arts;
he painted me with Gushan Islet in this picture.

泉石年來偶結廬，冷挨松雪瞰西湖。

高僧好事仍多藝，已共孤山入畫圖。⁹¹

This poem suggests that the depiction of Lin Bu's hermitage in Gushan Islet was already a pictorial theme as early as the Northern Song period. Su Shi's many writings recorded his trips to the lake during all four seasons and throughout the day.⁹² The lake described in Su's poems is

⁹¹ Lin Bu, *Lin Hejing ji*, juan 4, 42.

⁹² Some examples include the "Five quatrains on night tour on West Lake" (夜泛西湖五絕), which commemorates his boat trip during mid-summer night. "Watching the moon while listening to the zither in West Lake on the fifteenth day of the ninth month and compose a poem to show my guests" (九月十五觀月聽琴西湖一首示坐客) records his night trip in autumn. "Visiting West Lake on Hanshi Festival with Liu Jingwen and Zhou Ciyuan, a second rhyme" (次韵刘景文周次元寒食同游西湖) describes his visit to West Lake during the Hanshi festival in early April. Two poems "Visiting West Lake in snow with Zhongshu, second rhyme" (次韵仲殊雪中游西湖) documents his trip during the snow in winter. The famous poem "Drinking on the lake in clear weather which later rained" (饮湖上初晴后雨) records the weather changes in one day from morning to dusk. These poems are among the many that documents Su Shi's numerous tours to West Lake in different season and time. They are all recorded in *Su Wenzhonggong Quanjì*.

also a secluded and natural site. The prominent motifs in his poems are “night,” “moon,” “boating,” “sweet scent,” and “hermitic sentiments.”

Touring the lake in various seasons and under different conditions was a celebrated activity for citizens of Southern Song Hangzhou. Textual records such as the *Splendid Scenery of the Capital* (Ducheng jisheng, 都城紀勝, 1235), *Mengliang lu*, and *Record of Luxuriant Scenery by the Old Man of West Lake* (Xihu laoren fanshenglu, 西湖老人繁勝錄, ca. 1240s) all have entries on touring the lake all year round. These writings suggest that the diversity of weather and time could affect the way the lake was observed and experienced but that this never hindered the enthusiasm of tourists. As *Mengliang lu* notes, “The views in the four seasons vary, but the joyful and delightful activities never exhaust” (四時之景不同，而賞心樂事者亦與之無窮也).⁹³ Certain activities, such as riding in the snow in winter, appreciating lotus blossoms in midsummer, hiking in spring, and looking at the moon in autumn, were regarded as appropriate ways to explore the lake. Likewise, paintings in the scenic close-up format take a focused look at specific sites to represent weather, time, and human engagement.

The celebration of the spring season, however, was not unique to West Lake and Hangzhou. *Record of a Dream of Splendor in the Eastern Capital* (Dongjing menghua lu, 東京夢華錄, 1148) documents the widespread practice of “visiting spring” in Northern Song

⁹³ Wu Zimu, *Mengliang Lu*, juan 12.

Bianliang.⁹⁴ Wineshops, boats, willows, and ponds were also in place for the city dwellers of Bianliang. This and many other textual sources suggest that scenes showing seasonal activities in cities are not exclusive to West Lake.

Conveying the swift passage of a particular time in landscape paintings is a theme for artists of the Southern Song Academy, who “achieved this through atmospheric perspective, manipulating the effects of light and mist.”⁹⁵ For instance, *Views in Four Seasons* (plate 2.20), attributed to Liu Songnian, is a set of four paintings (now mounted onto a single handscroll) depicting seasonal activities and sentiments in which the artist conveys the transience of life and the perennation of nature. The landscape, composed primarily of water and mountains, is the backdrop of these seasonal variations, which is secondary and auxiliary in the representation. None of the four panels presents any traces of a specific place. Thus, though some scholars tend to believe that this scroll depicts the scenery of West Lake, without any site specificity, one can hardly identify these images as representations of the lake.⁹⁶ This painting is one among many works throughout the history of Chinese art that illustrate only a small part of a site, include very

⁹⁴ “Shoudeng duren chucheng tanchun” 收燈都人出城探春 (After the Lantern Festival, citizens of the capital exited the city to visit spring,” in *Dongjing Menghualu*, juan 6, Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (fl. 1103-47) et al., *Dongjing Menghualu, Mengliang lu, Ducheng Jisheng, Xihu laoren fanshenglu, Wulin jiushi* (Beijing: Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, 1982), 42.

⁹⁵ Martin Powers, “Picturing Time in Song Painting and Poetry,” in eds., Lam, Joseph Sui Ching, Shuen-fu Lin, Christian De Pee, and Martin Joseph Powers, *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127-1279* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), 66.

⁹⁶ Due to the modern-day mounting, it is difficult to determine the original format and sequence of these four scenes. The numerical sequence I am using here and below refers to the right-to-left order of the present-day mounting, which may differ from the original one. It is also likely that the four scenes were a part of a larger set or mounted as album leaves at first. My discussion aims to avoid issues caused by these uncertainties and focus on the visual qualities of each scene. Whether or not this set should be considered representations of West Lake remains a question. Some scholars attributed it to the West Lake repertoire because Liu Songnian was a local resident of Hangzhou. Yet, there was not inscriptional or catalogue sources that could tie this set to West Lake per se.

few identifiable landscape features, and aim to depict a lifestyle or a seasonal mood. It portrays the lake less to represent its topographical features than to convey its cultural milieu.

Although we have textual evidence suggesting the emergence of this format depicting the ten scenes of West Lake in the Southern Song, no definitive examples are now extant. Two works—the *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, traditionally attributed to Xia Gui, and the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album, attributed to Ye Xiaoyan—were frequently cited by scholars as examples of this format in its earliest expression, but their authenticity and their associations with the Southern Song image of West Lake are suspect.

Willows and Boats on West Lake (plate 2.21) depicts a lakeshore in spring. The painting is a tripartite composition, comprising a background that recedes into the misty atmosphere, a middle ground that depicts the willow trees on the bank, and a foreground that shows boats, houses, restaurants, and visitors. The banks intersperse between water, creating a zigzagging shape. A shuttle boat in the foreground and a bridge in the middle ground connect the banks, providing a path for travelers both in and out of the picture. White pear tree blossoms stand out from the thick willow branches; several lotus leaves are visible toward the right edge. Tourists ride on sedan chairs carried by two men, take boats, and sit in restaurants or wine shops, enjoying the lake's natural beauty and the festive lifestyle on it.

This depiction of springtime on a lake elucidates many textual accounts of contemporary times. *Record of Luxuriant Scenery by the Old Man of West Lake* records that during the spring, painted boats (of restaurants, wine shops, and singing houses) lined the lakeshore in such numbers that people could walk through them as if on land.⁹⁷ Another entry in the volume

⁹⁷ *Xihu laoren fanshenglu*, in *Dongjing Menghualu, Mengliang lu, Ducheng Jisheng, Xihu laoren fanshenglu, Wulin jiushi*, 4.

records that “when lotus flowers blossom, people who are looking for cool breeze gather inside the boats anchored under the shadow of willow trees, drinking.”⁹⁸ Such a scene is vividly captured in this painting. The lake, rather than being the primary subject of representation, is a stage set by the artist to showcase the liveliness that spring has to offer.

Xia Gui, as a celebrated painter who worked for the court of the Southern Song and a native Hangzhou artist, would be the best candidate to present the joyous scene in West Lake during spring. However, on closer scrutiny, the authenticity of the painting must be met with serious skepticism. The Yuan master Ke Jiusi (柯九思, 1290–1343) offers a description of Xia Gui’s style:

Xia Yuyu of Qiantang uses vigorous and experienced brushwork and was skilled at dripping inkwork. He worked for the imperial academy of painting. After Li Tang [李唐, 1066–1150], no one could emulate him in landscape paintings. . . . The ink colors are gradually brought forth to illuminate the scroll, making it as splendid as a dyed work. His mastery exceeded Jing Hao [荆浩, ca. 855–915] and Guan Tong [關仝, ca. 906–60].

錢塘夏禹玉，畫筆蒼老，墨汁淋漓，畫院中人物。山水自李唐而下無能出其右者……此卷醞釀墨色，麗如傅染，殆荆關以上人也。⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Ibid, 8.

⁹⁹ Ke Jiusi, *Danqiu Sheng Ji* 丹邱生集 (Anthology of the Scholar of Danqiu), juan 2, Qing Guangxu sanshisinian Ke Fengshi keben 清光緒三十四年柯逢時刻本, 5b.

Xia Gui is considered a follower of Li Tang. The Ming connoisseur Chen Jiru (陳繼儒, 1558–1639) notes that “Li Tang uses ‘big axe-cut texturing brushwork’ [大斧劈皴]. . . . Xia Gui learned from Li Tang.”¹⁰⁰ Dong Qichang (董其昌, 1555–1636) also summarizes:

Xia Gui learned from Li Tang. But he simplified Li Tang’s style like the sculptor removes the mold. His intention is to get rid of the traces of modeling. Yet as he gradually reduced [the traces of Li Tang], he almost lost them. His brushworks began to resemble the ink-play by Mi Fu [米芾, 1051–1107] and Mi Youren [米友仁, 1074–1151].

夏圭師李唐，更加簡率。如塑工所謂減塑者。其意慾盡去模擬蹊逕，而若減若沒。

寓二米墨戲於筆端。¹⁰¹

From these records, it can be concluded that a typical Xia Gui painting demonstrates forceful brushwork that utilizes the big axe-cut texturing strokes and a nimble deployment of ink that captures the ephemeral and misty views of Jiangnan. None of these are manifest in *Willows and Boats on West Lake*. This hanging scroll presents no traces of an axe-cut stroke. When

¹⁰⁰ Chen Jiru, *Nigu Lu* 妮古錄 (Record on imitating the antiques), juan 3, Baoyan Tang mijiben 明萬曆寶顏堂秘笈本, 1b.

¹⁰¹ Dong Qichang, *Rongtai Bieji* 容台別集 (Annotated Anthology of Rongtai), juan 4, 1629, Dong Ting Keben 明崇禎三年董庭刻本, 31a.

rendering the solid ground, the artist of this painting uses large patches of ink wash as opposed to the typical texturing strokes visible in *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains* (溪山清远图) by Xia Gui (plate 2.22). *Willows and Boats on West Lake* and *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains* show striking differences in their treatment of architecture, figures, and trees. In painting the stilt houses near water, the painter of *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains* uses a darker ink to outline the structural framework of the buildings and filled in thatched roofs with lighter lines. The painter of *Willows and Boats on West Lake* follows this procedure but adds a darker contour to the architectural frames and roof tiles (plate 2.23.1). This dark and dense contour is also deployed on boat rails, creating a contrast between the lightly washed landscape background and the precise, jet-black lines on the frames of buildings and boats. In delineating figures with loads to carry, the painter of *Pure and Remote Views of Streams and Mountains* allows the figures to bend down in order to balance the weight on their back (plate 2.23.2). However, the painter of *Willows and Boats on West Lake* uses a generic form for almost every figure, with the V-shaped left foot painted forward. Whether they are steering the boats or carrying the sedan chairs, their actions appear effortless, devoid of the exertion that would be expected of such activity. Likewise, the trees in *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains* have rough roots that clutch to the soil and texturing strokes on the trunks to suggest a crudely textured bark. In *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, however, the trees seem rootless and smooth (plate. 2.23.3). All in all, *Willows and Boats on West Lake* demonstrates much coarser and looser brushwork, with little texturing and more formulaic and mannerist representations. Stylistically, it should not be considered an authentic work of the Southern Song master Xia Gui.

In capturing a moment in time in landscape paintings, Southern Song masters like Ma Yuan and Xia Gui sought to attain a “fade-out” effect that is not discernible in the *Willows and Boats on West Lake*.¹⁰² As Martin Powers precisely summarizes, “Artists such as Ma Yuan and Xia Gui accomplished this by carefully controlling ink washes such that the darkest tones would dominate the front corner of composition, while the palest tones would prevail in the most distant corner.”¹⁰³ The artist of *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, on the contrary, uses a darker tone toward the top most part of the composition that essentially negates the “fade-out” effect. The light and dark tonal gradations are interspersed with no clear spatial logic. The bottom-left corner is painted with a dark brown color that is echoed here and there in along the riverbanks in the middle ground. The painting does not capture the fleeting beauty of spring like many other Ma Yuan and Xia Gui works.¹⁰⁴

The original attribution to Xia Gui was based solely on a posthumous inscription by a Yuan scholar and calligrapher, Guo Bi (郭畀, 1280–1335). The inscription purports, “This is an authentic works by Xia Yuyu titled *Willows and Boats on West Lake*” (此夏禹玉西湖柳艇圖真跡也). It is signed “Tianxi Guo Bi” (天錫郭畀) with a seal of “Tianxi.” However, comparing this inscription to a calligraphic work by Guo Bi in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, the obvious differences in the quality of the calligraphy defy any association between the

¹⁰² Powers, “Picturing Time,” 70-71.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 71.

¹⁰⁴ Martin Powers uses Xia Gui’s *Yandi Xiaoyue* (煙堤曉月, Morning Moon on the Smoke Dike) section of the Twelve Views of Landscape as an example of the “fade out” technique. The fleeting moment in time is vividly conveyed by the fading ink washes. Such technique is lacking the *Willows and Boats on West Lake*. Ibid, 64, 68-72.

inscription and its claimed calligrapher, Guo Bi. *Poems on the Jade Lotus Plate* (青玉荷盤試卷) is a marvelous piece of calligraphy by Guo Bi in which the characters are poised and upright (plate 2.24). The brushwork is executed with variations in force and speed to create a rhythmic flow throughout the scroll. The writer of the inscription on *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, however, could not match the skill and mastery of an authentic work by Guo Bi. The characters tilt to the left; the brushwork seems vapid, with little dynamism in the employment of ink (plate 2.25). The characters in Guo Bi's scroll are slender; the artist uses the tip of the brush to execute slim, pointy strokes, especially with the hooks. The writer of the inscription lacks such refined skills in the use of the brush; his strokes, especially toward the end of the hooks, seem fuller and plumper, suggesting a slower motion in the deployment of ink. Thus, the inscription on the *Willows and Boats on West Lake* that attributes the painting to Xia Gui is itself a forgery.

The other collector seals and inscriptions belong to the late Ming-early Qing scholar-official Liang Qingbiao (梁清標, 1620–91) and to the Qianlong emperor. Besides information about its provenance, they provide no clue as to the painting's actual date and authorship. However, based on the style and the forged inscription, we can confidently date the painting to later than the Yuan dynasty.

The other work that scholars often use to exemplify the representation of the ten scenes of West Lake during the Southern Song period is a set of ten landscape paintings titled *Ten Scenes of West Lake* attributed to Ye Xiaoyan, now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of the dating and connoisseurship, see Li Lincan 李霖燦, "Ye Xiaoyan de Xihu tu ji qita" 葉肖巖的西湖圖及其他 (Some thoughts on Ye Xiaoyan's paintings of West Lake), *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 (Palace Museum Monthly), no. 28 (July 1985): 126-131.

Although it bears the signature of Southern Song artist Ye Xiaoyan, based on style and iconography, it can be dated only to the Ming dynasty if not later. There is scant information regarding its provenance. Prior to the Qing court's *Shiqu baoji xubian* (石渠寶笈續編), there are no catalogue entries documenting this painting or its painter, and there are no authoritative collector seals on the album before those of the Qianlong emperor. Judging from the style, the artist is deliberately following the legacy of Southern Song court artists Ma Yuan and Xia Gui—the axe-cut texturing strokes on the rocks, the “one-sided” composition, and the album-leaf format (plate 2.26). However, here the axe-cut technique is much more stylized and formulaic (plate 2.27), demonstrating the possible influence of Zhe school painters of the Ming dynasty.

An analysis of the iconography endorses the Ming date. The album is composed of ten leaves, each delineating one of the ten scenes of West Lake. In 1773, the Qianlong emperor identified the scenes, brushed a poem for each of them, and then mounted his writings on the facing page of the corresponding image. Despite the “Xiaoyan” signature on the “Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge” scene, several motifs in this album set reveal its actual date. On the “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds” leaf, three stone stupas stand erect in the water (plate 2.28). However, neither the *West Lake* scroll attributed to Li Song nor the *Lin'an zhi* map include a depiction of the three stone stupas.¹⁰⁶ The *Lin'an zhi* gazetteer records, “Three Ponds: according to people of age, they used to exist in the lake.”¹⁰⁷ It was not until the Wanli reign of the Ming

¹⁰⁶ As mentioned in note, the scroll attributed to Li Song is now dated to the 13th century by Miyazaki Noriko. This follower of Li Song would be a contemporary of Ye Xiaoyan.

¹⁰⁷ “Xihu santan” 西湖三潭 (Three Ponds on West Lake), *Xianchun Lin'an Zhi*, juan 36. *Mengliang lu* also notes, “Three Ponds of West Lake. Old people have it that they existed in the lake,” juan 11.

dynasty that the three ponds were reconstructed on their old foundations.¹⁰⁸ According to records, the artist Ye Xiaoyan, a court painter active in the Baoyou (寶祐) reign (1253–58), would have been a contemporary of the painters of the Li Song scroll and the *Lin'an zhi* map.¹⁰⁹ It would be unimaginable for a painter of the thirteenth century to portray the three stupas, as they existed only in folklore. Furthermore, the three stupas depicted in the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album match perfectly with the Ming-Qing images of the scene (plate 2.29). It is reasonable to believe that this album comes after the reconstruction of the Three Ponds in the sixteenth–seventeenth century.

Neither the *Willows and Boats on West Lake* nor the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album leaves should be regarded as representations of West Lake in the Southern Song, or even the Yuan. They represent two gradually standardized methods of portraying West Lake in the scenic close-up format during the Ming period. *Willows and Boats on West Lake* captures the buoyant scenes of spring on the lake, while the ten leaves are each imbued with seasonal sentiments.

As a pictorial theme, the ten scenes of West Lake finally became canonized in the Qing dynasty as the names and locations of the sites were set in stones. After the Kangxi emperor's several southern inspection tours to Hangzhou between 1684 and 1707, stone stelae transcribing

¹⁰⁸ The *Jia xiuyuan ji* 賈秀園集 (Anthology of the Elegant Garden of Jia) records that in the year 1594, a group of monks dredged the Three Ponds and encircled a pond for life release. *Rulai Xiang* 如來香 (Incense of the Buddha) documents that several prestigious monks of the Wanli reign, including the famous Lianchi Zhuhong 蓮池祿宏 (1535–1615) commissioned the project to rebuild the Three Ponds on West Lake. Fei Yuanlu 費元祿 (active 16th century), *Jia xiuyuan ji*, juan 36, *Siku quanshu* electronic version. Tang Shi 唐時 (active 16th century), *Rulai Xiang*, juan 14, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

¹⁰⁹ Xia Wenyan (夏文彥; active 14th century), *Precious Reflections on Picturing and Painting* (*Tuhui Baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, 1365), juan 4, Yuan Zhizheng keben 元至正刻本, 16b.

imperial brushwork of the title of each scene, pavilions, and *pailou* (牌樓) gateways were built and placed in designated sites. From this time onward, the representation of the ten scenes of West Lake became a heavily politicized image that demonstrates the influence of the Qing rulers.

It was also during the Ming-Qing period that the ten scenes of West Lake theme was adopted by writers and artists working in cities beyond Hangzhou. A print showcasing scenic sites in Suzhou arranged them deliberately to mimic the layout of the ten scenes of West Lake (plate 2.30). The namesake Slender West Lake (瘦西湖) in Yangzhou has scenes reminiscent of West Lake. Moreover, the imperial garden Yuanming Yuan (圓明園) has several sites named after the ten scenes of West Lake. This popularization of scenes of West Lake became so influential that people residing elsewhere, yearning for the idealized portrayal of life on the lake, created their own likenesses and imitations. In these imitations, the site specificity is secondary to the culturally loaded landscape. West Lake is replaced by the image of another place.

1.3. The Linearized Panoptic Format and West Lake Tours

The linearized format came about during the mid-late Ming dynasty, marking a significant addition to the repertory of West Lake representation. The earliest emergence of this visual format appears in woodblock-printed books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Jiangnan jinglue* (江南經略, Strategic situation in Jiangnan), edited by Zheng Ruozeng (鄭若曾, active sixteenth century) and first published in 1568, includes a *Map of Defense along the Shores of Lake Tai* (太湖沿邊設備圖). This map follows a two-page bird's-eye panoramic *Map of the*

Entire Lake Tai (太湖全圖) and spans twenty-eight pages in length. It begins with the first defensive point at Niu Family Harbor (牛家港) in Wujiang (吳江) County, moves counterclockwise along the lakeshore, and ends with the Hu Ditch (胡澗) of Huzhou (湖州) Prefecture. As the page turns, the viewer takes a virtual inspection tour from the bank of Lake Tai to oversee the strategic defensive points along the shores.

Another woodblock-printed book, *Illustrations of the Garden of the Hall Encircled by Jade* (環翠堂園景圖), published by Wang Tingne (汪廷訥, 1577–ca. 1625) in the early seventeenth century, portrays a similar circular structure around Changgong Lake (昌公湖).

According to Xiaofei Li's close analysis, the entire forty-five-page illustration includes a complex composition encompassing two "circular structures": the fourth through the nineteenth page depict the scenery on the shores of the lake, seen from inner-lake perspectives; the twentieth through twenty-fourth page present views from the shores onto the lake, which is the beginning part of the second "circular structure."¹¹⁰ The first "circular structure" delineates the oval Changgong Lake in a horizontal layout, similar to the aforementioned Lake Tai map.

Three Qing dynasty handscrolls depicting West Lake adopted the format that originated in the Ming dynasty on woodblock-printed books. *Scenery around West Lake* (Xihu Zhouwei tu, 西湖周圍圖), signed in the year 1708 by Mo'ersen (莫爾森, active eighteenth century), a clerk

¹¹⁰ Xiaofei Li, "Printing Fairyland: Expression of Space and Intention in *Huancui tang yuanjing tu*," *Ars Orientalis* no. 48 (2018): 180-209.

of the Hangzhou *zhizao* (織造) bureau, now in Shanghai Museum; the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* (西湖十景圖) scroll by Wang Yuanqi, now in the Liaoning Provincial Museum; and the *Scenic Attractions on West Lake* (西湖清趣圖), now in the Freer Gallery of Art, in Washington, DC, all show the vistas of West Lake in a similar composition.

Sceneries around West Lake (plate 2.31) is a long handscroll, 59.3 centimeters in width by 637.8 centimeters in length. It begins with a view of the outskirts of Qiantang Gate and concludes at its neighboring Yongjin Gate. The first section shows the west wall of Hangzhou City leading up to Qiantang Gate. The viewer is situated outside the gate, looking across the water to the east bank of the lake. Moving leftward, as one unfolds the scroll, sites along the northeast bank are gradually revealed, guiding the viewer to the Zhaoqing and Dafo Monasteries, reaching a bifurcation that leads in one direction to the Duan Bridge and in the other to the Baochu Pagoda. This section of the painting presents a view of the north part of the lake, observed from a southern viewpoint, showing the Baidi Causeway and Gushan Islet across inner West Lake, in front of the North Mountain route and Baochu Peak. As the scroll continues to unfurl, a sharp perpendicular turn to the west is straightened in the painting as viewers look over the Sudi Causeway from the side of the city. As one unrolls it further, the six bridges on the Sudi Causeway are sequentially unveiled, terminating at Nanping Peak, where the Leifeng Pagoda stands. In front of Mt. Nanping, two small islands hosting the Huxin Pavilion and the site “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds” are depicted. Following the Leifeng Pagoda, the painting straightens a second abrupt turn to visualize the lakeshore and city walls on the east side of the lake from a western perspective. Behind the southwest city walls of Hangzhou, a view of the distant Zhejiang

River is also presented amid the misty environment. With that, the painting concludes with the Wenshui Ting (問水亭, Pavilion of inquiring water) outside Yongjin Gate. The lingering city walls fade into the cloudy atmosphere, connecting to Qiantang Gate that was depicted at the scroll's beginning. Thus, when attached, the beginning and the end of the scroll form a complete circle that represents the entire shoreside of the lake. This circle is a panoptic device to situate the viewer at the center surveying the lakeshores on the periphery. It is an immersive way to represent West Lake, as the composition closely resembles the view one would have on an actual boat tour on the lake.

This scroll, being the earliest work representing West Lake in the linearized panoptic format, includes two inscriptions that explain the reasons and stakes for composing a landscape of the lake in this manner. The inscription, written by Sun Yueban (孫岳頒, 1639–1708), a scholar-official who worked in the Kangxi court and oversaw art affairs, documents the creation of this painting. In it, he states that in the year 1707, the Kangxi emperor took another inspection tour of Hangzhou and ordered Wang Huanzhang (王煥章, dates unknown), a vice head of the Hangzhou *zhizao*, to help with the construction of the imperial lodging palace on Gushan Islet. After the emperor returned to Beijing, he summoned Wang to ride south and to measure and record all tourist sites in West Lake. As Sun Yueban reports:

Even though Mr. Wang was confident about his knowledge of West Lake, he nonetheless used caution and carefulness regarding this job. He visits hills and valleys, on boats or foot. He begins by encircling the outside and then moves to the inside. On the outside, he starts with Yongjin Gate, Qiantang Gate, and Qingbo Gates, documenting places of

interest, and measuring the distances among them. On the inside, he treats the Huxin Pavilion as the fulcrum, documenting the places of interest that the front, back, and side windows face, and measuring the distances among them. Nothing is left out to the west of the Duan Bridge, the north of Ma Harbor, and between the six bridges on Sudi and the two peaks. Every inch is verified. The ten-acre West Lake is like the patterns of lines on one's palm. One can take a glance at it easily. Since West Lake became a subject for painting, there has not been any work like this. With this work, the ones who have not visited West Lake in this world will see it as if they were in West Lake. Furthermore, it will make people who have already been to West Lake feel like they have not. What a great contribution to West Lake from Mr. Wang! What a great contribution to Mr. Wang from West Lake!

公雖胸有成竹，而「」必加以詳慎。尋巖問壑，或舟或徒，先周其外，復次其裡。外則從湧金、錢塘，以至清波三門。紀其所歷名勝之處，地之相去丈尺若干。里即以湖心亭為衡，紀其前後中籬所至名勝之處，地之相去丈尺若干。其自斷橋以西，馬灣而北，六橋兩峰之間，纖奚不遺，銖寸必校。十里西湖，不啻掌上螺紋，一目瞭「」「」也夫。自有西湖未有是圖，既有是圖，可以使天下之未至西湖者如已至焉。且使天下之已止西湖者如未至焉，此則公藉西湖不朽耶？西湖藉公不朽耳！

This inscription contains two critical pieces of information. First, this work is the first to linearize the circular lake in pictorial representations. Second, the need to compose such a work sprung from the emperor's will to record, measure, and visualize scenic sites on West Lake.

At the end of the painting, another inscription meticulously documents each tourist attraction on the "lakeshore," the "Ten Scenes," the "north Inner Lake," and the "Six Bridge and west Inner Lake." Each section includes names of important landmarks, distances between them, and the length in total. It is a detailed and practical document for designing tourist route maps.

Being the first of this kind, this scroll became the model for the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* by Wang Yuanqi (plate 2.32).¹¹¹ The celebrated court painter was now an earnest follower of the local clerk Mo'ersen. The Wang Yuanqi scroll is 62.6 centimeters wide by 656.6 centimeters long, a size comparable to the Mo'ersen scroll (59.3 x 637.9 cm). In terms of composition and scale, Wang's scroll is almost a copy of the Mo'ersen original (plate 2.33). However, Wang's own contribution to this type of West Lake painting is to incorporate the theme of the ten scenes of West Lake in a panoramic view. On the Wang Yuanqi scroll, the ten scenes, along with other tourist attractions, are marked by texts written on the image. Each scene, in this case, is a close-up view of itself while also a part of the holistic composition (plate 2.34). In so doing, Wang Yuanqi brings together the representation of the ten scenes in the scenic close-up format and the linearized panoramic format. As one unfolds the scroll, the views on the shores of the lake are gradually revealed. Each marked scene is a stop along the route, and the viewer can pause and

¹¹¹ The *Ten Scenes of West Lake* scroll bears the signature "Wang Yuanqi, Scholar in attendance in the Hanlin Academy" 翰林院侍讀學士臣王原祁. Wang was promoted "Scholar in attendance in the Hanlin Academy" around 1708. The date of the painting, therefore, should be around or later than 1708. It is around the same time when Mo'ersen's scroll was completed and presented to the court. Being a painter that worked for the emperor, it is very likely that Wang Yuanqi modeled the Mo'ersen scroll in terms of composition.

zoom in to appreciate a particular view. This representation transcends the seasonal boundaries initially implied in the ten scenes theme. In it, “Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows” is juxtaposed with “Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge,” just as “Evening Toll Bell at Nanping Mountain” joins “Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway” in the same picture. It is an all-encompassing work that offers a comprehensive virtual tour of the lake irrespective of time and season.

The *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* scroll in the Freer Gallery of Art takes this virtual tour to another time and space (plate 2.35).¹¹² The scroll comprises four parts: a frontispiece with the title *Pure Pleasures on West Lake* (西湖清趣), a map of West Lake, a painting extending for 1,581.1 cm, and a colophon written by the Qing dynasty scholar Li E (厲鶚, 1692–1752). The painting is a linearized conversion of the map. As the colophon writer Li E notes, “A circular image precedes, which is stretched and linearized in the painting that follows” (前作圓相，後引而長之). The scroll, although made around the sixteenth–seventeenth century, portrays the scenery of West Lake during the Southern Song dynasty.¹¹³

Scenic Attractions of West Lake commences at the Qiantang Gate, surveys the lakeshore in counterclockwise direction, and concludes at the same gate. This route coincides with the

¹¹² There has been much debate over the date of this painting. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho dated this painting to the Yuan dynasty. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese art under the Mongols, 1279-1368* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1958), 86. Huishu Lee provides an explanation of the attribution in *Exquisite Moments*, 55, note 17. I date this work to the late Ming-mid-Qing period based on stylistic and iconographic analysis. See Appendix 2 for details.

¹¹³ See Appendix 2 for details.

itinerary of common tourists on West Lake in the late Ming period. The Ming scholar Yuan

Hongdao (袁宏道, 1568–1810) writes in his travel diaries:

Departing from Wulin Gate and turning westward, I could see Baochu Pagoda emerging from distant mountains. My heart immediately flies to the lake. At noon, I entered Zhaoqing Monastery. After a tea break, I rented a small boat and entered the lake. . . . At dawn, we anchored in Jingci Monastery with Zigong. . . . Returned from Six Bridges and Tomb of Yue Fei.

从武林门而西，望保俶塔，突兀层崖中，则已心飞湖上也。午刻入昭庆，茶毕，即掉小舟入湖。山色如娥，花光如颊，温风如酒，波纹如绫，才一举头，已不觉目酣神醉。此时欲下一语描写不得，大约如东阿王梦中初遇洛神时也。余游西湖始此，时万历丁酉二月十四日也。晚同子公渡净寺，觅小修旧住僧房。取道由六桥、岳坟归。草草领略，未极遍赏。¹¹⁴

In this record, Yuan departs from Wulin (to the north of Qiantang Gate) and travels north to Zhaoqing Monastery. He then leaves the monastery, takes a boat to the south shore, and returns to his starting point via the Sudi Causeway and Beishan Road.

¹¹⁴ This diary is recorded in Zhang Dai's *Xihu Mengxun*. See Zhang Dai, *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 127-128.

The diary of another scholar-official, Gao Panlong (高攀龍, 1562–1626), documents his one-day tour of West Lake:

On the eleventh day, I arrived at Hangzhou. After dinner, I arrived at Zhaoqing Monastery in the rain. . . . I was eager to see West Lake. So, around Shen o'clock [3–5 p.m.], when the rain had stopped for a short while, I put on my shoes and went to the lakeshore. Strolling along Sudi Causeway. . . . When the sun came up, I leased a boat in the outer lake. Departing from Zhaoqing Monastery and sailed to the center of the lake. . . . At noon, I arrived at Jingci Monastery. The hall was grand and majestic. The rain poured down again, so I had to return. I reached the Longwang Shrine, also known as the Sanxian Shrine. . . . Then I arrived at Huxin Pavilion, where I could look around from four sides. After a short rest, I arrived at Wanghu Pavilion. In front of the pavilion was the new causeway commissioned by Sun Long. I left the boat and walked along the causeway. I arrived at the [Zhaoqing] monastery at dusk.

十一，抵杭。飯畢，冒雨至昭慶寺止焉。……余急欲顏色西湖。日將晡，雨小止，急索履至湖濱，徐步蘇堤。……旦旦，買舟游外湖。自寺前解維，放于中流。……午漏，抵淨慈。殿宇宏敞。雨復作絲，卒卒而返。至龍王廟，即三賢祠也。……已，至湖心

亭。四面课凭眺。少息，至望湖亭。繇亭而前，即中贵所筑新堤矣。乃舍舟徐步堤上。暝而抵寺。¹¹⁵

Both tourists departed from the northeast point of the lake, circumambulated it counterclockwise, and returned to the starting point. This route corresponds with the implied itinerary of the viewer of the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* scroll.

While the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* follows the paths of an ordinary tourist, the Mo'ersen and Wang Yuanqi scrolls assimilate the route of an imperial tourist. At the beginning of the two scrolls, Yongjin Gate is the site of the imperial lodging palace. Exiting the Yongjin Gate, the emperor would take a trip to the north section of the lake and rest at another imperial palace on Gushan Islet. He would then travel from Gushan Islet to the lake's west and south sides and return to Hangzhou via Yongjin Gate. The official itinerary map of the Qianlong emperor's inspection tour reveals the imperial route.

The Mo'ersen and Wang Yuanqi scrolls were both commissioned by the Kangxi emperor. In them, there are no figures depicted. The views of West Lake are reserved exclusively for the emperor and his imperial entourage. However, *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* depicts hundreds of tourists in West Lake, eating, drinking, strolling, greeting each other, and visiting tourist sites. These ordinary tourists are dressed in Song dynasty attire, as the map and the painting both depict a historical West Lake situated in the Southern Song (see appendix 2).

¹¹⁵ Gao Panlong 高攀龍, "Wulin Youji 武林遊記" (Travel Diary of Wulin), in Wang Guoping et al. eds., *Xihu Wenxian Jicheng* 西湖文獻集成 (Compiled Anthology of Writings on West Lake), vol. 3 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2004), 1038.

Viewing the painting is similar to taking a virtual time-travel back to thirteenth-century Hangzhou. In this way, the scroll utilizes the immersive quality of the linearized panoptic format to engage viewers in a reconstructed image of Southern Song West Lake. It fits in the art-historical context of mass-producing images of prosperous cities for commercial purposes in the Jiangnan region in the sixteenth–nineteenth century. In conclusion, the linearized panoptic format provides an immersive viewing experience; viewers extend their arms to acquire a vista of the lake, section by section; one unrolls the scroll part by part to enliven a picture that documents a tour around West Lake.

1.4. Conclusion: Formats and Beyond

This chapter has identified and described three basic visual formats in which West Lake has been represented pictorially. This general categorization, however, is by no means aimed at stereotyping images of West Lake. Instead, it provides a constructive framework for analyzing these site-specific paintings. The three formats emerged during different periods and corresponded to different perceptions of the lake according to politicians' spectatorship, scholars' experience, and tourists' itineraries. They exemplify the ways by which a specific place is transmuted into a two-dimensional representation. Each format entails a unique viewing experience that is also embedded in the medium of painting. The bird's-eye panoramic images are more suited to shorter handscrolls and cross-leaf prints. The scenic close-up format fits the form of the album leaves and single-leaf prints. The linearized panoptic portrayal of the lake accorded with the lengthy handscroll format that grew popular in the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, the categorization does not imply that the formats could not coexist, nor does it entail a chronological order in which the latter format replaces the former. In fact, many

Ming-Qing period representations of West Lake fused the three basic formats, creating new imageries of the lake. These basic formats were also applied to various new media like illustrated books, new-year prints, posters, and photographs. For instance, Dong Bangda's (董邦達, 1696–1769) *West Lake* (西湖圖) scroll presents a bird's-eye panorama of the lake while also incorporating the ten scenes of West Lake (plate 2.). Thus, viewers could appreciate the ten scenes of West Lake while having a synoptic view of the entire lake. Similarly, in many new-year prints (plate 2. 37) that portray the beautiful scenery of West Lake, the ten scenes are fitted into a compact pictorial layout. The lake and the distances between the scenes are severely disoriented and distorted. Yet they provide viewers with the pleasure of “encompassing all scenes at a single glance.”

The availability of these pictorial formats allowed artists and editors to explore new ways of incorporating more information in their encyclopedic works. For instance, the aforementioned *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* begins with a panoramic map, follows with a painting in the linearized format, and ends with a lengthy description of Southern Song West Lake. In this way, the artist first introduces the basic geography and topography of the lake (with the map), then guides viewers on a long journey around the lake (with the painting), and ends with a narrative of the lake, situating it in a cultural and historical context. Like a meticulously curated exhibition of West Lake, the painting provides viewers with topographical knowledge of the lake, a guided tour of it, and a story about its history.

The three key visual formats discussed in this chapter present an insight into how West Lake, as a place, is re-implaced in landscape paintings. This categorization places various types of West Lake images under different analytical frameworks and art-historical methodologies.

The bird's-eye panorama format is often discussed in the discourse of the map-painting dichotomy in the field of topographical paintings.¹¹⁶ The relationship between landscape and politics is also a perspective from which to analyze these images.¹¹⁷ The paintings in the scenic close-up format are studied in the field of court painting and the poetry-painting relationship.¹¹⁸ The linearized panoptic format complements the discussion of cityscapes of the Jiangnan region in the late Ming and onward.¹¹⁹ Despite the variations in the visual models and analytical frameworks, a theme consistent in all formats is the relationship between vision and pictorial representation. Unlike many paintings of other sites that became highly poeticized and formulaic during the Ming-Qing period, the West Lake images reflect a notable diversity and site specificity, characteristics that may well reflect the artist's and viewer's lived experience of the lake itself.¹²⁰

The mid-late Ming dynasty was a crucial moment in the (re)formation of West Lake-themed images, and the Qing dynasty furthers the development in new aspects. I will turn to the two dynasties in the following two chapters

¹¹⁶ For some examples, see Cahill, "Huang shan paintings"; Orell, "Picturing the Yangzi River."

¹¹⁷ For some examples, see Miyazaki Noriko, "Seiko wo meguru kaiga"; Huishu Lee, *Exquisite Moments*; idem, *Domains of Empress Yang*.

¹¹⁸ For some examples, see Wang Shuangyang, "Zhuangwu de jizhi"; Xiaolin Duan, *The Rise of West Lake*; idem, "Ten Views of West Lake."

¹¹⁹ The linearized panoptic format in illustrating lakes has not been discussed by art historians because these visual materials only recently surfaced. A comprehensive and systematic analysis of them is still lacking. However, Cheng-hua Wang's study of city images of Nanjing and Suzhou during late-Ming and Qing dynasties and Ma Ya-chen's dissertation on Suzhou pictures in 18th century provides the framework and context for the study of West Lake images in this format. Ma Ya-chen, "Picturing Suzhou: Visual Politics in the Making of Cityscapes in the Eighteenth-century China" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2006); Cheng-hua Wang, "Qianlong chao Suzhou chengshi tuxiang," in *Yishu, Quanli yu Xiaofei*, 127-195.

¹²⁰ Vinograd notes that landscape involving specific sites was rare before the Yuan yet provides a list of sites which had pictorial representations. West Lake, Xiao and Xiang Rivers, and Mount Lu were among them. Another site which inspired pictorial representation before the Yuan is the Red Cliff on Yangzi River. All of these sites, except for West Lake, were highly formulized in pictorial representation in the Ming and onward. See Richard Vinograd, "Family Properties"; Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Asia Institute, Harvard University Press, 2000).

PART 2

The Past and the Present of West Lake

CHAPTER 2

Doubled Time and Space: Illustrating Ming Dynasty West Lake and Reconstructing the Southern Song Image

In variety of media and sheer quantity of works, the Ming dynasty was the zenith of West Lake painting. Among the dozens of West Lake images, two tendencies persisted consistently: the tendency to present the new looks of West Lake, and the tendency to confine the lake to the past. Whether in official maps, gazetteers, itinerary paintings, illustrations of fiction and drama, literati *shanshui* landscapes, or cityscapes, the two tendencies worked hand in hand to construct and promote certain images of West Lake and Hangzhou. The spatial bifurcation between the city and the lake, the reconstruction of a Southern Song West Lake, and the modernizing pictures of the evolving landscape framed West Lake in multiple spaces and times.

Meanwhile, in art-historical writing, West Lake, as a pictorial theme, became closely associated with the Southern Song Imperial Academy of Painting (Nansong Huayuan, 南宋畫院). This constructed art-historical lineage elevated the status of West Lake paintings, endorsed forgeries of the theme, and promoted Hangzhou's claim as the cultural center of the Jiangnan

region and, furthermore, of China. In the pictorial representation of West Lake, the troublesome pasts of Hangzhou and the lake were reconciled. The blame that the lake and the city took for the fall of the Song dynasty, the destruction that the city suffered during the Song-Yuan and Yuan-Ming dynastic transitions, and the damage the lake had sustained at the hands of pirates during the early reigns of the Ming era were forever erased in the depiction of West Lake.¹²¹

After the Sun Long projects that took place around the year 1589, the lake was again restored and decorated.¹²² The charming scenery of the lake in the mid-late Ming period became directly associated with the Southern Song dynasty, when the lake was an imperial garden and the city the capital. Under these two spatiotemporalities, the lake in the sixteenth to seventeenth century became an attractive scenic attraction with a rich cultural-historical background. This new image of West Lake helped generate large revenue and consolidate local identity for the city and its residents.

In this chapter, I discuss the pictorial representations of West Lake in various media and genres in the Ming dynasty. In so doing, I investigate the embodiment of the different spatiotemporalities in the portrayal of the lake and study the construction of the image of contemporary and historical West Lake.

¹²¹ For a discussion on blaming West Lake for the fall of Song, see 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*, 205-233.

¹²² Sun Long was a eunuch of the Sili Jian 司禮監 (department supervising the rituals), who was in charge of silk production and tax collection in Suzhou and Hangzhou during the Wan Li reign. He personally sponsored several renovation projects of the lake, including the building and remodeling of Wanghu Pavilion, Lingyin Monastery, Huxin Pavilion, Jingci Monastery, Yanxia Cave, Longjing, Pianyun ting, Shijing Tang, etc. See *jisheng* fascicle of *Qiantang Xianzhi* 錢塘縣志 (Gazetteer of Qiantang County, 1609) annotated by Nie Xintang (聶心湯, active 16th-17th century) and written by Yu Chunxi (虞淳熙, 1553-1621), Erudition Database of Chinese Local Archives, accessed March 8, 2022.

2.1 Double-Space: Representing the City and the Adjacent Lake in Official Maps

West Lake is located just outside of the western city walls of Hangzhou. The Qiantang and Yongjin Gates were only a few steps away from the lakeshore. This contiguity enabled easy commuting between the city and the lake. Yet the city wall, as a partition and a barrier, separates the city and the lake physically into two spatial contexts: the metropolitan and the natural. The two neighboring spaces are rendered in different visual terms even on the same pictorial plane. However, as Cahill notes, although the lake provided a ground for exploring nature for the citizens of Hangzhou, the large crowd and busy shops hindered the appreciation of a wild and innocent space.¹²³ The boundaries between the natural lake and the urban city was indeed very obscure but still desired.

Representing Hangzhou and West Lake as Two Parts of One Entity

In the pictorial representation of West Lake during the Ming dynasty, the geographical proximity of the city and the lake became emphasized in many official maps. Plate 3.1 shows the *Map of Qiantang County* from the *Gazetteer of Qiantang County* (Qiantang xianzhi, 錢塘縣志), published in 1609. In this map, West Lake is positioned in the center, surrounded by mountains and the city. The latter's layout is delineated in minimalist brushwork while the landmark sites of the lake, such as Fangsheng Chi (放生池, Pond of Releasing Living Creatures), the Huxin Pavilion, Gushan Islet, and the Leifeng Pagoda are conspicuously marked by written labels.

¹²³ James Cahill, *The Poetic Journey*. 40.

Scenic sites on the lakeside mountains were also given special emphasis. In a following map of the city, West Lake is the only place outside the city walls that was labeled.

Although in the Shanghai *West Lake* scroll and the *Map of West Lake* in the *Lin'an zhi* gazetteer of the Xianchun reign the city was also implied by showing part of its walls and gates, previously, the mid-Ming city of Hangzhou and West Lake were always treated as two separate entities. In the *Lin'an zhi*, West Lake had its own illustration and was not presented in the maps of Hangzhou. However, as seen in plate 3.2, the juxtaposition of the city and the lake was very explicit in presenting the contiguity of the two. The city and West Lake are shown in their entirety as two equally large and similarly shaped components.

Several maps in local gazetteers published later followed this fashion of placing the two side by side. In the *Map of the Provincial Capital City* (Huicheng tu, 會城圖) from a Qianlong period *Gazetteer of Hangzhou* (杭州府志; plate 3.3), the city occupies the left half of the image and the lake the right. Important buildings and main roads inside the city walls were marked in a schematic cartographic manner using square blocks and textual labels. The city is represented almost as a flat layout seen from a bird's-eye perspective. Yet the scenery on the lake is depicted in a semi-landscape-painting way with the use of landscape elements such as level-distance perspective and texturing brushwork on the water and mountain. Comparing the two halves, the city is flat, simplified, and schematic, whereas the lake seems much more three-dimensional, filled out, and representational. The schematic city map restricts the viewers in certain places as it sets boundaries and reduces the city layout to a minimum.¹²⁴ As a result, it negates any virtual

¹²⁴ The city map only presents a few important places and a few major roads. Its boundaries are set clearly by the city walls. Boundaries in maps are quintessential in restricting and even prohibiting activities. Additionally, the

tours in it. However, in the opposite half, the map of West Lake invites viewers in by establishing no clear boundaries on the lake. The shading on the water and mountain suggests texture and physical qualities of natural landscape. Although still schematic in certain parts, the map of the lake is much more accessible and welcoming to viewers for virtual exploration.

In the mid-Ming period, West Lake is often juxtaposed with the city of Hangzhou in one pictorial plane in maps, each occupying half the composition. This kind of representation regards the lake, which was once considered peripheral to the city, as an inextricable component of it. However, the styles of delineating the two parts are often distinct. The juxtaposition of the schematic city map and the scenic lake map side by side illustrates the physical proximity of the two, yet the different ways of picturing the two spaces nonetheless present an eminent boundary. The bifurcation of spaces within the pictorial plane demands further investigation.

Cultural-Economic Bond between Hangzhou City and West Lake

In the Ming dynasty, the lake was an important part of the city in many aspects. First, economically, the lake provided sustainable resources for city dwellers of Hangzhou. The tourist industry supported livelihoods for fisherman, boatmen, entertainers, restaurant owners, wine-house owners, brothels, shopkeepers, innkeepers, and the like. A scholar of the Wanli era notes:

Touring and sightseeing is indeed not a frugal custom, but West Lake has already become a tourist site, nonetheless. Calculating how much profit the citizens have earned, it should exceed one thousand *jin* 金 [silver ingots] per day. The officials have sometimes banned

reduction of the city layout stifles any close inspection of the city. For a discussion on the restrictive qualities of maps, see Mark Monmonier, *No Dig, No Fly, No Go: How Maps Restrict and Control* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

[the tourist business] to modify the custom. But the fishermen, boatman, entertainers, sellers, and wine-shop owners would all lose their jobs due to that. It would only affect their lives in a negative way.

游觀雖非樸俗，然西湖業已為游地，則細民所藉為利，日不只千金。有司時禁之，顧以易俗，但漁者，舟者，戲者，市者，酤者咸失其本業，反不便于此輩也。¹²⁵

During the Wanli reign, the lake was not only a tourist site but also a new commercial center. For instance, Zhaoqing Monastery (昭慶寺) was a large shopping center where clothes, shoes, food, tea, antiques, paintings, books, and toys were sold to tourists from various places. As Li Rihua's (李日華, 1565–1635) diary on the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of the year 1612 notes:

Sun Long set up more than a hundred shops along the two corridors of Zhaoqing Monastery, allowing monks to sell hats, shoes, futons, and glass beads, etc. Then merchants of exotic goods came from all places. They hang up precious, peculiar, and playful things, waiting to be asked upon. It was called *baitan* [擺攤, opening up a stall].

Every day, after dinner, I would take a walk along the east and west corridors and would not return until contented.

¹²⁵ Wang Shixing 王士性 (?-1598), *Guang zhi yi* 廣志繹 (Writing on the broad places), juan 4, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

前是督理織造內臣孫隆于昭慶寺兩廊置店肆百余，容僧作市，鬻僧帽、鞋履、蒲團、琉璃數珠之屬。而四方異賈亦集，以珍奇玩物懸列待價，謂之擺攤。余每飯罷，東西遊行，厭而后舍去。¹²⁶

From these records, we can tell that a group of common citizens of Hangzhou depended on the lake to make a living. It is impossible to overlook the economic benefit that the lake brought to the city.

Second, sightseeing on the lake became a custom for the citizens of Hangzhou, as it was no longer an activity reserved for the rich and prestigious. Common people, including women and children, could now afford the occasional lake tour.¹²⁷ The lake was much more accessible and affordable to people of disparate social strata. During the Wanli reign, Sun Long sponsored several renovation projects, further furnishing the views of the lake and attracting more visitors. As a result, touring the West Lake became a feasible and fashionable activity for the residents of Hangzhou, making a closer tie between the city and the lake. As such, the citizens of Hangzhou relied heavily on West Lake to make a living; in return, part of their earnings were consumed by the tourist industry. As the geographical proximity between the city and the lake transformed into a cultural-economic bond, representing the lake as an official part of the city in local gazetteers was not inappropriate.

¹²⁶ Li Rihua, *Weishui xuan riji* 味水軒日記 (Diaries of the Water-tasting Terrace), juan 4, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

¹²⁷ Many Ming and Qing records also indicate that women were active participants in West Lake tours. For instance, Li Rihua notes, “During this time, ladies fill up the entire city, taking boat tours at night. Every large and small boat was taken. They would not anchor until dusk” 至是士女傾城，夜泛湖中，大小船無不受僱者，迨明乃止 *Weishui xuan riji*, juan 7, *ibid*, 471.

The Necessity of a Boundary between the Metropolitan and the Suburban

Despite the close cultural-economic association, a clear boundary between the city and the lake was also indispensable. To maintain their genuineness and otherworldliness, natural sites must be distant from the urban space. A counter example would be a famous site in Suzhou, Tiger Hill (虎丘). It suffered tremendous criticism for being too close to the urban area. A scholar-painter of the Wanli reign, Li Liufang (李流芳, 1575–1629), commented:

Tiger Hill is good-looking during night, in rain, amid cloud and mist, at spring dusk, under autumn's clear skies, in wintry rains, at sunset. There is no time that Tiger Hill is not good for sightseeing but only when trampled over by tourists. It is unfortunate that the place is too close to the city.

虎丘宜月，宜雨，宜煙，宜春曉，宜秋霜，宜落水，宜夕陽，無所不宜，獨不宜遊

人雜沓之時。蓋不幸與城市密邇。¹²⁸

Another scholar, Fei Yuanlu (費元祿, 1575–?), also compared Tiger Hill to West Lake, stating that “a mass of tourists occupies this place, making the otherwise secluded scenery much less appealing than West Lake” (此地遊蹤成市，故是籬落間景，不當引西湖比也)。¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Li Liufang 李流芳(1575–1629), *Tanyuan ji* 檀園集 (Anthology of the Tan Garden), juan 11, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

¹²⁹ Fei Yuanlu, *Jia xiuyuan ji*, juan. 43, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

From these records, Li's and Fei's discontent with the site's proximity to the city was shared by many. Li Liufang's own depiction of West Lake frames the lake in a prototypical Ni Zan-style landscape, showing it as a place full of wildness and devoid of commoners and tourists of lesser taste (plate 2.4). Zhang Dai documents a parody of a famous Southern Song poem on Hangzhou by Lin Sheng. The parody ridicules the crowds at West Lake:

The mountain is no longer a mountain, and the pavilion no longer a pavilion. The singing and dancing on West Lake had finally ceased. The warm breeze brings up the stinky smell like dead people. Please return to Bianzhou from Hangzhou!

山不青山樓不樓，西湖歌舞一時休。暖風吹得死人臭，還把杭州還汴州。¹³⁰

This deprivation of West Lake of its connections to the masses was closely related to the portrayal of West Lake as a secluded and wild place for scholarly contemplation and reclusion. As discussed in the first chapter, West Lake was treated as a wild suburban place in Su Shi's many poems. Additionally, Gushan Islet was once the hermitage of the scholar-recluse Lin Bu. This association with scholarly reclusion was carried on in writings and paintings of the literati class regardless of West Lake's actual urbanization. Zhang Dai, in his diary, shares one of his own West Lake experiences. To avoid the crowd, which he deemed vulgar and unappreciative, he took an evening cruise.¹³¹ The lake was quiet, discreet, and wild.

¹³⁰ Zhang Dai, "Xihu Xiangshi," in *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 7, *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 82-83.

¹³¹ Zhang Dai, "Xihu qi Yueban" 西湖七月半 (Mid-seventh month on West Lake), in *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 7, *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 83-84.

Because of this prejudice, West Lake needed some distance from the city if it were to maintain its charm to the literati class. Some scholars deliberately chose to visit the lake in off-seasons and off-hours and portrayed the lake as an isolated spot for reclusion. Even though the city of Hangzhou and West Lake had become one entity economically and culturally, a barrier was still desired to divorce the two. Such a complicated socioeconomic context fostered the representation of the lake as an inseparable but distinguishable appendage to the city proper, as shown in the Wanli and Qianlong maps.

2.2. Double-Time: Documenting the Now and Then of West Lake in *Mingsheng Zhi*

Gazetteers and *Jiyou Tu* Paintings

The boom in the tourist industry that enriched Hangzhou economically also nurtured the making and consumption of pictures of sightseeing. Tian Rucheng's (田汝成, ca. 1503–57) *Xihu youlan zhi* was the first local gazetteer to promote the unique sightseeing experience that was West Lake's main attraction. Following that, print houses in Hangzhou published myriad *mingsheng zhi* (名勝志, gazetteers of famous places) or *xihu zhi* gazetteers to circulate the images of West Lake. Meanwhile, visitors from elsewhere also documented their travels to West Lake in *jiyou tu* (紀遊圖, pictures of travel) paintings.

As pictures of the popular tourist site, the *mingsheng zhi* and *jiyou tu* images focus on two aspects of the lake: its historicity and its modernity. While its ever changing appearance was featured on the most up-to-date depictions of the lake, its old-Song-dynasty image was (re)-created through textual documentation and pictorial representation. As a matter of fact, this

seeming dilemma did not present a contradiction between the two images, as the historical image enriched the modern landscape, while the latter revived the past glory.

Again, two spatiotemporalities are conveyed in this pictorial representation of West Lake in the *mingsheng zhi* gazetteers and *jiyou tu* paintings: a newly renovated West Lake that attracted millions of tourists each year, and an imagined utopia in the past.

West Lake and Sightseeing: *Xihu Youlan Zhi* and Its Descendants

Compiling local gazetteers was a popular activity during the Ming dynasty, especially in the Wanli era.¹³² Both official and private publishers sponsored and organized the publication of gazetteers of local cities and famous sites.¹³³ Timothy Brook describes the popularity of producing and consuming gazetteers during the mid-Ming: “Most counties and prefectures in China, as well as many mountains and monasteries, produced their first editions. Magistrates liked to sponsor their publication, and scholars with an interest in local geography and history considered gazetteers, and not just those of their own locale, worth owning.”¹³⁴ West Lake was among this group of sites to have gazetteers, and Zhejiang was the center of gazetteer production.¹³⁵

¹³² According to Ba Zhaoxiang’s summary of all lost and extant local gazetteers of Ming, the Wanli reign produced a tally of 919 local gazetteers (19.2 per year), topping all other reign periods in terms of total number and per-year count. Ba Zhaoxiang 巴兆祥, “Lun Mingdai fangzhi de shuliang yu xiuzhi zhidu: jian da Zhang Sheng Mingdai difangzhi zhiyi” 論明代方志的數量與修志制度——兼答張升《明代地方志質疑》(On the quantity and compilation system of Ming dynasty local gazetteers, and a response to Zhang Sheng “Questions on Ming dynasty local gazetteers”). *Zhongguo Difangzhi* 中國地方志 (Chinese Local Chronicles), 2004 (04): 43–49.

¹³³ Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London: Routledge, 2005), 42.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ According to Ba’s summary, the Zhejiang Province produced a total of 348 local gazetteers during the Ming dynasty, ranking first among all provinces. See Ba Zhaoxiang, 2004.

Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi*, published in 1547, was the first all-inclusive *zhi* gazetteer of West Lake. As Tian claimed in the preface:

All famous mountains within the realm have a *zhi* but West Lake. Is it because there were not enough stories? Huang Mianzhi, Hermit of the Five March Mounts, once told me that West Lake without a *zhi* is like the beauty Xishi without a portrait, and the song Nichang without scores.

然海內名山，率皆有志，而西湖獨無，詎非闕典？五嶽山人黃勉之嘗謂予曰：西湖無志，猶西子不寫照，霓裳不按譜也。¹³⁶

Tian thus decided to compile a *zhi* for West Lake, the theme of which was sightseeing. In the preface, he expects a potential cynicism toward sightseeing:

Some have criticized this compilation for being too obsessed with sightseeing and leisure. [They claim that] it publicizes lust and a luxurious lifestyle and therefore is not suitable for educating the masses.

客有病予此書多述游冶之事，歌舞之談，導慾宣奢，非以長化也。¹³⁷

He responds to this criticism:

¹³⁶ Tian Rucheng, "Xihu youlan zhi xu" 西湖遊覽志敘 (Preface to the Gazetteer of Sightseeing at West Lake), *Xihu Wenxian Jicheng*, vol. 3, 5.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

Mt. Tai, Mt. Hua and Mt. Zhongnan are taken as important fortresses during war by defenders of the nation; Mt. Wuyi and Yandang are taken as places for reclusion by hermits; Mt. Yuelu and Lake E are taken as places for preaching by educators. However, West Lake does not fall under any of the three categories. A historian [of West Lake] should not abstain from mentioning sightseeing and leisure just to pretend to be profound and majestic.

故泰、華、終南，守國者恃為金湯之固；武夷、雁蕩，棲真者隱為解化之區；岳麓、鵝湖，講學者辟為都授之所。西湖三者無一居焉，而欲諱游冶之事，歌舞之談，假借雄觀，只益浮偽耳，史家不為也。¹³⁸

In this way, Tian Rucheng found a niche for West Lake amid famous mountains and rivers nationwide. It is neither a military stronghold nor a place of seclusion but a place for sightseeing. Unlike before, the criticism over touring West Lake had now become a thing to embrace openly. In many Ming dynasty plays and novels situated in Hangzhou, the famous lines “Hills beyond hills, pavilions beyond pavilions; when will the singing and dancing on West Lake cease?” was frequently cited.¹³⁹ However, in this new context, this lyrical couplet was no longer a denouncement of the overindulgence in the beauty of the lake but an advertisement of the

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Lin Sheng 林升, *Ti Lin'an di* 題臨安邸 (On the wall of Lin'an). This poem was popular since the Yuan but its writer was anonymous. It appeared in a Ming dynasty edition of *Shuihu Zhuan* (Heroes of the Water Margin) as a work of Su Shi. See Shi Nai'an 施耐庵, *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping Zhongyi Shuihu Zhuan* 李卓吾先生批評忠義水滸傳 (Li Zhuowu's annotation on Heroes of the Water Margin), Ronyu Tang kanben 容與堂刊本, juan. 94. In the *Xihu youlan zhiyu*, the authors attribute this poem to an official of the 12th century. Despite the debate on the authorship, this song was widespread in praising the beautiful scenery of West Lake.

lake's charm for tourists. Local Hangzhou'ers such as Tian Rucheng began to confront the issue directly, accepting West Lake's identity as a beautiful and attractive place of interest with few significant moral values. The people of Hangzhou were publicly promoting the lake in many ways. Compiling illustrated *mingsheng zhi* of it was part of this propaganda.

The first edition of *Xihu youlan zhi*, published in 1547, was primarily sponsored by the then mayor of Hangzhou, Yan Kuan (嚴寬, 1493–?) and cosponsored by two officials in charge of the “citizens” (民) and “water” (水) divisions.¹⁴⁰ Two later facsimiles of this edition were privately commissioned by two high-ranking officials of Hangzhou, Fan Mingqian (范鳴謙, active sixteenth century) and Ji Donglu (季東魯, active sixteenth century).¹⁴¹ Therefore, the earliest endeavors to compile and publish gazetteers of West Lake were regarded as efforts to document local history and publicize the local officials' political achievements.¹⁴² It seems that these editions were circulated only in small numbers and were not sold in local book markets.¹⁴³

However, Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi* opened up a new business opportunity for commercial publishers. Abridged, updated, and illustrated versions of *Xihu youlan zhi*, published for commercial purposes, surged around the 1610s. *Hainei qiguan* (海內奇觀, Wonders within the seas) is an example of this group.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Tian Rucheng, “Xihu youlanzhi xu,” *Xihu youlan zhi*, in *Xihu Wenxian Jicheng*, vol. 3, 5

¹⁴¹ Fan Mingqian's reprinted edition was published in 1584 and Ji Donglu's in 1597. For a study on the facsimiles of *Xihu youlan zhi*, see Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lvyou shu,” and “Dizhi yu jiyou.”

¹⁴² Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi huo lvyou shu,” 105-107.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ For a detailed study and analysis of *Hainei Qiguan*, refer to Lin Li-chiang, “A Study of the Xinjuan *hainei qiguan*, a Ming Dynasty Book of Famous Sites,” in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong*, volume II, eds., Jerome Silbergeld, Dora C.Y. Ching, Judith G Smith, and Alfreda Murck

The Illustrated Tourist Guidebook: West Lake in *Hainei Qiguan*

The third volume of *Hainei qiguan* is dedicated entirely to West Lake and the fourth volume to its neighboring Mt. Wu.¹⁴⁵ This volume, entitled *Xihu tushuo* (西湖圖說, Illustrated atlas of West Lake) comprises four parts: (1) a textual description of West Lake and several sightseeing routes; (2) one “Hushan Yilan tu” (湖山一覽圖, Map of the lake and mountains in one glance, hereafter called “the map”); (3) seven illustrations, each depicting a part of the lake (hereafter called “sectional views of the lake”); and (4) ten illustrations, each depicting one of the ten scenes of West Lake paired with ten poems.¹⁴⁶

The entire volume was designed to suit the needs of a potential tourist of the lake. Texts and illustrations serve the purpose of virtual and actual sightseeing. Although the text was taken primarily from Tian Rucheng’s *Xihu youlan zhi*, it is both abridged—the twenty-four-volume gazetteer was now condensed into a single, portable volume—and arranged with a new emphasis and in a different order. The new arrangement revised the sequence of scenic spots, putting the

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 779–812. According to Lin, the earliest extant edition of *Hainei Qiguan* should be a 1609 facsimile, now in the collection of Nihon Kokuritzu Bunko shokan 日本国立公文書館 (National Archives of Japan). I will base my discussion on the 1610 edition in the collection of Harvard Yenching Library which is a slightly later reprint.

¹⁴⁵ Mt. Wu is located on the south-east edge of the lake which is also close to the city center. During the Ming, the sites on Mt. Wu were assimilated into the sightseeing tours of the pan-West Lake area. Bundles of scenic views of Mt. Wu were designed to attract visitors. Images of these views were subsequently made.

¹⁴⁶ The seven sectional views of the lake are: “Zhaoqing dafo” 昭慶大佛圖 (Zhaoqing Monastery and the Big Buddha), “Gushan liuqiao” 孤山六橋圖 (Gushan Islet and the Six Bridges of Sudi Causeway), “Yue wumu wang mu” 岳武穆王墓圖 (Tomb of Yue Fei), “Lingyin Tianzhu” 靈隱天竺圖 (Lingyin Monastery and the Tianzhu Monasteries), “Yanxia Longjing” 煙霞龍井圖 (Yanxia Ridge and Longjing), “Hupao Jingci” 虎跑淨慈圖 (Hupao and Jingci Monastery), and “Qiantang jiang” 錢塘江圖 (Qiantang River).

North Mountain route (北山路) before the South Mountain route (南山路). This new order coincides with the popular sightseeing itinerary of actual tourists of the Wanli reign.¹⁴⁷ As the northernmost gate, Qiantang Gate is the starting point of many West Lake trips, putting the North Mountain route in the first place helps readers orient themselves.

The illustrations also came in handy for actual and virtual tours. For instance, the map takes the conventional east-west orientation, overlooking the lake from the side of the city (plate 3.4.1). The lake is portrayed as almost a perfect circle in the center of the composition; 128 place-names are labeled.

Depending on the location, these labeled places can be grouped into three categories: the innermost ones along the lakeshore in a radiating manner shall be called “lakeshore sites”; the second innermost layer on the mountains closely surrounding the lake shall be called “surrounding mountain sites”; toward the edge of the pictures, the ones marked with place-names such as “Tonglu” (桐廬), “Fuyang” (富陽), and “Xixing Guan” (西興關) are places outside of Qiantang County in the suburbs of Hangzhou.

Multiple perspectives are present in this map. For instance, the mountains and architecture with elevation are represented in a level perspective, with the east side of the city walls, pagodas, and mountains facing the viewer, but the lake is presented in a bird’s-eye perspective as a flat and round entity. The peaks of the mountains and the pagodas on the north shore are pointing toward the north (right) and vice versa. Therefore, viewers need to switch positions or rotate the image to see everything frontal and upright.

¹⁴⁷ See chapter 1.

The organization of inscriptions also necessitates rotation. The place-names of the lakeshore sites are written in a radiating manner, forming a concentric half-circle whose center is the heart of the lake (plate 3.4.2). Yulian Si (玉蓮寺, Jade-Lotus Monastery) and Dafo Si (大佛寺, Big Buddha Monastery) are two neighboring sites, but the names are written in reverse directions (plate 3.4.3). To read the characters in a “correct way” (up-down, right-left), one would need to rotate the picture/book clockwise. To avoid this abrupt rotation, the reader is guided to start from Dafo Si, moving leftward in the habitual way of reading, rotating the image/book to proceed, and finishing at Yulian Si. From Dafo Si to Yulian Si, the viewer/reader has just finished a full circle. Simultaneously, he or she has also completed a “boat tour” along the shores.

Furthermore, the place-name inscriptions also lead to viewpoints inside the “lake.” Plate 3.4.2 shows the lines extending from the written labels of lakeshore sites and their converging points. The two converging points are the on the Huxin Pavilion, and a boat, implying two typical sightseeing spots from the center of the lake.

Likewise, the act of rotating the book to read the place-names is similar to taking a vantage point in the middle of the lake and surveying the lakeshore in a counterclockwise motion. The starting point of this lakeshore journey should be Dafo Si, as it is written in reverse direction with its neighbor, Yulian Si, indicating a beginning and an end. It is also an actual starting point for a typical West Lake tour. The direction of travel implied in the image (counterclockwise, starting from Dafo Si) also matches a model itinerary.

Yuan Hongdao and Gao Panlong's travel diaries present the routes of two tourists of the Wanli era.¹⁴⁸ We can tell from their record that departing from Zhaoqing Monastery, traveling along the North Mountain route, arriving at the south shore, and returning to the starting point from there was a common itinerary for a one-day tour of West Lake. During this tour, one could incorporate almost all the lakeshore sites.

This typical itinerary is reflected in the *Yilan tu* map of *Hainei qiguan* in three aspects. First, the starting point of the itinerary matches the starting point on the map. Second, the sequence of travel matches the way scenic sites along the lake are written in the map (counterclockwise, from northeast to southwest). Third, the inscriptions in the map point toward three viewpoints—Gushan Islet, the Huxin Pavilion, and a free-floating boat in the center of the lake—all of which are actual popular sightseeing spots according to the two written texts. In these ways, the designer of the map strategically arranged image and text to mimic a real tourist itinerary in the medium of woodblock printed books.

The map is not the only case that alludes to, and facilitates, an actual touring experience. Just as the map integrates a one-day tour of West Lake, the following seven illustrations present a comprehensive week-long tour of the lake.

Plate 3.4.4 demonstrates the sequence of the seven sectional views of West Lake. These views also follow this northeast-southwest itinerary, with the starting point set at Zhaoqing Monastery and with a concentration on the most populated scenic spots: Zhaoqing Monastery, Gushan Islet, and North Mountain Road (Beishan Lu, 北山路). The seven sectional views are

¹⁴⁸ See chapter 1 of this dissertation.

also arranged in an order that starts with the center of the lake and moves outward to the surrounding mountains, and, further, to the Qiantang River.

The order of the seven pictures coincides with the itinerary of Gao Panlong's six-day trip of West Lake. The seven images are arranged as such (plate 3.5):

1. Zhaoqing Monastery and Dafo Monastery (on North Mountain Road)
2. Gushan Islet and the Sudi Causeway
3. Tomb of Yue Fei
4. Lingyin and Tianzhu Monasteries
5. Longjing Spring and Yanxia Peak
6. Hupao Spring and Jingci Monastery
7. The Zhejiang River

Additionally, the aforementioned diary documents the multi-day trip as follows:

Day 1. Tour of Zhaoqing Monastery and the lake proper¹⁴⁹

Day 2. Tour of Gushan Islet and the Tomb of Yue Fei¹⁵⁰

Day 3. Tour of Lingyin and Tianzhu Monasteries¹⁵¹

Day 4. Tour of Longjing Well and Yanxia Peak¹⁵²

Day 5. Tour of the city and Mt. Wu¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ The itinerary for this tour is documented as, "Zhaoqing Monastery-Sudi Causeway-Boat tour-Jingci Monastery-Sanxian Shrine (Gushan Islet)-Huxin Pavilion-Wanghu Pavilion (Baidi Causeway)-Sudi Causeway (Baidi Causeway)-Zhaoqing Monastery." Gao Panlong, "Xihu wenxian jicheng," 1038–1042.

¹⁵⁰ The scenic sites along this itinerary, as recorded by Gao, are: "Dafo Monastery-Fanghe Pavilion (Tomb of Lin Bu on Gushan Islet)-Sixian Shrine (Gushan Islet)-Tomb of Yue Fei (on North Mountain Road)-Wanghu Pavilion (Baidi Causeway)," *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ The scenic sites along this itinerary, as recorded by Gao, are: "Yuquan Spring-Jiqing Monastery-Three Tianzhu Monasteries-Lingyin Monastery," *ibid.*

¹⁵² This route goes as follows: "Longjing Well-Yipian Yun-Mt. Zhizi-Yanxia Peak-Nangao Peak-Sudi Bridges-Zhaoqing Monastery," *ibid.*

¹⁵³ This route goes as follows: "Hangzhou city-Mt. Wu-Qingbo Gate-Wansong Ridge-Sudi Causeway-Zhaoqing Monastery," *ibid.*

Day 6. Tour of Hupao Spring and the Zhejiang River¹⁵⁴

The similarity between the order of the seven sectional views of West Lake in *Hainei qiguan* and an actual trip of a contemporary scholar, Gao Panlong, suggests that the choice of subject matter and the way in which it is arranged in the volume match at least one typical touring experience. It also sheds light on how a visitor to West Lake, such as Gao, would have benefited from such illustrated sightseeing gazetteers of West Lake. The book could be used as a tourist guidebook. The map in the beginning shows the route for a one-day lake tour, and the following seven illustrations delineate a more comprehensive week-long tour of West Lake.

After the seven sectional views comes the text of the volume—descriptions of scenic spots on the lake—which can be divided into six parts, each denoting a specific sightseeing route. Each route departs from a tourist center, namely, the three city gates (Qiantang, Yongjin, and Qingbo) and the two bridges (the Yinma Bridge [飲馬橋] and the Hejian Bridge [合澗橋]). Each route then terminates at a mountain top. Thus, every route is ideal for a one-day tour that departs from a tourist center, reaches the top of a mountain, and returns. As in the map and in actual sightseeing tours, the six routes are also arranged in a northeast-southwest and inner-lake/outer-mountains order (plate 3.6).

This text, along with the preceding illustrations, serves as a handy guide for traveling. As it was portable, affordable, widely circulated, and contains geographic and encyclopedic information that would suit the needs of a tourist, this volume could almost serve a guidebook.

¹⁵⁴ The last route includes: “Sudi Causeway-Hupao Spring-Liuhe Pagoda-Zhejiang River,” *ibid.*

It was not unusual for tourists to bring along some sort of *mingsheng zhi* gazetteers on their trips during this period. Yuan Zhongdao (袁中道, 1570–1623) claims that “it is wise to bring along a gazetteer of the mountain so that one does not miss important sites” (山志宜攜，恐有遺也).¹⁵⁵ Qi Biaoja (祁彪佳, 1602–45), when writing about his journey to West Lake, notes, “Upon viewing the extraordinary scenes, I intended to compose a poem. Yet I could not think of a good line, so I skimmed through several volumes of the *Gazetteer of West Lake* before going to sleep” (境極勝，故欲作詩，苦不得佳句，僅閱《西湖志》數卷即就寢).¹⁵⁶

Although it is uncertain which particular *Gazetteer of West Lake* Qi was reading, it is evident that he brought some volumes with him during his journey to Hangzhou as guides and reference books.

In this sense, the visuality in the illustrations of those *mingsheng zhi* gazetteers regulates to a certain degree how viewers actually engage with West Lake. The arrangement of sites in these volumes also influences a rookie sightseer of West Lake in terms of trip planning and execution.

¹⁵⁵ Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道, “*Taihe Houji*”太和後記 (Postscript of Taihe), in *Kexue zhai qianji* 珂雪齋前集 (First Anthology of the Studio of Luminous-snow), juan 15, *Siku jinhuihu congkan* 四庫禁毀書叢刊 (Banned and destroyed books of Siku) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 22a.

¹⁵⁶ Qi Biaoja 祁彪佳, *Qi Zhongmin gong riji: Shanju zhuolu* 祁忠敏公日記 山居拙錄 (humble record on living as a hermit, Diaries of Qi Zhongmin), in *Qi Biaoja Wengao* 祁彪佳文稿 (Drafts of writing of Qi Biaoja) (Beijing: shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), 1093.

Snapshots of West Lake in *Jiyou Tu* Paintings

While local Hangzhou print houses published illustrated *mingsheng zhi* gazetteers that promoted and facilitated sightseeing around West Lake, out-of-town visitors documented their trips in more personal ways in *jiyou tu* paintings. Artists in Hangzhou, meanwhile, created albums of West Lake scenery as souvenirs to tourists. West Lake was thus framed in simple snapshot albums or comprehensive panorama images as mementos of the trip.

The *Famous Attractions along the Two Rivers* (兩江名勝圖), attributed to Shen Zhou, is an album of ten paintings delineating scenic attractions along the Huai (淮) and Yangtze Rivers.¹⁵⁷ Two sites of West Lake are incorporated therein: the three Tianzhu monasteries and the Tomb of Yue Fei.

In the picture of the three Tianzhu monasteries (plate 3.7.1), the artist inserts temples, roads, and pavilions in a landscape in the Li Tang (李唐, 1066–1150) tradition, with hints of Huang Gongwang. The faraway mountains in the background and the cloudy effect allude to Song masters such as Li Tang (plate 3.7.2). The two triangular peaks refer to Huang Gongwang

¹⁵⁷ There has been a debate over the authenticity of this album. However, there is a consensus that at least the writings of Shen Zhou and others are genuine. As for the paintings, it is questionable whether or not they are by the hands of Shen Zhou. Xu Bangda calls the painting “questionable.” Fu Xinian thinks that the paintings are done by others while the writings are by Shen Zhou.” See *Zhongguo shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目 (List of paintings and calligraphy from ancient China), Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiangdingzu ed., vol. 3, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987, p. 11. Two doctoral theses also agree that the inscriptions are authentically Shen Zhou yet disagree over the authenticity of the paintings. See Wu Gangyi 吳剛毅, “Shen Zhou Shanshui huihua de fengge yu ticaizhi yanjiu” 沈周山水繪畫的風格與題材研究 (Research on the styles and subjects of Shen Zhou’s landscape paintings) (PhD diss., China Central Academy of Art, 2002). Guan Jian 關健, “Wumen huapai jiyoutu yanjiu” 吳門畫派紀遊圖研究 (Itinerary paintings of the Wu School painters) (PhD diss., China Central Academy of Art, 2014). However, in this dissertation, the authenticity of the paintings is not the primary concern. How Shen Zhou, people of his circle, and later generations reflect on the West Lake pictorial theme is the main issue of investigation.

(plate 2.9). The architecture is delineated in crisp and simple contours with minimal shading and texturing. The three monasteries are compacted into a small album leaf. This image, as a *jiyou* painting, refers to some topographic features of the sites while also conveying a sense of archaism. The three Tianzhu monasteries are ancient temples first established during the fourth century. Thus, they were considered historic sites as well as sacred sites. In the facing folio, inscriptions by Shen Zhou and his friends commented on the experience of cleansing one's soul using the clear water coming from the Tiaozhu Spring and hearing the bells toll from these ancient monasteries.

On another page, the artist depicts the Tomb of Yue Fei. In a similar fashion, the buildings are framed by Song-style landscape in the background (plate 3.7.3). The perpendicular waterfall, the shadowed ridge between two peaks, and the cloudy effect are all reminiscent of Song masterpieces. The architecture, however, is delineated in precise brushwork without the help of rulers and is colored in washed red and gray colors. The buildings appear to be new, as no paint or walls are falling off and no bryophyte are climbing up on the walls. The archaic landscape juxtaposed against the new architecture situates the scene in a unique context. Shen Zhou's inscription states, "Lively as the woods pointing their branches to the south, the lonely grave lasts ten thousand years like the mountains" (生氣南枝樹，孤墳萬古山). In this poem, the vigor of the living trees and the grave of the hero are both everlasting. The Song-style mountains depicted in this album leaf not only bring the viewer back to Yue Fei's historical context but also demonstrate the eternity of Yue Fei's spirit. Yet the fresh architecture reminds

the viewer about the contemporaneity of Shen Zhou's recent trip and the vitality of this newly refurbished site.¹⁵⁸

The artist of the two images represents two contemporary sites of West Lake with strong historic connotations in this *jiyou tu* set. Both sites—the Tianzhu monasteries and the Shrine of Yue Fei—were *guji* (古蹟, historic sites) with fresh appeal. At a time when antiquarianism was fueled by mass tourism, albums and diaries documenting one's personal itinerary were frequently seen.¹⁵⁹ History and time are embodied in the archaic Song-style landscape, and the new and bright architecture displays the contemporaneity of the tourist sites. The pairing of the evergreen pine trees and the everlasting mountains in the poem and the image brings together the past and the present, the dead and the living, the Song and the Ming, two temporalities essential in the building of the local identity of Hangzhou.

Revival or Renewal: Two Tendencies in *Mingsheng Zhi* Gazetteers

As in the *jiyou tu* paintings, the *mingsheng zhi* gazetteers are also concerned with the representation of time and space. One has only to leaf through Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi*, the third volume of *Hainei qiguan*, or any of the other contemporaneous gazetteers of West Lake, to see the clear expression of this shifting spatiotemporality.

¹⁵⁸ The Tomb of Yue Fei was a recently rediscovered site during Shen Zhou's time. The locale was a monastery called Fuchan 福禪寺, established to commemorate Yue Fei in the Southern Song but banished during the Yuan era. In 1459, the monastery was officially renamed "Shrine of King Yue" by the emperor. The site was then renovated and redecored, but it did not last long. In 1503, a eunuch named Mai Xiu 麥秀 (dates unknown) once again supervised the renovation of the site. Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi*, juan 9, *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol. 3, 101.

¹⁵⁹ Wu Hung discusses the relationship between *guji* (historical traces) and antiquarianism in "Ji-traces," 178–182.

First, in Tian's *Xihu youlan zhi*, many past sites that were no longer extant were still introduced in great detail. These sites were documented in Southern Song or Yuan dynasty texts but had long since been abandoned, torn down, or replaced with new structures. In describing scenic sites of West Lake, they were nonetheless included with details and marked with the word *jinfei* (今廢, now abolished). Likewise, stories of the Southern Song period are also recorded as anecdotes. These "abolished" sites and tales are interspersed with existing places and stories, creating two spatial-temporal contexts, one that is set in the Southern Song capital city of Lin'an and the other in Tian's contemporary Hangzhou.

In addition to the text, the illustrations in Tian's *Xihu youlan zhi* also present two historical spaces. A total of five maps are included at the beginning of the first volume in the pilot edition of Tian's *Xihu youlan zhi* as follows:

1. *Map of Song Dynasty Capital City* (宋朝京城圖)
2. *Map of Song Dynasty West Lake* (宋朝西湖圖)
3. *Map of Song Dynasty Zhejiang River* (宋朝浙江圖)
4. *Map of Present-Day Provincial Capital* (今朝郡城圖)
5. *Map of Present-Day West Lake* (今朝西湖圖)

The pairing of the *songchao* (宋朝, Song dynasty) and *jinchao* (今朝, the present dynasty) already creates two time frames. Furthermore, three out of the five maps depict Hangzhou and West Lake in the (Southern) Song dynasty with reference to the Southern Song

gazetteer *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, which lends itself to its historicity. Interestingly, Hangzhou was coined the “Song dynasty capital city” in Tian’s gazetteer, whereas in fact, it was lawfully anointed the “visiting headquarter of Song dynasty” (宋行所在). Although it was perceived as the de facto capital city of the Southern Song dynasty, it never could replace Bianliang (Kaifang) as the capital city of the Northern Song and the nominal capital of the Southern Song. Calling Hangzhou (or the then-called Lin’an) the capital of the Song would be a serious overstatement. Yet to the editors and publishers of mid-Ming Hangzhou, this aggrandizement did not seem to be inappropriate.

Comparing the two maps of West Lake, the (Southern) Song version is longer in size and fuller in details. It occupies eight cross-leaf pages, whereas *Map of Present-Day West Lake* takes six (plate 2.16). It includes not only scenic attractions but also military posts, official wine storages, administrative bureaus, state-run schools, royal and private gardens, municipal borders, official markets, residential districts, and imperial palaces (plate 3.8). The places are labeled with the names by which they were known during the Southern Song despite the fact that many of the names changed over time. For instance, Mt. Phoenix (Fenghuang Shan, 鳳凰山) is labeled as “Danei Fenghuang Shan” (大內鳳凰山, Phoenix of the Imperial Interior Mountain). Similarly, names such as “Qiantang Weisi” (錢塘尉司, Imperial Guards of Qiantang) and “Husheng Bujun” (護聖步軍, Army in Charge of Protecting his Majesty) were all terms with explicit historical and political connotations that were outdated and unfitting in the Ming context. Hangzhou was not the capital of the Ming empire, and Mt. Phoenix was not within the imperial

compound. There were no such armies to protect the emperors of the Southern Song. However, Tian Rucheng still kept these names in his gazetteer of sightseeing.

Unlike the informative *Map of Song Dynasty West Lake*, the *Map of Present-Day West Lake* displays nothing but the famous scenic sites on and along the lake (plate 2.16). One cannot find any politicized information regarding the city, the urban living area, the official borders, or military posts in this contemporary map. When viewing the (Southern) Song map, one is constantly reminded of Hangzhou's status as the political center of the nation. West Lake, being a part of Hangzhou, supplied fresh water, hosted royal tours, and catered to the rich and prestigious. However, when seeing the contemporary map of West Lake, one is concentrated on West Lake's being an attraction for tourists. The scenic sites of the lake are now open to the public, unguarded and unrestrained by imperial or private enclosures.¹⁶⁰

These two types of illustrations create two distinct yet related historical and spatial contexts. The Southern Song context calls attention to Hangzhou's glorious past as the political center of China, and the Ming context expresses the lake's new status as a popular tourist site. The juxtaposition of the two historical contexts in the writing and illustration of Tian's West Lake gazetteer overlooks one major dynasty in between—the Yuan. In so doing, Tian shunned this century-long period of destruction and humiliation that West Lake had faced. This deliberate omission creates the false sense that the glory days of Song-dynasty West Lake were ever-present, unsullied by its subsequent dishevelment and decline.

In the commercial reproductions of Tian Rucheng's original *Xihu youlan zhi*, Hangzhou's image as the Southern Song capital, however, was overshadowed by new spatiotemporalities.

¹⁶⁰ Elements of maps guide viewers in ways the maker intended; border lines restrict and confine viewers. Reducing borders, the space becomes much more open and accessible visually. See Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with maps* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991),

Once again, take *Hainei qiguan* as an example. In it, neither the Southern Song West Lake nor Tian Rucheng's contemporary Hangzhou was depicted. Every place marked on the illustrations are the most up to date, some of which are later than Tian Rucheng's time.

For instance, when describing the Tomb of Yue Fei, the text in *Hainei qiguan* states, "Three prisoners were tied to wooden sticks with their hands in the back, kneeling down in the courtyard. The one in the middle is Qin Hui [秦檜], the other is his wife Wang [王氏], the other is Moqi Xie [萬俟卨]." However, in the image showing the Tomb of Yue Fei (plate 3.9), one can clearly see four figures marked with their names Moqi Xie, Zhang Jun (張俊), Qin Hui, and Wang Shi, accordingly.

This inconsistency between text and image within a single volume is the result of two different temporal contexts. The text was largely copied from a 1566 travel diary, *Ke Yue zhi* (客越志, Being a guest in Yue), by Wang Zhideng (王穉登, 1535–1612). During this time, there were only three figurines in front of Yue Fei's tombstone. *Xihu bianlan*, published around 1604, records:

In the eighth year of the Zhengde reign [1513], Li Long commissioned three bronze figurines of Qin Hui, Wang Shi, and Moqi Xie to kneel down in the courtyard. Soon they were beaten and damaged by visitors. In the twenty-second year of the Wanli reign [1594], Fan Mingqian used iron to reconstruct four figurines of Qin Hui, Wang Shi, Zhangjun, and Moqi Xie and made them kneel in front of the hall. People applauded.

There was no day that they were not beaten. Unfortunately, the figurines of Zhang Jun and Wang Shi were damaged. In the thirtieth year [1602], Fan Mingqian remade them with the support from the community.

正德八年，都指挥使李隆铸铜，为秦桧、王氏、万俟卨三像，跪于露台...二十二年，按察司副使新安范公涑以铁铸秦桧、王氏、张俊、万俟卨四像，接跪于丹墀，人咸称快。焉而击搥者无虚日，惜乎今没其张俊王氏二像。三十年，公复作伯，是方捐俸重葺。¹⁶¹

From this record, we can reconstruct the timeline of the figurines and the pictorial representations as follows:

1513: Three bronze figurines, Qin Hui, Wang Shi, and Moqi Xie, were erected.

1547: Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi* notes three figurines being tied and kneeling down.

1566: Wang Zhideng wrote his travel diary, noting three figurines.

1584: A reprint facsimile of Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi* in the Wanli reign cites three figurines.

1584–94: All figurines were damaged subsequently.

1594: Four iron figurines were resurrected: Qin Hui, Wang Shi, Zhang Jun, and Moqi Xie.

¹⁶¹ Gao Yingke 高應科, *Xihu zhi zhaicui buyi xinang bianlan* 西湖志摘粹補遺奚囊便覽, juan 4, Congress Library. The 1584 edition of *Xihu Youlan zhi* also notes three figurines, *Xihu youlan zhi*, juan 9.

1594–1602: Two were damaged.

1602: The damaged two were repaired.

1604: *Xihu bianlan* published; four figurines are shown in the illustration.

1610: *Hainei qiguan* published; four figurines are shown in the illustration, but the text still cites three.

This inconsistency between the image and the text in the same volume suggests that illustrations of West Lake underwent rapid updating at a much faster pace than did the text. Only two years after the resurrection of the figurines, the newly published *Xihu bianlan* includes an illustration of the updated landscape. Yet six years later, the text in *Hainei qiguan* still remains unchanged. It was vital for tourist gazetteers to update their images as soon as the sites became renovated to attract readers and compete in the market.

During the Wanli reign, West Lake underwent a number of major changes and renovations, most of which were sponsored by the eunuch Sun Long. The production and publication of the many editions of West Lake's gazetteers and tourist guidebooks were contemporaneous with these changes. With the construction of novel sites and remodeling of old ones, the landscape of West Lake had evolved tremendously during the last decade of the sixteenth century. The modernization of West Lake's scenic landscape inspired the adaptation in pictorial representations. Illustrations depicting newly erected sites and rendering former ones with fresh looks became the most popular.

Among those, *Hainei qiguan* includes many pictorial clues to allude to the most recent update of the lake. The aforementioned illustration of the Tomb of Yue Fei portrays the site as a lively urban space. Merchants are selling small figurines and leaves of paintings outside the main gate of the shrine. Visitors are playing ballgames in the front yard. The open area and pavement

in front of the main gate was just recently constructed with the sponsorship of Sun Long around 1592.¹⁶² The printed illustration showcases the new look of the shrine and the dynamic modern urban life around it. Another illustration of the same volume depicts a stone go (chess) table inscribed with two lines: “Tapping the half-moon in the water when good mood comes; Reclining on the piece of cloud in the wind when a conversation ends” (興來臨水敲殘月，談罷吟風倚片雲) (plate 3.10). This table is a reference to another project of Sun Long completed around the turn of the century.¹⁶³ This illustration puts an emphasis on this new table by substantially enlarging it to make the inscriptions legible.

Sun Long’s commission had greatly changed the landscape of West Lake. As the writer and editor of *Xihu youlan zhi*, Tian Rucheng did not live long enough to see these changes that took place forty years after his passing. Yet as his description of West Lake was cited in many later gazetteers and tourist books, new illustrations portraying the updated landscape of West Lake provide a new temporal context for Tian’s gazetteer. Ma Meng-ching notes the relationship between Sun Long’s renovation project and the new commercial West Lake gazetteers. She argues that these gazetteers had to keep up with the changing landscape of West Lake to remain practical for tourists.¹⁶⁴ Aside from this utilitarian goal, the ever-evolving pictures of West Lake also epitomize a sense of

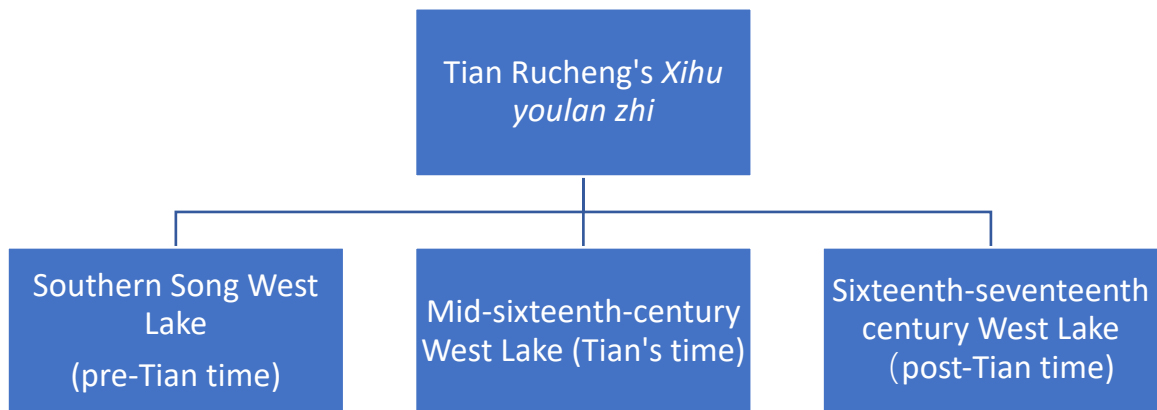
¹⁶² Wang Shaochuan’s (王紹傳; active 16th century) diary notes: “The shrine had been quite blocked before. Recently Sun Long purchased residential properties in front of the shrine and turned them into dozens of meters of cleared ways, making the shrine directly adjacent to the lake. Wooden columns were erected on the two sides, giving it a magnificent look” 祠故逼仄，近孫中貴市民居闢其前數十丈，直抵湖垠。綽楔跨之，偉麗特甚，“*Xiling youji*” 西泠遊記 (travel diary to Xiling), in *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol. 3, 1079.

¹⁶³ It was around the turn of the century that this stone table was made and placed in front of the Pianyun ting 片雲亭 (Pavilion of a piece of cloud). See Zhang Dai, *Xihu Mengxun*, juan 4, in *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 205.

¹⁶⁴ Ma Meng-ching, “Mingsheng zhi,” 113–114.

modernity both within and outside the pictorial frame. Thus, in the gazetteers of West Lake published in the mid-late Ming dynasty, the lake was represented pictorially in at least three spatiotemporal contexts: a Southern Song dynasty West Lake, a Ming dynasty West Lake in Tian Rucheng's time, and an ever-updating West Lake in the Wanli reign (see chart 2.1). Under these contexts, West Lake is simultaneously a historic site and a tourist attraction that is constantly renewing now.

Chart 2.1. Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi* and three timeframes constructed around it.



Although the tendency to update the landscape of West Lake seems to be in conflict with the trend to reconstruct the image of the past, the two tendencies collaborated in the promotion of Hangzhou. The former portrays the city as a modern tourist city, while the latter endorses it with a rich historical background. However, the rationales behind (re)-creating a Southern Song image of West Lake entail an analysis of the socio-art-historic context for paintings of West Lake. I will

return to this topic in section 4 of this chapter after a short excursion into the representation of West Lake in other media.

2.3. West Lake Retold: The Ghosts of the Southern Song and the Beauties of the Great Ming

Since the mid-late Ming dynasty, the charm of its natural beauty and the richness of historical allusions were the two predominant qualities of West Lake. This lake had become a romantic environment in literary and pictorial representations. Among these works, the multiplicity of time and space was a constant theme. The lingering shadow of the Southern Song dynasty, seen through the lens of the Yuan period, was a popular theme in fictional and dramatic works. The tendency to look back while gazing at the moment is consistent through the writing and depiction of stories set in West Lake.

Writing West Lake Stories: Ghost of the Southern Song and Readers of the Great Ming

In Ming literature, the allusion to the Southern Song took the form of a female ghost lover who lived in West Lake. In the collection of short stories *New Stories told while Trimming the Wick* (剪灯新话) by Qu You (瞿佑, 1347–1433), two tales were set in West Lake. In “Teng Mu Visits Jujing Garden when Intoxicated” (滕穆醉遊聚景園記), the male protagonist, Teng Mu, is a student during the Yanyou (彥佑) reign (1313–20) of the Yuan dynasty.¹⁶⁵ He visits Hangzhou

¹⁶⁵ Qu You 瞿佑, *Jiandeng Xinhua* 剪燈新話 (New stories told while trimming the wick), juan. 2, Wanli Huang Zhengwei kanben 萬曆黃正位刊本 (facsimile printed by Huang Zhengwei in the Wanli reign).

one day and takes lodgings in a cottage on the lakeshore. One night, under the influence of some liquor, he stumbles across Jujing Garden, an imperial garden on the bank of West Lake. There he meets an attractive young lady and falls in love instantly. The lady tells the scholar that she was a concubine of Emperor Lizong (1205–64; r. 1224–64) of the Southern Song who died at a young age and was buried in this garden. The lady and Teng Mu have an affair and are soon married. Three years later, she brings Teng Mu back to West Lake only to tell him that she must leave because a ghost spirit cannot linger too long in the living world. The next morning, the lady is gone, leaving Teng Mu heartbroken. He goes to the mountains to become a hermit and remains single for the rest of his life.

Another entry in *New Stories told while Trimming the Wick*, “The Girl in Green Clothes” (绿衣人), tells a similar story.¹⁶⁶ In the Yanyou period, a young scholar meets a beautiful girl dressed in green. He falls in love with her at first sight only to discover that she is a ghost who had passed away almost forty years ago. The girl in green tells him that they used to be lovers in the past. As it turned out, they were both servants of the evil minister Jia Sidao (賈似道, 1213–75) and were executed when their secret affair was discovered. The scholar had reincarnated, but the girl’s spirit lingers in the form of a ghost seeking her lover. The reunited lovers marry. Unfortunately, however, the girl must depart the world of the living after three years of happy marriage. Likewise, the scholar, in despair, becomes a monk at Lingyin Monastery.

In both stories, the female protagonists appear as alluring beauties who were associated with the Southern Song imperial court. They bring memories of the past dynasty back to the

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, juan. 1.

scholars of the Yuan and take their hearts away when they depart. With their beloved wives gone, the scholars go into reclusion, leaving all earthly affairs behind.

In this manner, the nostalgia for the past dynasty is incarnated in the two beautiful ladies. This nostalgic sentiment is shared by many in the Yuan dynasty in a group of people who could be identified as the “leftovers” (*yimi*, 遺民), or loyalists of the Song.¹⁶⁷ The lady in the first story lives next to the Southern Song imperial garden that was in ruins during the Yuan. She sings a song of the past dynasty and wears jewelry that is no longer in style. In her opening scene, she chants, “The lake and the mountains are like old times, the scenery did not differ. But time went by and the world changed. The rise and fall of the dynasty sadden me” (湖山如故，風景不殊，但時移世換，令人有《黍離》之悲矣).¹⁶⁸

The unchanging landscape of West Lake had witnessed the ever changing human world. In this sense, West Lake was the conveyor of nostalgia for the past dynasty and the witness of the past dynasty’s rise and fall. The beauties in these stories and the illustrated maps in *Xihu youlan zhi* delineating West Lake and Hangzhou in the Song dynasty bring the image of the Southern Song to a later audience. Both stories took the perspective of a Yuan dynasty scholar, looking retrospectively to the Southern Song beauty in the form of a ghost. The Yuan scholars

¹⁶⁷ In the past decade, scholars have delved into the relationship between sites and the past dynasties. Zheng Wenhui’s ongoing project studies the Song and Ming loyalists’ writing on the landscape of particular sites to understand the cultural context and psychological conditions of these “leftover” loyalists. Zheng Wenhui, “Shibian yu dijing: Song/Ming yimin xihu wenxue/tuxiang de xushi/shuqing xipu,” 事變與地景：宋/明遺民西湖文學/圖像的敘事/抒情系譜 (Dynastic turn and topographic image: the narrative/expression in the literary/pictorial representation of West Lake of the loyalists of Song/Ming), project report, National Science Council, Taiwan, 2013.4.

¹⁶⁸ Qu You, *Jiandeng Xinhua*, juan 2.

are the knot that ties the Ming readers and the Southern Song beauties together. Their disappearance into the mountains signals a refusal to work with the Mongol regime and demonstrates their loyalty to the past dynasty.¹⁶⁹

The two stories in *Jiandeng xinhua* represent a type of literary writing during the Ming period that utilized the unchanging landscape of West Lake as the witness of the rise and fall of the Southern Song dynasty. In many other novels and plays of the Ming dynasty, this nostalgic sentiment is no longer present, yet the lake was still set as the stage for romantic encounters.¹⁷⁰ The reason for this arrangement is threefold. First, the popular activity of touring the lake during special occasions provided the opportunity for young strangers to mingle. Second, the lake's association with romantic stories such as the ones about the legendary beauty Xi Shi (西施) and the minister Fan Li (范蠡), Lady White Snake (白蛇) and Xu Xuan (許宣), and Liang Shanbo (梁山伯) and Zhu Yingtai (祝英台) paint the place with a romantic undertone.¹⁷¹ Third, the lake was an erotic locale, as brothels and singing boats lined up on the lake and courtesans frequently accompanied male scholars on boat tours.

In his article, Liu Yongqiang puts forward a “relatively fixed pattern” for a typical West Lake fiction:

¹⁶⁹ In both stories, the scholars were preparing for the Civil Service Examination before meeting the beautiful ladies. They both refused to take the exam when their wives disappeared. From potential government officials to hermits, the two ladies of the past changed the life course of the scholars. Becoming hermits was not an uncommon practice for scholars of the Yuan. This act was perceived as noncollaboration with the regime.

¹⁷⁰ Liu Yongqiang, “West Lake Fiction of the late Ming: origin, development, background and literary characteristics,” trans. Roland Attenburgh, *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asienengesellschaft=Etudes asiatiques: revue de la Societes Suisse-Asie* no. 63 (2009:1):135–196.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 182.

Time: Pure and Bright festival (Qingming festival). Although being a seasonal custom, the choice of this seasonal point in time is also related to the awakening of spring feelings, which makes it the perfect season for engendering surprising love stories.

Place: The scenic sites at West Lake. This is not only due to the beauty of the landscape, but also to the sightseers who are so numerous and provide another precondition for unexpected romances to take place.

Characters: A young male and a pretty female whom he meets by chance while sightseeing.¹⁷²

As such, in fictional writings of the Ming period, West Lake was set as a stage for the Song loyalists to recollect memories of the past dynasty while also being a matchmaking corner for young people of the Ming empire.

Illustrating Stories of West Lake: Representing Gendered Space and Scenic Sites

As the idealized stage for romance, West Lake was also represented pictorially in illustrated prints with two major tendencies. The first tendency shows West Lake as an idealized stage for couples, framing it in spring's willow and peach blossoms and dividing the space to create a gendered division. The second tendency focuses on the presentation of the latest and most alluring landscape of West Lake that seeks to promote the scenery, even though most of the pictures do not elucidate the stories.

¹⁷² Ibid.

Xihu ji (西湖記) (Story of West Lake) is an example of the first type.¹⁷³ The play, a clichéd love story whose backdrop is West Lake, tells of a romantic encounter that takes place during the author’s contemporary time, the Wanli reign. Following the aforementioned prescription, a young scholar meets a lady on West Lake and falls in love at first sight. The pair marry secretly, are separated by war, and reunite after many hardships.

The seventh scene, “Romantic Encounter on West Lake” (西湖邂逅), includes a text narrating their first encounter and an illustration portraying that instance. However, the majority of the text is dedicated to describing and praising the beautiful scenery of West Lake. This scene begins with a “hermit’s song” (山歌) sung by a middle-aged boatman: “Mountains beyond mountains, towers beyond towers; When will the dancing and singing on West Lake cease?”¹⁷⁴ The adoption of the famous Southern Song poem opens the stage and pins down the lake’s romantic connotations. The original political criticism of this couplet is subdued in this new context. The scene ends with the male protagonist singing, “Hiking along West Lake in a spring outing, the scenery has truly no match under heaven. West Lake is just like Lady Xi Shi, looking at whom is like viewing a portrait of a beauty” (遊春今日步西湖，果信西湖天下無。欲把西

¹⁷³ *Xihu Ji* 西湖記, Tang Zhenwu kanben 唐振吾刊本, from *Guben xiqu congkan erji* 古本戲曲叢刊二集 (Second Anthology of pre-modern printed facsimiles of plays and songs) (Beijing: guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016), no. 57.

¹⁷⁴ The poem is attributed to a Southern Song poet Lin Sheng. It has some political connotations. The last line, “Treating Hangzhou as if it is Bianzhou” contains vociferous discontent with the hedonic lifestyle of the ruling class.

湖比西子，西湖宛似美人圖)。In this poem, the allusion to the beauty Xi Shi paints the lake as a feminized image longing for men's appreciation.

The illustration of this scene in this edition, however, does little to portray West Lake specifically (plate 3.11). The pictorial plane is divided into two halves by the book binding in the middle, taking up two facing pages. The left folio depicts the male protagonist, Qin Yimu (秦一木), touring the lake with a senior friend and a servant, while the right folio pictures the female protagonist, Duan Rugui (段如圭), riding in a boat with her father and a younger brother. The male protagonist's group stands on the bank, framed by a willow tree to the left and a peach tree in bloom in the bottom-left corner. The female protagonist's party is situated inside a cabin of the boat. The father falls asleep on the table, and the younger brother is looking into the picture, away from the viewer's gaze. The female protagonist shields part of her face with a fan. Her eyes meet the gaze of the male protagonist's. Their eye contact creates an invisible thread that links the two halves of the illustration. The boatman stands on the bow, with one hand paddling and the other in the gesture of performing a song. He overlooks the couple from a bystander's perspective, as if he had seen many such romantic liaisons. His lyrics also allude to well-known romantic stories related to the lake of the past dynasties. Besides him, none of the other figures seem to be aware of the couple's interaction.

A small corner of West Lake is represented here. The land-water division cuts the picture in halves while segregating the couple into two groups in two spatial contexts. This division hinders the actual physical connection of the two lovers, but the boat, as a vehicle, channels their

marriage. Elements of spring, such as willow trees, peach blossoms, and the serene lake set up an amorous mood.¹⁷⁵ West Lake is thus typified as a romantic and gendered space.

Using the land-water division to segregate couples who meet for the first time is not an uncommon pictorial strategy. Plate 3.12 shows two singing girls (courtesans) welcoming two young scholars on the bank of West Lake. Again, male and female groups are separated by land and water. Willow trees and flowers fill the scene, creating a seasonal and romantic environment. In the Ming dynasty, women were avid tourists whose presence in the public domain was not stigmatized.¹⁷⁶ But a gendered division in space was still encouraged as the two sexes were conceptually confined in different spheres, the men in the “outer” and the women in the “inner.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Willow and peach blossom bear romantic connotations not only in literature but also in painting. In a cognitive linguistic study, Zhang proposed four plants traditionally used in pre-modern Chinese poetry as metaphors of love and are still perceived as such, which are willow trees, peach blossoms, red beans, and two trees with branches twined. Yangyang Zhang, “Discursive metaphors analysis: the love metaphor of plant in Chinese love poetry,” *Cross-cultural Communication*, vol.8, no. 5 (2012): 74–78. However, the peach blossom as a pictorial theme is sometimes an allusion to the scholar–poet Tao Yuanming (陶淵明; ca. 365–427) as a trope of scholarly reclusion in a secluded peach blossom garden. See Richard Barnhardt, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Paintings* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1983) chapter. 1. However, scholars considered the pairing of willow and peach blossom to be “vulgar.” Wen Zhenheng (文震亨; 1585–1645) writes, “when peach blossoms are interspersed with willows, it’s bad taste.” See Wen Zhenheng, “On Peach Blossom,” *Chang wu zhi* 長物志 (Superfluous Things), juan 1, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

¹⁷⁶ Wu Renshu studies women and tourism during the Ming and Qing period in several of his works. See Wu Renshu, *Shechi de nvren: Ming Qing shiqi Jiangnan funv de xiaofei wenhua* 奢侈的女人：明清時期江南婦女的消費文化 (Luxurious women: consumption culture of women in Jiangnan during Ming-Qing period) (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2005); idem, *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化 (Leisure consumption and spatial shift in Ming-Qing cities in Jiangnan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), 236–248.

¹⁷⁷ Dorothy Ko discusses the efficacy and limits of the “inner” and the “outer” in the study of women’s culture. See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-century China* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 13–14. According to Ko, the inner–outer dichotomy as “fields of action that women inhabited” is a valid construct which does not “demarcate mutually exclusive social and symbolic spaces.”

In a similar manner, a New Year's print of the Qing dynasty, "Touring the Lake", from the *Story of the White Snake*, depicts the female pair occupying the land and the male group occupying the water (plate 3.13). Willows trees and flower blossoms, once again, frame the image visually and conceptually. The four main figures, White Snake, Little Green, Boatman, and Xu Xuan, form two concentric circles, creating a sense of wholeness. The association between the female and male protagonists is thusly implied.

Once the couples consummate their marriage, the two can ride in the same boat, as shown in plate 3.14. The scene titled "Wang Shang Tours the Lake with a Prostitute" (王商與妓游西湖) illustrates the nighttime boat tour of Wang Shang and his concubine Li, who used to be a prostitute. Not surprisingly, the couple met on West Lake a few months earlier. Now, the couple enjoys food and music together on the boat. A moon shines brightly in the sky, and a few lotus flowers are about to bloom. A pair of swallows soars on top of the boat. A few curvy lines suggest the reflection of the moon on the calm lake. Touring the lake with a prostitute or a concubine was a fashionable, and even an elegant activity among the literati group.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, this night tour of a male and a prostitute/concubine is still explicitly a sensual subject matter.

When West Lake is depicted as the backdrop of romantic encounters or as the site for late-night trysts, it is often pictured as an environment full of romantic allusions. Often, there is

¹⁷⁸ Wu Renshu, *Youyou fangxiang*, 303–305. Wu also discusses this topic. He notices the open and even encouraging attitude toward taking a courtesan on scholars' tours during the Ming dynasty despite the laws. See idem, "Qingdai shidafu de lvyouhuodong yu lunshu: yi Jiangnan wei taolun zhongxin" 清代士大夫的旅遊活動與論述——以江南為討論中心 (Tourist activities and records of Qing dynasty scholar-officials—a study that focuses on Jiangnan), *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, no. 50 (2005.12): 238–285, 260 and note 116.

hardly any site specificity in the pictures. But with the help of the accompanying verse, one is able to identify West Lake. The actual division between land and water on West Lake is transformed into a visual allegory for proper distance between couples when they first meet. Vegetation with romantic connotations set up the mood; boats, as vehicles, enable potential communications between the couple; and finally, their visual interactions break the water-land division and unite the lovers.

For readers of these novels and spectators of these illustrations, a young girl's encounter with a scholar in a public domain (the lake) was not inappropriate. During the seventeenth century, women in the Jiangnan region constituted a large segment of the readership of illustrated fiction and drama, and they collectively shared a rather open attitude toward romance and even sex.¹⁷⁹ Under the influence of such popular plays as the *Peony Pavilion*, many educated and unmarried girls in Hangzhou actively longed for love and companionable marriage. They were also potential viewers of this kind of illustration that shows the meeting of a couple on West Lake.

The second type of illustration portrays the modern scenery of the lake by sometimes inserting a scenic map of the lake, despite its having little to do with the plot. In the play *Dangui ji* (丹桂記), a cross-page illustration of West Lake shows the north shore, the Duan Bridge, Gushan Islet, and parts of the Sudi Causeway from a top-down perspective (plate 3.15).¹⁸⁰ In it, several groups of tourists are depicted as figures walking on the causeways, looking down from

¹⁷⁹ Ko presents the case of three wives residing in Hangzhou during the 17th century who commented on the play *Peony Pavilion* 牡丹亭 to demonstrate the openness toward *qing* (情, love) and sex in women readers. Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chamber*, 86–89.

¹⁸⁰ A Ming dynasty facsimile of *Dan Guiji* is compiled in the *Guben Xiqu Conkan chuji* 古本戲曲叢刊初集, no. 97.

bridges, and traveling in boats. In the story, the female protagonist, Li Huiniang (李慧娘), like the Lady in the Green Dress, was a servant of the infamous Southern Song prime minister Jia Sidao. She met the male protagonist when she was accompanying Jia Sidao on a boat tour on West Lake.

The story of *Dangui ji* was largely plagiarized from the original *Hongmei ji* (紅梅記) published by Zhou Chaojun (周朝俊, active sixteenth century).¹⁸¹ A printed edition of *Hongmei ji* also has an illustration of the scene in which the protagonists meet (plate 3.16). Comparing these two images of the same scene, it is evident that their emphases differ. In the *Hongmei ji* illustration, the scholar Pei (裴) rides in a boat. The tops of a pagoda and some rooftops can be seen peeking above mountains in the background, and an elaborate pavilion appears amid several willow trees on the bank. In the distance, two sailboats occupy the top-left corner. Although the boat, the mountains, and the pagoda might resemble the ones frequently seen in West Lake images, the landscape in this illustration is a general representation not specific to the lake. The two sailboats, in particular, seem peculiar in the context of a lake tour.

The illustration in *Dangui ji*, however, is much more site specific. The picture shows a larger area, including a portion of the lake, the bank, several monasteries, a couple of bridges, and a number of boats. The entire composition and several motifs in the image tie it immediately to West Lake. As a result, the male and female protagonists become difficult to identify among

¹⁸¹ Zhou Chaojun, *Yuming tang piping Hongmei ji* 玉茗堂批評紅梅記, from *Guben xiqu congkan chuji*, no. 87. It is not uncommon for publishing houses to copy works of other press. The *Dangui ji* and *Hongmei ji* are idiosyncratic in the preface and the text. The former even forged a signature of Wang Zhideng, the author of *Hongmei ji*'s preface in the preface of *Dangui ji*. The elements that set apart the two publications are primarily the illustrations.

the many tourists. The emphasis of this illustration is no longer the characters but the scenery of the lake. However, the other illustrations in the *Dangui ji* edition follow the *Hongmei ji* model closely. In all other illustrations but the *Lake Tour* one, the figures are much larger and more dominant (plate 3.17), with a poetic couplet paired on the two sides of each scene. Thus, the *Lake Tour* illustration in *Dangui ji* not only deviates from the *Hongmei ji* originals but also stands out among the rest of the illustrations in the same volume. The way West Lake is represented in this *Lake Tour* illustration is closer to a typical scenic painting of the lake in contemporary time.

Taking the time and effort to represent West Lake in such a manner sacrifices the image's elucidative function, as it no longer illustrates the text faithfully. West Lake, in this case, is not the backdrop for encounters but the main subject of representation. Touring the lake is represented as a timeless activity in which not only the characters in the story but also the readers/viewers can participate. It is not surprising to find that the publishers of the *Dangui ji* are based in Hangzhou. The character-centered composition in theatrical illustrations gave way to a scenic-oriented layout in this indigenous Hangzhou publication. For the publishers of this edition, the scenery of West Lake was certainly a selling point. This work was also part of the local effort to build Hangzhou's identity by promoting West Lake.

Reception of Illustrated West Lake Fiction and Drama.

In novels and plays situated in Hangzhou, it is not unusual to see large passages describing the lake's beauty or the city's customs that are peripheral to the plot of the story.¹⁸² Liu Yongqiang, when studying the “West Lake novels,” argues that this tendency was part of the regionality (*diyū xìng*, 地域性) of Hangzhou. According to Liu, regionalism of West Lake fiction presents several characteristics: citing specific place names so that local readers can associate with the setting; describing the indigenous custom of Hangzhou; using local dialect in writing; showing empathy toward native Hangzhou people; and setting the stage in West Lake. Liu further proposes a literati-masses dualism in which the novels of West Lake tend to have qualities that suited the taste of both groups.¹⁸³

The above mentioned plays with West Lake illustrations were published primarily in Jianyang, Fujian, where commercial book publishers flourished during the mid-Ming period.¹⁸⁴ The Jianyang books, however, were often criticized for their low-end quality and roughly carved illustrations.¹⁸⁵ Scholars also tend to believe that these books were consumed by less-learned and lower-class readers, whereas the more refined Huizhou books catered to the well-educated

¹⁸² Liu Yongqiang discusses this tendency in “Xihu xiaoshuo: chengshi gexing he xiaoshuo changing” 西湖小說：城市個性和小說場景 (West Lake novels: characteristics of the city and setting of the novels), *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 (Literary Heritage) (2001:5): 60–72.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁸⁴ Please see Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002).

¹⁸⁵ See Robert Hegel's comments on the Jianyang prints, the production and relationship with target consumers in Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); *idem*, “Niche marketing for late imperial Chinese fiction,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds., Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 246–266.

literati class.¹⁸⁶ Although the class division in readership may seem biased, these illustrated plays and novels of West Lake stories nonetheless present a lens through which one can investigate how this lake was received and portrayed in popular culture. In the *Dangui ji* edition, the scenic illustration of West Lake is reminiscent of the illustrations in *mingsheng ji* gazetteers. In the text of the stories that are based in West Lake, an interpolation of a description of the lake's scenery is common. The tendency to present West Lake's beautiful scenery transcends different genres of literature, embracing readers of various groups.

To better understand the literati-masses dichotomy regarding the reception of West Lake, we must switch sides and inquire into the literati's attitude toward the lake and their representation of it.

2.4. Retreat to West Lake: Portraying West Lake in Literati *Shan-Shui* landscape

Scholarly Contemplation and Reclusion: Lin Bu's Heritage

West Lake is a site rich in cultural heritage. One such West Lake legacy is its association with Lin Bu. Portraying West Lake as an otherworldly place for scholarly contemplation and reclusion in the form of ink-monochromatic landscape is an ongoing theme for literati painters. I have briefly mentioned Li Liufang's *Boating on West Lake* (西湖泛舟圖) (plate 3.18) in the first section, and I will return to this painting now.

This painting is not a representation of Lin Bu's hermitage per se. Nonetheless, it portrays the lake as a site of scholarly reclusion. The landscape painting is framed in a tripartite

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. Hsiao Li-ling summarizes this view with a critical perspective in the first chapter of her book. Hsiao Li-ling, *The Eternal Present of the Past: Performance, Illustration, and Reading in the Drama Culture of the Wanli Period (1573–1619)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

composition with a foreground of trees and rocks, a middle ground of water, and a background of distant mountains. The slender trees are reminiscent of the prototypical Ni Zan (倪瓚, 1301–74) (plate 3.19) form, and the texturing strokes on the mountains are typical of Huang Gongwang, both of whom were masters of literati landscape painting and models for imitation. This ink-monochromatic landscape is also paired with a self-written inscription of the author’s own poem. This so-called three perfections is also a trademark of the literati painting practice.¹⁸⁷ The landscape presents little site specificity to West Lake. Only a boat depicted in a typical style of a tourist boat ties this painting remotely to West Lake.¹⁸⁸ Li Liufang’s presentation of West Lake conceals the existence of the masses of tourists and avoids the populated areas. In the style of a typical Ni Zan-Huang Gongwang landscape, West Lake is shown as an ideal hermitage.

In writing about the pictorial representation of West Lake, Li Liufang states:

Watching the mountains west of the lake from the Third Bridge on Sudi, one can truly see what nature has to offer. Trees emerging from mists, reflecting the sun in many layers. In light or heavy make-up, the appearance changes swiftly. If not for the brilliant brushes of Dong [Yuan] and Ju [Ran], one could not express its *qiyun* [spiritual resonance]. When I stayed in my residence [near Sudi], I paddled my boat to the causeway, took a walk and watched the mountains. In this way, I could best appreciate

¹⁸⁷ The “Three Perfections”—painting, calligraphy and poetry—refers to the practice of inscribing one’s own poem on his own painting. Since the Yuan Dynasty, it was deemed the ultimate artistic achievement a scholar can reach. See Qi Gong, “The Relationship between Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting,” in *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, eds., Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) 11-20.

¹⁸⁸ The boats in a typical Ni Zan landscape are mostly symbols of a fisherman/hermit lifestyle. However, the boat in the Li Liufang painting is clearly a commercial tourist boat commonly seen in paintings of West Lake.

[the lake]. Yet, when I move my brushes, I could not get it right. Alas! How difficult it is to convey the *qiyun*!

三桥龙王堂望湖西诸山，颇尽其胜。烟林雾瘴，映带层叠，淡描浓抹，顷刻变态，非董、巨妙笔，不足以发其气韵。余在小筑时，小桨至堤上，纵步看山，领略最多。然动笔便不是。甚矣!气韵之难言也。¹⁸⁹

In this account, the quintessential quality in a portrayal of West Lake is to represent the *qiyun* in the style of Dong Yuan ((董源, ca. 943–ca. 962), and Ju Ran (巨然, active tenth–eleventh century), both of whom are masters and models of literati painting. Li Liufang’s most immediate model, Ni Zan, was regarded as a follower of Dong Yuan.¹⁹⁰ With this account, Li offers an exemplary formula in depicting West Lake that utilizes the prototypical Dong-Ju style in an atmospheric ink-monochromatic painting.

During the Ming, Lin Bu’s hermitage on Gushan Islet, as a pictorial theme, sometimes remained “archaic” in representing a time in history and was sometimes updated with new scenery of contemporary West Lake. Xiang Shengmo’s (項聖謨, 1597–1658) *Feeding Cranes in*

¹⁸⁹ Li Liufang, “Xifeng bawu tu” 西峰罷霧圖 (West mountains getting rid of the fog), “Xihu woyou tu tiba” 西湖臥遊圖題跋 (Inscriptions and colophons on pictures of arm-chair travel at West Lake), in *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol. 3, 1095.

¹⁹⁰ Dong Qichang, a senior friend of Li Liufang, writes, “[Ni Zan] studied Dong Yuan at a young age and developed his own simple and bland style at an old age 蚤年學董源，晚乃自成一家，以簡淡為之。” Dong Qichang, *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆, juan. 2, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

Gushan (孤山放鶴圖) (plate 3.20) is an example of the former case. In the hanging scroll, Baoshi Peak, the Baochu Pagoda, the Duan Bridge, Gushan Islet, and part of the Sudi Causeway are represented. The viewer seems to take a stand on top of Baoshi Peak, overlooking Gushan Islet and the lake. This viewpoint, as I have mentioned in the first chapter, was a popular spot in the Ming dynasty. The landscape is mostly delineated in ink-monochromatic colors with a washed green tone to adorn the trees. The painting is done in simple brushwork. On the distant mountains, the painter uses ink wash to indicate vegetation seen from afar. Simple geometric forms compose two cottages and a pavilion on Gushan Islet. In front of the cottages, a small figure is visible. Next to the pavilion, a little crane flies over. The title of the painting and the subject are each an explicit reference to Lin Bu's hermitage and lifestyle.

A seventeenth-century work by Liu Du (劉度, active seventeenth century) (plate 3.21) represents the lake from an almost identical perspective. Boats and buildings in this slightly later painting look much more extravagant. The painting is done in multiple colors and titled *Xihu shenggai* (西湖勝概, Extraordinary views of West Lake at a glance). Although representing the same part of the lake from similar viewpoints, the two paintings present different styles and delineate distinct subject matters. Liu Du's West Lake is set in the contemporary period, presenting Lin Bu's former residence as a *guji* (ancient site), whereas Xiang Shengmo's painting seeks to present the historical time of Lin Bu as is.

Lin Bu's hermitage was sometimes depicted in a much less site-specific way. Liang Hong's (梁鎡, ?–1715) *Releasing Cranes on Gushan Islet* (孤山放鶴圖) (plate 3.22) is an

example of this group. In the small handscroll, Gushan Islet is depicted as a small hill with numerous willow trees and a cottage. Two cranes ascend toward the center of the image. The heavily washed ink-monochromatic landscape sets the scene in a misty environment. If compared with a contemporary representation of Gushan Islet, we can immediately see that the artist was not depicting the Gushan of his own time. In these images, Gushan Islet, the cranes, and the plum trees were all pictorial tropes to allude to the saint Lin Bu. How Gushan Islet and West Lake actually appeared was not the concern. Just as with Xiang Shengmo, Liang Hong's painting regards Gushan Islet as the timeless hermitage of Lin Bu and not as a recently renovated tourist hotspot. The topographic qualities of the locale are secondary to the cultural connotations of it. During the Qing dynasty, Gushan Islet was largely remodeled into an imperial lodging palace. Yet pictures of Lin Bu's hermitage as a pictorial theme still had its legacy. This idealized, historicized place of scholarly reclusion depicts an imaginary site in a timeless context.

Taste and Class: Appropriate Ways of Appreciating the Lake

With West Lake's having become a largely public space shared by people of all classes, the literati class felt the need to reclaim the site to accord with their own idealized aesthetic and cultural vision. Contextualizing Gushan Islet in ink-monochromatic paintings was one way of doing so; divorcing the learned from the masses was another.

Scholars such as Zhang Dai and Gao Lian (高濂, ca. 1527–1603?) were hypercritical about the ways in which mass tourists explored West Lake. They established cannons that distinguished vulgar sightseeing from elegant touring. In *Xihu mengxun*, Zhang Dai states:

Letian's [Bai Juyi] liberality was no equal to Hejing's [Lin Bu] profundity in seclusion;
the Duke of Ye's [Li Bi, 李泌, 722–89] nonsensicality cannot be compared to Dongpo's
[Su Shi] quick-witted sensitivity

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。¹⁹¹

For Zhang Dai, living in seclusion and having the ability to feel the many aspects of West Lake were the best means by which to engage with the lake. He further ridicules tasteless wealthy officials such as Jia Sidao and Sun Long:

Even though they spent tens of years in West Lake and dozens of golds on it, they could appreciate the true character and taste of West Lake in their dreams

雖在西湖數十年，用錢數十萬，其于西湖之性情、西湖之風味，實有未曾夢見者也。

He then concludes, “In the vast world, who can easily say that he had toured the lake” (世間措大，何得易言遊湖)。¹⁹²

With this opening remark, Zhang sets apart two groups of tourists: the ignorant and the compassionate. In a poem of West Lake, he commences by saying:

¹⁹¹ Zhang Dai, “Mingsheng erhu” 明聖二湖 (Two lakes of the Bright and Sacred), *Xihu Mengxun*, juan 1, in *Tao An Mengyi*, *Xihu Mengxun*, 122.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

When you have true feelings, there's no need to use words.

When you wear light make-up, there's no need to use rouge and powders.

Who could really comprehend me? The answer is Su Shi.

真意言詞盡，淡妝脂粉無。

問誰能領略，此際有鬚蘇。¹⁹³

For him, the ideal way to explore West Lake is to see through the powdered face of the beauty and unravel the true characters of it.

Then how does one achieve this true appreciation of West Lake? Zhang Dai's prescription was to avoid the crowd. On one occasion, he went to the lake after three days of heavy snow. In such inclement weather, hardly anyone was there.¹⁹⁴ In peak season, he would tour the lake at night and spend the night on the lake, as described in the following:

The tourists huddle to enter the city gates before they close. Fewer and fewer are on the lake and then they all disappear in just a moment. This is the time when people like me would start to pull to the bank. Stone stairs on Duan Bridge had only begun to cool down. I sat on it and called my guests to drink freely. . . . Friends with rhymes arrived, famous courtesans came, cups and chopsticks were prepared, lute and flute began to make sound.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 124.

¹⁹⁴ Zhang Dai, "Huxin ting kanxue" 湖心亭看雪 (Watching snow at Huxin Pavilion), *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 3, in *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 43

When the moonlight dimmed, and the sun is rising, the guests would leave. Then I would let the boat flow and take a nap among the lotus flowers.¹⁹⁵

Gao Lian, a scholar and playwright of the Ming dynasty, had more detailed recipes for sightseeing. He was a native Hangzhouer who resigned from office in Beijing and became a wealthy hermit who had a residence on West Lake. Gao compiled a book called *Zunsheng bajian* (遵生八笺, Eight discourses on respecting life, 1591) in which he provides prescriptions for maintaining good health and an elegant lifestyle. How to properly appreciate the lake during different seasons was part of this project, because it was believed that doing what was appropriate in all four seasons was vital to keeping good health.¹⁹⁶

Gao summarizes twelve things to do in each season, many of which were related to West Lake. In spring, one should appreciate the plum blossom in Gushan Islet: “In the dusk and underneath the moonlight, carry a zun (wine container) and cite a poem. You will feel the pleasure of smelling the sweet scent in the air and seeing shadows of the plum under moonlight. Should you not do this, you will not be able to experience the real pleasure!”¹⁹⁷ In summer, one should see the new willow branches on the Sudi Causeway: “Gather your elegant friends who could appreciate pure pleasure. Take wine cups and recite poems. Bring a mat and sit whenever there is a bridge. After a while, proceed. If one could not come up with a line, punish him with a cup of wine.”¹⁹⁸ In winter, “Wear a red fur coat, ride on a black donkey. Have a servant boy with

¹⁹⁵ Zhang Dai, “Xihu qiyue ban” 西湖七月半 (Mid-seventh month on West Lake), *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 7, in *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 84.

¹⁹⁶ Gao Lian 高濂, “Sishi youshang lu” 四時幽賞錄 (records on appreciating the four seasons), excerpts from *Zunsheng Bajian*, in *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol.3, 1107-1122.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 1108.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 1110.

shaved head carry wine containers and cups. Ride on the snow in stream and mountain and look for plums among trees and creeks. When you encounter a few branches of plum, sit down near them and drink a cup of wine.”¹⁹⁹

According to Gao, the perfect way to appreciate West Lake is to be a *youren* (幽人, a man of tranquility) with *suxin* (素心, a heart of simpleness).²⁰⁰ Thus, the “appropriate” means for exploring the lake imply elegant taste and a scholarly mindset.

The literati group’s effort to claim superiority in the consumption of West Lake in writing and painting is related to the establishment of social status. Liping Wang argues that the need arose because aesthetic tastes “entailed judgment of social status.”²⁰¹ Although the two groups—the common masses and the elite literati—were actually more alike than different when it came to the pleasure-seeking nature of their tours of the lake, the literati nonetheless felt the need to distinguish and hierarchize ways of viewing. To do this, they stipulated certain rules of elegant sightseeing, discerning dos and don’ts. Common tourists, who did not choose the right time or season in which to do the right thing on the right place of the lake, were seen as vulgar *hoi polloi*. The specificity in the “perfect lake-tour recipe” proposed by Gao Lian and Zhang Dai entailed many imitations even outside the literati circle, conversely blurring the intended distinction.

Zhang Dai’s and Gao Lian’s writings reveal an important aspect of the discourse on the ways to explore West Lake. They distinguished a more “appropriate” and “elegant” taste, setting scholarly sightseeing apart from mass tourism. This discourse, distinguishing two groups of

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 1119.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 1106.

²⁰¹ Liping Wang, “Paradise for Sale: urban space and tourism in the social transformation of Hangzhou, 1589-1937” (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 1997), 59.

tourists, went along with the different visualities in representing West Lake during the Ming dynasty, one that presents West Lake as a popular site for mass tourism and the other as a secluded place for scholarly contemplation. For instance, the illustrations in *Hainei qiguan* suited the needs of a tourist as a guidebook representing iconic sites in the most up-to-date manner. The painting by Li Liufang, however, frames West Lake in a typical landscape of reclusion, negating any existence of popular tourism. Shen Zhou's *jiyou* album is a literatus's synthesis of both tendencies. Selecting sites with historical traces while embracing West Lake's contemporary looks, it fuses historical nostalgia with mass tourism, creating a new venue for artists of different social strata.

Patrons and artists of both groups, however, were in consensus over the issue with the past. As West Lake became populated by tourists of all classes, the history of West Lake, the nostalgia over the former dynasties, and the association with the Southern Song were perpetual themes to be explored in texts and images.

Transcending Historical Spaces through Artistic Maneuvers: Dai Jin's *Elegant Gathering in Nanping* (南屏雅集圖)

In representing the now and then of West Lake, Dai Jin (戴進, 1388–1462) finds a way to visually transcend time and space in his *Elegant Gathering in Nanping* (Nanping yaji, 南屏雅集圖) scroll. This painting (plate 3. 23.1) conveys the two spatiotemporalities of West Lake by utilizing painting styles, motifs, and the handscroll medium.

Dai Jin, a leading figure of the Zhe school painters of the Ming dynasty (who was himself a native Hangzhouer) was probably the only artist from Zhejiang to be well received in the Suzhou literati circle and art market.²⁰² His patrons were scholar-officials and established connoisseurs in the Jiangnan region. He painted several images of West Lake, one of which is the *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*. Done in 1460, this painting depicts a gathering that took place more than a century prior in a private garden on the foot of Mt. Nanping on the south shore of West Lake. The inscription of the painting is as follows:

In the past, during the last years of the Yuan dynasty, Yang Lianfu of Kuaiji [present-day Shaoxing] invited *gula* [故老, former seniors] to his banquet at the residence of Guang Mozi in West Lake. They entertained each other with poems. These poems were passed down, a century later, to the present. His descendant Ji Zhen collected and compiled the poems into a scroll and asked me to paint a picture to be attached before it. The scroll will be passed down to the future generations so the viewers of later times will also be able to witness the prosperity of that erstwhile time. In the summer of the *gengchen* year [1460] of the Tianshun reign, Dai Jin of Qiantang County inscribed this.

²⁰² A study of the collection of some of the most prestigious Suzhou connoisseurs demonstrates an inclusion of Dai Jin's works. Wang Shizhen (王世貞; 1526–1590), for instance, collected a work of Dai Jin called the *Seven Views* 七景圖, which he acquired from Lu Wan (陸完; 1458–1526). Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou sibu gao* 弇州四部稿, juan. 138, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

昔元季間，會稽楊廉夫先生嘗率諸故老宴于西湖廣莫子第，以詩文相娛樂，留傳至今蓋百年矣。其宗人季珍進士因輯錄成卷，囑余繪圖于卷端，將以垂遠也。後人覽者，亦足以見一時之盛世云。天順庚辰夏，錢塘戴進識。

Three time periods are indicated in this short inscription: the past, the present, and the future. Among them, the past was given a special emphasis. The words *xi* (昔, past), *gu* (故, former), and *yishi* (時, one time) all refer to the historicity of the subject matter.

In the painting, this historicity is also conveyed visually. As one unfolds the painting, the scenery of the lake is gradually revealed. Several small boats sail on the water, and a dike and a bridge lead viewers farther left to reach some thatched cottages. Behind those cottages, a predominating rock formation blocks further progression. In the background, distant mountains painted in blue and green tones shelter the lake, occupying the top part of the right half of the scroll. A painted boat disembarks the viewers and transitions the lake scene to an elegant gathering on the bank. A scholar is welcoming another scholar and his servant, leading them, as well as viewers, into the gathering scene. In the gathering scene, two tall pine trees rise vertically. Their triangular-shaped branches shield a group of eleven figures on a rock platform like an umbrella. These figures are ten men and a woman, all immersed in the activity of making and appreciating arts in front of a large stone table. As the viewer opens the scroll further along, he or she finds the conclusion of the painting with two servants exiting from an elaborate mansion painted with color.

The overall composition of the painting is cut in halves in the center by a giant rock. This also marks the boundary for two sets of styles and techniques of painting. As we proceed from the right (beginning) to the left (end) of the scroll, the color scheme grows darker and denser. For instance, in the beginning section, the blue and green colors are used with the ink-wash technique on just the tip of distant mountains. There is almost no texturing brushwork on these mountains except for the simple contour lines. Moving leftward, we see the contours of the mountains and rocks becoming much darker, and the blue and green colors fill the entire rock (plate 3.23.2). Intricate brushwork is applied to give them volume and texture. The same is true for the trees. In the right half of the scroll, the willow trees and pine trees are depicted in simplified brushwork. Yet in the left half, the two pine trees are done with elaborate details on the trunks, branches, and leaves. Small circles are applied on the tree trunks to create a sense of roughness. The pine needles are painted individually against a dark-green background brushed with washed color. The form of the pine trees is reminiscent of the prototypical Jin dynasty pine trees (plate 3.24.1) that can be found in many landscape paintings of the Yuan dynasty (plate 3.24.2). This visual clue immediately ties the painting to the Yuan dynasty.

Likewise, the architecture and figures also undergo this transition from simplification to elaboration. The cottages on the right are painted with a simple contour and several parallel strokes on the rooftop (plate 3.25). However, the mansion on the left is depicted in much greater detail. Every roof tile is delineated, and each window is decorated with crisscrossing squares. Inside the mansion, a couch, a table, and two books on top of it are meticulously delineated. Colors of black, gray, orange, lighter orange, and blue are used. In a similar manner, the boats in the right half are small and monochromatic whereas the boat in the middle section is much larger, painted with four colors in better detail.

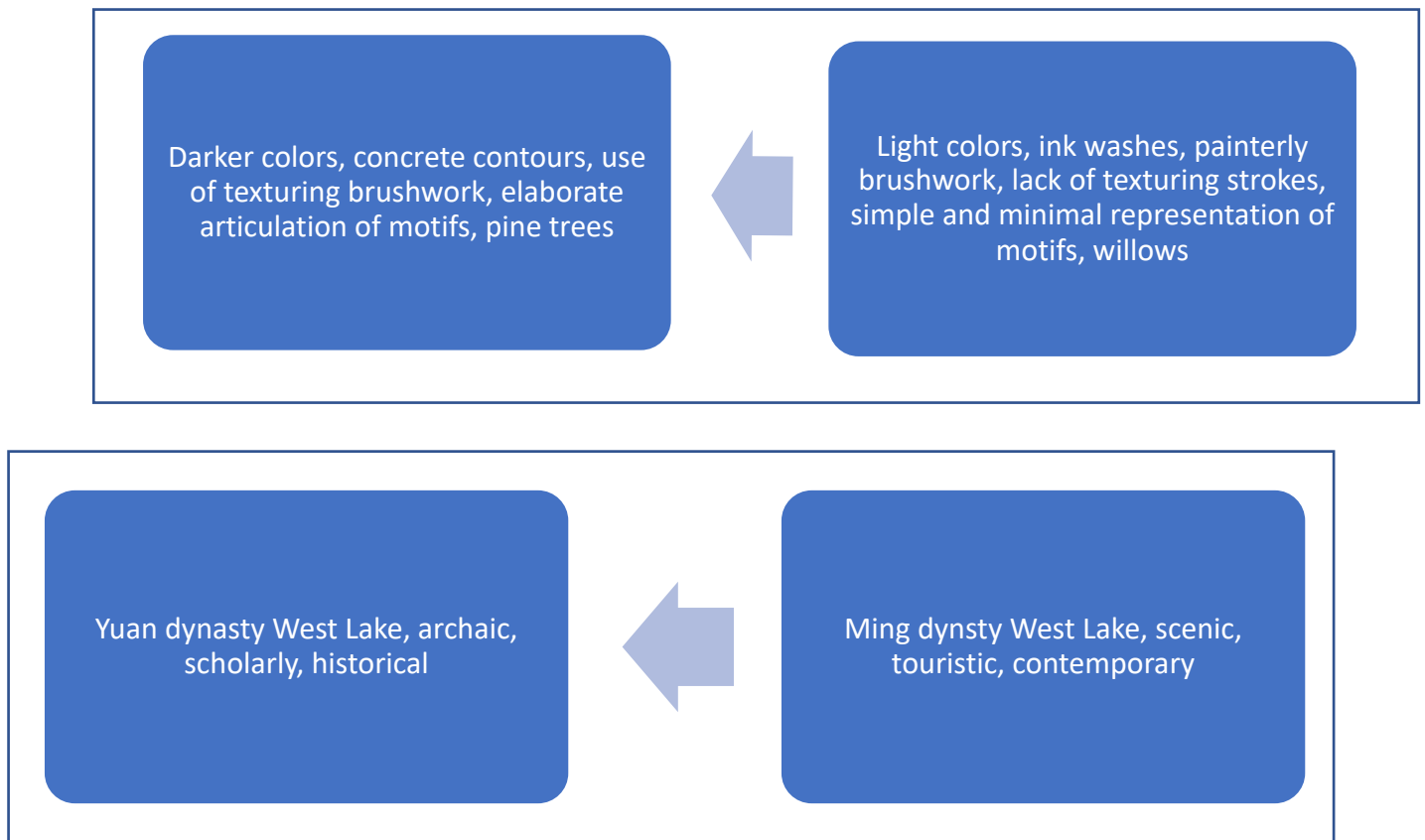
Stylistic elements in the right half are typically found in Ming dynasty depictions of West Lake (plate 3.26). By contrast, the trees and rocks in the left half are reminiscent of Yuan dynasty paintings (plate 3.27). The motifs in each half are also dissimilar. The willow trees on West Lake are a typical trope for the lake in spring. But the pine trees and the plum blossoms in the left half clearly signal the season of winter. Although the people in the scenes are not wearing winter clothes, the vegetation implies a different time in season. As a result, the right half of the painting shows an atmospheric landscape of West Lake in spring, and the left half of the painting presents a close-up view of a gathering in a timeless setting. These two kinds of visualities frame the two spaces in two different time periods.

As a result of this stylistic and iconographic transition, one moves spatially from the misty West Lake to a semi-indoor setting of a scholarly gathering, leading the viewer back in time from a contemporary West Lake to a moment in the past. Furthermore, this right-to-left movement also transcends two conceptual spaces: from romantic West Lake to scholarly Nanping. Willow trees and misty, distant mountains in soft forms are all related to the beautiful and amorous landscape of West Lake. Yet the rough pine trees, the jagged plum blossoms, and the rugged rocks are all symbols of an unyielding scholarly spirit.²⁰³ As a result, as the viewer opens the painting and proceeds from the right to the left section by section as one should with a handscroll, she or he gradually travels from a contemporary touristy West Lake to an historical scholarly gathering in the Yuan dynasty. Dai Jin's uses rich vocabularies to pictorially

²⁰³ Willow trees and peach blossoms were seen as symbols of the courtesan. Wen Zhenheng writes, "Willow trees on West Lake are also good, as they are imbued with the scent of rouge and powder" 西湖柳亦佳，頗涉脂粉氣。"The "scent of rouge and powder" was often coined as a metaphor of courtesans. Wen Zhenheng, "On willow," *Changwu zhi*, juan. 2, Siku quanshu electronic version. On the other hand, plums and pine trees were regarded as elegant plants. Wen Zhenheng, "On plum," "On pine," *Changwu zhi*, juan. 2, Siku quanshu electronic version.

reconstruct a specific moment and place in time, creating a spatial, temporal, and conceptual passage to another space (in Nanping), another time (in the past), and another cultural community (the literati society) (see chart 2.2).

Chart 2.2. Two spatiotemporalities represented through two sets of artistic idioms in *Elegant Gathering at Nanping*.



These visual clues, along with the textual inscription, denote two spatiotemporal contexts: the Yuan dynasty and the present. West Lake, in this work, is represented as both a place of interest in the Ming, and a locale for a historical event of the Yuan. A vision of the past

is thus (re)constructed with the use of art-historical vocabularies.²⁰⁴ Stylistic references to the Yuan masters are crucial in visualizing the image of the past.

As I have discussed in the previous sections, in the commercial prints of West Lake, keeping up to date with the most recent changes to the lake was an important concern. To stay useful for the readers as a tourist guidebook, updates were made to the pictures as soon as the landscape on the lake changed. However, for Dai Jin, Tian Rucheng, and many others who were patronized by a more elitist class of local Hangzhouers, the functions of their works became more complex. The multiplicity of time and space in the pictorial representation of West Lake was an essential concern for scholar-officials. Tian Rucheng inserted three images of West Lake and Hangzhou of the Southern Song dynasty in his *Xihu youlan zhi*, along with two images of contemporary West Lake. With a similar goal, Dai Jin presented two different time periods within one pictorial frame. Whatever the method, they both chose to create more than one time-space context for West Lake. Their ultimate goal was common: to associate contemporary West Lake with its past.

2.5. West Lake (Re)constructed: The Image of the Southern Song

This seeming struggle between representing the contemporary West Lake and the historical is embedded in the battle for elegant and vulgar sightseeing. However, the collaboration of the two temporal contexts facilitated the propaganda to promote West Lake by asserting its associations

²⁰⁴ Vinograd discusses the aspects of history, art-historical painting, and paintings of historical art during the 17th century. He argues that Dong Qichang's stylistic references to earlier masters should be seen as a "constructed vision of the past" rather than as an "archaeological recovery of it." In the case of this Dai Jin painting, the difference between recovering the historical past and constructing an image of it also needs to be addressed. See Richard Vinograd, "Vision and Revision in Seventeenth-century painting," in *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: International Symposium*, eds., Wai-ching Ho, Wai-kam Ho and Hin-cheung Lovell (Kansas City, MO: The Nelson-Atkins Museum, 1992), 18–25.

with the Song dynasty. Peter Bol argues for a “localist turn” in the late Ming period in which “local elites, lineages, academies, religious cults, private forms of association, and charitable enterprises were competing with state-mandated institutions...as the sinews of social life.”²⁰⁵ Promoting paintings of West Lake was one of the localist’s efforts to shape local identity and increase regional competitiveness. The officials of Hangzhou, the literati group, the local merchants and businessmen, the artists and craftsmen, along with the common citizens all participated and benefited in this promotion of the cultural products of West Lake. In this cultural propaganda, the association with the Song dynasty was essential.

To tighten the link between paintings of West Lake and the Song dynasty, three tendencies emerged in pictorial representations. First, there was the tendency to convey a sense of historicity in representing present-day West Lake. Shen Zhou’s album leaves and Dai Jin’s *Elegant Gathering at Nanping* best exemplify work in this tendency. Second, there was the tendency to portray the views of West Lake in a historical time. Such examples include the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. Lastly, there was the tendency to present a timeless West Lake in the literati painting tradition. Li Liufang’s West Lake painting is a work of this kind.

Furthermore, during the late Ming, it was not uncommon for local associations, groups, or families to have Song or Yuan lineages.²⁰⁶ Writing a genealogy for images of West Lake with a Song lineage was a necessary step in the discourse of local identity, as it set Hangzhou apart from other cities in the Jiangnan region. As Bol explains:

²⁰⁵ Peter K. Bol, “The ‘localist turn’ and ‘local identity’ in later imperial China,” *Late Imperial China*, vol. 24, no. 2 (December 2003): 4.

²⁰⁶ Peter Bol notes that, among the thirty genealogies of Jinhua lineages of the Ming that he has checked, seven had prefaces or other forms of lineage activities in the Song or Yuan period. He also concludes that lineage activities were more active in the 16th century than in the 15th century. Bol, “The ‘localist turn’,” 14, note 29.

In contrast, late-Ming identity discourse was defined in terms of food, where each place needed to have something special, something others were not likely to have. Difference, not sameness, was the key to identity in this case, and there was no single authority that everyone could appeal to. . . . Thus, the role of local elites changed from introducing a common culture to producing cultural variation.²⁰⁷

Tian Rucheng, as an influential cultural elite of Hangzhou, promoted sightseeing as a unique character of the city. In his works, the lineage of Song was another omnipresent theme. Sightseeing, which engages with the modern views of West Lake, and Song lineage, which entails a historical perspective, are the two trademarks to be emblazoned on the *image* of West Lake.

Whether in Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi* or in Dai Jin's *Elegant Gathering at Nanping*, two spatiotemporal contexts coexisted. In *Xihu youlan zhi*, the Southern Song West Lake was delineated in greater detail on larger compositions in the illustration. In the text, places and sites of the Southern Song period were given equal attention even though the majority vanished in Tian's contemporary time. Tian reconstructed a historical lake in pictorial and textual terms in this compilation. Even though it is called a *youlan zhi* (gazetteer of sightseeing), many of the sites could not be "seen" with the eyes of his potential readers, as the places had been nonexistent. Yet the detailed illustrations of these bygone sites provide a visual ground for imaginary sightseeing into a historical moment. By describing and delineating the scenic sites and built structures of the Southern Song West Lake, Tian Rucheng reconstructs the lake in that particular historical period.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 44–45.

Dai Jin, on the other hand, uses stylistic variation as his thread to tie West Lake to a past time. By adopting a style associated with the Song and Yuan masters, he is revitalizing not only the painting style but also the historical context. More importantly, both Tian and Dai juxtapose two spatiotemporal contexts of West Lake in a single work: one that relates to their contemporary readers/viewers and the other that leads them to the past.

The Image of the Southern Song West Lake

In Tian Rucheng's *Xihu youlan zhi*, the reconstruction of a Southern Song image of West Lake was to be juxtaposed with his contemporary West Lake as a comparison by which to see changes and similarities. In some other paintings, the tendency to reconstruct a Southern Song West Lake was to bring viewers back in time to a city of peace and prosperity.

In the first chapter, I have discussed the formal qualities of the painting *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* in the Freer Gallery, Washington, DC. The scroll begins with Qiantang Gate, circumnavigates the lakeshore, and ends at the same gate (plate 2.35). The composition and layout of the scroll position the viewer in the middle of the lake, as if looking to the lakeshore from a traveling boat. As I have analyzed in the previous chapter, this virtual tour matches the popular tourist route of the mid-late Ming dynasty. It would be easy for its contemporary viewers to associate the pictorial tour with their actual sightseeing experience. However, if we look closely, we can see that the painting does not seem to represent a contemporary Ming West Lake.

The West Lake and Hangzhou city portrayed in this painting are closer to the Southern Song capital than to the Ming dynasty prefecture. Four noticeable features point to the fact that the painting is the artist's endeavor to (re)construct the then capital of China.²⁰⁸

First, during the Southern Song dynasty, four gates were erected on the west city wall: Qiantang Gate on the north, followed by Fengyu Gate (豐裕門), Qingbo Gate, and Qianhu Gate (錢湖門). The southernmost Qianhu Gate was at the foot of Mt. Phoenix, where the imperial precinct and garden were located. The four gates on the west side of the city wall demarcated the metropolis from the banks of West Lake (see plate 3.28). However, the city gates and walls were

²⁰⁸ Some scholars in China date this painting to Southern Song because they believe the West Lake and Hangzhou city as portrayed are as they appeared in the Southern Song period. I agree with many of their arguments. However, it is important to know that many records and documents of West Lake and Hangzhou were available in the Ming and Qing dynasties. It would not have been difficult for the people of the Ming and Qing to learn how West Lake and Hangzhou appeared in the 13th century. Therefore, depicting a Southern Song Dynasty West Lake does not necessarily mean the depiction was done in Southern Song. In this case, with stylistic analysis, it is very unlikely the painting was made in the Southern Song. Therefore, the inconsistency between the time of production and the time shown in the painting raises interesting questions. For arguments of Chinese scholars who date the painting to Southern Song, see Chen Hui's article. Chen Hui 陳暉, "Nansong hu shan xinmei, shengruo xianjing fudu: Xihu Fansheng quanjing tu Xianchun sannian huizhi kao" 南宋湖山信美，勝若仙境復賭——《西湖繁勝全景圖》咸淳三年繪製考 (The beauty of the lake and mountains of Southern Song once again revealed like a paradise to us: a textual study to prove the painting *West Lake Scenic Attractions in a Panorama* is painted in 1267), *Hangzhou Shenghuo pinzhi ban* 杭州生活品質版 (Hangzhou, Quality Life) (September, 2013): 22–23. A recent paper by an archaeologist in Hangzhou states the painting depicts the West Lake in the last years of Southern Song. However, he did not date this painting to Southern Song based on his observations. Zheng Jiali 鄭嘉勵, "Xihu qingqu tu suo hui wei Song mo zhi Xihu" 西湖清趣圖所繪為宋末之西湖 (The West Lake depicted in the Scenic Attractions of West Lake is the West Lake in the late Southern Song Dynasty), *Hangzhou Wenbo* 杭州文博 (Antiquity and Museums of Hangzhou) (February, 2013): 2. My article on the date of Scenic Attractions of West Lake also discusses the representation of Southern Song features of West Lake in this painting. See Shao Yunfei 邵韻霏, "Chongxian Nansong Lin'an: Fuli'er Xihu Qingqu Tu de shidai, shijuexing yu lishixing" 重現南宋臨安：弗里爾《西湖清趣圖》的時代、視覺性與歷史性 (Reconstructing Southern Song Lin'an: the date, visuality and historicity of Scenic Attractions of West Lake), *Meishu* 美術 (Art) (January, 2022): 99-107.

torn down during the Yuan dynasty.²⁰⁹ In the Ming dynasty, ten city gates were re-erected, of which three were on the western wall. The number was appropriate for a provincial city but not for a capital.²¹⁰ In the painting, we can clearly see Qianhu Gate (plate. 3.29.1) and some traces of the imperial garden inside the walled inner city, making it clear that the city depicted in the painting should represent the Southern Song capital city of Lin'an rather than the Yuan or Ming dynasty Hangzhou prefecture.

Second, there is a narrow dike discernible in the painting that connects the Dongpu Bridge (東浦橋) on the Sudi Causeway to the Lingyin-Tianzhu hills. This dike is likely Xiaoxin Di (小新堤, Little new dike) (plate 3.29.2). It was built in the Chunyou (淳祐) reign (1241–53) as part of the West Lake irrigation project. *Former Matters of Wulin* (Wulin jiushi, 武林舊事, ca. 1280) documents it as “having the Hall of Four Sides [四面堂], three pavilions, and flowers and willows along the dike.”²¹¹ It had gradually gone out of use in the Yuan and Ming periods.²¹² During the Wanli reign, the eunuch Sun Long sponsored a renovation project that “built up the stones as pillars, planted various flowers and woods, and named it Shijin Tang [十錦塘, Pond of

²⁰⁹ Lin Zhengqiu, “Lidai Xi Hu shu zhi shi shang,” 35–55.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Zhou Mi 周密 (ca. 1280-1290), “Hushan shenggai,” in *Wulin Jiushi*, juan 5, 14a.

²¹² *Hangzhou Fuzhi* 杭州府志 (Gazetteer of Hangzhou Prefecture) of the Chenghua 成化 reign (1465-1487) notes, “after a long time, the ground on the dike became so drenched in water that no one could set their feet on it.” “Shanchuan,” in Xia Shizheng 夏時正 ed, *Chenghua Hangzhou Fuzhi*, juan 8, Erudition Database of Chinese Local Records, 33a.

ten brocades].”²¹³ Thus, the dike shown in the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* is the Xiaoxin Di of the Chunyou reign of the Southern Song dynasty, which can be identified by the Hall of Four Sides and the flowers and willows on the sides.

In addition, a water gate in the latter section of the painting, with a label signed “Chengshui Zha” (澄水闸, Clear water gate) (plate. 3.29.3), was one of the three most important water gates on West Lake built in the Southern Song.²¹⁴ Toward the end of the dynasty, the water gate went out of use because of clogs, but the bridge itself persisted.²¹⁵ In the Ming dynasty, both the stone bridge and the water gate “remained in ruins” (湮廢).²¹⁶

The Southern Song government put much effort into managing West Lake. They forbade growing lotus under water, sent over one hundred military guards to clean the water on a daily basis, built three water gates, and renovated six wells.²¹⁷ As a consequence, West Lake was in excellent condition during the Southern Song. However, under the reign of Yuan and the first half of the Ming, as a result of lack of management and fear of pirates, West Lake was so severely clogged that parts of the lake became grassland.²¹⁸ The Yuan emperor “lifted the ban on raising fish and birds on the lake” and “from the fall of the Song to the beginning of the Ming, there were no curtailments imposed by the government, so the lake was occupied by officials,

²¹³ Wanli Qiantang Xianzhi 萬曆錢塘縣誌 (Gazetteer of Qiantang County in the Wanli Reign), Erudition Database of Chinese Local Records, 49a.

²¹⁴ Lin Zhengqiu, “Xihu lidai shujunshi,” 47–49.

²¹⁵ The *Chengshui zha* was “clogged by the residents, yet the bridge is still traceable 为民居湮塞，然桥犹可记也。” Wu Zimu, *Mengliang lu*, juan 11, 14a.

²¹⁶ Tian Rucheng, “Nanshan shengji (南山胜迹),” *Xihu Youlan zhi*, juan 3, Ming Wanli shiernian Fan Mingqian chongxiuben 明萬曆十二年范鳴謙重修本, 5b.

²¹⁷ Lin Zhengqiu, “Xihu Lidai Shujun shi,” 47–49.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

commoners, and monks.”²¹⁹ In the picture, we can see that parts of the lake have been enclosed by wooden fences, and no lotus have been planted. We can also see two water gates in the painting (one open and one shut), both appearing to be new and functional. Overall, the lake is clean and orderly. Thus, the lake depicted in the painting should be the West Lake under the reign of the Southern Song, untouched by flood or drought and free of the pollution and aquatic overgrowth that are the inevitable results of unregulated use and exploitive aquaculture.

Last, the human figures in the painting are dressed in simplified Southern Song–style clothes. The majority of these are scholars and their servants. The scholars are often dressed in long robes and wear a typical scholar style *futou* (襜頭) hat (also known as *wusha mao*, a black gauze hat). Many of the walking scholars have servants holding wide black umbrellas for them (plate 3.29.4). In the colophon, Li E wrote:

I happen to recall that the *Record of Things Seen and Heard Over Four Reigns* [四朝見聞錄], by Ye Shaoweng [葉紹翁], includes a story, which says that the students of the Imperial College formerly used dark umbrellas and the high minister Zheng Zhaoxian [鄭昭先, 1157–1225] memorialized [the throne] to forbid their use, whereupon the students took “the black silk to make short-brimmed parasols like those used on the portable [stands] of ice-vendors in the capital.”²²⁰

²¹⁹ Song Lian (宋濂, 1310-1381) et al., eds., “Shizu benji” 世祖本紀 (Biography of Shizu), *Yuan Shi* 元史 (History of Yuan), juan. 1, *Siku quanshu* electronic version. My translation.

²²⁰ Translation provided by the Freer Gallery of Art.

He was thus convinced that the black umbrellas depicted in the painting are those black silk parasols used by the students during the early thirteenth century.

Such evidence suggests that the artist made a deliberate effort to portray the scenery of West Lake in an earlier time. Though painted in the late Ming to mid-Qing, this painting endeavors to represent the lake in the Southern Song dynasty. This inconsistency of the production time of the painting and the pictorial time represented in the painting must be understood in the context of the making and consumption of cityscapes in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

As Wang Cheng-hua points out, these were pictures of an ideal, prosperous city commodified through mass production during the Ming in the Jiangnan region.²²¹ During this time, the subject of *Qingming shanghe tu* (清明上河圖, Along the river during Qingming festival) became a popular theme. Artists at this time sold paintings of the *Qingming shanghe tu* subject to earn profit. According to Wang, who calls them “forgeries,” the copies did not have to be directly associated with the Northern Song copy, nor did they have to represent the actual urban space of the capital Bianliang city per se. As long as a painting presented a flourishing urban area in a peaceful time, it could be named *Qingming shanghe tu*. As a result, the name *Qingming shanghe tu* became a generic term for paintings in this subject. The culmination of the *Qingming shanghe tu* paintings around this time in Beijing and the Jiangnan area unveils the trend to portray an idealized city from the past in the medium of a handscroll.

²²¹ Wang Cheng-hua, “Guoyan fanhua—wanming chengshi tu, chengshiguan yu wenhua xiaofei,” 過眼繁華——晚明城市圖、城市觀與文化消費 (Prosperous scenes captured by the blink of an eye: late-Ming cityscapes, views on cities, and cultural consumption), in *Yishu, quanli, yu xiaofei*.397–398.

Scenic Attractions of West Lake fits into this fashion to represent a city in a prosperous and peaceful moment in the past. It was a part of the booming business in making and selling pictures of the times of peace and prosperity. In addition to displaying a time of peace and prosperity, the painting explores other possibilities in viewership. When viewing this scroll, the spectator opens and unfolds it section by section. The viewer's arm length determines the distance between him- or herself and the scenic views of West Lake. Because of the characteristics of the handscroll media, one is never given a glimpse of the complete composition. In viewing the painting, one takes the vantage point of someone on the boat in the lake, looking to the shore, buildings, and streets. If one takes a boat tour on West Lake today and sails along the bank, the shores will appear like a long and straight dike, just as shown in the painting.

The viewer starts the journey from Qiantang Gate, travels counterclockwise in a complete circle, and ends with the view of the same gate. Each section revealed is like a snapshot of the scenes encountered in an actual journey. By attaching all the sections together into a whole painting, the artist provides viewers with a 360-degree panoramic picture that can never actually be perceived by the human eye at one time. Thus, when the viewer unrolls the scroll, she or he pauses at a certain point to see a section of the painting and then proceeds to the following parts. This viewing experience resembles the actual travel experience, because in both cases, a progression of time and a change of space are implied in the process. After viewing the painting section by section, one has toured the lake in a full circle. Without moving the body, the scenes in a circle are revealed in a horizontal layout. The changing perspectives and the turning viewpoints resemble a motion picture, where the audience sits still, and the pictures move. The viewers are immersed in the historical scenery of West Lake. The virtual tour takes them

spatially to an imaginary lake and locates them temporally to the Southern Song period. Unlike Dai Jin's *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*, which demonstrates the temporal passage to the past, the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* presents one time and space consistently. The Ming/Qing artist proffers his contemporary viewers an image of the Southern Song West Lake as visualized from textual records.

In the colophon attached to the painting, each building and site depicted in the painting is meticulously identified. The source for this attribution is primarily the Southern Song record, *Wulin jiushi*.²²² The depiction of the scenery conforms to the description in *Wulin jiushi* almost exactly.²²³ For instance, the text describes a dormitory in a monastery: "The Dormitory with Thirteen Bays of the Xiangyan Monastery was called the Dormitory with Thirteen Bays of the Shifo Monastery. When Su Dongpo governed the city, he frequently worked here."²²⁴ The painting depicts the thirteen-bay building precisely, referring to the text of *Wulin jiushi* faithfully (plate 3.29.5). The colophon writer, Li E, reiterates the text-image pairing by writing in an

²²² The scenes in the painting match closely with textual records of the Song. The colophon writer Li E elaborates on this closeness. *Sichao Wenjian lu*, *Wulin jiushi*, and *Mengliang lu* were all reprinted and published during the Ming dynasty. They were the first-hand materials for the people of the Ming and Qing dynasties to study the lifestyle and society of the Song. *Sichao wenjian lu* were reprinted by *Buzu zhai congshu*, and *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* during the Qing dynasty. *Wulin jiushi* has several reprinted editions in the Ming–Qing era, including Song Zingzuo keben (宋廷佐刻本, 1518), Chen Ke keben (陳柯刻本, 1560), *Buzu zhai congshu ben*, *Wenyuange Siku quanshu ben*, and several other editions. Beijing Library has a manuscript of *Mengliang lu* from the Ming period. Several Qing copies are also extant, including Xuejintao yuanben (學津討原本, 1805) and *Wenyuange Siku quanshu ben*. These copies, manuscripts, and woodblock printed editions demonstrate the availability of these textual sources for the readers of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Having these textual materials handy, the artists and intellectuals of late imperial China could reconstruct the views of West Lake during the Southern Song dynasty.

²²³ In the colophon, Li E notes ninety-one scenic sites in the painting. The names and descriptions of these ninety-one sites match exactly with those of *Wulin jiushi*. For a detailed analysis of the text–image relationship between the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* and *Wulin jiushi*, refer to Shao, "Chongxian Nansong Lin'an," 102–104.

²²⁴ Zhou Mi, *Wulin jiushi*, 16b.

affirmative tone: “[It should be the] Dormitory with Thirteen Bays. When I counted them [on the painting], there are indeed thirteen bays!” (為十三間，數之果然).

Ironically this similarity between the painting and *Wulin jiushi* reinforces the argument that the painting was elucidating the description in *Wulin jiushi*. Rather than painting from observation, the artist of *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* decided to consult historical documents as sources to reconstruct a Southern Song West Lake in pictorial terms.

The painting embodies the pleasure of sightseeing and boat touring while at the same time evoking nostalgic sentiments. Previously, sightseeing on West Lake was stigmatized as a demeaning activity that resulted in the downfall of Southern Song. Now, it has become a site of nostalgia and contemplation, a vehicle with which to convey the “image” of the prosperous capital of the bygone dynasty. This bond between West Lake images and the Southern Song was further strengthened in the Ming period, when the lineage of this pictorial theme was traced back to the previous time.

CHAPTER 3

Retracing the Song Lineage of West Lake Paintings

In addition to re-presenting the landscape of Southern Song West Lake in words and images, another effort to tie the lake to the Song dynasty is to trace the genealogy of West Lake paintings up to the painters of the Song Imperial Academy of Painting.

It is generally believed that West Lake, as a pictorial theme, became popular and important during the Southern Song dynasty.²²⁵ Premodern scholars have listed names of Southern Song court artists associated with West Lake paintings, such as Li Song, Xia Gui, Liu Songnian, Chen Qingbo (陳清波, active thirteenth century), and Ma Yuan. Modern scholars also believe that the heyday of West Lake pictorial representation commenced in the Southern Song.²²⁶

Appendix 1 summarizes textual records of West Lake paintings by Song artists from the fourteenth to the twentieth century.²²⁷ These records from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties provide us a picture of how West Lake paintings were recognized and perceived. Among the twenty-eight entries, well-known court painters of the Song are the dominating force in portraying West Lake. Paintings by court artists Zhang Zeduan (張擇端, 1085–1145), Chen

²²⁵ See Miyazaki, “seiko o meguru kaiga”; Hui-shu Lee, *Exquisite Moments*; idem, “Nansong Lin’an tumai”; Wang Shuangyang, “Zhuangwu de jizhi.”

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Each entry is the earliest documentation of a painting related to the theme of West Lake which is attributed to a Song artist or dated to the Song in the title. These entries written in the Ming and Qing periods cite no earlier sources even though many writers, such as Zhang Chou, would cite their sources if available. Therefore, either any earlier sources there had been were lost during the Ming-Qing writers’ time, or these writers were the first to document these particular paintings. Not surprisingly, many of these writers are collectors of these paintings.

Juzhong (陳居中, active twelfth century), Li Tang, Liu Songnian, Li Song, Xia Gui, Ma Hezhi (馬和之), Ma Yuan (馬遠), Ma Lin (馬麟, twelfth to thirteenth century), Shi Xianzu (史顯祖, active 1234–36), Gu Shiyan (顧師顏, active 1260s), Chen Qingbo, Fan Bin (范彬, dates unknown), and Zhang Xunli (張訓禮, active thirteenth century) take up twenty-five spots.²²⁸ All painters, except for Zhang Zeduan, had lived in Hangzhou at some point in their lives, whether having been born there or having migrated there after the fall of the north. Based on the titles of these entries, it can be concluded that they are predominantly landscape paintings of a panoramic view or a closeup scene of West Lake.

These textual records from the Ming and Qing period conceptualize the notion of *Xihu tu* (西湖圖, West Lake painting) in three aspects. First, they present an evident link between court painters of the Song and the practice of depicting West Lake. Second, they pin down the locality of the West Lake pictorial theme to its hometown Hangzhou. Third, they confine the pictorial representation of West Lake to the genre of landscape. Thus, for the people of the Ming-Qing era, all “Song paintings of West Lake” shared three characteristics: the artist resided in Hangzhou, he was affiliated with the court, and the painting itself was a landscape, a formulaic conceptualization that might well be represented as “Song painting of West Lake = Hangzhou + the court + landscape.”

²²⁸ These artists held official titles in the court like “daizhao” 待詔 (painter-in-attendance), or “gongfeng” 供奉 (painter-in-service). However, recent studies on the Southern Song painting academy reveal that painters associated with the court often worked on private commissions. It is hard to determine whether their works are commissioned by the court. See Huiping Pang, *Xuni de diantang*, 157-208.

The flaws in this simplified categorization become evident when we investigate the textual and pictorial evidence from the pre-Ming era and parse the written records from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Table 3.1 lists the written records of paintings of West Lake datable to the Song/Yuan period in documents from the tenth century to the early thirteenth century.²²⁹

Table 3.1 Textual record of Southern Song West Lake Paintings from Pre-Ming Sources

Name of Painting	Name of Painter	Name of the recorder	Presumed date of painting	Date of Record
Climbing up the City Tower of Hangzhou and Gazing into the Distance 杭州郡樓登望圖 ²³⁰	Anonymous	Bai Juyi 白居易	Ninth century	Ninth century
Hermitage of mountain recluse Lin 林山人隱居 ²³¹	Anonymous monk	Lin Bu 林逋	Tenth–eleventh century	Tenth–eleventh century

²²⁹ This table is a summary of written records of “Southern Song West Lake paintings.” Every entry is the first (or first-known) documentation of a painting. Each entry is a painting either bearing the title West Lake or a theme of a scene of (or closely related to) West Lake. I have collected these data from writings that I have encountered in my research. It is not, by any means, a complete survey of all written documents regarding West Lake paintings, yet it encompasses all the major works by influential writers. For detailed information regarding each entry, please refer to Appendix I of this dissertation.

²³⁰ Bai Juyi, *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏長慶集 (Anthology of Bai Changqing), in *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 (Anthology of Bai Juyi), juan 20, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

²³¹ Lin Bu, *Lin Hejing ji*, juan 4, 42.

Painted Screen of West Lake 西湖圖屏 ²³²	Anonymous	Hu Zai (胡仔; 1110–70)	Eleventh century	Twelfth century
Map of West Lake 西湖圖 ²³³	Anonymous	Zhou Zizhi (周 紫芝; 1082– 1155)	1067–85	1085–1155
Map of West Lake 西湖圖	Anonymous	Qian Shuoyou 潜说友	1067–85	Mid thirteenth century
West Lake 西湖圖 ²³⁴	Monk Ruofen (若 芬; active thirteenth century)	Wu Taisu (吳太 素; active thirteenth– fourteenth century)	Thirteenth century	1274

Table 3.1 (continued).

²³² Hu Zai, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianhouji yibaijuan: tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji* 茗溪魚隱從話前後一百卷：茗溪魚隱從話後集 (100 volumes of the Fisherman in Recluse in the Trumpet Vine Stream: Sequel to Fisherman in Recluse in the Trumpet Vine Stream), juan 37, Qing Haishan Xianguan congshu ben 清海山仙館叢書本, 6b-7b.

²³³ Zhou Zizhi, *Taicang Timi ji* 太倉稊米集 (A Small Grain in the Large Barn), juan 33, Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 13b

²³⁴ Wu Taisu 吳太素, *Songzhai Meipu* 松齋梅譜 (Plum manual of the Pine Studio), juan 14, in *Zhongguo Shuhua Quanshu* 中國書畫全書 (Complete Anthology of Writings on Calligraphy and Painting), volume 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 702.

Good-looking under all Conditions 總相宜圖 ²³⁵	Zhao Bian (趙 弁; active twelfth century)	Yang Wujiu (揚無 咎; 1097–1171)	Twelfth century	Twelfth century
West Lake 西湖圖 ²³⁶	Monk Muqi (牧溪; active thirteenth century)	Daocan (道燦; ?– 1271)	Thirteenth century	1273
City of Lin'an, Mt. Wu and West Lake 臨安之城邑，及 吳山、西湖之勝 ²³⁷	Anonymous Jin dynasty painter	Yue Ke (岳珂; 1183– 1243)	Twelfth– thirteenth century	1183–1243

Table 3.1 (continued).

²³⁵ Yang Wujiu, *Taochan ci* 逃禪詞 (Poems on escaping the world), *Song Mingjia Ci* 宋名家詞 (Poems of Famous Poets of the Song), Jigu ge ben 汲古閣本, 3a

²³⁶ Daocan, *Wuwen yin* 無文印 (Anthology of Wuwen), juan 10, Song dynasty printed edition kept in the National Diet Library, Japan, 11b.

²³⁷ Yue Ke, *Ting Shi* 程史 (The pillar histories) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 95.

The Bygone Capital Lin'an, two scrolls 臨安故城二圖 ²³⁸	Anonymous	Zhang Zhu (張翥; 1287–1368)	Thirteenth century	1287–1368
West Lake Clearing up after Rain 西湖雨霽圖 ²³⁹	Zhao Gou (趙 構; Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song Dynasty; 1107– 1187, r. 1127– 1162)	Zhuang Su (莊肅; 1245–1315)	1107–1187	1298

Table 3.1 (continued).

This table presents the concept of West Lake painting in the minds of a typical Song dynasty literatus. Of the eleven entries, three are by Buddhist monk-painters (Ruofen, Muqi, and an anonymous monk friend of Lin Bu), one is a screen painted with a map of West Lake, and five are maps of West Lake.

While maps and Chan paintings compose the majority of Song dynasty imageries of West Lake, two works require more investigation: *Good-looking under all Conditions* by Zhao Bian

²³⁸ Zhang Zhu, *Tui'an shi* 蛻菴詩 (Poems in the Cocoon Cottage), juan 3, Sibū congkan xubian jingming ben 四部叢刊續編景明本, 21a-21b.

²³⁹ Zhuang Su, *Huaji Buyi* 畫繼補遺 (Supplement to *Records of Paintings*), juan shang 卷上 (first volume), Qing Zuijinglou Zhengben 清醉經樓正本, 1789, 1a.

and *West Lake Clearing up after Rain*, attributed to Zhao Gou. According to textual records, Zhao Bian was a professional artist skilled at “snow paintings,” site-specific paintings, and murals.²⁴⁰ He also migrated to Hangzhou after the fall of the north.²⁴¹ From Yang Wujiu’s poem, in which we learn that “Zhao Zuwen painted an image of West Lake and titled it *Good-looking under all Conditions*” (趙祖文畫西湖圖名曰總相宜), we can assume that the genre of the painting is a landscape and that the subject matter alludes to Lin Bu and Su Shi. As Yang writes:

The broad tips of the brushes fancifully reveal the charming scenes of [West Lake] in light and heavy makeup. The secluded hermitage of Hejing, and the ancient traces of Dongpo should also be documented. Furthermore, the painter depicted me as a follower of the two sages on our tour to the thousand monasteries.

豪端幻出，淡妝濃抹，可人風味。和靖幽居，老坡遺跡，也應勘記。更憑君畫我，追隨二老，遊千家寺。²⁴²

The only work that fits the aforementioned formula would be the one by Emperor Gaozong. In this case, he was also an immigrant to Hangzhou who was the leader of the Song court. Zhuang Su records the work in his private collection as follows:

²⁴⁰ Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), “Ba Zhao Bian xuetu” 跋趙弁雪圖 (A colophon on Zhao Bian’s snow painting), *Zhou Yigong wenji* 周益公文集 (Anthology of Zhou Yigong), juan 10, in *Luling Zhou yiguo wenzhong gongji* 廬陵周益國文忠公集 (Anthology of Zhou Yiguo Wenzhong), Ming Dansheng tang chaoben 明澹生堂鈔本 (Ming dynasty manuscript of Dansheng tang).

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Yang Wujiu, *Taochan ci*, 3a.

Emperor Gaozong of the Song was blessed with many talents. His calligraphy skills exceeded those of other emperors of the Tang and Song. In his rare spare time, he composed small-brush landscape paintings to delineate the misty, cloudy, dim, and rainy scenes that are hard to portray. Ordinary painters could not match. My family has collected a small-scene landscape from the old times. The handscroll was inscribed with four characters “Xi Hu Yu Ji” [West Lake clearing up after rain]. There also were two fan knots, one written with an inscription and the other with a couplet. An inscription on the first one reads, “The ten thousand woods shelter clouds in deep seclusion, the lingering hills forbid the rain from clearing up.” The second one reads, “[Wang] Ziyou visits Dai [Kui],” “full of natural pleasure.”

宋高宗天縱多能，書法夔出唐宋帝王上，而於萬幾之暇時，作小筆山水，專寫煙嵐昏雨難狀之景，非羣庶所可企及也。予家舊藏小景，橫卷上親題“西湖雨霽”四字，又二扇頭，其一題一聯，曰：“萬木雲深隱，連山雨未晴。”其二曰：“子猷訪戴，極有天趣。”²⁴³

From the two records, it could be assumed that both works are ink-monochromatic landscape paintings in small scale that portray the misty atmospheric environment on West Lake to allude to previous sage-scholars. Neither seems to portray a panoramic view of the lake or a closeup shot of specific scenes. The two works frame West Lake in the realm of historical

²⁴³ Zhuang Su, *Huaji Buyi*, 1a. The story of Wang Ziyou visiting Dai Kui in a snowy night is a metaphor used to allude to the free lifestyle of hermit scholars.

scholar-hermits, a topic shared in the paintings of West Lake by Buddhist monk-artists like Lin Bu's friends, Ruofen and Muqi. Furthermore, as Cahill points out, poetic landscape imbued with eremitism was a theme much explored by the painters of the Southern Song who worked within and outside of the court.²⁴⁴

However, it is noteworthy that none of the eleven painting could be attributed to a famous court painter of the Southern Song. The majority of them come from anonymous artisans or monk-painters who had little association with the court. The genres of these paintings are mostly maps or ink-monochromatic Chan (Zen) paintings. As such, there is an obvious inconsistency between the Song dynasty idea of a painting of West Lake (maps, or ink-monochrome paintings with scant site specificity) and the Ming-Qing concept of a Song dynasty painting of West Lake (commissioned by the court to delineate specific features of West Lake).

Despite the discrepancies between the Song notion of West Lake painting and Ming-Qing concept of a Song painting of West Lake, these earlier records proffered the foundation for the construction of a genealogy of West Lake painting that could be traced to the Song court. Zhao Bian's and Zhao Gou's works might be the source of inspiration that substantiated the link between the court of the Song and the depiction of West Lake. However, neither Zhao Bian nor Zhao Gou is compelling enough to ennoble the theme of West Lake in art. Big names like Li Song, Xia Gui, Liu Songnian, and Ma Yuan were yet to be associated with the theme. A key step in the formation of this genealogy lies in tying these names to this subject.

Toward the end of the Southern Song and the beginning of Yuan, painters began to appreciate the charming sceneries of West Lake. *Fangyu Shenglan* by Zhu Mu notes:

²⁴⁴ Cahill, *The Lyric Journey*. 32-35.

Recently, painters claim that the most extraordinary views of the West Lake and mountains in four seasons are Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway, Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing Courtyard, Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake, Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge, Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows, Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor, Glow of Sunset on Leifeng Peak, Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds, Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain, and Moon Reflected on Three Ponds.²⁴⁵

Although this record does not mention the court's participation and patronage of the theme, it nonetheless paints a picture of the popular activity of depicting West Lake in the thirteenth century. However, few paintings of West Lake from the Southern Song survived. In the repertory of extant paintings of West Lake that are traditionally attributed to Song painters, the authenticity of many requires closer inspection. In chapter 1, I demonstrated that *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, traditionally attributed to Xia Gui, was a forgery. Likewise, the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album, attributed to Ye Xiaoyan, was also the work of Ming artist. The earliest and most reliable painting of West Lake extant today is the *West Lake* scroll in Shanghai Museum that was traditionally attributed to Li Song and that has recently been dated to the thirteenth century.

Despite the issues with the authenticity of the Li Song and Xia Gui paintings, the two artists were considered the quintessential representatives of Song paintings of West Lake. Panoramic landscape paintings of West Lake with applications of the ruled-line painting

²⁴⁵ *Fangyu shenglan* was first published in 1239, and was revised and supplemented by Zhu Mu's son Zhu Zhu (祝洙, 13th century) in 1267. Zhu Mu, *Fangyu Shenglan*, juan 1, 6b-7a.

technique and small album leaves in the Ma-Xia (馬夏) style are attributed to the two model painters, respectively.²⁴⁶ An examination of the founding of the Li Song and Xia Gui models in representing West Lake offers insights into the social, intellectual, and artistic context of the Ming dynasty.

3.1. Duplicating Li Song: The Rise of Cityscapes of Hangzhou

The Southern Song master Li Song was a native of Hangzhou and worked for the Imperial Academy of Painting as a painter-in-attendance. The earliest and most reliable painting of West Lake now extant is the *West Lake* scroll attributed to a follower of Li Song.²⁴⁷ Although modern scholars are skeptical about the Li Song attribution, the artist was the first academy painter to be associated with images of Hangzhou. *Tuhui baojian* (圖繪寶鑑, Precious reflections on picturing and painting), first published in 1365, records:

Li Song was a native of Qiantang County. In his youth, he worked as a carpenter who was skilled in making guideline drawings. Later, he became an adopted son of Li Congxun [active twelfth century]. He was skilled at painting figures and Daoist and Buddhist images. Inheriting the essence of Congxun, he was especially masterful in the

²⁴⁶ Ma Yuan and Xia Gui are two influential artists of the Southern Song whose names were listed among the “Yuqian huayuan” 御前畫院 (Painting academy in service of the emperor). Their styles were conceived as a type characterized by the “one-corner” 一角 and “one-sided” 半边 composition, the use of axe-cut brushwork, and the album leave medium. Zhou Mi, *Wulin Jiushi*, juan 6, 7a.

²⁴⁷ Miyazaki “Seiko wo meguru kaiga.”

ruled-line painting technique. He served as the painter-in-attendance for three reigns, Guangzong [r. 1189–94], Ningzong [r. 1194–1224], and Lizong [r.1205–64].²⁴⁸

李嵩，錢塘人。少為木工，頗遠繩墨。後為李從訓養子。工畫人物道釋，得從訓遺意，尤長於界畫。光寧理三朝畫院待詔。

Being the first record on Li Song, this Yuan dynasty writer summarized two characteristics of his style: skill at figure paintings and mastery of the ruled-line technique.²⁴⁹ Both stylistic characteristics, along with his Hangzhou origin, became the criteria in identifying paintings in Li Song's name.

The first ones to associate Li Song with cityscapes of Hangzhou was a group of intellectuals in the Jiangnan region, most of whom originated from Hangzhou during the Yuan to early Ming period. Yang Weizhen (楊維禎, 1296–1370), Zhang Xian (張憲, active fourteenth century), and Yang Ji (楊基, 1326–78) all wrote colophons to a painting titled *Watching the Zhejiang River Tide* (钱塘观潮图) or *Watching the Tide from the Song Palace* (宋宮觀潮圖).

They attributed the otherwise anonymous painting to the famous Southern Song court painter Li Song based merely on the subject and the genre.²⁵⁰ Li Song, being a native Hangzhou painter

²⁴⁸ Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui Baojian*, juan 4, 12b.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion of Li Song's figure paintings, see Ellen J. Laing, "Li Sung and Some Aspects of Southern Sung Figure Painting," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 37, no.1 / 2 (1975): 5-38; for a discussion of Li Song's ruled-line paintings, see Robert Maeda, "Chieh-Hua: Ruled-Line Painting in China," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 10 (1975):123-141.

²⁵⁰ This painting is now in Palace Museum in Beijing. Yang Weizhen and Zhang Xian's colophons had been detached from the painting some time before it went to the imperial collection of Emperor Qianlong. Yang Ji's colophon is now mounted on the scroll. But the inscribed poem was documented in various means. Zhang Xian, "Li

who also served for the imperial court of the Southern Song, specialized in the ruled-painting technique and in figure paintings. Some of his paintings portray the lives of common citizens of Hangzhou during the Southern Song.²⁵¹ Thus, his was an ideal name to be attached to a depiction of the scenic views of the city of Hangzhou.

Yang Weizhen and Zhang Xian both resided in the Fuchun Mountains near Hangzhou during the turmoil of the dynastic fall. Zhang Xian and Yang Ji worked for the Suzhou-based rebel leader Zhang Shicheng (張士誠, 1321–67). All were born in Zhejiang or Jiangsu, within a hundred-kilometer radius of Hangzhou, and all lived in Songjiang (松江, present-day Shanghai) around the 1350s and 1360s. During this time of turbulence and upheaval, Songjiang was an important refuge for scholars, painters, and connoisseurs.²⁵² Led by Yang Weizhen, this group of scholars supported the Zhang Shicheng regime, as allies of the Yuan court, to fight the founder of Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋, 1328–98). When Zhang was defeated, many of them went into exile.²⁵³ As an influential cultural group, these scholars fled Hangzhou on the eve of the rebellious invasion to Suzhou and Songjiang, turning what had been a cultural desert into a hub of intellectual activities.²⁵⁴ This diaspora of Hangzhou-based cultural elites were the leaders in rediscovering the city's heritage.

Song Songgong Guanchao tu” 李嵩宋宮觀潮圖 (Watching the Tide from the Song Palace by Li Song), *Yusi ji* 玉筍集 (Anthology of the jade bamboo), juan 6, Qing Yueya tang congshu ben 清粵雅堂從書本, 1853, 5a-5b.

²⁵¹ Li Song had depicted scenes of common lives in Hangzhou including paintings of peddlers and children. See Laing, “Li Sung and some aspects of Southern Song figure painting,” 6-7.

²⁵² Huang Peng 黃朋, *Wumen Juyan: Mingdai Suzhou shuhua jianshang* 吳門巨眼：明代蘇州書畫鑑賞 (The great eyes of the Wu: Painting and calligraphy connoisseurship in Suzhou during the Ming dynasty) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2015), 12-14.

²⁵³ Yang Ji were exiled to Anhui. Zhang Xian chose to live in reclusion in a monastery in Hangzhou.

²⁵⁴ Huang Peng, *Wumen Juyan*, 13-14.

Their attribution of *Watching the Zhejiang River Tide* (plate 4.1) to Li Song was crucial in affiliating topographical paintings of Hangzhou with the artists in discussion. During the Ming dynasty, this attribution was further endorsed to substantiate a Li Song lineage in the portrayal of Hangzhou. In *Xihu youlan zhiyu*, compiled by Tian Rucheng and his son Tian Yiheng (田藝蘅, 1524–?), an entire volume is dedicated to painting and painters of Hangzhou and West Lake. Under the entry for Li Song, the author(s) cites Yang Weizhen, Zhang Xian, and Yang Ji's attribution as sources: "The inscriptions by Zhang Silin [Xian] and the two Yangs were also recorded in their own writing collections. They claim it is a painting by Li Song" (張思廉與二楊所題，皆載本集，謂李嵩之畫。²⁵⁵

It was at this time that the *West Lake* scroll that now hangs in the Shanghai Museum was attributed to Li Song by its first collector, Qiu Yuan (仇遠, 1247–1326). Qiu Yuan was a scholar-official of the Yuan dynasty who also originated from Hangzhou. This evidence suggests that in Hangzhou and its neighboring towns during the Yuan dynasty, images depicting the scenery of the city were in circulation, many of which were attributed to Li Song based on the subject matter.

During the early-mid Ming dynasty, paintings of West Lake that are attributed to Li Song flooded the national market. The founder of the Ming empire, Zhu Yuanzhang, documents such a

²⁵⁵ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhiyu*, juan 17, *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol.3, 515.

painting in an anthology of writings, *Ming Taizu wenji* (明太祖文集, Anthology of writing of Ming Taizu), published during the Wanli reign:

I heard that West Lake of Hangzhou city was seen as an attracted place by people of the past and present. Visitors all have praised its beauty. I have not seen it but only heard about it. The other day, I went through paintings of Li Song and came across a West Lake scroll. On it, the mountains are painted with texturing brushwork, and the water done in washed colors. The pavilions and terraces are painted in the *jiehua* [ruled-painting] technique. Human figures are delineated steering boats, lifting oars and holding paddle, spreading sails and casting nests, throwing fishing threads and tossing hooks. Singers make sounds, dancers swirls, music performers have pipes and horns. On the lake, the water is as vast and playful activities are as much, how could it not be fun? Yet the best thing about the lake is that it should be appreciated by heart. It is not difficult to see that [the lake] ennobles the virtuous and demeans the wicked.

The virtuous tours the lake during a time of peace, taking a boat on the lake. During daytime, he opens up the curtains to view the scenery. Extending his views and freely exploring the scenes, he embraces the essence in his chest. He writes poems and essays in order to assist the emperor and the court. During nighttime, he takes a small boat and reclines on it, watching the bright moon and listening to the sound of the flute. Enjoying the pleasure that the lake has to offer and sings about the peacefulness of the time. How about the wicked? When the wicked tours the lake, they are ignorant of what they see and wallowed in songs and beauties. They exhaust money on countless drinks and indulging

in endless lust. Therefore, there are many who went bankrupt and homeless, lacking clothes and food. How could they be compared to the tours of the virtuous? [It is said that the lake] elevates the virtuous and demeans the wicked, how true!

朕聞杭城之西湖今古以為美，賞人皆稱之，我亦聽聞未見。一日，閱李嵩之畫，見西湖圖一幅，其上皴山染水，界畫樓臺，寫人形而駕舟舫、舉棹擎橈、飛帆布網、拋綸擲釣。歌者音，舞者旋，管絃者，則有笙□鬻策。其為湖也，汪洋汗漫，致翫景者若是，可不樂乎！然斯湖之佳，則佳矣於中。昂君子、卑小人，不難見也。

夫君子之游湖，當世泰之時，乘舟於湖，晝則推蓬翫景，極目遐觀，覽佳氣於胷中，著以詩文，黼黻皇猷。夜則仰卧葉舟，觀皓月而品瓊簫。樂其樂，而歌世之清泰。比狎小人者何若？小人之游，會無知，務聲色，耗貲財，而酣飲無厭，縱其欲而不絕，是有破家蕩產，身乏衣食者多矣。比君子游何如？於昂君子、卑小人，可不信乎!²⁵⁶

According to this text, the Li Song scroll that Zhu Yuanzhang had seen is a view of West Lake. The painting is described as delineating “mountains in texturing brushwork and water in

²⁵⁶ Zhu Yuanzhang, *Ming Taizu wenji*, Yao Shiguan (姚士觀; active 16th century) et al. eds., juan 16, prefaced 1582, Wenjuan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 43a-43b.

ink wash” and “pavilions and terraces” in ruled-line painting technique. Figures are engaged in various activities, including boating, sailing, nesting, fishing, singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments. We can conclude that this painting is a portrayal of the human activities and the architecture on West Lake set against a landscape background. The lively civil scene with figures and the ruled-line technique are trademarks of Li Song.

Another West Lake painting attributed to Li Song was “discovered” by Ming dynasty writer, calligrapher, and scholar-official Lu Shen (陸深, 1477–1544) during the Jiajing reign (嘉靖, 1522–66). His compilation of writings documents this painting as follows:

Writing on Li Song’s *West Lake*

This scroll was purchased in Chang’an. It should be a painting of West Lake. Since [on the painting] there is the Sudi Causeway but not the Tomb of Yue Fei, how can it be a painting of emperor Lizong’s reign? Some say it is brushed by the hands of Li Song. Yet there is no signature to date the work. However, the title planks [of the buildings] are all written with gilt. No one besides a Song person could do this.

I have always loved the mountain and water and have particularly yearned for West Lake. Last year, I was put in charge of Zhejiang’s legislation. On my way there, I have traveled past it. After I left, I could not let my mind off of it. Now, on the eighth day of the twelfth month of the Wuxu year in Jiajing reign [1538], encountering the scroll feels like revisiting the lake.

跋李嵩西湖圖

此卷購得之長安，當是西湖圖。第有蘇堤而無岳墳，豈思陵時畫耶？或云李嵩手筆，然無題識可考。觀其粉金題額，非宋人不能書也。予夙有山水之好，頗留意錢塘之西湖。昨歲出持浙憲，輿舫往來，若為已有。既去而未能忘之。今嘉靖戊戌臘日，邂逅此幅，恍如再到。²⁵⁷

This text presents several key bits of information: this work of art very likely used rulers, as it mentions the gold-colored planks; it demonstrates site specificity, as the Sudi Causeway and the Tomb of Yue Fei (or the lack thereof) are identifiable; it is very likely a sizable panorama, as the largest landmark, the Sudi Causeway, is depicted in full; people, probably the seller, suggested that it was by Li Song; and Lu Shen was doubtful about the Li Song attribution but was convinced by the Southern Song date.

In the early sixteenth century, Tian Rucheng documents as many as four West Lake paintings, all bearing signatures of Li Song, in the collection of an esteemed family of Hangzhou:

Recently in Hong Jingfu's house, I have seen four scrolls of *West Lake*. All of them bear signatures claiming to be Li Song. There were written labels for every Buddhist temple and Taoist monastery, hill, and valley that are painted in tremendous and extraordinary detail. These paintings must be tributes to the then emperor.

²⁵⁷ Lu Shen, *Yanshan ji* 儼山集 (Anthology of Yanshan), juan 88, *Siku quanshu* electronic version, 2a-2b.

今日于洪靜夫家，見《西湖圖》四幅，款云李嵩作，寺觀峰塢，皆有標題，工巧絕倫，蓋當時進御物也。²⁵⁸

The Hong family was very influential in Hangzhou during Tian Rucheng's time.²⁵⁹ Even so, owning four West Lake paintings by Li Song would be unthinkable. Tian Rucheng sounds skeptical, too. He writes, equivocally, that “all of them bear signatures *claiming* to be Li Song” (emphasis added). These four paintings also share similar traits with the aforementioned works: site specificity clearly marked by written labels, and the use of ruled-line painting technique.

From these records, we can conclude that in the Ming dynasty, paintings of West Lake were in circulation even to places far away from Hangzhou. We also must add to this group the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, currently in the Freer Gallery, which was produced during the late Ming to mid-Qing and was mistakenly attributed to Li Song. These paintings were nonetheless assigned to Li Song despite the skepticism of connoisseurs about their authenticity. The copious paintings of West Lake that were erroneously credited to Li Song demonstrates the artist's tight bond with the subject matter. They also suggest that the threshold for a forgery to be taken as a work of Li Song was not very high. As long as the painting applied ruled-line technique, delineated several architecture and some human activities, and portrayed a view of West Lake, they could be awarded the distinction of being a “Li Song painting of West Lake.”

²⁵⁸ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu Youlan zhiyu*, juan 17, in *Xihu Wenxian Jicheng*, vol. 3, 528.

²⁵⁹ Hong Jingfu, or Hong Cheng (洪澄, active early 16th century) was the son of a minister of the Ming court whose family were indigenously Hangzhou. Hong Cheng himself earned an office through taking the Civil Service Exam. Being the descendent of a minister, he inherited great wealth and social network. *Wanli Hangzhou Fuzhi*, juan 57, Erudition Database of Chinese Local Records.

2. Fabricating Xia Gui: The Zhe School's Retrospection of the Southern Song Master

During the Ming dynasty, Wu County (吳, present-day Suzhou) in present-day Jiangsu Province became the cultural center of the empire. Artists, intellectuals, and connoisseurs from Suzhou led the fashion in art and connoisseurship. As Gu Yanwu (顧炎武, 1613–82) recalls:

Some people of the Ming claimed, “If the people of Su regard something as elegant, the people from around the country would join them in treating this as elegant; [if the people of Su] consider something vulgar, [the people from around the country] would then join them in treating this as vulgar.

明人有謂，蘇人以為雅者，則四方隨而雅之；俗者，則隨而俗之。²⁶⁰

Hangzhou's attitude toward its neighbor to the north was mixed. Although the common people of Hangzhou jumped on the bandwagon in esteeming Suzhou as embodying the paragon taste, local elites, fearful of a diminishing of local identity, condemned such fashion. In a note written to his young brother, Zhang Dai reflected on this issue:

We, the people of Zhejiang, have no judgment of our own to an extreme. Whatever the Suzhou people advocated, [they] would imitate to an extreme.

²⁶⁰ Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, *Zhao Yu zhi* 肇域志 (Record on Initiating the Realm), juan 8, Qing chaoben 清抄本 (Qing dynasty manuscript), 19a.

且吾浙人，極無主見，蘇人所尚，極力模仿。²⁶¹

Zhang Dai uses the adverb *ji* (極, to an extreme) twice in this sentence to convey his strong opposition to Zhejiang's imitation of Suzhou. However, this only reveals the bitter reality that the cultural influence of Suzhou was undeniably powerful in places like Hangzhou during the mid-late Ming.

In the artistic circle of Suzhou, the attitude toward painters of Zhejiang was not overly friendly. Dong Qichang, the leader of the Suzhou art circle toward the end of the Ming, frequently commented on painters from Zhejiang with a demeaning tone.²⁶² He writes:

During the previous dynasty, the Dao of painting was only prominent in the Yue region [which belonged to Zhejiang]. Among those excellent painters, Zhao Wuxing [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322], Mountain Hermit of the Yellow Crane [Wang Meng, 1308–85], Wu Zhonggui [Wu Zhen, 1280–1354], and Huang Ziju [Huang Gongwang, 1269–1354] were the most outstanding ones. Until recently, paintings done by the artists of Zhejiang now have the name of “Zhe painting.” These works are quite blunt and stubborn in representing mountains and water. Recently, some Zhe paintings became mannerist and pretended to be works of Wu masters. They are only eating from the leftovers in Wen Zhengming and Shen Zhou's mouths.

²⁶¹ Zhang Dai, “You yu Yiru badi” 又與毅孺八弟 (A second letter to eighth little brother, Yiru), *Zhang Dai Shiwen ji* 張岱詩文集 (Anthology of poems and literary works by Zhang Dai) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 228-229.

²⁶² For Dong Qichang's art theories and his influence in Chinese art history, see Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith eds., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. 1555-1636* (Seattle, Washington: Washington University Press, 1992).

盛國時畫道獨盛於越中，若趙吳興，黃鶴山樵，吳仲圭，黃子久，其尤卓然者。至

於今乃有浙畫之目，鈍滯山川不少。邇來又負矯而事裝吳，亦文、瀋之剩馥耳。²⁶³

“Eating from the leftovers in Wen and Shen’s mouths” is harsh mockery of Zhejiang painters’ imitation of the Suzhou masters. Dong Qichang furthered his Wu-Zhe distinction in his theory of the Northern and Southern School of landscape.²⁶⁴ In his words, contemporary painters from Zhejiang whose styles were deemed “sweet, fragmented, vulgar and flat” (甜斜俗軟) should not be associated with the Yuan masters who also originate from Zhejiang:

Among the four masters of the late Yuan dynasty, three originated from Zhejiang. . . .

The essence and spirit of the land will rise and fall with time. Now, among the famous painters of the current dynasty, only Dai Jin is from Wulin. They claim the name of Zhe school yet do not know that Zhao Mengfu was also from Zhejiang. Even if the Zhe school is diminishing gradually, these painters with a taste for the sweet, fragmented, vulgar, and flat style should not be considered a part of the Zhe School.

²⁶³ Dong Qichang proposed this theory, tracing two lineages in landscape painting since the Tang. The Northern School started with Li Sixun and Li Congxun, evolved through the hands of Zhao Gan, Zhao Bosu, Zhao Boju, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui. The Southern School originated from Wang Wei and was inherited by Jin Hao, Guan Tong, Dong Yuan, Juran, Mi Fu, Mi Youren, and the four master of Yuan Dynasty, Ni Zan, Wu Zhen, Wang Meng, and Huang Gongwang. The two schools are mainly distinguished by painting styles. The Northern School specialized in colored landscape and linear style, while the Southern School in ink-monochrome and ink washes. The “Southern-Northern” distinction in landscape painting regards painters of Suzhou as followers of the Southern School, and those of Zhejiang as disciples of the Northern School. See Dong Qichang, *Rongtai ji, bieji*, 6a-6b.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

元季四大家，浙人居其三，……江山靈氣，盛衰固有時，國朝名士，僅僅戴進為武林人，已有浙派之目，不知趙吳興亦浙人。若浙派日就漸滅，不當以甜斜俗軟者，系之彼中也。²⁶⁵

Naturally, cultural elites in Zhejiang and elsewhere opposed Dong's arbitrary distinction and prejudice. But they nonetheless accepted Dong's region-based segregation of artistic styles.²⁶⁶ Zhan Jingfeng (詹景風, 1532–1602), a connoisseur from Huizhou, as a third-party in this debate, critically evaluates the Wu-Zhe dichotomy:

In modern times, Dai Jin of Qiantang has captured eighty to ninety percent [of the style of Ma Yuan and Xia Gui]. Dai Jin's paintings excel in the archaic and elegant taste which do not fall under the hands of mediocre craftsman. The people of Wu exclusively honored Shen Zhou and dismissed Dai Jin. From this, we can conclude that the Wu people's judgments on painting are not based on expansive knowledge but on routines and habits.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 5a-5b.

²⁶⁶ For instance, Zhang Dai uses the terms "we, Zhejiang people" and "Wu people" in his discussion.

近時，錢塘戴文進可謂十得其八九，然戴畫之高，亦在蒼古而雅，不落俗工腳手。

吳中乃專尚沈石田，而棄文進不道，則吳人好畫之癖，非通方之論，亦其習見然也。²⁶⁷

Suzhou's attitude toward Dai Jin, as the leader of the so-called Zhe school, was complex. Dai's expertise in painting was recognized by many artists and connoisseurs in Suzhou, but his Zhejiang origin was troubling. Wang Shizhen (王世貞, 1526–90), the leader of the Suzhou circle during the late sixteenth century, commented on an album by Dai Jin:

Dai Wenjin painted seven leaves, called Spring Outing on the Silk-Washing Stream, Listening to Pines and Streams in Reclination, Night Boat Tour on Bamboo Creek, Dusk on Leifeng Peak, Anticipating the Moon while Leaning on the Balustrades, West Lake after Rain, Autumn night in Dongli. At first glance, I thought they were painted by Shen Qinan [Shen Zhou]. Upon reading the unskillful inscription and verifying the seals, I realized that the painter was indeed [Dai] Wenjin. Yet the painting presents not one trace of the Qiantang style. Archaic and sophisticated, elegant and otherworldly, it exceeds the realm of the land. I then know that this person is as multi-faceted as Shen Zhou. Their whimsical arrangements also match.

²⁶⁷ Zhan Jingfeng 詹景風, *Zhan Dongyuan xuanlan bian* 詹東圖玄覽編 (An compilation of the thoughts and observations of Zhan), juan 3, in *Zhongguo Shuhua Quanshu* 中國書畫全書 (Complete Compilation of Writings on Painting and Calligraphy), vol. 4 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 38.

戴文進作圖凡七幀，曰浣溪春行，卧聽松泉，竹溪夜泊，雷峰夕照，凭欄待月，西湖雨霽，東籬秋晚。予初閱之以為沈啓南作，見題字不工，及驗其印章，而始知為文進也。然無一筆錢唐意。蒼老秀逸，超出蹊逕之外，乃知此君與啟南無無所不師法，妙處亦無所不合耳。²⁶⁸

According to Wang, the best quality of Dai Jin's painting is that it "presents not one trace of the Qiantang style" (無一筆錢塘意) and resembled the works by the Suzhou artist par excellence, Shen Zhou. In giving positive feedback on Dai Jin's painting, Wang Shizhen obliterates the artist's affiliation with the style of Zhejiang and anoints him the equivalent of Shen Zhou.

Considered the forebear of Dai Jin, the Southern Song painter Xia Gui was also met with such equivocation. According to Dong Qichang's theory, Xia Gui belonged to the Northern school of landscape.²⁶⁹ As such, he was deemed inferior to painters of the Southern school.²⁷⁰ Despite this, prestigious collectors and connoisseurs still favored works of Southern Song court painters like Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, and Liu Songnian. Shen Zhou had only one Southern Song painting in his collection, that is Ma Yuan's *Autumn Frost on Streams and Mountains* (Xishan qiushuang tu, 溪山秋霜圖).²⁷¹ Lu Wan (陸完, 1458–1528) collected seven Southern Song

²⁶⁸ Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou sibu gao* 弇州四部稿, juan. 138, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

²⁶⁹ Dong Qichang, *Rongtai ji*, 6a.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 4a.

²⁷¹ Huang Peng summarizes Shen Zhou's inventory in *Wumen Juyan*, 59-60.

paintings, four by Liu Songnian, two by Ma Yuan, and one by Xia Gui.²⁷² Wen Zhengming had only two Southern Song paintings, one by Ma Yuan and the other by Xia Gui. Zhang Chou (張丑, 1577–1643) and his family had nine Southern Song painting, including one by Liu Songnian, one by Ma Yuan, and one by Xia Gui.²⁷³

For a work of a Zhejiang painter to be accepted by the Suzhou collectors and connoisseurs, to imitate the styles of Xia Gui, and to sign the painting in his name was a crucial step. An entry in Zhang Chou's *Zhenji rilu* (真蹟日錄, Daily records on authentic works) documents a forgery of a Xia Gui painting by Dai Jin or one of his followers. The celebrated connoisseur and collector from Suzhou records a painting he had seen, probably at a friend's house:

[The title] *Spring Rain over West Lake* is written by Tinghui.²⁷⁴ Before the painting, there is a round seal that reads “Tingmei of the Xu Family,” and a square seal that reads, “Pure Pleasure of the Pine Forest.”²⁷⁵ Toward the end of the scroll, a signature is written in small clerical script: “Your humble servant Xia Gui presents.” The calligraphy and

²⁷² See Huang Peng, *Wumen Juyan*, 108-109.

²⁷³ See Huang Peng, *Wumen Juyan*, 322-332.

²⁷⁴ Tinghui is the style name of Jiang Hui 蔣暉 (active 15th century), a high official of the Ministry of Rites and a member of the Hanlin Academy from Hangzhou. Guo Tingxun 過庭訓 (1574-1628), *Benchao fensheng renwukao* 本朝分省人物考 (Biographies of famous people in present dynasty, grouped by provinces), juan 42, Ming keben 明刻本 (Ming dynasty block-printed edition), 8a.

²⁷⁵ Both seals belonged to Xu Zan 許讚 (1473-1548), the vice minister of the Ministry of Justice who originated from Henan. In 1510, Xu Zan was appointed Assistant Administration Commissioner of Zhejiang and worked in Hangzhou until 1527. *Ibid*, juan 90, 47b-52b.

painting are both undoubtedly genuine. The use of color is especially archaic. The only thing lacking is the scholarly spirit.

《西湖春雨》，廷暉筆也。畫前有“許氏廷美”圓印、“松皋清玩”方印，卷尾小楷云：“臣夏圭進”。書畫皆屬真筆無疑。設色尤古，所乏者士氣耳。²⁷⁶

After some time, Zhang Chou revisited the scroll and added a note of revision:

Reading this abovementioned scroll again, I am certain that it is painted by Dai Wenjin (Dai Jin). Although it bears the inscription “Xia Gui,” it was deliberate misinformation.

覆閱前卷，的屬戴文進筆，其稱“臣夏圭進”，亦傳會耳。²⁷⁷

If we trust Zhang Chou’s final judgment, we should believe that this painting, which bears a signature Xia Gui, was made by Dai Jin or one of his followers. The word *fuhui* (傳會) describes the deliberate pairing of two unrelated things to forge a connection. Zhang Chou is explicitly accusing the signer of this inscription of making a forgery of the Southern Song master.

Zhang Chou was among a group of the most influential connoisseurs and collectors of the Suzhou region in the mid-Ming period.²⁷⁸ Born into a family with a long history of collecting

²⁷⁶ Zhang Chou, *Zhenji Rilü* 真跡日錄 (Daily Records on Authentic Works), juan 1, *Siku quanshu* electronic version, 2b-3a.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Huang Peng, *Wumen Juyan*, 315-317.

Song-Yuan paintings and calligraphies, he had a trained eye for artwork and could distinguish a painting in the style of Dai Jin from an authentic Xia Gui work where others of less training and acuity would have been unable to be so discriminating.

Since the Suzhou collectors valued the works by Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, and Liu Songnian and disparaged the painters of contemporary Zhejiang artists, it is unsurprising that a painting done by a Zhejiang artist needed a signature of Xia Gui to be accredited by Suzhou collectors. This *fuhui* fraud was certainly helpful, as the painting had made its way to a collector in Suzhou as a work of the Song dynasty.

Zhang Chou's documentation of this fake Xia Gui painting, ironically, became an important source for the Qing writer Li E to endorse a Song lineage of West Lake paintings. Li E's *Nansong yuanhua lu* (南宋院畫錄, Records of Southern Song court paintings), for instance, cited only Zhang Chou's first judgment identifying the painting as a work of Xia Gui. Zhang's final remark on the painting, stating that it was indeed a Dai Jin work, was completely erased in Li E's account:²⁷⁹

Spring Rain over West Lake bears the seal of the Terrace of Night-Emerald of Jiang Tinghui.²⁸⁰ [The title] is written by Tinghui. Before the painting, there is a round seal that reads, "Tingmei of the Xu Family" and a square seal that reads, "Pure Pleasure of the

²⁷⁹ Li E, *Nansong yuanhua lu*, 148.

²⁸⁰ Tinghui is the style name of Jiang Hui 蔣暉 (active 15th century), a high official of the Ministry of Rites and a member of the Hanlin Academy from Hangzhou. Guo Tingxun 過庭訓 (1574-1628), *Benchao fensheng renwukao* 本朝分省人物考, juan 42, 8a.

Pine Forest.”²⁸¹ Toward the end of the scroll, a signature is written in small clerical script: “Your humble servant Xia Gui present.” The calligraphy and painting are both undoubtedly genuine. The use of color is especially archaic. The only thing lacking is the scholarly spirit. Cited from *Zhenji rilu*.

西湖春雨，有晚翠軒蔣廷暉印，廷暉筆也。畫前有“許氏廷美“圓印、”松皋清玩“方印，卷尾小楷云：“臣夏圭進”。書畫皆屬真筆無疑。設色尤古，所乏者士氣耳。

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《真蹟日錄》

Table 3.2 Comparison of the texts in *Zhenji rilu* and in *Nansong yuanhua lu*

Zhang Chou, <i>Zhenji Rilü</i>	Li E’s “citation” of Zhang Chou in <i>Nansong Yuanhua lu</i>
<p>[The title] <i>Spring Rain over West Lake</i> is written by Tinghui.</p> <p>Before the painting, there is a round seal that reads ‘Tingmei of the Xu Family,’ and a square seal that reads ‘Pure Pleasure of the Pine Forest,’ Toward the end of the scroll,</p>	<p><i>Spring Rain over West Lake</i> bears the seal of the Terrace of Night-Emerald of Jiang Tinghui. [The title] is written by Tinghui. Before the painting, there is a round seal that reads ‘Tingmei of the Xu Family,’ and a square seal that reads ‘Pure Pleasure of</p>

²⁸¹ Both seals belonged to Xu Zan 許讚 (1473-1548), the vice minister of the Ministry of Justice who originated from Henan. In 1510, Xu Zan was appointed Assistant Administration Commissioner of Zhejiang and worked in Hangzhou until 1527. Ibid, juan 90, 47b-52b.

²⁸² Li E, *Nansong Yuanhua Lu* 南宋院畫錄 (Records of Southern Song Court Paintings), juan 6, *Siku quanshu* electronic version, 3a.

<p>a signature is written in small clerical script, ‘Your humble servant Xia Gui presents.’ The calligraphy and painting are both undoubtedly genuine. The use of color is especially archaic. The only thing lacking is the scholarly spirit.</p> <p>Reading this abovementioned scroll again, I am certain that it is painted by Dai Wenjin (Dai Jin). Although it bears the inscription “Xia Gui,” it was deliberate misinformation.</p> <p>西湖春雨，廷暉筆也。畫前有“許氏廷美”圓印、“松皋清玩”方印，卷尾小楷云：“臣夏圭進”。書畫皆屬真筆無疑。設色尤古，所乏者士氣耳。</p> <p>覆閱前卷，的屬戴文進筆，其稱“臣夏圭進”，亦傳會耳。²⁸³</p>	<p>the Pine Forest,’ Toward the end of the scroll, a signature is written in small clerical script, ‘Your humble servant Xia Gui presents,’ The calligraphy and painting are both undoubtedly genuine. The use of color is especially archaic. The only thing lacking is the scholarly spirit.</p> <p>Cited from <i>Zhenji Rilü</i>.</p> <p>西湖春雨，有晚翠軒蔣廷暉印，廷暉筆也。畫前有“許氏廷美”圓印、“松皋清玩”方印，卷尾小楷云：“臣夏圭進”。書畫皆屬真筆無疑。設色尤古，所乏者士氣耳。《真蹟日錄》</p>
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Table 3.2 (continued).

²⁸³ The characters in bold highlight the differences between the two texts. Emphasis is mine.

Li E's assertion was more a deliberate misstatement than an honest mistake. Table 3.1 demonstrates Li E's manipulation of his sources. By cherry picking his evidence, Li's record of a Southern Song academy painting of West Lake is based on intentional misinformation. Huiping Pang also points out that he purposely reworded and rephrased his sources to argue in his favor.²⁸⁴ In the case of West Lake paintings, Li E also chose to take the leap. This misinformation accords with his ambition to reconstruct the presumed system of the "Southern Song painting academy," for which a crucial step was to associate images of West Lake to the Southern Song Academy.

Associating West Lake paintings with court painters of the Song was one way to elevate the status of the pictorial theme and enrich the cultural competitiveness of Hangzhou. This process involves three steps. First, forge signatures of Song court artists on contemporary paintings of West Lake to attract the attention of Suzhou collectors. Second, have Suzhou collectors catalogue them in their writings and inventories. Third, cite these catalogues as accredited sources to gain local and national recognition. These "fake" Southern Song West Lake paintings that were once collected and documented by the Suzhou connoisseurs would, in return, consolidate the impression that these Southern Song court painters were engaged with the theme. As a result, more West Lake paintings in the name of Xia Gui and other Southern Song court artists would come forth.

During the mid-Ming to the mid-Qing period (sixteenth to eighteenth century), there was a surge in the number of "Southern Song West Lake paintings" in written documents (see appendix 1). All these paintings were attributed to Southern Song court artists who lived in

²⁸⁴ Huiping Pang, *Xuni de diantang*, 218-220.

Hangzhou, particularly Li Song, Xia Gui, Liu Songnian, Ma Yuan, Ma Lin, and Chen Qingbo. The concept of a Song painting of West Lake that involves court sponsorship and residency in Hangzhou is finally established.

To document and catalogue these “Song” paintings of West Lake, we turn to a group of eight influential works by seven connoisseurs: Zhang Chou’s (張丑) *Qinghe shuhua fang* (清河書畫舫, Boat of writing and painting on Clear River) and *Zhenji rilu*; Zhu Mouli’s (朱謀里; 1597–1649) *Huashi Huiyao* (畫史會要, Condensed notes on the history of painting); Wu Qizhen’s (吳其貞) *Shuhua ji* (書畫記, Records of calligraphy and painting); Wang Keyu’s (汪珂玉) *Shanhu wang* (珊瑚網, Coral net); Wang Yuxian’s (王毓賢, seventeenth century) *Huishi beikao* (繪事備考, Textual study on issues of painting); Gao Shiqi’s (高士奇, 1645–1703) *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* (江村消夏錄, Spending summer in River valley); and finally Li E’s *Nansong yuanhua lu*.²⁸⁵ These were the main forces in the alignment of Southern Song court and the West Lake pictorial theme.

The promotion of a Song image of West Lake was a part of the local effort to build local identity and improve regional competitiveness. In the larger picture, as Mori Masao (森正夫)

²⁸⁵ Zhang Chou’s *Qinghe shuhua fang* was published in 1616 and *Zhenji rilu* in the 1620s. Zhu Mouli’s *Huashi huiyao* was published in 1631; Wu Qizhen’s *Shuhua ji* and Wang Keyu’s *Shanhu wang* were published in the 17th century around the dynastic transition. Wang Yuxian’s *Huishi beikao* and Gao Shiqi’s *Jiangcun xiaoxialu* were published later during the 17th century, in the early Qing period. Li E’s *Nansong yuanhua lu* was published in 1721, during Qianlong’s reign. The map shows the geographical circle of these writer. Zhang Chou represent the Suzhou collectors, Wu Qizhen stands for Huizhou collectors, Gao Shiqi and Li E were indigenous Hangzhou collectors.

points out, scholars of the Jiangnan region during the late Ming felt the need to reiterate the area's economic and political importance to gain more recognition from Beijing.²⁸⁶ Within the Jiangnan region, local elites of Hangzhou also struggled to compete with cultural leaders of Suzhou amid the Wu-Zhe rivalry. Hangzhou's role as the capital of Southern Song was a good card to play in the game of regional competition.

This chapter investigates the association between the pictorial theme of West Lake and court painters of the Song dynasty, tracing the steps that the Yuan, Ming, and Qing writers and artists took to forge a bond between the artistic theme and the bygone regime. By analyzing this process, the individuals involved in this creation and their plausible intentions also surfaced. Politically, Hangzhou felt the need to compete with other cities during the mid-late Ming dynasty. Culturally, Hangzhou wished to gain recognition from neighboring Suzhou in this period. In the art world, the Wu-Zhe competition also prompted painters of Zhejiang to root their stylistic supremacy in their prestigious predecessors.

In constructing the Southern Song image of West Lake, Hangzhou readdressed its political importance, emphasized its historical richness, and demonstrated its artistic superiority. In present-day Hangzhou, the bond with Southern Song is still seen as the city's *sine qua non*. The city's current project is to attain UNESCO World Heritage status for "Southern Song ancient sites." This project is often referred to as the "Southern Song Heritage Application" (南宋申遗)

²⁸⁶ Chen Zilong 陳子龍(1608-1647), "Wu Wen" 吳問 (Inquiries on Wu), *Chen Zhongyu gong quanji* 陳忠裕公全集 (Complete Works by Chen Zhongyu), juan 28, Qing Jiaqing keben 清嘉慶刻本. See also Mori Masao 森正夫, "Chen Zilong de Jiangnan lun," 陳子龍的江南論 (Chen Zilong's thoughts on Jiangnan), *"Diyu Shehui" Shiyexia de Ming-Qing shi yanjiu: yi Jiangnan he Fujian wei zhongxin* "地域社會"視野下的明清史研究：以江南和福建為中心 (Studies on Ming and Qing history in the perspective of "regional society": with a focus on Jiangnan and Fujian) (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2017), 125-149.

among government affiliates.²⁸⁷ The desire to claim sole ownership of the Southern Song dynasty is unmistakable.

3.3. Conclusion: Constructing the Image of West Lake in Complex Time-Space

Frameworks

The three formal models that I have summarized in the first chapter offer three kinds of visual discourses, or visions, each entailing a kind of spectatorship over the lake. The physical images (paintings, illustrations, and maps) are assimilated in the *mental imagery* of the viewers.²⁸⁸ This mental imagery can be communicated to, shared with, and mutually understood by viewers to some degree. Through this communication, sharing, and mutual understanding, the lake is perceived in these set ways again and again. In some sense, the images of the lake “reflect” the physical qualities of the lake; in another sense, the images of the lake define them. The role of the painters/producers of the images are comparable to that of the “author” in the Foucauldian sense.²⁸⁹ The visions that the works present parallel the discourses (or the texts). In other words, West Lake, as a site or a locale during specific historical moments, was shaped, defined, and constructed by the visualities and visions assimilated in the images.

To see paintings of the lake as merely representations of the lake is to underestimate the function of images. The landscape of the lake was perceived in normalized and canonized ways, with viewpoints, time, things to see, and sentiments all preset. The construction and

²⁸⁷ I would like to thank Hangzhou Urban Studies Center and Shangcheng District Government for giving me access to official documents and for discussing their projects with me.

²⁸⁸ Finke defines mental imagery as “the mental invention or recreation of an experience that in at least some respects resembles the experience of actually perceiving an object or an event, either in conjunction with, or in the absence of, direct sensory stimulation.” Ronald A. Finke, Steven Pinker, and Marthat J. Farah, “Reinterpreting Visual Patterns in Mental Imagery,” *Cognitive Science*, no. 13 (1989): 51-79.

²⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, “What is an author?” *The Foucault Reader*, ed, Paul Rainbow (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 101-120.

reconstruction projects on the lake would also reinforce and enhance the normalized viewing experiences. An ancient site would be resurrected repeatedly. An ancient theme would be explored relentlessly. The ten scenes of the canonized theme would be continuously revisited, while other “scenes” would be forever forgotten. In summary, images of the West Lake do not simply seek to *represent* the lake *as it is*; they actively *construct* the lake *as it is perceived* by viewers. The discourses of the lake involve the vision that the images present. This discourse (literary or visual) shapes and defines West Lake in particular historical moments.

Therefore, this dissertation negates the one-way “topographical-paintings-represents-a-real-site” theory and instead proposes a two-way relationship in which images affect nature while depicting it. To the people of the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing, the subjective reality of the lake does not exist beyond words and images. Whether a Southern Song imperial garden, a site of scholarly contemplation, a wild place of exotic (and erotic) pleasures, or a hot tourist attraction, West Lake exists in and is perceived in these conceptual frameworks constructed by writers, artists, and viewers.

Part 2 of this dissertation, of which the current chapter is the final installment, has investigated the construction of the image of West Lake in various temporalities and spaces. In official maps, a spatial bifurcation was laid out on one plane, uniting while segregating the urban and the suburban. In sightseeing gazetteers and paintings, two tendencies coexisted. One recovers the image of the olden Southern Song dynasty; the other modernizes images of West Lake as it changes. In printed illustrations of fiction and drama set in West Lake, the place is romanticized into a stage for love affairs and late-night assignations, setting apart gendered space while displaying its scenic attractiveness. In landscape paintings, literati-artists conceptualized West Lake in a timeless space for scholarly contemplation. Painters like Dai Jin initiated a

method to transition from contemporary West Lake to a historical gathering in Nanping by using formal qualities, including composition, stylistic allusions, and the handscroll medium.

Alongside this multiplicity in framing West Lake spatially and temporally was the trend to reconstruct the Southern Song West Lake in pictorial representation and in art-historical lineage. The *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* took Ming/Qing viewers back in time to visualize the imagined vision of a Southern Song West Lake. In the Jiangnan region, certain names of Southern Song court painters were associated with paintings of West Lake. Two models were configured, representing two kinds of West Lake images derived from the Southern Song, the Li-Song and the Xia-Gui. In the Ming dynasty, these models were promoted and proliferated, shaping the course of art-historical writing on the subject matter and tying paintings of West Lake closely to Southern Song court artists.

With these efforts, a multifaceted “image” of West Lake in complex spatiotemporality was formalized, catering to viewers of various needs and tastes and structuring the site in chosen time-space frameworks. The study of Ming dynasty images of West Lake is also an examination of the pictorial expression of time and space, of nostalgia and modernity, of wildness and urbanity.

Albeit questionable in their authenticity, the *West Lake* scroll attributed to Li Song, the *Boats and Willows on West Lake* attributed to Xia Gui, and the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album attributed to Ye Xiaoyan all went to the imperial collections of the Qing rulers. The imperial spectators and their painters-in-attendance took these works as sources for a Song image of West Lake. These paintings, filtered through a sensibility of cultural renaissance and local identity, shaped the Qing court painter’s perception of the pictorial subject. The Qing emperors’ ownership of these paintings, in tandem with their occupation of West Lake, were tools for the

Manchu rulers to merge the perceived Song image of West Lake into an imperial picture showcasing rulership and power.

In part 3, I turn to examining the influence of the Qing court over the image of West Lake.

PART 3

(Dis)placing West Lake in the Imperial Landscape of the Qing Dynasty

CHAPTER 4

Spectacle and Surveillance: Imperial Footprints on West Lake

In 1671, the scholar Zhang Dai recalled his visits back to West Lake after twenty-eight years of drifting during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. In the preface to *Xihu mengxun*, Zhang Dai laments the destruction of West Lake in the early seventeenth century:

For the years 1654 and 1657, I visited West Lake twice. The lakeshore estates of the Ex-Pavilion of the Shang family outside of the Yongjin Gate, the Residence of Occasions of the Qi family, the villas of the Qian and Yu families, and my own Garden of Endowment only existed in remains. What is in my dream is that West Lake has none. When I visited Duan Bridge and looked around, the slim willows and the resplendent peach blossoms, along with the singing terraces and dancing pavilions, were almost entirely gone, like [they were] washed away by floods.

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,一帶湖庄,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.²⁹⁰

Less than a century later, in 1766, a Korean delegation encountered and befriended two students from Hangzhou in the capital city of Beijing.²⁹¹ When asked about the scenery of his hometown, Pan Tingjun (潘庭筠, active eighteenth century), who would eventually become a *jinshi*, answered proudly:

²⁹⁰ Zhang Dai, “Zhang Dai zixu” 張岱自序 (Preface by Zhang Dai), *Xihu Mengxun, Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 119.

²⁹¹ The delegation was led by Hong Daeyong 홍대용 洪大容 (1731–1783), a scholar from the Joseon Kingdom. The two students that Hong Daeyong and his fellow emissary met were Pan Tingjun 潘庭筠 and Yan Cheng 嚴誠.

According to Hong, Pan was a 25-year-old *juren* 舉人 and Yan a 35-year-old *juren* 舉人, both of whom were from the Qiantang County of Hangzhou, preparing for the imperial exam in Beijing. Twelve years later, in 1778, Pan would finally pass the imperial level exam and become a *jinshi*. See “Zengjiao daqing Qianlong sishisan nian jinshi timing beilu wuxu ke” (增校大清乾隆四十三年進士題名碑錄戊戌科) (Supplemented and annotated list of *jinshi* in the forty-third year of Qianlong reign), *Guangxu Ming Qing liangdai jinshi timinglu* 光緒明清兩代進士題名錄 (List of *jinshi* during the Ming and Qing Dynasties published in Guangxu reign), Lidai Keju renwu shujuku 歷代科舉人物數據庫 (Civil Examination Database), accessed August 20, 2020, <http://examination.ancientbooks.cn>. Hong Daeyong, “Correspondence of the Ganjing Lane” 乾淨衙筆談, from “Letters to Hangzhou” 杭傳尺牘 in *Tamhon So Oeji gwon 2* 湛軒書外集卷二 (Books of Relaxed House, second volume). *Yonhaengnok Ch’onggan Chungbop’an* 燕行錄叢刊增補版 (Compilation of Travel Essays to Yanjing, with supplementary), KRPIA Korean Database, accessed on August 20, 2020.

[Kim] Pyeongjung asked, “In your town, do the laurel trees of autumn and the lotus flowers of the ten-*li* pond remain the same as previous dynasties?” Langong [duke of the orchids] answered, “Not only that. The scenery of West Lake is the first under heaven. The water is one or two *zhang* deep, clear enough to see the bottom. The weeds, algae, sand, and rocks all present themselves vividly in the water. The surrounding mountains are all flat and not too tall. The Hall of the Four Saints is meant to enshrine Li Mi and Bai Juyi of the Tang dynasty with Su Shi and Lin Bu of the Song dynasty. His Imperial Majesty visited it four times, restoring all the damage and rendering it even more majestic and magnificent than ever before. Now, there are the ten scenes, such as the Sudi Causeway, along with dozens of new scenes. Though the entire lake does not exceed a total area of forty *li*, the strangely shaped hills and the wonderous caves are beyond words. The dike in the lake stretches ten *li* long. Peach blossom trees and willows are planted on the two banks.”

平仲曰。貴處三秋桂子。十裏荷花。風物尙如舊耶。蘭公曰。不但此而已。西湖風物。爲天下第一。水深一二丈。清可見底。雖萍藻沙石。歷歷可見。四山皆平不甚高。有四賢堂。祀唐李泌，白居易，宋蘇軾，林逋。我皇上四次臨幸。百廢俱修。比舊尤加壯麗。其地有蘇堤等十景。又有數十景。雖匝湖不過四十裏而奇峰靈岫。莫可名狀。湖中有堤十裏。兩岸皆栽桃柳。²⁹²

²⁹² Ibid.

Thus, in about a century, what had been West Lake in ruins, as described in Zhang Dai's bitter words, had become "first under heaven" and "majestic and even more magnificent than ever before" in Pan Tingjun's account. Such rapid recovery was the result of several decades of effort from the central and local administrations of the Qing dynasty. In this record found in *Yanxing lu* (燕行錄, Travel essays to Yanjing), Hangzhou elites acknowledged the Qing court's contribution in restoring and updating the West Lake landscape. The scenery, bequeathed by the saintly scholars of previous dynasties and basked in the halo of the Qing emperors, reached its most glorious moment in the words of the contemporary Hangzhou scholar.

During this recovery, the marks of the Manchu rulers were predominantly engraved on the West Lake landscape. As the lake became overwhelmingly inscribed by the Manchu conquerors, its image went through a process of politicization and standardization. Hence, the *place* was remodeled to reflect political influence, the *space* was experienced in unprecedented ways by prestigious inhabitants, and the *landscape* confirmed and consolidated the ongoing political appropriation.²⁹³ In the case of West Lake, the three components of the triadic model that Mitchell proposed to analyze landscape paintings all took a transition from the touristic and leisurely to the propagandic and canonical.²⁹⁴ This chapter delves into the fabrication of West

²⁹³ According to Mitchell, "[P]lace is associated with 'stability,' 'the law of the proper,' and the specific, definite location. Space, by contrast, exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. This space is composed of intersections of mobile elements.... In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a 'proper'...space is a practiced place." Furthermore, "If a place is a specific location, a space is a 'practiced place,' a site activated by movements, actions, narratives, and signs, and a landscape is that site encountered as image or 'sight.'" W. J. T. Mitchell, "Preface to the Second Edition of *Landscape and Power: Space, Place and Landscape*," in *Landscape and Power* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), vii–ix.

²⁹⁴ According to the triadic model presented by W. J. T. Mitchell, the "place" (West Lake in this case) is a definitive location in the Qiantang County of Hangzhou Prefecture; the "space" is the lake being toured (by the mass, the literati, and the imperial), lived on and experienced; and the "landscape" is the designed scenes and pictorial representations of the lake. *Ibid.*

Lake's political image to provide insights into the dynamic relationship between the central and periphery, the ethno-dynastic rulership of the Manchu region, and the identity of Jiangnan, China.

4.1. The Lake in the Eyes of the Emperors: Imperial Tours and Visual Representations

As the rulers of the nation, Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong were avid visitors to West Lake and took numerous trips to Hangzhou, where they occupied distinctive positions on the lake.²⁹⁵ To accommodate their visits, two “temporary lodging palaces” (行宮, *xingong*) were mobilized on Gushan Islet and within Hangzhou City, respectively (plate 5.1).²⁹⁶ The former was called Xihu Xingong (西湖行宮, Temporary Palace on West Lake, hereafter referred to as the “West Lake Palace”) and the latter Hangzhou Xingong (杭州行宮, Temporary Palace in Hangzhou, hereafter referred to as the “Hangzhou Palace”).

²⁹⁵ Emperor Kangxi took six southern trips in 1684, 1689, 1699, 1703, 1705, and 1707, respectively, five of which reached Hangzhou. Emperor Qianlong also conducted six southern tours in 1751, 1757, 1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784, respectively, all of which included Hangzhou. For the dates of emperor Qianlong's inspection tours, see *Qing Gaozong shilu* 清高宗實錄 (Records of Emperor Qianlong), juan 384, 533, 656, 730, 1102, 1201 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), volumes 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22.

²⁹⁶ Hangzhou Palace (or the Temporary Palace in Hangzhou) is located in the Taiping Fang 太平坊 Community near the Yongjin Gate. The Palace was originally the office of the Hangzhou *zhizao* bureau. In 1689, Emperor Kangxi resided in the temporary palace during his second southern tour. During the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns, the Hangzhou *zhizao* bureau was relocated, leaving the place to accommodate the traveling emperors. West Lake Palace (or the Temporary Palace in West Lake) sits on the south side of Gushan Islet, “surrounded by mountains and enclosed by tens of thousands of bricks, overlooking the attractive scenery of the entire lake.” Emperor Kangxi resided in the West Lake Palace during his last southern tour, making it an official imperial temporary palace, which Emperor Qianlong subsequently inherited. During the Qianlong reign, the Hangzhou Palace became cramped and outdated. Thus, the officials of Zhejiang exerted more effort in expanding and decorating the West Lake Palace as a substitute. Gao Jin 高晉 (1707-1778) et al., *Nanxun Shengdian* 南巡盛典 (Cannon on imperial favors bestowed during the southern inspection tours, 1771), juan 94, in the collection of National Diet Library, Japan, 102.

Gushan Islet was the hermitage of the bygone saint-scholar Lin Bu at the conjunction point of Baidi and Sudi Dikes, an isolated islet with easily controlled access and a high ground overseeing the entire lake—an ideal spot in which to situate the emperor (plate 5.2). The West Lake Palace, part of which has become Hangzhou’s Sun Yat-sen Park to commemorate the first president of the Republic of China, is located at the base of thirty-eight-meter tall Gushan Peak and within steps from the lakeshore. This place beneath the mountain and neighboring the water (依山傍水, *yishan bangshui*) was regarded in the feng shui model as a desirable location to enthrone the occupant.²⁹⁷ The unique locale also provided the imperial spectator with one of the best viewpoints on the lake. Emperor Qianlong once described the vista as follows: “Looking across, the pagoda shows its slender shape; looking down, the boats stir up endless waves in the water” (平陵塔矗玲瓏影, 俯瞰舟回激滌波).²⁹⁸

During Emperor Qianlong’s six inspection tours to Hangzhou, he primarily resided in the two *xinggong* palaces, showing a preference for West Lake Palace.²⁹⁹ As the new and most prestigious inhabitant of Gushan Islet, he confiscated Lin Bu’s old site and remodeled the islet

²⁹⁷ A Ming dynasty text on garden design notes, “Views should follow the shape of the terrain. Some [gardens] may be near the hills and woods, while approaching river and marsh” 得景隨形, 或傍山林, 欲通河沼澤, Ji Cheng 計成, *Yuan ye* 園冶 (The Craft of Gardens), juan 1, Minguo shiyinian yingzao xueshe ben 民國十一年營造學社本 (a 1928 reprinted edition of the Society of Architecture), 3a.

²⁹⁸ Hongli, “*Shengyin Xinggong Jijing* 聖因行宮即景 (Writing on the Scenery of Shengyin Monastery and West Lake Temporary Palace), *Yuzhi Shi Erji* 御製詩二集 (Second Anthology of Imperial Poems), juan 25, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

²⁹⁹ During the 1751 tour, Emperor Qianlong resided in West Lake Palace for a total of seven nights; in 1757, he spent one night in the Hangzhou Palace and six nights in the West Lake Palace; in 1762, he spent two nights in the Hangzhou Palace and seven nights in the West Lake Palace; in 1765, he spent two nights in Hangzhou Palace and nine nights in West Lake Palace; and in 1780, he spent two nights in Hangzhou Palace and six nights in West Lake Palace. *Gaozong chunhuangdi shilu* 高宗純皇帝實錄, juan 384, 533, 656, 730, 1102, 1201.

into his own imperial garden.³⁰⁰ An illustration in the *Nanxun shengdian* (南巡盛典, Cannon on imperial favors bestowed during the southern inspection tours), published in 1771, which documents the first four inspection trips, presents the structure of West Lake Palace (fig. 5.3).³⁰¹ As can be seen, the northernmost walls enclose Gushan Peak up to its highest point, Sizhao Ting (四照亭, Pavilion of four bright sides), which provides an all-encompassing view of the lake on Gushan. The Tomb of Lin Bu is located on the northern foot of Gushan Peak, a three-minute walk from Sizhao Ting.

Throughout the years, the Qianlong court commissioned numerous landscape paintings of West Lake, among which the imperial residence on Gushan Islet became the new focal point. Zhang Zongcang (張宗蒼, 1686–1756), an official of Qianlong’s Magistrate of Finance who was also appointed as a court painter, executed some paintings of West Lake for the emperor, most of which bore the emperor’s poems.³⁰² One example is the *West Lake* scroll in the National Palace

³⁰⁰ In 1673, a local official of Hangzhou resurrected the Pavilion of Releasing Cranes (放鶴亭), a site believed to be the residence of Lin Bu. In 1696, Emperor Kangxi inscribed the name of the pavilion “Releasing Cranes,” erected a stone stele with an imperially transcribed *Rhapsody of Dancing with Cranes* by Dong Qichang, and commissioned a Pavilion of Imperial Stele enshrining both the imperially brushed name placard and the stone stele to be placed next to the Pavilion of Releasing Cranes. See Li Wei et al., *Xihu Zhi*, juan 9; *Nanxun shengdian*, juan 103, 11b.

³⁰¹ The *Nanxun Shengdian* project started in 1766 and was completed in 1771 to document the 1751, 1757, 1762, and 1765 inspection trips. It is a comprehensive official companion to Emperor Qianlong’s southern inspection tours.

³⁰² Zhang Zongcang accepted a regular salary from the *Neiwu Fu* and worked primarily as a professional artist in the imperial painting academy in Qixiang gong 啟祥宮 and Ruyi guan 如意館. A record from the *zaobanchu* 造辦處 (Imperial workshops) states the following: “Painter (*huahuaren* 畫畫人) Zhang Zongcang shall receive the same amount of monthly salary, food, and reimbursements as Yu Sheng 余省 and Ding Guanpeng 丁觀鵬, starting from the sixth month (of the year 1750).” From this, we can tell that Zhang Zongcang was on the payroll of the *Neiwu fu* 內務府 (Imperial Household Department) *zaobanchu*, an imperially funded agency. *Diyi lishi dang’an guan*, Xianggang zhongwen daxue yishuguan 第一歷史檔案館, 香港中文大學藝術館 (First Historical Archives of China, and Art Museum, Chinese University of Hong Kong) eds., *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang’an Zonghui*

Museum, Taipei, which is a large hanging scroll (77.6 × 96.3 cm) depicting a panoramic bird's-eye view of the lake in the format perceived to have derived from Li Song (fig. 5.4). In this case, the original hexagonal layout of the presumed Li Song–model scroll is reshaped into a triangular composition. Here, the Sudi Causeway, Gushan-Baidi, and the South Mountain-city wall route constitute the three sides of the triangle in which the Huxin Pavilion occupies the center (fig. 5.5). The emphasis lies on the right side of the triangle, with Gushan Peak predominantly heightened and the islet significantly enlarged. The front entrance of West Lake Palace faces the lake and connects to the Huxin Pavilion and the Leifeng Pagoda in a straight line, threading through the north and south banks of the lake. Outside West Lake Palace, nine boats are docked, expecting the emperor to embark at any time. Two small boats travel between Gushan Islet and the Sudi Causeway and between Gushan Islet and the Huxin Pavilion, respectively, connecting West Lake Palace to the two major points of interest. Aside from the three boat steerers, no other figures are depicted in the painting. The lake is reserved exclusively for imperial spectatorship.

In Qian Weicheng's (錢維成, 1720–72) *Boating on West Lake during Sunny Days* (西湖晴泛圖) in the Palace Museum, Beijing, the prototypical Li Song layout was once again adapted to emphasize the West Lake Palace on Gushan Islet (plate 5.6).³⁰³ Here, the comparative scale of Gushan Islet was magnified, clusters of architecture occupied the islet, and boats harbored around the structures. Likewise, not one tourist is present in the picture. This adaptation, which

清宮內務府造辦處檔案總匯 (Complete Compilation of Records of the Imperial workshops in the Imperial Household Department from the Palace of Qing dynasty), juan 19 (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2007), 346.

³⁰³ Currently housed in the Palace Museum, Beijing, a scroll entitled *Boating on West Lake during Rainy Days* (西湖雨泛圖)—also created by Qian Weicheng and of identical size, medium, and composition—may have been created as the other pair of this scroll.

depicts the panorama of West Lake from a bird's-eye view in a triangular form that emphasizes Gushan Islet, is a new model that emerged directly under the emperor's influence within the artistic circle during the Qianlong reign. Such a format positions Gushan Islet at a predominant spot on the central axis of the lake, overlooking the entire landscape while connecting to other sites in all four directions. The Li Song layout, formerly associated with the vantage point from Hangzhou City, the former imperial city of the Southern Song dynasty, was transformed into a new imperial image in which Gushan Islet was emphasized as the standpoint of the Qing emperors (plate 5.7).³⁰⁴

4.2. Re-viewing West Lake: The Emperor's View from Gushan Islet

Before Emperor Qianlong saw West Lake with his own eyes, his vision of the lake was shaped by its images. The emperor had accumulated a number of West Lake paintings for the imperial collection, including the *West Lake* scroll attributed to Li Song, the *Willows and Boats on West Lake* scroll attributed to Xia Gui, and the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album attributed to Ye Xiaoyan.³⁰⁵ Apart from these presumed Song dynasty precedents, numerous woodblock-printed books that included images of West Lake, among which were the *Sancai tuhui* and *Xihu youlan*

³⁰⁴ Fig. 9 includes a group of paintings by Dong Bangda and Qian Weicheng under Emperor Qianlong's patronage. These paintings frame West Lake in the triangular format emphasizing the Gushan Islet and include Dong Bangda's West Lake scroll, catalogued in the *Song Yuan Ming Qing Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Xuanji 3* (宋元明清中國古代書畫選集三), Poly Art Museum (2011), no. 95; Qian Weicheng's *Imperial Poems on Touring West Lake in the Rhyme of Su Shi* 御製和蘇東坡遊西湖三首韻, in the Palace Museum, Beijing.

³⁰⁵ These painting are all found in the imperial collection and documented in the imperial inventory, *Shiqu Baoji* 石渠寶笈 (Treasures of the Stoney Moat) and *Shiqu Baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編 (Sequel to the Treasures of the Stoney Moat). The *Willow and Boat on West Lake* formerly attributed to Xia Gui and the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album attributed to Ye Xiao yan are both documented in the *Shiqu baoji xubian*. See *Shiqu Baoji xubian*, juan 4, in *Midian Zhulin Shiqu Baoji Huibian* 秘殿珠林石渠寶笈匯編 (Complete Compilation of Pearl Forest of the Secret Hall and Treasures of the Stoney Moat), vol. 6 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2004), 2722, 2729–30.

zhi, were also available in the imperial libraries.³⁰⁶ These works, representing the two readily available visual formats—the bird’s-eye panoramic and the close-up scenic—were at the disposal of Emperor Qianlong and his designated court painters.

In addition to this inventory, Emperor Qianlong’s grandfather, Kangxi, endowed him with a masterpiece of West Lake that is depicted in the third visual format: the linearized panoptic. Wang Yuanqi’s *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, now housed in the Liaoning Provincial Museum in Shenyang, is an adaptation of the format with touches of literati landscape styles (plate 2.32).

The entire painting is bisected into an upper part containing land and mountains and a lower part representing water. In this way, Wang Yuanqi takes the viewer on a tour around the lake from an intralake standpoint, starting from Qiantang Gate and ending with the neighboring Yongjin Gate. Thus, by attaching the beginning and ending sections of the scroll, the painting would form an oval that represents the entire shoreline of the lake, making it a panoptic device that would situate the viewer at the center, fully envisioning the lakeshores on the periphery.³⁰⁷ This technique of transforming the three-dimensional oval lake into a two-dimensional landscape painting is typical of the panoptic format. However, in Wang’s painting, closeup shots depicting the ten scenes of West Lake are inlaid in the panoptic panorama of the lakeshore. Each of the ten scenes is portrayed *in situ* and marked explicitly in written labels. While putting the ten views

³⁰⁶ *Sancai tuhui* was included in the *Siku quanshu* under *zibu* (子部, division of scholarly writings) and *Xihu youlan zhi* under *shibu* (史部, division of history).

³⁰⁷ A panopticon is a notion first laid out by Bentham that evolved into theories of disciplines and social order in Foucault’s writings. See Foucault on the panopticon, “Panopticism,” *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan trans. (New York: Pantheon, 1977).

together in one pictorial plane sacrifices the seasonality and temporality of certain scenes, it also accentuates the spatiality within a panoramic composition.

A number of stylistic similarities arise when comparing the Wang Yuanqi painting with the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* scroll. For example, the architecture, plants, and mountains are all depicted in a remarkably similar manner. Both paintings use long hemp-fiber *pima* (披麻) strokes on the mountains as an undertone to the short horizontal green strokes that represent the greenery (plate 5.8). Likewise, the distant mountains in the background are depicted with a washed blue-gray coloration that fades toward the foot (plate 5.8). With regard to architecture, the buildings and houses are all rendered in a simple, formulaic fashion with black contours, gray rooftops, and reddish walls (plate 5.8). Nonetheless, the stylistic reference to literati masters, such as Huang Gongwang in the Wang Yuanqi painting, is also noteworthy (plate 5.9), thus demonstrating Wang's training as a painter well versed in the brushwork of the past masters of literati painting.³⁰⁸

With this copious collection of West Lake paintings, Emperor Qianlong was already educated in the texts and images of the culture-laden site prior to his first trip. In addition, the emperor's West Lake illustrators had plenty of versatile sources as references. In 1750, a year before Emperor Qianlong's first southern inspection tour, he summoned Dong Bangda (董邦達, 1696–1769), then vice minister of the Ministry of Rites (禮部侍郎), who also specialized in

³⁰⁸ Chang Yun's thesis provides a convincing comparison of the stylistic elements in Wang Yuanqi's *West Lake* painting to Huang Gongwang. See Chang Yun, "Wang Yuanqi's Ten Views of West Lake," 2014.

painting, to complete a landscape of West Lake.³⁰⁹ In the inscription to Dong Bangda's final work, Emperor Qianlong wrote:

In the second month, I inspected the Yan [燕] and Jin [晉] Provinces. I personally ordered [Dong Bangda] to stay in the capital and compose [such a work] for my review. When I returned, the long scroll was completed. [The scenes of] Hangzhou is quietly lying on my desk. (Plate 5.10)

歲維二月巡燕晉，留京結撰親承旨。歸來長卷已構成，儼置餘杭在棐几。³¹⁰

The emperor then took this painting as one of his primary sources on the scenery of the lake. Still, with a little caution, he writes, “the painting could obtain the five levels of the charm [of the lake], a truly extraordinary and outstanding work. In the spring months of the coming year, I shall take lodge among the green mountains and personally investigate [*yinzheng*] if the painting is accurate” (明年春月駐翠華，親印證之究所以)。³¹¹

Then how did it turn out? On another West Lake album by Dong Bangda, the emperor wrote:

³⁰⁹ Dong Bangda was given the privilege to “present before the emperor” 御前行走 in 1747. In 1761, he was appointed Minister of Works 工部尚書 and then subsequently appointed in 1763 as Minister of Rites 禮部尚書. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 et al., *Qingshi Gao* 清史稿 (Draft of History of Qing, 1928), liezhuan 92, Minguo Qingshiguan ben 民國清史館本, 7b.

³¹⁰ This scroll is documented in the *Shiqu baoji xubian*, see *Midian Zhulin Shiqu Baoji Huibian*, vol. 5, 2213–14.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

During the Xinwei [1751] southern inspection tour, I took along several West Lake landscape paintings by Dong Bangda. Upon encountering a site, I would check [yinzheng] the painting against it. I am convinced that the painting fully conveyed the attractiveness [of the lake].

董邦達所畫西湖諸景，辛未南巡，攜之行笥，遇境輒相印證。信能曲盡其勝。³¹²

Dong Bangda's depiction of West Lake derived largely from artistic models of representation rather than from his observations of actual sites. Although he originated from Fuyang, a neighboring county of Qiantang, he did not have the opportunity to travel to West Lake to study the landscape while staying in Beijing.³¹³ His work was largely based on paintings within the imperial collection. Furthermore, the *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, created by his predecessor, Wang Yuanqi, offered an innovative visual format that engaged with the newly emerged linearized panoptic format at that time. Thus, with these visual models, Dong Bangda was capable of presenting a comprehensive view of the lake, which lent itself to actual sightseeing while staying in Beijing.

On the second inspection tour, which took place in the spring season of 1757, Emperor Qianlong took along the *West Lake* scroll attributed to Li Song (now in the Shanghai Museum). On it, he wrote:

³¹² This is inscribed on Dong Bangda's *Forty Views of West Lake*, now in private collection. See also *Shiqu Baoji Xubian, Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji*, vol 4, 707.

³¹³ West Lake belonged to the Qiantang County in the City of Hangzhou during the Qing dynasty. While Fuyang is a County was also a part of Hangzhou, it was approximately forty kilometers away from West Lake.

The site is in the painting, making it easier to unfold. The lake and mountains [in the painting and in reality] match each other's heavenly appearance. In the past six years, I have been thinking about the serene and elegant scenes day and night. When I have spare time, I would mute the swift pipes and intricate zithers to comb through the attractiveness [of the lake] in my mind. How can one tell the distances between the secluded sites? The pagoda was called Leifeng in its prime time. In the second month of the Dingchou year, I [the emperor] brushed it in the West Lake Palace.

境即圖中圖更披，湖山印證契神姿。六年寤寐遐不謂，一勺清冷宛若斯。每竊崇情
將妙理，寧關急管與繁絲。秘珍近遠如何答，塔是雷鋒好在時。丁丑二月題于西湖
行宮。³¹⁴

The idea of *yinzheng* (matching/testing/investigating) depicted scenes against geographic sites is crucial in understanding Emperor Qianlong's spectatorship of both painted and real landscapes. The sites were observed to test whether the paintings were accurate, and the paintings were scrutinized to refresh the emperor's experience with the sites. In this sense, the actual scenery of West Lake and its depicted view collaborated to shape the *image* of the lake for the emperor.

His final vision of the lake is visualized in two paintings depicted by the emperor himself. A West Lake handscroll, titled *Yuxing hushan* (寓興湖山, Dwelling in the lake and mountains),

³¹⁴ This poem was also recorded in *Shiqu baoji xubian, Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji*, vol. 6. 3188.

now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, was executed in the sixth month of the year 1784, when the emperor was seventy-three years old (plate 5.11). Three months earlier, the emperor had just returned from his final southern tour, where he spent a week in Hangzhou.³¹⁵ Now, the emperor was in his summer villa near Beijing, recalling the charming scenery of West Lake from his memories. He wrote, “I have depicted West Lake quite a number of times yet could not fully express its charm. In this long summer, I finally completed this scroll and brushed a poem of Huxin Pavilion on it” (西湖圖屢寫，莫盡其妙。長夏幾餘，復成是卷並出湖心亭作於上).³¹⁶

The ink-monochromatic landscape painting presents a view from the emperor’s exclusive viewpoint on Gushan Islet, representing a level-distance/semi-bird’s-eye view seen from the north. This direction of vision was not novel.³¹⁷ However, the emperor’s vista sprang from a lower and closer point of view. If one stood in the position of the painter and looked down at the bottom part of the scroll, the most immediate scene one would see would be the Huxin Pavilion. Farther away, looking across the lake, one would encounter the Leifeng Pagoda. On the right, one can see Sudi the Causeway under Beigao and Nangao Peaks. To the left of the viewer, Mt. Wu and Mt. Phoenix are enclosed within the city wall.

³¹⁵ Zhao Erxun et al, “Gaozong Benji” 高宗本紀 (Biography of Emperor Gaozong), 5, *Qingshi gao*, benji 14, 14b.

³¹⁶ The painting is documented in the *Shiqu Baoji Sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編 (Treasures of the Stoney Moat, third anthology), see *Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji*, vol. 12, 4330.

³¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter 1, the Baochu Peak and the Gelin Hills to the north of the lake were popular sightseeing spots in which to view West Lake in its entirety. However, a panoramic view of the lake from the Baochu Peak and the Gelin Hills would incorporate the Gushan Islet and Baidi Causeways. The main difference between a view from the Baochu/Gelin and the painting lies in the lower vantage point and the omission of Gushan and Baidi. Therefore, this perspective depicted in the painting of emperor Qianlong is a view taken from the Gushan Peak, within the imperial compound.

In fact, it is precisely the view from Gushan Islet, a perfect illustration of the emperor's own poem written during his first trip summarizing the view from West Lake Palace: "Looking across, the pagoda shows its slender shape; looking down, the boats stir up endless waves in the water" (plate 5.12).³¹⁸ The unprecedented vision presented in this painting elucidates an exclusive viewpoint on Gushan Peak from within the imperial garden compound. The Manchu ruler's inspection of the lake was rooted in a recently constructed structure that held tight control over the lake. In this sense, this painting presents a private and personal view that grants us a peek into the emperor's own perspective.

A painting of identical scale, size, composition, and style can be found in the oeuvre of Emperor Qianlong. Done four years after the aforementioned scroll, the new scroll, titled *Yuyi gouliu* (寓意勾留, Thinking about lingering in Hangzhou), also in the Palace Museum, Beijing, bears exactly the same seals in identical places as the first scroll (plate 5.13).³¹⁹ One can assume that the emperor had executed a series of West Lake landscape scrolls in a formulaic way yet preserved only these two creations.³²⁰ In the *Yuyi gouliu* scroll, the viewpoint is again on Gushan Islet, and the direction of the gaze is still pointed toward the Leifeng Pagoda. In the painting, the imperial artist wrote, "I have depicted several times the places where I rest and recline in Gushan. This time, while residing in Panshan, I once again portrayed this" (孤山睡坐, 凡屢成圖

³¹⁸ See note 9.

³¹⁹ See *Shiqu baoji sanbian, Midian Zhulin Shiqu Baoji*, vol.9, 1252.

³²⁰ On the 22nd day of the fourth month of 1784, during Emperor Qianlong's last southern tour, he sent "two imperially brushed West Lake handscrolls" 御筆西湖圖手卷二張 to the Suzhou *zhizao* bureau to be mounted. These two scrolls, if indeed brushed by the emperor, add two more West Lake depictions to his oeuvre. See *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan 47, 529.

, 茲駐田盤, 遂再寫弄).³²¹ This time, the emperor is in his villa in Mt. Pan (盤山, present-day Tianjin), just 100 km west of the Forbidden City and a place he frequented during his reign. He composed this scroll while recalling the vista from Gushan Islet. According to the *Zaobanchu* (造辦處, imperial workshops) archives, in 1784 alone, the emperor completed at least four handscrolls of West Lake without much variation.³²² This vision—reinforced multiple times through artistic exploration—presents the emperor’s final view of the lake.

As such, Emperor Qianlong’s vision of West Lake was first derived from landscape paintings that he had seen before witnessing the lake in person; his earliest vision of the lake thus relied on Dong Bangda and earlier painters’ representations of the site. The emperor then matched these images with sites that he personally saw during his trips to West Lake. Bringing landscape paintings of West Lake to his tours was a way to validate (*yinzheng*) them. During his trips, he utilized itinerary maps to facilitate his tours. Finally, when the emperor returned from his sightseeing tours, he conveyed his vision in landscape paintings. Thus, the imageries of West Lake initiated, shaped, altered, and finalized his experience of the lake before, during, and after his trips.

4.3. Revisiting West Lake: The Emperor’s Tours

During each of the six trips to Hangzhou, Emperor Qianlong would spend a week or so on West Lake sightseeing, touring, and appreciating the spring season in Jiangnan. The imperial visitor’s

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

routes commenced from the emperor's lodge and followed several itineraries before finally returning to the emperor's residence(s).

These imperial routes were documented in illustrated handscrolls in the form of texts and images. These handscrolls, called *Xinggong daoli tushuo* (行宮道里圖說, annotated itinerary maps starting from the imperial lodges), facilitated the emperor's West Lake tours like guides while also demonstrating various features of landscape paintings. These itinerary maps were commissioned just before the emperor's southern tours, as indicated by several records of the Yutu Fang (輿圖房, Workshop of Cartography) of Zaobanchu.³²³ Many of these itinerary maps are now extant in museums and libraries across the world. In the following section, I will discuss three sets, each from the National Library of China, the West Lake Museum, and the British Library.

One example of the imperial itinerary maps is the *Xihu xinggong tu* (西湖行宮圖, Painting of West Lake Palace), in the National Library of China, dating to the 1770s (plate 5.14).

³²³ In 1760, the *Yutu fang* received an album of *Ancient Sites in Jiangnan* 江南古迹考 (Research on ancient traces in Jiangnan). Then, in 1761, one year before Emperor Qianlong's third southern tour, the *Yutu fang* submitted two dozen itinerary maps designed for the tour. Among these, five are related to the scenery of Hangzhou and West Lake: *Scenic Attractions Itinerary Map of the Provincial City of Zhejiang* (浙江省城名勝道里圖), *Zhejiang Hangzhou Temporary Palace* (浙江杭州行宮圖), *Map of Longjing, in book bind* (龍井圖一摺), Two albums of *New Scenic Sites of Jiangnan* (新葺江南名勝圖二冊), and an album of *Old Scenic Sites of Jiangnan* (舊葺江南名勝圖一冊). See *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan 26, 147, 27, 242–3. In the year 1765, the *Yutu fang* received eight more sets of maps and itinerary maps related to Hangzhou: *Map of Hangzhou* (an album of eleven pages), *Map of Zhejiang* (handscroll), *Map of Hangzhou* (two handscrolls), *Map of West Lake* (two handscrolls), *Provincial City of Zhejiang* (handscroll), *Itinerary Maps of West Lake* (five sets), *Map of Jiangnan* (17 albums), and *Scenic Attractions in Jiangnan* (album). *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan 28, 472. Please note that the “maps” here are all coined “tu” in Chinese. The word “tu” in this context, could refer to maps or other kinds of pictures, including landscape paintings.

It is now mounted as a handscroll with alternating images and texts incorporating five sections, each with some texts and illustrations. The images were painted in color on silk, while the texts were written in ink on paper. The original format was in a *zhejing* (folding) book binding, which was later remounted into a handscroll of five sections (routes). This work was among the many itinerary maps of West Lake produced by the Yutu Fang.³²⁴

In the handscroll, each of the five sections starts from an imperial lodging place, takes a tour of West Lake, and ends at an imperial lodge (plate 5.15). The routes are as follows:

Section 1: West Lake Palace-Spring Dawn at Sudi-Watching Fish at Flower Harbor-Mountain cottage in Yuhang 留餘山居—Fayun Monastery 法雲寺—Hupao Monastery—Stone-house Cave 石屋洞—Li'an Monastery 理安寺—Longjing Monastery—Jingci Monastery—Fuwen School 敷文書院—Watch Tower on Mt. Wu—Taiping Fang (Hangzhou Palace);

Section 2: West Lake Palace—Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing Courtyard—Fish jumping in the Jade spring 玉泉魚躡—Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds --Yunlin Monastery 雲林寺—Taoguang Temple 韜光庵—Upper Tianzhu Monastery 上天竺;

Section 3: Hangzhou Palace—Zongyang Palace 宗陽宮—Campground 教場—Duan Bridge—Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake—West Lake Palace;

³²⁴ Beijing Library and Philip K. Hu, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library, 2000), 189–191.

Section 4: Hangzhou Palace—Houchao Gate 侯潮門—Zhejiang River Autumn Tide 浙

江秋濤-Mt. Pheonix—Song Taizu Shrine 宋太祖祠—Tudi Shrine 土地廟—Baita Peak 白塔峰

—Liuhe Pagoda 六合塔—Xu Village 許村—Mt. Wuyun 五雲山—Courtyard beneath where the

clouds rest(yunqi xiayuan 雲棲下院)—Qifo Monastery 七佛寺—Sanju Pavilion 三聚亭—

Yunqi Monastery 雲棲寺;

Section 5: West Lake Palace—(via boat)—Listening to Orioles amid Billowing

Willows—Moon Reflected on Three Ponds—Huxin Pavilion- Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi

Causeway—Mt. Yitian 一天山—West Lake Palace.

Altogether, the five itineraries encompass all the famous sites surrounding West Lake, including the ten scenes of West Lake and most of the North Mountain and South Mountain routes. Each section represents a half-day to one-day tour that allowed the emperor to savor the beauty of the lake without having to rush the process. Each itinerary starts from an imperial palace (either of the two *xinggong* palaces) and is completed at a lodging place (either of the two *xinggong* palaces). The distances between each site were meticulously calculated and outlined in writing on the maps, giving the royal tourists and entourage sufficient information to plan and execute each trip.

The maps are painted with ink and color on paper. The natural elements (mountains, water, and plants) refer to landscape paintings with the use of textured strokes, color gradation, and a level-distance perspective. Comparing this map to Dong Bangda's *West Lake* painting, one

finds that the treatment of mountains and architecture is similar, particularly in the use of the typical long hemp-fiber strokes on the mountains, with short horizontal strokes and dots to indicate texture and vegetation. The itinerary maps also adopt a consistent level-distance perspective instead of the bird's-eye view commonly seen in maps. Emperor Qianlong brought paintings of West Lake—Dong Bangda's in particular—on his southern inspection tours, where he would “check the painting against the sites.”³²⁵ The itinerary maps' stylistic reference to Dong Bangda's works could fittingly cater to the emperor's taste in landscape paintings of West Lake while functioning as practical tourist guides.

Similarly, another set of itinerary maps, now in the British Library, serves a more functional role as route guides. The *Xinggong daoli tushuo* (行宮道里圖說, Annotated and illustrated itinerary maps of West Lake), consists of the following five route maps (plate 5.16):

1. 87 × 13.5 (fourteen leaves), Hangzhou Palace—Houchao Gate—Wangjiang Pavilion 望江樓—Liuhe Pagoda—Yunqi Monastery
2. 49 × 13 (eight leaves), Hangzhou Palace—Qiantang Gate—Baidi Causeway—Gushan Islet—West Lake Palace
3. 24.5 × 13.5 (four leaves), West Lake Palace—(via water)—Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows—Moon Reflected on Three Ponds—Huxin Pavilion—Sudi Causeway—Mt. Yitian

³²⁵ Emperor Qianlong's inscription on Dong Bangda's *Forty Scenes of West Lake* goes: “During the 1751 southern inspection tour, I brought along scenes of West Lake painted by Dong Bangda in my carriage. When I encounter a site, I would check the painting against it (董邦達所畫西湖諸景, 辛未南巡, 攜之行笥, 遇境輒相印證). *Midian Zhulin Shiqu Baoji Huibian 4, Shiqu Baoji Xubian 2*, 707.

4. 50.5 × 13.5 (eight leaves), West Lake Palace—Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing
Courtyard—Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds—Yunlin Monastery 雲林寺—Tianzhu

Monasteries

5. 50 × 13.5 (eight leaves), West Lake Palace—Sudi Causeway—Viewing Fish at Flower
Harbor—Jingci Monastery—Fuwen School—Fengshan Gate 鳳山門—Mt. Wu—

Hangzhou Palace

Unlike the level perspective in the other sections, section 3 takes a bird's-eye view of the entire lake and surroundings. On the route map, important sites and locations are marked in writing, while routes between certain sites are linked by golden lines. The distances between some sites are marked on stickers attached as horizontal labels onto the map, three of which currently remain.³²⁶

All the maps are depicted with ink and color on paper. On four of the five itinerary maps, the sites are represented from a level perspective. The horizontal scroll unfolds section by section like a handscroll, indicating a right-to-left motion in viewing. Yet the writings on the maps necessitate another way of viewing, as all the characters are written in a perpendicular left-right direction (plate 5.17). Thus, to read the words properly, the maps must be tilted by ninety degrees (plate 5.18). In this way, the beginning of the horizontal scroll (the right side) becomes the bottom of a vertical scroll. Now, as each page unfolds, the viewer's eyes move vertically from the bottom of the scroll all the way up. In doing so, the viewer mimics a journey in the real world. As the viewer walks forward, he or she also moves upward in the vertical itinerary map.

³²⁶ Some of the stickers are not placed correctly, and this may have been due to the subsequent remounting and conservation of the scrolls.

These route maps functioned similarly to the street view in Google Maps (plate 5.19). By following the route and proceeding accordingly, the destination will be on the viewer's left or right side. The deliberate redirection of writings betrays a way of reading the maps in a vertical manner that simulates the actual amblings of a visitor.

Xihu xingong tu (西湖行宮圖, West Lake temporary imperial palace), a scroll in the West Lake Museum in Hangzhou, is another pictorial route map of a similar kind. It was signed by Guan Huai (關槐, 1749–1806), a high-ranking official in Emperor Qianlong's court, who also worked as a painter for the emperor.³²⁷ Now mounted as a handscroll, the painting is composed of five parts (plate 5.20):

1. A scenic map of West Lake
2. A route map from Hangzhou Place to West Lake Palace via Qiantang Gate (route 1)
3. A route map from West Lake Palace to Hangzhou Palace via the Sudi Causeway (route 2), South Mountain route and Fengshan Gate, which also includes a route to the Longjing and Li'an Monasteries on the westside of the lake (route 3)
4. A route map from Hangzhou Palace to Kaihua and Yunqi Monasteries via Houchao Gate (route 4)
5. A route map from West Lake Palace to the three Tianzhu monasteries (route 5)

On the route maps, basic scenic elements such as buildings, bridges, temples, mountains, trees, and water are outlined in simple forms. The mountains are depicted in green and blue

³²⁷ Guan Huai was a native of Hangzhou. As the *Gazetteer of Hangzhou Prefecture* indicates, "During the 1776 southern tour, he ranked first in exam. He then gradually achieved the status of Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites." *Gazetteer of Hangzhou Prefecture* (杭州府志, Hangzhou Fuzhi), juan 146.

colors, the architecture is painted with touches of red, and water is presented in hues of washed light blue. Using ink, texts are written in standard script to indicate place names and distances between sites. Short parallel strokes on the main road highlight the path designed for the imperial procession. Only the sites along the main road are marked, while other roads and sites that are not viewable from the main route are eliminated for convenience.

The National Library set, the British Library album, and the West Lake Museum scroll share many features. First, the routes in the three sets overlap (see plate 5.21). Second, the British Library set and the West Lake Museum scroll both have scenic maps of the entire lake as an overview, which may have been attached at the beginning. Third, all three sets are depicted in similar color schemes and brushwork, indicating authorship of the same workshop in the Yutu Fang of Zaobanchu. Fourth, the National Library and the British Library sets were both originally mounted as folding book-bind scrolls of a comparable size (13.5 cm in width). This smaller size, compared with the 34.5 cm-wide Guan Huai scroll in the West Lake Museum, along with the accordion-style mounting, makes the two scrolls much more portable and practical for tourists.

Plate 5.22 presents the itineraries of the imperial entourage of the first southern tour, as documented in the *Nanxun Shengdian*.³²⁸ The emperor's five-day itinerary is recorded as:

Hangzhou Palace—Zongyang Palace—Campground—Dafo Monastery—Duan Bridge—Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge—Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake—Releasing the Crane at the Plum tree forest 梅林歸鶴—West Lake Palace;

³²⁸ This image was created using ArcGis based on the *Chengtu* 程塗 (itinerary) illustration in Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 92, 41-44.

West Lake Palace—Breeze among the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard—Fish jumping in the Jade spring—Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds—Yunlin Monastery—Taoguang Temple—Upper Monastery—West Lake Palace;

West Lake Palace—[via boat]—Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge—Little Youtian Garden 小有天園—Moon Reflected on Three Ponds—Huxin Pavilion—Sounding the zither at plaintain stone 蕉石鳴琴—West Lake Palace;

West Lake Palace—The sunny rainbow at Jade-Belt Bridge 玉帶晴虹—Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway—Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor—Mountain cottage in Yuhang—Fayun Monastery—Hupao Spring—Li'an Monastery—Longjing—Glow of Sunset upon Leifeng Peak—Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain—Fuwen School—Fengshan Gate—Mt. Wu—Hangzhou Palace;

Hangzhou Palace—Houchao Gate—Zhejiang River Autumn Tide—Mt. Pheonix—Liuhe Pagoda—Yunqi Monastery—Fengshan Gate—Hangzhou Palace.

This matches exactly the itineraries demonstrated in the British Library set (see table 4.1). As such, the three sets are similar in that they are all pictorial itinerary maps designed for imperial tours and produced from an imperial workshop; however, they differ slightly in terms of function. These images simplify West Lake's scenery into formulated routes, thereby determining where the target viewer (in this case, the emperor) should be and what he would see, as well as regulating the emperor's vision of the lake as such.

Table 4.1. Comparison of routes demonstrated in the National Library set of itinerary maps and *Nanxun shengdian*.

Itinerary represented in <i>Xihu Xinggong tu</i>	Imperial itinerary in <i>Nanxun shengdian</i>
<p>(Section 3)</p> <p>Hangzhou Palace</p> <p>Zongyang Palace</p> <p>Campground</p> <p>Duan Bridge</p> <p>Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p>	<p>(Day 1)</p> <p>Hangzhou Palace</p> <p>Zongyang Palace</p> <p>Campground</p> <p>Dafo Monastery</p> <p>Duan Bridge</p> <p>Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake</p> <p>Releasing the Crane at the Plum Tree Forest</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p>
<p>(Section 2)</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p> <p>Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing</p> <p>Courtyard</p> <p>Fish Jumping in the Jade spring</p> <p>Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds</p> <p>Yunlin Monastery</p> <p>Taoguang Temple</p> <p>Upper Tianzhu Monastery</p>	<p>(Day 2)</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p> <p>Breeze among the Lotus of Brewing</p> <p>Courtyard</p> <p>Fish Jumping in the Jade spring</p> <p>Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds</p> <p>Yunlin Monastery</p> <p>Taoguang Temple</p> <p>Upper Tianzhu Monastery</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p>

<p>(Section 5)</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p> <p>[via water]</p> <p>Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows</p> <p>Moon Reflected on Three Ponds</p> <p>Huxin Pavilion</p> <p>Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway</p> <p>Mt. Yitian</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p>	<p>(Day 3)</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p> <p>[via water]</p> <p>Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge</p> <p>Little Youtian Garden</p> <p>Moon Reflected on Three Ponds</p> <p>Huxin Pavilion</p> <p>Sounding the Zither at Plantain Stone</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p>
<p>(Section 1)</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p> <p>Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway</p> <p>Watching Fish at Flower Harbor</p> <p>Mountain Cottage in Yuhang</p> <p>Fayun Monastery</p> <p>Hupao Monastery</p> <p>Stone-House Cave</p> <p>Li'an Monastery</p> <p>Longjing Monastery</p> <p>Jingci Monastery</p> <p>Fuwen School</p> <p>Watch Tower on Mt. Wu</p>	<p>(Day 4)</p> <p>West Lake Palace</p> <p>The Sunny Rainbow at Jade-belt Bridge</p> <p>Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway</p> <p>Watching Fish at Flower Harbor</p> <p>Mountain Cottage in Yuhang</p> <p>Fayun Monastery</p> <p>Hupao Spring</p> <p>Li'an Monastery</p> <p>Longjing</p> <p>Glow of Sunset upon Leifeng Peak</p> <p>Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain</p> <p>Fuwen School</p>

Table 4.1 (continued).

Taiping Fang (Hangzhou Palace)	Fengshan Gate Mt. Wu Hangzhou Palace
(Section 4) Hangzhou Palace Houchao Gate Zhejiang River Autumn Tide Mt. Pheonix Song Taizu Shrine Tudi Shrine Baita Peak Liuhe Pagoda Xu Village Mt. Wuyun Courtyard Beneath where the Clouds Rest Qifo Monastery Sanju Pavilion Yunqi Monastery	(Day 5) Hangzhou Palace Houchao Gate Zhejiang River Autumn Tide Mt. Pheonix Liuhe Pagoda Yunqi Monastery Fengshan Gate Hangzhou Palace

Table 4.1 (continued).

4.4. Reorienting West Lake: Imperial Trip and Mass Tourism

The emperor, however, was never a passive follower of such a design, and these planned trips and intended visions were only part of his vista of the lake. While being the inspector of the lake and its images, the emperor also demonstrates his unique presence. Furthermore, the routes designed for his tours—and the visions planned for his witnesses—were showcased to the public via various media, thus impacting the mass in ways that the emperor desired.

The emperor's viewpoints and itineraries became the new orbits for navigating sites surrounding West Lake. Before the Qianlong tours, to best suit the needs of a typical tourist in West Lake, the Ming dynasty gazetteers and tourist guidebooks, arranged sites in a particular order: starting near the Qiantang Gate and circumscribing the lake from northeast to southwest in a counterclockwise direction before concluding near Yongjin Gate. This order placed the North Mountain route first, followed by the Gushan route and the West Mountain route (西山路, *Xishan lu*), eventually consummating at the South Mountain route. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, a curfew was in effect, forbidding both entry to and exit from the city after sunset.³²⁹ As such, each route designed for a typical tourist of Hangzhou was mostly one-day tours. Such routes were not applicable for the imperial tours as the emperor needed to commute between Gushan Islet and the Hangzhou Palace within Yongjin Gate. As the emperor's residence, the West Lake Palace on Gushan Islet was formally ranked first among all the sites in every official

³²⁹ Zhang Dai deliberately exited the city just before curfew and stayed the whole night on the lake just to avoid the crowd. As he was departing the city, the crowds were huddling to enter the gates before shutdown. See Zhang Dai, "Xihu Qiyue ban," *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 7, *Tao An Mengyi Xihu Mengxun*, 83–84. A Jesuit missionary also mentioned a strict curfew in Hangzhou during the 1870s. David Nelson Lyon, *Hangchow Journal of 1870* (Pebble Beach, CA: White Cloud Papers, 1937), 22.

gazetteer or picture album published in the Qianlong reign.³³⁰ This new organization of sites deviates from the Ming tradition. Listing the West Lake Palace in the first place not only positions the emperor's standpoint as the most superior spot overlooking the entire domain but also marks the starting point of an exclusively imperial journey.

In addition to the officially published documents, such as the *Nanxun Shengdian*, the *Xihu zhizuan* (西湖志纂, Revised gazetteer of West Lake), and the several *Nanxun tu* (南巡圖, Southern inspection tour) scrolls that commemorate the southern tours, some locally published *mingsheng* gazetteers (or tourist guidebooks per function) also represent the imperial footprints on paper.³³¹ In an 1875 reprint of a 1765 edition of a West Lake scenic gazetteer called *Hushan bianlan* (湖山便覽, Portable guide to West Lake at a glance), the imperial influence is manifested in three ways.³³² First, the site organization considers the location of the imperial

³³⁰ These includes the *Xihu zhi* by Li Wei, *Xihu Zhizuan* 西湖志纂 by Liang Shizheng 梁詩正, *Nanxun shengdian* by Gao Jin and *Hushan Bianlan* by the Zhai 翟 brothers. Li Wei et al., *Xihu Zhi* 西湖志 (Gazetteer of West Lake, 1731); Liang Shizheng et al., eds., *Xihu Zhizuan* 西湖志纂 (Annotated gazetteer of West Lake, preface dated 1755), *Siku quanshu* electronic version; Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*; Zhai Hao 翟灏, Zhai Han 翟瀚, *Hushan Bianlan* 湖山便覽 (Handy Guide to the Lake and mountains, 1875), Huaiyin tang chongding ben 槐蔭堂重訂本 (Edited reprint of Huaiyin Tang), in the collection of Waseda University Library.

³³¹ These gazetteers include the *Pingshan tang tuzhi* 平山堂圖志 (Illustrated Gazetteer of the Pingshan Hall), *Jinshan zhi* 金山志 (Gazetteer of Jinshan), *Huqiushan zhi* 虎丘山志 (Gazetteer of Tiger Hill), and a gazetteer of West Lake, the *Hushan Bianlan*. Zhao Zhibi 趙之璧, *Pingshan tang tuzhi* 平山堂圖志 (Illustrated Gazetteer of the Pingshan Hall, 1765), Qing Qianlong kanben 清乾隆刊本 (Qianlong reign print); Lu Jianzeng 盧見曾, *Jinshan zhi* 金山志 (Gazetteer of Jinshan, 1762), Qing Qianlong kanben 清乾隆刊本 (Qianlong reign print); Gu Yilu 顧詒祿, *Huqiushan zhi* 虎丘山志 (Gazetteer of Tiger Hill, 1767), Qing Qianlong keben 清乾隆刻本 (Qianlong block-printed edition).

³³² *Chongke Hushan Bianlan* 重刻湖山便覽 (Reprinted Handy Guide to the Lake and Mountains) was published in 1875 by Wang Weihuan 王維翰 of Huaiyin Tang 槐蔭堂. It is a reprint of the 1765 *Hushan Bianlan* by the Zhai

temporary palaces and the routes of imperial tours. The first entry of the pilot volume is Shengyin Monastery, located within the West Lake Palace, built to enshrine Emperor Kangxi. The second entry is West Lake Palace per se. Then, the “Summary of the Lake” (湖總敘) followed by a “Summary of the Mountains” (山總敘) serve as introductions to the basic geographic features of West Lake. The following volumes are dedicated to the scenic sites on Gushan Islet, the North Mountain route, the South Mountain route, and the Mt. Wushan route. The reason for this arrangement is explicitly stated in the following editorial guide:

Zhou Wu’s *Wulin jiushi* describes the scenic views of West Lake, premiering the South Mountain route followed by Gushan and then North Mountain. Tian Rucheng’s gazetteer prioritizes Gushan Islet, followed by South Mountain, North Mountain, and then Mt. Wu. Now, as the Gushan Islet houses the temporary imperial palace, it is more appropriate to be ranked first. Furthermore, North Mountain is adjacent to Gushan, and South Mountain is connected to Mt. Wu. Therefore, under Gushan, North Mountain should follow, then South Mountain, and then Mt. Wu.³³³

brothers, Zhai Hao 翟灝 and Zhai Han 翟瀚. The discussion is based on a copy that is kept at the Waseda University Library.

³³³ Wang Weihang, “Editorial Guide,” *Chongke Hushan Bianlan*, juan 1.

周氏《武林舊事》所述湖山勝概，先南山次孤山次北山。田《志》先孤山次南山次北山次吳山。今孤山恭建行宮，愈宜首列，而北山與孤山鄰近，南山與吳山貫聯。故孤山下即次以北山，然後列南山以及吳山。

This Gushan-North-South-Mt. Wu order in listing scenic sites in the new gazetteer does more than ranking the imperial palace in the first and foremost place. This order also reflects a typical imperial tour, a route linking West Lake Palace to Hangzhou Palace, as portrayed in the itinerary map albums.³³⁴

The 1765 *Hushan bianlan* and the 1604 *Xihu bianlan* are two “portable” and handy tourist guides to West Lake that are comparable in several aspects.³³⁵ However, predominant political overtones persist throughout the entire *Hushan bianlan*: “The imperial palace on Gushan is the topmost place of interest” (行宮冠絕編于首), “Imperially commissioned plaques are located in situ to commemorate and enlighten the scenic sites” (御題匾額隨地恭紀以昭盛概), and “imperially composed poems and writings thoroughly illuminate the lake and mountains” (御制詩文充耀湖岫).³³⁶ In the ten illustrations of each of the ten scenes of West

³³⁴ This route is approximately represented in each of the three sets of *daoli tu* route maps: in the first route map in the National Museum set, the fifth in the British Library set, and the third in the West Lake Museum painting.

³³⁵ Regarding the dates and various editions of *Xihu Bianlan*, see Ma Meng-ching, “*Mingshengzhi Huo Lvyou Shu*,” 119–120 and note 97.

³³⁶ Qian Weicheng, “Original Introduction” 原序, In *Chongke Hushan Bianlan*, juan 1.

Lake, imperial presence is highlighted in the form of imperial pavilions or sites renovated using government/court funding.

The book is a privately sponsored publication “intended as a vernacular account merely for carrying on a tourist trip” (短書俗記仅供遊歷挾持).³³⁷ Yet in every way, it is a representation of West Lake basking in the halo of the Manchu emperors. The typical West Lake tour represented in the Ming Dynasty commercial appropriations of the *Xihu youlan zhi* (e.g., the *Xihu bianlan* and *Hainei qiguan*) is now transformed into a manual for retracing the imperial path. Following this virtual tour, one sees West Lake remodeled as an imperial garden of leisure and sightseeing. The *Hushan bianlan* volumes are an addition to the official documentation of the imperial southern tours. This work targets a mass readership with lesser quality and fewer illustrations. At the same time, it helps common tourists orient their sightseeing trips while tracing the omnipresence of the Manchu rulers. Thus, in the form of an abbreviated sightseeing gazetteer of West Lake, the exclusive imperial tours are engraved upon the landscape of West Lake and assimilated in the tours of the mass population.

4.5. Inscribing West Lake: Traces of the Manchu Conquerors

The means by which Manchu emperors modified the culturally loaded landscape of West Lake into a site of imperial control took at least three major steps: leaving marks on the actual landscape of West Lake, visualizing the politically inscribed landscape in words and images, and occupying the lake in visual and textual means. Since Emperor Kangxi’s first southern tour, the Manchu court had designated considerable time, capital, and labor for the administration of the

³³⁷ Ibid.

lake in question.³³⁸ After three generations of effort, the lake has been profoundly reshaped such that present-day Hangzhou has been overwhelmingly associated with the Qing dynasty emperors.³³⁹ This section concentrates on the three steps taken to analyze the control and influence exerted by Manchu conquerors over West Lake.

Emperor Kangxi's Monuments in situ and on Paper

During Emperor Kangxi's six southern tours to Hangzhou, he inscribed West Lake prodigiously. His influence on the landscape was three pronged. First, he regulated the names, locations, and orders of the famed ten scenes of West Lake theme.³⁴⁰ More than six hundred years had passed

³³⁸ To accommodate Kangxi's southern tours, the lake had gone through serious renovation. New buildings were also constructed to facilitate imperial tours including the West Lake Palace on Gushan Islet. During the Yongzheng reign, Li Wei was the most prominent figure in supervising the building of new structures on West Lake. Around 1730, he finished dredging the lake and added numerous new structures which include the Jade-belt Bridge 玉帶橋, Holy Shrine of the Lake and Mountain 湖山神廟, Shrine of Li Wenxiang gong 李文襄公祠 etc., see (Qianlong) *Hangzhou Fuzhi*, juan 6. 6b; juan 8, 17a; juan 8, 32a. Also see Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 102, 103.

³³⁹ Stelae bearing inscriptions of Emperor Qianlong were re-erected in situ near West Lake and other places in Hangzhou. Wooden placards inscribed by the Qing emperors were either preserved or remade to hang on the entrances of buildings. Hangzhou's cuisine, such as the famous Shrimp of Longjing and the Qianlong Fish Head, is largely associated with tales of Qianlong. In 2017, a special exhibition held at the Zhejiang Museum focused on Emperor Qianlong and his fondness of Hangzhou, revealing several aspects of the emperor to the masses. The exhibition, entitled "Son of Heaven in High Qing: A Special Exhibition of Qing Gaozong Qianlong 盛世天子:清高宗乾隆皇帝特展," is situated in the West Lake gallery of the Zhejiang Museum. The museum is located in what used to be the West Lake Palace. For the exhibition's website, see <http://www.zhejiangmuseum.com/express/qianlong/qianlong.jsp#main>

³⁴⁰ As *Nanxun shengdian* records, "In the thirty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign, the Shengzu Ren emperor visited West Lake, inscribing "Spring Dawn at Sudi Causeway" and prioritizing this site as the first of the Ten Scenes. Furthermore, he constructed the Pavilion of the Light of Dawn to the left, "康熙三十八年, 聖祖仁皇帝臨幸. 御書 '蘇堤春曉' 為十景之首. 並構曙霞亭于左"; "Shengzu Ren Emperor visited West Lake, inscribed 'Listening to Oriel,' constructed a pavilion, built boat-pavilions on the shore, and erected stone fences on the dike. 聖祖仁皇帝臨幸, 御書 '柳浪聞鶯' 匾額, 並建亭構, 舫平臨湖, 曲架石梁于堤上"; "Imperially transcribed placard 'Watching Fish at Flower Harbor' is hung on the sacred site 御書 '花港觀魚' 匾額, 恭懸勝境"; "Shengzu Ren emperor personally spilled ink, changing the name to 'Breeze and Lotus at Qu Garden' and constructed a pavilion west of Kuahong Bridge. 聖祖仁皇帝親灑宸翰, 改為 '曲院風荷,' 並構亭于跨虹橋之西"; "Shengzu Ren Emperor visited West Lake, changing 'two peaks' to 'twin peaks,' and constructed a pavilion near Xingchun Bridge. 聖祖仁皇帝臨幸西

since the Southern Song poets and painters had established this theme, and in the intervening six centuries, the landscape of West Lake had changed dramatically. To accommodate the new landscape of the lake while inheriting the traditional theme, Emperor Kangxi personally set up new canons that homogenized the interpretation of the ten scenes. In particular, he renamed certain sites, pinned down the locations of some scenes, framed the views from designated vantage points, and altered the sequence of the ten scenes.

Second, and more remarkably, he transcribed the names of the ten scenes and had them inscribed on stone stelae, which were erected near the respective sites. He altogether wrote nineteen plaques (額), twelve stone stelae (including the ten scenes and two monasteries), three couplets, and numerous poems that were later transcribed in various media.³⁴¹ The plaques were hung on entrances of scenic sites and halls, and the stone stelae were placed in situ (plate 5.23).

Third, pavilions or other architectural structures were constructed to protect and enshrine the stone stelae or other forms of bearers of imperially transcribed texts. Several photos

湖, 易‘兩峰’‘為’‘雙峰,’ 構亭于行春橋側”; “Shengzu Ren Emperor changed ‘twilight’ to ‘west light.’ 聖祖仁皇帝易‘夕照’為‘西照’”; “Shengzu Ren Emperor imperially transcribed ‘Moon Reflected on the Three Ponds’ and constructed a Pavilion of Stele north of the pond. 聖祖仁皇帝御書‘三潭印月’匾額, 並建碑亭于池北”; “Shengzu Ren Emperor visited West Lake, imperially transcribed ‘Autumn Moon on Calm Lake’ and constructed a pavilion. 聖祖仁皇帝巡幸西湖, 御書‘平湖秋月’匾額, 建亭”; “Shengzu Ren Emperor transcribed ‘Evening Bell at Mt. Nanping.’ 聖祖仁皇帝御書‘南屏晚鐘’匾額”; “Shengzu Ren Emperor transcribed ‘Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge,’ and constructed a pavilion on the bridge. 聖祖仁皇帝御書‘斷橋殘雪’匾額, 建亭橋上”; *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 102. According to *Wulin jinshi ji*, the Evening Bell at Mt. Nanping scene was changed to Morning Bell at Mt. Nanping. Emperor Qianlong also wrote extensively to explain that “morning” was not a typo of his grandfather. However, in the *Nanxun Shengdian*, the writer decided to switch back to “evening bell” to avoid any controversies. Ding Jing (丁敬, 1695–1765), “*Wulin Jinshi ji* 武林金石記, *Xihu Wenxian Jicheng Xuji* 西湖文獻集成續輯, vol. 1,” in *Hangzhou Quanshu* 杭州全書, eds. Wang Guoping, Liu Ying (Hangzhou: Hangzhou Chubanshe, 2012), 20.

³⁴¹ These numbers are based on *Wulin jinshi ji*. Ibid, 16–24.

(plates.5.24 and 5.25) taken during the late Qing and early Republican eras demonstrate the prominent positions of these pavilions in place. These structures sit near the respective sites, labeling the landscape by physically imprinting it. Both referred to as imperial pavilions, the Pavilion of Imperial Stele (御碑亭) and the Pavilion of Imperial Writing (御書亭) occupy unique locales on the lake. They are monuments commemorating the ubiquitous presence of the emperor and announcing his definition of the scenic sites.

In paintings, the omnipresence of the imperial impact was once mirrored through the depiction of the imperial pavilions. In the *Nanxun Shengdian*, under the *Mingsheng* (Famous sites) volume, the ten scenes of West Lake are sequentially presented, each comprising a two-leave illustration (plate 5.26). Starting from the “Spring Dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway” scene, in each illustration, the imperial pavilions possess the central and most conspicuous place. In “Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows” (plate 5.27), for instance, the entrance of the garden is situated in the center of the lower half, on which the characters “*yushu lou*” (御書樓, terrace of imperial writing) indicate the presence of emperor Kangxi. Toward the backyard of the garden, a *yubei ting* (pavilion of imperial stelae) is labeled in text, suggesting the whereabouts of Emperor Kangxi’s inscription of the site’s title.

Together, the two buildings create an axis of the garden, which is also the central diagonal of the image. On the center of the nexus is the *zuoluo* (座落, seating spot), which marks the presence (in the form of absence) of the current emperor, Qianlong.³⁴² This compositional

³⁴² In Wu Hung’s *Kongjian de meishushi* (空間的美術史, “Space” in Art History), the author discusses the significance of the a empty seat in marking an absent figure. In many cases, the seats signal the unique positions of their owners. For instance, a centralized position of the empty seat expresses the owner’s authority in the image.

technique is seen throughout the entire volume. In a number of illustrations, the locations of Emperor Kangxi's writings, along with Emperor Qianlong's designated seats, are placed along the central diagonal of the pictures, which are marked apparently in standard script texts that dwarf other structures in the image.

Aside from the *Nanxun Shengdian*, other illustrations of West Lake in gazetteers published by officials closely associated with the court also concentrated on visualizing the imperial pavilions as the main components of each of the ten scenes. For instance, in the new *Xihu zhi* (西湖志, Gazetteer of West Lake) commissioned by then governor of Zhejiang, Li Wei (李衛, 1688–1738), and the *Xihu zhizuan* by Liang Shizheng, the imperial pavilions were blatantly emblazoned on the depicted landscape of West Lake (plates 5.28, 5.29). Pictorially, these predominant structures conveying the influence of the emperor(s) permeate the scenic views of the lake. In reality, these in situ monuments marked and defined the sites profoundly.

In the form of inscribed stone and wood, Emperor Kangxi's own experience and perception of the lake is forever engraved in situ. As *Wulin jinshi ji* documents:

Shengzu [Kangxi] emperor imperially transcribed the ten scenes, changing “evening bell” into “morning bell.” When the air of the night begins to vaporize, nature is muted in silence. Then, the sound of the bell rises, ascending to the clouds. Thus, it is loud enough to awaken one's soul. A pavilion was constructed before the entrance to the [Jingci]

Such visual technology is also applied in the images of the scenes of West Lake to signal the important positions of the emperor in situ. Wu Hung, *Kongjian de meishushi*, Qian Wenyi trans, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2018), 131-140.

monastery, on which imperial writings were also hung to enshrine the inscribed stone. The [original] pavilion of stone stelae was relocated to the northside of the pond.

聖祖御書十景, 易“晚鐘”為“曉鐘。”蓋夜氣方清, 天籟俱寂, 鐘聲乍起, 响入云霄, 致足發人深省。建亭于寺門之前, 奉懸睿藻, 並恭摹勒石, 于池北更建碑亭。³⁴³

According to this text, Emperor Kangxi added his marks to the site by building a new pavilion to enshrine transcriptions of his own writings. He rearranged the layout of the site by confiscating the spot of an earlier pavilion to host his own Pavilion of Imperial Stele. Moreover, he replaced the word *wan* (evening) with *xiao* (morning), utterly altering the temporality and connotation of the scene. These marks on the site were so profound that the pavilion still stood, even when the monastery itself was eventually demolished into ruins nearly three centuries later.

A photo taken around 1911 shows the site of “Evening Bell Toll at Nanping” (plate 5.31). In the photo, a wide stone path leads the way to a pavilion that stands in front of the landmark pagoda, Leifeng. In the wall-less pavilion stands a stone stele approximately two meters tall, bearing the characters *Nanping xiaozhong* (Morning bell toll at Nanping) transcribed by Emperor Kangxi himself. The T-shaped crossroad before the pavilion provides convenient access from three sides. The front side of the stone stele faces the crossroad directly, framed by the hexagonal foundation supported by the six pillars and by the four-sided pyramid roof. The writings are easily discernable, even from a distance. Behind the pavilion, a screen wall stands to divide the space and shelter the imperial site of heritage. The pavilion itself rises taller than any other

³⁴³ Ding Jing, *Wulin jinshi ji*, in Wang Guoping et al., eds., *Xihu wenxian jicheng xuji*, vol. 1, 120.

architecture (except for the pagoda) in the photo. As such, the foot of Mt. Nanping, depicted as a secluded yet grandiose private garden in Dai Jin's *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*, transforms into a site of imperial monumentality (plate 5.31).

In the High Qing period, monuments sponsored by the Qing dynasty emperors inscribed the landscape of West Lake, thus creating new vistas while redefining them. These marks, directly revealed in open and prominent space in the most frequented scenic sites, are themselves “signifiers of unseen but unchallengeable power.”³⁴⁴ The pavilions and other architectures constructed to host and enshrine the writings of the emperor transform the physical landscape of the sites. These buildings, in return, became scenic spots that were included in pictorial maps, landscape paintings, and tourist guidebooks of many kinds.

According to Harrist, the power of the imperial inscription lies in the location rather than language itself: “When a text appeared in an emperor’s own hand, the aura of his presence was overwhelming, confronting his subjects with an experience analogous to that of hearing a text read in the emperor’s own voice.”³⁴⁵ Thus, it is not surprising that the location of the imperial stone stelae is given special attention in official illustrations. On site, these pavilions occupy unique spots geographically. On images, they also acquire a predominant pictorial space. Both geographically and pictorially, the importance of the imperial marks’ locations is reified. Although these marks became less political after the fall of the Qing dynasty, they still impacted the social lives of the Hangzhou people.

³⁴⁴ Robert Harrist, *Landscape of Words: Stone Inscriptions from Early and Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 220.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

A 1919 photo taken by Sidney Gamble gives us insights into the appropriation of the imperial site seven years after the decline of the Manchu regime (plate 5.32).³⁴⁶ In the photo, a group of seven commoners dressed in casual winter clothes surrounds a street-food cart in front of the pavilion. None of them seems to be paying attention to the writings of the bygone emperors, as they are focused completely on the street-food seller. The imperial stele in the background blends with the environment. This view of normalizing the presence of the conqueror is shared by many. A newspaper article published in 1934 commented on the Hangzhouers' attitude toward the imperial traces of the Qing dynasty:

Not only my friend, but even the boatmen [on West Lake] would tell you the story of Emperor Qianlong inscribing the ten scenes, or Bai Juyi building the Baidi dike. How vivid and touching are the stories! [They tell them] as if they had witnessed them in person. Hangzhou people worship and commemorate Bai Juyi, Su Shi, and Emperor Qianlong, yet they pity and feel sorry for Emperor Zhu Tianjun [朱天君] of Xiaokang [小康].”³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Gamble labels the photo as a picture of a *liangting* (凉亭, “cooling pavilion”), a place to hang out for visitors during hot summers.

³⁴⁷ Guo Yiqing 郭挹清, “On Hangzhou” 話說杭州, (*Taibai* 太白, vol. 1, no. 7 (1934): 310–311. Emperor Zhu Tianjun of Xiaokang refers to a popular deity worshipped by the people in Zhejiang, who was believed to be emperor Chongzhen of the Ming Dynasty. As Zhou Zuoren 周作人 writes, “In the earlier years of the Republican, I saw people worship Zhu Tianjun in Shaoxing. I was told that it was indeed emperor Chongzhen.” Zhou Zuoren, “*Jiashen Huaigu*” 甲申懷古, *Gujin* 古今 (1944): 43–44.

By this time, the political meanings embedded in the imperial pavilions were gradually effaced. These imperial traces became cultural landmarks of Hangzhou as the people memorize and revisit them in their routine West Lake tours.

Visualizing Conquerors on Horseback: The *Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay* Scene

In addition to the depiction of the imperial pavilions and the reserved “seating spot” in official documentation and local gazetteers, in what other ways were the Manchu conquerors’ presence visualized? How were they portrayed? This and the following section discuss two major means of rendering the rulers of the Qing on landscape paintings of West Lake: the depiction of the new scene “Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay” (亭灣騎射) and the portrayal of Emperor Qianlong in the *Southern Inspection Tour* (南巡圖) scroll.

The scene “Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay” is a novel establishment under the commission of Li Wei. According to the *Xihu zhi* gazetteer:

Exiting the Yongjin Gate, moving northbound along the lake and turning slightly west, there is a curvy flow of water where a pavilion used to stand. Now, the site, called Pavilion Bay [Tingzi Wan] has long been in ruins. It is adjacent to the city while facing the lake, occupying hundreds of footsteps of land of fine sand and short grass, which is appropriate for practicing horse riding and archery. Li Wei constructed a pavilion in the water to serve as a place for military inspection and a Shrine of Guan Yu just south of it. I planted tens of thousands of willows along the lakeshore, interspersed with peach, apricot, plum, and prunus blossoms. . . . During a military inspection, the iron cavalry

congregate like clouds, and the vermilion banners dazzle one's eyes. The sound of the bows and blades vied to overwhelm each other while horns and drums resonate together. Yet the fish and birds are not startled; flower and willows compete in blossoming. The appearance of the army and the prowess of the military light up the mountains and rivers. It is indeed a scale of a prosperous nation, and a sight of a peaceful time. When the horse hooves vanish, and crowds disband, the woodcutter's rhyme returns, and the fisherman's song resumes. Then, it is again a sight of indistinct trees and pavilions amid misty water, an outstanding addition to the tranquil aspect of the lake.

出湧金門沿湖而北，稍折而西，水流灣曲。舊有亭，久廢，名‘亭子灣’。倚城而面湖，延緣數百步，平沙淺草，可容騎射。總督臣李衛，於水際構亭為較閱之所。稍南，建關帝廟濱湖，垂柳萬株，間以桃杏梅李...每當較閱時，鐵騎屯雲，朱旗耀目，弓刀競響，金鼓齊鳴，而魚鳥不驚，花柳爭放，軍容武備，照耀山川。誠盛世之規模，太平之景象也。若夫馬蹄既散，人影漸稀，樵唱歸來，漁歌載起，則又煙水空明，林亭幽靚，別開湖中境界矣。³⁴⁸

According to this account, this site displays itself in two seemingly contradictory aspects: as a military training ground for horsemen and archers and as a serene hermitage for the

³⁴⁸ Li Wei et al., *Xihu Zhi*, juan 4, Erudition Database of Chinese Local Records.

woodcutters and fishermen. The pictorial representation of this scene portrays the site under both circumstances. Here, a two-leaf illustration of the “Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay” scene is included following the above-cited text in *Xihu zhi* (plate 5.33). The illustration is divided compositionally into two halves: a lower part that depicts the wavy water of the lake and an upper portion that showcases the beach just outside the city wall. On water, a small fisherman’s boat is sailing. Meanwhile, willow trees line up on the shoreline and surround a pavilion and a shrine. The lower half of the picture is a depiction of the lake’s attractive scenic beauty. However, in the middle ground, a pair of riders are competing on the beach, while several archers are practicing arrow shooting. A canopy is set up to shelter military commanders, and several banners are held up on tall sticks. The pavilion is labeled “Pavilion of Military Inspection” (校閱亭), and the scene is set up to be a military training ground. The soldiers are wearing Manchu military arms and helmets. This is a stage for a routine military inspection.

In an album depicting new scenic sites of West Lake, the scene “Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay” is once again the main subject matter (plate 5.34). The painting is again divided into two parts. The upper part depicts several fishermen in boats amid the picturesque landscape of West Lake. In the middle ground, several lakeshore architectures block the vision of the fishermen to screen a military camp. On the ground just outside Yongjin Gate, several Manchu soldiers are practicing horsemanship and archery in front of a canopy, under which reserved a seating spot for a non-present viewer. Around the canopy, soldiers hold banners of various colors and borders to suggest the eight banners of the Manchu. Thus, two worlds collide in the two illustrations of Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay: the secluded scenic lake of the fishermen

in their canoes and the military campground of Manchu bannermen on horseback are juxtaposed with little negotiation.

The Southern Inspection Tour Scroll: A Spectacular Panopticon

Conducting military inspections in Hangzhou was a routine on the traveling emperor's agenda. In 1689, Emperor Kangxi inspected the horsemanship and archery of the armies during his first southern tour in Hangzhou.³⁴⁹ After his visit, he wrote:

The imperial guards are redistributed to defend the nation.

The famed areas of Wu and Yue [mostly in Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces today] have been a strategic realm of importance.

Preaching martial arts is appropriate for a peaceful day;

Each one of the soldiers is skilled at shooting through the poplar tree with arrows.

羽林將士重分防, 吳越名區古要疆. 講武正宜清宴日, 人人技自擅穿楊.³⁵⁰

In each and every one of the next four trips to Hangzhou, Emperor Kangxi inspected troops, paying particular attention to their “riding and shooting” skills. His grandson, Qianlong, picked up this tradition and conducted six military inspections in Hangzhou during each of his

³⁴⁹ *Hangzhou Baqi Zhufang Ying Zhi Lue* (杭州八旗駐防營志, Record of Eight Banners in Hangzhou), juan 7, *Xihu Wenxian jicheng xuji* 西湖文獻集成續輯 (Sequel to Complete Compilation of Writings on West Lake), vol. 1, eds., Wang Guoping et al. (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2013), 163

³⁵⁰ This poem, “On Inspecting Troops 閱武” is recorded in the *Yuzhi Shiji erji* 御製詩集二集 (Second Anthology of Imperial Poems), *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

southern tours.³⁵¹ During each visit, the utmost importance of equestrianism and archery was reiterated.³⁵² According to Chang, these two skills were not only weapons of military conquest but also part of the ethnic identity of the Manchu and, therefore, the infrastructure of the Qing dynasty's ethno-dynastic rule in governing the empire.³⁵³ As Chang notes, "The practice of horseback riding was a badge of ethnic honor, closely associated with Manchu martial prowess, activism, and vigor," and "archery was another bodily discipline through which the ethno-dynastic virtues of the founding ancestors were to be perpetuated and displayed."³⁵⁴ Thus, visualizing the two skills on an image of West Lake imposes inevitable control over the landscape.

In Emperor Qianlong's *Southern Inspection Tour* (乾隆南巡, hereafter the "*Inspection scroll*"), a set of twelve scrolls commemorating the southern tours painted with color on paper

³⁵¹ The 2nd, 3rd and 4th inspections in Hangzhou involve a combined army of the Manchu and Han soldiers. *Qing Gaozong Shilu*, juan 533.

³⁵² On April 15, 1757, Emperor Qianlong issued an edict upon arrival in Hangzhou: "Today, I arrived at the provincial city Hangzhou. Some of the soldiers that greeted played flutes, pipes, and zithers. It is vital that army soldiers prioritize on archery and horsemanship" 今日朕至杭州省城, 其接駕之綠營兵丁, 有奏簫管細樂者. 夫身隸行伍當以騎射勇力為重. He further banned playing flute, pipes, and zithers in the army. The next day, he inspected troops in Hangzhou. After the military inspection, he issued another decree banning sedan chair riding for all military commanders, stating, "if they seek comfort and leisure, how could they inspire they soldiers?... In addition, Manchu bannermen learn to ride and shoot. Likewise, in the army, skillfulness in archery and horsemanship are prioritized... Commanders and vice commanders from the capital all ride on horses. Vice ministers of Manchurian origin, even if they are over sixty, should not ride in sedan chairs. Even I ride on horsebacks every day to inspect places... From this day on, military commanders are not permitted to ride in sedan chairs" 若養尊處優, 自圖安逸, 亦何以表率營伍? ...況旗人幼習騎射. 即綠營中亦必以其弓馬優嫻, ...京師都統, 副都統, 既皆乘馬. 而滿洲侍郎, 則無論年逾六旬, 亦俱不得乘輿. 即朕巡省所至, 尚每日乘馬而行...嗣後將軍提鎮, 概不許乘輿, *Qing Gaozong Shilu*, juan 533.

³⁵³ Michael G. Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680–1785*, (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2007), 178–189.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 180, 186.

currently in the collection of the National Museum, Beijing, and attributed to the court painter Xu Yang, the emperor is portrayed as a Manchu conqueror on horseback (plate 5.35).

The eighth scroll depicts Emperor Qianlong's tours to Hangzhou (plate 5.36). The handscroll begins with a view of the lively city of Hangzhou inside Yongjin Gate. Exiting the gate, the scenery of the northern part of West Lake is shown. As we unfold the scroll, the Baidi Causeway, Gushan Islet, the Sudi Causeway, the South Mountain route, and Mt. Wu are gradually revealed. Taking a trip that departs from the city and returns to it, this scroll represents a typical imperial tour, as recorded in the pictorial itinerary maps. To accommodate the major landmarks and the ten scenes of West Lake theme in the medium of a long handscroll, the artist smoothed three sharp transitions to straighten the semi-oval space into a linear horizontal layout on a two-dimensional surface. The first turn is around the conjunction of Gushan and the Sudi Causeway, in which the geographically perpendicular angle is stretched into a straight line, thus reorienting the viewers' perspective westbound. The second transition occurs on Sudi Causeway, where the artist(s) turns farther southwest to look at Sudi directly from a close-up view. The last visual shift happens on the conjunction of Sudi and South Mountain Road, where the artist(s) switches to an opposite direction at the west side of Sudi and looks in retrospect at the center of the lake from across the dike. Such visual transitions, which enable the representation of an ecliptic lake in the format of long handscrolls, are a key device in rendering West Lake during the Ming and Qing periods, as seen in the *Scenic Attraction of West Lake* and Wang Yuanqi's *Ten Scenes of West Lake*.

On this scroll, the emperor's presence is no longer implied by the empty seat but is rather eminently portrayed. His predominance is visualized in four ways (plate 5.37). First, Emperor Qianlong is positioned in the center of the Sudi Causeway, the landmark and watershed of the

lake, which is also the middle point of the scroll. Second, the emperor is depicted as having an enlarged and substantial body size to stand out among his entourage and guards. Throughout the entire set of the *Inspection* scroll, this hierarchical proportion is persistently presented to emphasize the emperor. His prominent size is also reinforced by a close-up view. Third, the entourage and officials who greet him lead the viewer's gaze to the latter. Finally, a golden canopy that is held over the emperor pinpoints and highlights him. He wears an azurite robe and rides on a shiny white stallion, an outstanding contrast that ensures a preeminent position for the emperor on the scroll.

The portrayal of the emperor attests to his indisputable power. Dressed in the typical formal riding outfit of the Manchu elite (plate 5.38) and riding on a horse of possible Inner Asian breed, the ruler of this multiethnic empire is treading on the Sudi Causeway of West Lake, a landmark of Jiangnan in the heart of China proper.³⁵⁵ The Sudi Causeway commissioned by Su Shi, the scholar par excellence, is now to be trodden by the horse hooves of Manchu conquerors—an image that is alarmingly political to the viewers of every class.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ As Chang insightfully points out, “Qianlong’s steeds in all three of these scenes bear distinctive markings and coats and were in all likelihood tribute horses presented by Inner Asian tribes such as the Khalkas (in 1743) and the Eastern Kazakhs (in 1757).” Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 182–3. The robe that Emperor Qianlong is wearing in the painting is official termed *huangdi xinggua* 皇帝行褂 (riding robe of the emperor). According to *Huangchao Liqi Tushi* 皇朝禮器圖式 (Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty), the robe is “in azurite color,” “the length should reach the thighs while seated, the length of the sleeves should reach the elbows.” “Wubei” 武備 (arms), *Huangchao Liqi Tushi*, 1759, juan 13, Qing caise keben 清彩色刻本 (Qing dynasty color-printed edition), in the collection of Palace Museum, Beijing, 58a-58b.

³⁵⁶ Shi is one of the most influential literati in the history of China. In art, he was a pioneer of “literati painting.” In literary history, he was one of the “Eight Masters of Tang and Song.” In political history, he was an influential force in the political circle of the Northern Song, the leading figure of the Party of Shu. See Susan Bush, *Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555-1636)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941) and Peter K. Bol. “*This Culture of Ours*” - *Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

However, the topographical and scenic West Lake is by no means accurately represented in this image, as several places are misrepresented. For instance, the bridge connecting Baidi and Gushan in the painting does not exist in reality. In addition, the scenery is reduced to include only sites of particular significance, namely, the recently canonized ten scenes and some newly built structures. Moreover, the trademark willow trees that exuberantly grow on the dikes and shores of West Lake are all replaced with a generic tree type (plate 5.39). The jagged tree trunks and green-dotted crowns in roundels are a reference to a rendering of trees believed to have been derived from Yuan dynasty master Wu Zhen (吳鎮, 1280–1354) and does not resemble any specific kind of tree (plate 5.40).³⁵⁷ Interestingly, all the willow trees that were planted on Sudi and around the lake were reconfigured in the painting, except for one near the site of “Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows,” in which a tree that slightly resembles a willow is depicted to give credit to the title of the site (plate 5.41). This indicates that the removal of willow trees, is a deliberate choice rather than a result of artistic incompetence. In other representations of West Lake—be it private or court commissioned—willow trees are an inevitable trope of the romantic and picturesque lake. Yet in this highly politicized image, it had to be eradicated.

If we consider the cultural associations of willow trees, this deliberate choice is not incomprehensible. Willow trees and peach blossoms allude to West Lake’s prevailing romantic image, which is associated with sightseeing and courtesan culture. Thus, in this case, this aspect

³⁵⁷ *Jieziyuan Huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden) was compiled during the 17th century as a textbook and guide to painting. In the section on woods, it presents a tree form associated with *meihua daoren* Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354), which is similar to the type depicted in the Inspection scroll. See Wang Gai 王槩 (active 1677-1705) et al., *Jieziyuan Huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden, between 1679-1722), juan 2, Qing caise taoyin ben 清彩色套印本 (Qing dynasty multi-colored print), in the collection Princeton Library, 19b.

of West Lake had to be toned down in this image of politicization to justify southern tours.³⁵⁸ As Chang notes:

The Qianlong emperor emphatically did not assume the posture of a literati sightseer while traveling through the Lower Yangzi delta. On the contrary, he disassociated his southern tours with the idea of traveling for personal pleasure. Even as he visited scenic sites and encountered breathtaking vistas, Qianlong refrained from extolling them in a lyrical manner. Instead, he meditated this aesthetic experience through the poetry and painting of other literati and reserved his own poetic voice to express concern with the tasks of effective and efficient administration, as well as benevolent civil governance. At the same time, he forsook neither his identity as a Manchu nor his ideological commitment to ethno-dynastic aggrandizement. . . . As defined by imperial discourse, then, the cynosure of all eyes in Jiangnan was not the region's breathtaking vistas or scenic sites but the ethno-dynastic exceptionalism embodied by the moving court and a ruler on horseback.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ During his first southern trip, Emperor Kangxi wrote a poem on West Lake, describing the scenic beauty of the lake yet concluding by stating “this tour is not meant for visiting famous sites, it is to bring warm breeze to the Nine Realms” 此行不是探名勝，欲使陽和遍九垓, “*Kangxi ershiba nian, shengzu ren Huangdi yuzhi fanzhou xihu shi* 康熙二十八年聖祖仁皇帝御製泛舟西湖詩,” *Xihu Zhizuan*, juan 1. Emperor Qianlong further wrote, “How could the beautiful scenery of the lake make me linger? I am staying here for some days only for the enthusiasm of the people” 湖山美景詎宜戀？聊為民情三日留, “*Yuzhi he Su Dongpo you xihu sanshou yun*” 御製和蘇東坡遊西湖三首韻, *Xihu Zhizuan*, juan 12. On his second (1757) southern tour, Emperor Qianlong wrote on the poem on Spring Dawn on Sudi Causeway, “Returning to normal life, I visit the Sudi in new circumstances; though the plague has just ended, I still concern about the disease. This is the first priority of the spring inspection; touring the dike should not be seen as a gesture of taking pleasure in West Lake” 重來民氣幸新蘇，災後猶然念厘吾。此是春巡第一義，遊堤寧為玩西湖, Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 22.

³⁵⁹ Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 364.

To dilute the romantic and leisurely undertone of West Lake was standard propaganda of the emperors. Ever since the Southern Song dynasty, politicians have been denouncing sightseeing and merrymaking activities on West Lake. Although the masses had gradually accepted the sightseeing feature of West Lake in the Ming dynasty, the lake remained a scapegoat in official political rhetoric.³⁶⁰ In fact, emperors of the Qing dynasty often reiterated that the “true intentions” of their West Lake tours lay beyond sightseeing.

However, West Lake’s association with an epicurean lifestyle is already embedded in the perceptions of the scholarly class and the masses. In *Tao An Mengyi*, Zhang Dai paints a vivid picture of this kind of lifestyle on West Lake:

Boats on West Lake are multi-storied. [This type was] invented by Bao Hansuo. The [boats] range in three sizes: the largest hosts banquets and accommodates a children’s choir; the middle one stores paintings and calligraphies; and the smallest one houses beauties. Mr. Hansuo allowed the singing girls to serve other guests in the way Shi Jilun and Song Zijing managed their household courtesans, as they were not [only] his concubines. [The singing girls] would often dress up and walk around. . . passing through willow branches, in laughter and joyfulness.

³⁶⁰ Qianlong’s last set of ten poems on West Lake blames the lake for the fall of the Song, writing, “The southern-gone Song regime ignored the [existence] of the northern Jin, indulged in zithers and pipes in the pleasure of spring. The chirp of the new-born orioles conveys the message, that home is always in the north of the [Yellow] River” 南渡宋家忘北金, 相於絲管樂春深. 新鶯一囀非無意, 河北由來有故林, and “In the vineyard of Song and the breeze of now; lotus flowers [in the past and present dynasties] don’t distinguish, they bloom in equal color and abundance. Failing to realize that the people of Wu were a pleasure-seeking commonalty, how would they know that the pleasure of today is different than before?” 宋時麴院此時風, 荷豈分疏等燦紅. 不識吳民尋樂輩, 可知今昔樂非同. In these poems, Emperor Qianlong sets himself aside from the pleasure-seeking rulers of the Southern Song, condemning their indulgence in leisure activities and neglect of the rivalry from northern powers. Qianlong, “Ten Scenes of West Lake poems on the previous rhymes,” Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 22.

西湖之船有樓，實包副使涵所創為之。大小三號：頭號置歌筵，儲歌童；此載書畫；
再次侍美人。涵老以聲伎非侍妾比，仿石季倫，宋子京家法，都令見客。常靚妝走馬……
穿柳過之，以為笑樂。³⁶¹

For Zhang Dai, West Lake was not only a place where sensual desires were fulfilled; it was, in itself, an analogy of lust:

In my opinion, Lake Xiang is like a virgin, diffident and reserved like an unmarried girl. Lake Jian is like a lady of a noble house. She could only be admired but not approached. For West Lake, it is like a popular courtesan, beautiful in voice and face. She leans on the door and puts on a smile. Everyone can molest her, so everyone adores her after getting her. Everyone adores her after getting her, so everyone becomes impertinent to her after getting her.

³⁶¹ Zhang Dai, “Bao Hansuo 包涵所,” *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 3, *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 41–42. Bao Hansuo, aka Bao Yingdeng 包應登 (active 16th century), was a native Hangzhouer who became a *jinshi* of the Wanli reign in 1586. See *Qiantang Xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qiantang County), “jishi” 紀士. Shi Chong 石崇 (style name Jilun, 249–300) was a wealthy aristocrat who acquired many beautiful girls to serve them and his guests. See *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of Jin), liezhuan 3, juan 33. Song Qi 宋祈 (style name Zijing, 889–1061) was a famous scholar who wrote poems on his relationships with beautiful courtesans.

余以湘湖為處子，眠姪羞澀，猶及見其未嫁之時；而鑿湖為名門閨淑，可欽而不可狎；若西湖則為曲中名妓，聲色俱麗，然倚門獻笑，人人得而蝶褻，故人人得而艷羨；人人得而艷羨，故人人得而輕慢。³⁶²

For him, West Lake is a beautiful, talented, and attainable courtesan who deserves to be relished but not respected. Such an embodiment of sonic pleasure, sexual attractiveness, and indulgence in nightlife is by no means appropriate for the political leaders of the nation. Therefore, a new image must be established to dissociate the lake from sensual pleasures.

In this image of West Lake portrayed by the court artist Xu Yang, women ride in boats with children and the elderly in a domestic setting. The multistory boats—described as singing boats in Zhang Dai’s account—now carry books and elegant bonsai plants on their roofs, and romantic willows are replaced with a generic model tree. Plate 5.42 shows an elderly woman obtaining fish from the lake, behind whom are two bamboo fish buckets. Sitting before her, a middle-aged woman stirs a bowl and pot with a pair of chopsticks, seemingly engaged in the act of cooking. In the main cabin of the small boat, five school-aged children gaze at the scenery, four of which face the viewers. A woman, with her back to the viewers, looks after the children in the cabin. On the bow of the boat, a middle-aged man is steering. On the roof of the cabin, a rooster and a puppy are fed. In plate 5.43, an elderly woman is helping an old man put strings on a fishing hook. A teenage boy stands behind a man resting on the roof of the cabin. On the roof, a little boy is sitting and pointing to a place in the lake, while inside the enclosed cabin, a mother

³⁶² Zhang Dai, “Xianghu 湘湖,” *Tao An Mengyi*, juan 5, *Tao An Mengyi, Xihu Mengxun*, 62.

and a boy are revealed via the front entrance. Before them, on the bow, stands a man who steers the boat. The two boats depicted in the image represent two ideal families of three generations; the men work while the women manage the household to support the elders, raise the children, and feed pets in a caring environment.

Women in this image are wives and mothers who stay within domestic household settings. Thus, no female figure can be found on the streets, in the crowds, or on stage. They are “hidden” inside the house, on the back of the boats, and within the cabins (plate 5.44), peeking out from tiny openings. Furthermore, no woman is alone or single in this image. They appear with their elders, husbands, and children. Hence, nothing in this image is erotic and morally downgrading, and the entire scene presents the spectacle of a civil society under benevolent management.

As such, this image negates any romantic connotation that the lake might bear and demonstrates a powerful imperial procession that asserts absolute control over the realm under Manchu horse hooves. The utopian scenery of the famed West Lake in the heart of China, now shown in a modified and politicized manner, is the subject of imperial surveillance in the picture. Simultaneously, the emperor is also on display to the depicted figures in the scroll and, more importantly, to the scroll’s target viewers.

Therefore, the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll represents imperial spectatorship and performance. On the one hand, the depicted emperor oversees the realm in a panoptical apparatus in the Foucauldian sense (plate 5.45).³⁶³ In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault describes the measures taken in a plague-stricken town at the end of the seventeenth century:

³⁶³ A panopticon is a notion first laid out by Bentham that evolved into theories of disciplines and social order in Foucault’s writings. See Foucault on the panopticon, “Panopticism,” *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 195-228.

First, a strict spatial partitioning: the closing of the town and its outlying districts, a prohibition to leave the town on pain of death . . . the division of the town into distinct quarters, each governed by an intendant. Each street is placed under the authority of a syndic, who keeps it under surveillance. . . . On the appointed day, everyone is ordered to stay indoors: it is forbidden to leave on pain of death. . . . It is a *segmented, immobile, frozen space*. Each individual is fixed in his place. . . . Every day, too, the syndic goes into the street for which he is responsible; stops before each house [and] gets all the inhabitants to appear at the windows (those who live overlooking the courtyard will be allocated a window looking onto the street).³⁶⁴

He further notes:

This enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the center and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined, and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead—all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism.³⁶⁵

This mechanism hinges on enclosure, segregation, visibility, and a center-periphery binarism, which are key in the representation of the imperial presence on West Lake in the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll. First, the emperor is positioned in the absolute center (of the

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 195. Emphasis is my own.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 177. Emphasis is my own.

scroll and of the lake), and the subordinates are placed in the periphery. Although laid out in a horizontal scroll, the figures delineated in the painting, in reality, would form a half-circle that surrounds the emperor in the middle. Second, the populace is divided into smaller cells, such as houses and boats. Each unit hosts a family, yet communications among the units are limited, and mobility is restricted. Third, the subjects are all aware of the visibility of the imperial inspector. In particular, they know that the emperor could gaze upon them at any moment. In this way, a panoptical apparatus is pictorially constructed on the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll, granting the central ruler visibility and, therefore, control over his subjects on all sides.³⁶⁶

This notion of the emperor's being greeted by the mass is essential in the rhetoric of the southern tours. The idea of the people *zhanjiu* (瞻就, gazing upon the emperor) is as important as the emperor's *pilan* (披覽, carefully inspecting the people).³⁶⁷ However, what the people could actually "gaze upon" is merely, and precisely, the apparatus of imperial progression rather than the emperor per se. As a record in *Yangzhou huafang lu* (揚州畫舫錄) notes:

Before the imperial boat, two imperial guards and two Qianqing Gate guards, in pairs, led two boats on the two sides. Next to each of the boats, one guard rides on a horse to patrol

³⁶⁶ The relationship between the emperor and the subjects in the painting are constructed to represent a typical Panopticon as follows: (1) the emperor–subject relationship is a center–periphery one, (2) the subjects are to be seen by the emperor, and (3) the subjects are divided into spatial units. The plague-stricken town described in Foucault's book is parallel to the cities being inspected along the emperor's tour. Families stay in their houses to be checked upon by a designated person in charge, while showing only their faces via windows.

³⁶⁷ Emperor's Qianlong's preface in the *Nanxun Shengdian* states, "I inspected the realm several times just because I could visualize the faces of my people yearning to gaze upon the imperial progression (朕幾暇披覽及之亦不啻蒼赤之瞻就依戀時在目前)." Gao Jin et al., "yuzhi xu" 御製序 (Preface by the emperor), *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 1. The imperial poems in the *Nanxun shengdian* are also compiled in Gang Guoping et al., eds., *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol. 1, 1085-1232.

the riverside roads, attending to the orders of the emperor. When the imperial fleet embarks, the boats carrying the Grand Ministers in attendance, Ministers of Imperial Guards, Ministers of the Grand Council, and Imperial Guards of the Qianqing Gate, as well as the boats carrying imperial horses, guards of the Imperial Stud, officials with memorials to the throne, the Grand Council, the Imperial Guards, the Cabinet, and officials of the Ministry of War proceed in advance, as they have duties. Along the two banks, soldiers' posts are set up on ports, tributaries, bridge posts, and villages to prohibit commoners' boats from entering the river. A post of three guards is set up for every li (approximately 500–600 meters) along the embroidered road to allow women of the villages and towns to kneel and greet the imperial procession. When it is time for clearance, male villagers withdraw from the village, but women are not banned.

御舟前派御前侍衛, 乾清門侍衛各二員, 前引船只派兩對出兩邊行走, 船旁令一人騎馬在河路行走, 以備差遣……升蹕御舟, 凡御前大臣, 侍衛內大臣, 軍機大臣, 御前侍衛, 乾清門侍衛船, 及載御馬船, 上駟院侍衛, 官員批本奏事軍機處, 侍衛處, 內閣, 兵部官員船, 以有事承辦, 俱在前行走. 兩岸支港汊河, 橋頭村口, 各安卡兵, 禁民舟出

入。織道每里安設圍站兵丁三名，令村鎮民婦跪伏瞻仰。於應回避時，令男子退出村內，不禁婦女。³⁶⁸

The author further describes the scene of people trying to gaze upon the emperor as follows:

Colorfully draped pavilions and waterborne stages were set up along the imperial route. All were sincerely chanting ‘Long Live the Emperor!’ in every place through which [the imperial procession] passed. In 1765, the emperor visited the Shangfang Monastery, and tens of thousands of people followed the hooves of the imperial entourage to approach the imperial procession.

道旁或搭彩棚，或陳水嬉，共達呼嵩誠悃，所過皆然。乾隆乙酉，遊上方寺，萬民隨馬足趨瞻。³⁶⁹

From the description in *Yangzhou huafang lu*, we can reconstruct a scenario wherein the emperor met the people’s gaze. First, his body and face were not visible to the people, as his most immediate surroundings were occupied by his entourage and were cleared of civilian entry. In the first account, only the women in the villages along the imperial route could bow to the imperial flotilla from the bank. As such, the emperor, sitting in the imperial boat in the center of

³⁶⁸ Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817), “Caohe lu shang” 草河錄上 (First volume on the Grass canal), *Yangzhou Huafang lu* 揚州畫舫錄 (Records of the “flower boats” of Yangzhou, 1795), juan. 1, Ziran An keben 自然庵刻本 (Ziran Studio book-printed edition), 2a-2b. Emphasis is mine.

³⁶⁹ Ibid. The English translation is partly based on Chang’s translation in *A Court on Horseback*, 3.

the fleet, could barely be visible to a kneeling villager on the bank. In the second account, the commoners followed the traces of the imperial horses to approach the imperial progression, in which case, the emperor was distant and illegible.

Second, despite the invisibility of the emperor's body and face, his presence in the form of imperial procession was prominently announced to civilians, and even the imperial route was decorated sumptuously to attract civilians' attention. The procession itself was an inevitable event with instruments, troops, and large entourage passing by. In other words, the people were unable to see the emperor himself, but they could see his imperial entourage, flotilla, and troop of cavalry. These apparatuses ensured the emperor's invisibility to the crowd while simultaneously warranting his presence.³⁷⁰ The people, on the contrary, were exposed in the open air, and their movement was restricted, at the ready for the imperial inspection if and when needed. In the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll, such a relationship is visualized in the pictorial apparatus to construct power relations between the center and the periphery, the viewer and the viewee, and the emperor and the local community of Hangzhou.

However, the painting is also a staged representation, a spectacle par excellence.³⁷¹ In reality, when the emperor takes a southern tour, everything he sees will be perfectly curated for

³⁷⁰ According to Foucault, one of the key elements of Bentham's panopticon is the that the spectator in the center remains invisible to the prisoners, while the presence of the central tower constantly reminds the latter of the presence of the spectator: "Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power...that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it... In view of this, Bentham laid down the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable. Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate muse never knows whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so...The panopticon is a machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen." Foucault, "Panopticism," 201.

³⁷¹ In Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*, he explains the relationship between spectacle, power, and ideology: "The spectacle is the existing order's uninterrupted discourse about itself, its laudatory monologue. It is the self-portrait of power in the epoch of its totalitarian management of the conditions of existence. The fetishistic, purely objective appearance of spectacular relations conceals the fact that they are relations among men and classes: a second nature with its fatal laws seems to dominate our environment." He further states that the spectacle (in the form of images)

the benefit of the emperor and local officials.³⁷² A show is thus put on by both parties; the emperor showcases power and majesty, while the “people” demonstrate their compliance and prosperity.

The peaceful and prosperous image of West Lake under the control of the Manchu rulership worked perfectly in both ways. First, it granted the emperor full visibility of the subjects (soldiers, commanders, civilians, local officials, etc.). Second, it presented to the imperial viewer an idealized society, harmonious and controlled. As Emperor Qianlong’s poem on a West Lake painting states, “Reminiscing about West Lake is not for the beauty of streams

has the power to motivate certain behaviors, “Where the real world changes into simple images, the simple images become real beings and effective motivations of hypnotic behavior.” Guy Debord, “no. 24,” *Society of the Spectacle*, (Black & Red, 1977), 18.

³⁷² The provincial governments, as well as officials from Beijing, were responsible for the preparation of the southern tours, and they had at least two years to prepare before the emperor’s final embarkation. Everything along the way was carefully designed and rehearsed up to the smallest details of the decorations in each of the lodging places along the way. The *zaobanchu* records indicated that the décor in these temporary palaces were premediated by the *Neiwufu*. The provincial governments were responsible for a large portion of cost of the southern tours. Although no explicit documentation suggested that the commoners whom the emperor would meet along the way consisted of the local military, a number of primary sources suggested that the peaceful and enthusiastic crowd welcoming the emperor’s entourage—as described in official documents, imperial poems, and illustrations—were very likely staged performances to mask the true tension. For example, on Emperor Qianlong’s way back from the south in 1751, he encountered a man named Fang Hong (房鉉; dates unknown) who came before his entourage without permission. Fang collided with the imperial entourage and was immediately arrested. His desperate behavior was caused by his rage toward local officials of Shandong. He accused the mayor of Changqing County, Ma Ze (馬澤; dates unknown), of eight crimes: 1. forcing farmers to sell grass and beans at a low price, 2. confiscating trees of commoners without paying, 3. forcing commoners to sell donkeys and horses at much lower prices, 4. forcing commoners to work as free labor, 5. forcing commoners to lend carriages, 6. using commoners’ carriages to deliver rice, 7. forcing merchants to donate money, and 8. confiscating reports of drought from local officials. These eight crimes were all associated with the preparation of the imperial southern tour. In other words, Ma Ze impounded money, labor, ride, and commodities from commoners in order to make a perfect scene for the emperor, severely harming the interests of the common people. As such, the seemingly celebrated tour of the emperor was actually a crisis for the local people. See Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, Appendix A, 441–50; “Shandong xunfu Zhuntai zou wei zunzhi chashen Changqing xian minren Fang Hong chongtu yizhang, zhuanggao Changqing xian zhixian Ma Ze bakuan yi’an qingxing shi” 山東巡撫準泰奏為遵旨查審長清縣民人房鉉衝突儀仗，狀告長清縣知縣馬澤八款一案情形事，” (Governor of Shandong, Zhuntai, writing to report on the case of Fang Hong, a commoner of Changqing Country, colliding with the imperial entourage and accusing Ma Ze, the mayor of Changqing County, of eight crimes), On the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the sixteenth year of Qianlong reign 乾隆十六年五月十八日, First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館, archive number: 04-01-01-0205-026.

and mountains, but for the view of my loving people before my eyes (牽懷不為溪山好, 親愛民情在眼前).”³⁷³

Furthermore, to the non-imperial viewers, this image is a politically charged landscape of West Lake: submissive, well managed, and under surveillance. It is a spectacle—envisioned and commissioned by the emperor—to showcase imperial control while demonstrating the submissiveness of the people of Jiangnan.

Xu Yang’s *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll represents an idealized vision of the south through the medium of painting. In all aspects, it represented an image twice removed from reality, especially if we consider the levels of reality to be what Jiangnan really was, what Emperor Qianlong actually perceived, and what the court-commissioned paintings represented. The painting also presents a constructed space that deviates from the lake’s topography, modifies the actual landscape, and contradicts the lake’s commonly perceived identity. As such, the image “dis-places” West Lake from its cultural and geographical roots and “re-places” it into the imperial landscape of the Qing dynasty.

Qianlong’s Definition of Jiangnan and his Siege of West Lake

Indeed, the landscape of West Lake as a submissive and feminine subject that dresses up for the emperor’s spectatorship is an allegory of the realm of China proper and the culture of the Han elite. In fact, in writing about West Lake, the Manchu emperor equated the scenery of Jiangnan

³⁷³ Emperor Qianlong inscribed this poem on the *Willow and Boat on West Lake* formerly attributed to Xia Gui on a mid-spring day of 1772. See also *Shiqu Baoji xubian*, in *Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji*, vol. 6, 2722.

with beautiful concubines in ancient kings' harem. As Qianlong's *Jiangnan yi* (江南意, The meaning of Jiangnan) states:

Mao Qiang, Bai Tai, and Xizi³⁷⁴—

People know of their beauty without necessarily having ever met them in person.

The mountains and streams of Wu and Yue, captured in painting,

Are also famed and coveted like these [ancient beauties].

To recite poetry extolling delightful scenery is to speak of Jiangnan.

Prior to this, when have We ever taken leave of the horses [to sightsee]?

Observing popular sentiments and inquiring about local customs accord with ancient rituals.

[The sublimity of] radiant lakes and misty peaks depends on new visitors.

At dawn, a light snow adorns thousands of trees.

Plum blossoms are truly a faint blur when speeding by postal relay stations.

Won't [our visits to] Dengwei and Gushan resemble this?

People greeting [the procession] along the roadside; [this is] the meaning of Jiangnan.

³⁷⁴ Mao Qiang 毛嬙, a famous beauty in the Spring and Autumn period (722 BCE–468 BCE), became a concubine of the King of Yue 越王. Zhuangzi (莊子; ca. 369-286 BCE) and Han Feizi (韓非子; 280-233 BCE) had praised her beauty in their writings. Bai Tai 白臺 was a renowned beauty during the Warring States Period and was a concubine of King of Liang 梁王. As *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Annals of the Warring States) records, “[Wei Ying, the King of Liang] has Bai Tai on his left and He Xu on his right.” Wei ce 魏策 (Annals of the Wei State), 2, *Zhanguo ce*, *Siku quanshu* electronic version. Xizi was also a well-known beauty who became a concubine of the King of Wu 吳王. All three ladies mentioned here were famous beauties in the kings' harems. Beauty and obedience to the kings were the key characteristics possessed by these three ladies.

毛嬙白台及西子, 不必谋面人知美.

吴越山川罨画中, 传闻争羨亦如此.

吟诗好景说江南, 前此何曾一税驂.

观风问俗式旧典, 湖光岚色资新探.

早来小雪千林缀, 梅信依稀速邮置.

邓尉孤山似此无, 迎人躡路江南意.³⁷⁵

Interestingly, Mao Qiang, Bai Tai, and Xizi were all famous beauties in the ancient kings' harems. In Qianlong's poem, they are allegories of the landscape of Jiangnan, which necessarily includes West Lake. Thus, the *mingji* (famous prostitute) that everyone can approach and appreciate in Zhang Dai's words is now a concubine of His Majesty in this poem. In this sense, the imperial occupant transforms the public space into properties of imperial ownership. Thus, it is not surprising to find a court-commissioned painting, such as the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll, to depict West Lake as a trophy beauty basking in the glory of the Manchu ruler.

Emperor Qianlong's intention to occupy West Lake is as blatant as could be. For instance, in a number of poems he composed about West Lake, he was unsettled about the lake's

³⁷⁵ *Yuzhi shiji* 御製詩集, juan 6, *Siku quanshu* electronic version. The English translation is by Michael G. Chang. See Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 324–5.

association with former governors. As he stated in the poem on *Spring Dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway*, which he wrote during the first (1751) southern tour:

The Great Su Shi, governor of Qiantang,
endowed me with abundant resources.
The dike would forever pass down his name,
Not letting Yiguang (Xishi) to take sole possession of the lake.³⁷⁶

通守錢塘記大蘇，取之無盡適逢吾。

長堤萬古傳名姓，肯讓夷光擅此湖。³⁷⁷

Thirty-three years later, on his last trip to West Lake, the emperor wrote on the same subject:

Frequently did I compose poems in the rhyme of the bearded Su Shi,
Yet these words are always mine.
Even though [I have] commissioned countless new scenic sites,
Nevertheless, [Su Shi] still occupies the lake due to past contributions.

頻煩疊韻朔髯蘇，一再無妨肖以吾。增景已難僂指計，卻茲數典占西湖。³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ It is often believed that West Lake (*Xihu*) was named after the beauty *Xishi*.

³⁷⁷ Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 2. Also see Wang Guoping et al., eds., *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol. 1, 1090.

³⁷⁸ Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 22; Also see Wang Guoping et al., eds., *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol. 1, 1213-1214.

The words *shan* (擅, take sole possession of) in the first poem and *zhan* (占, occupy) in the last poem reveal Qianlong's preconception that the lake was owned by anyone whose names were inscribed in the toponyms. Su Shi, regarded by the people of Hangzhou as one of their favorite mayors, was an obstacle impeding Emperor Qianlong's efforts to claim West Lake. As such, the portrayal of the emperor proudly treading down Su Shi's namesake dike in the gesture of a conqueror in the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll is the emperor's siege of West Lake.

In summary, court-commissioned images of West Lake visualize the emperor's presence in every aspect: inhabiting Gushan Islet, recentering the lake, leaving marks on sites and building monuments, constructing new spectacles, and occupying West Lake on mounted horseback. In many ways, the regime's undisputed control of the lake is envisioned via visual devices and techniques that, in turn, transform and reshape the culturally loaded landscape of West Lake into a beautiful, submissive, and morally uplifting subject in the heart of China proper.

CHAPTER 5

From Beijing to Hangzhou: The Patronage and Consumption of West Lake Images

In Beijing, under the patronage of the court, images of West Lake pervaded the art world of the imperial city. This imagery of West Lake, applied in various media and reinforced through multiple repetitions, defines and regulates the pictorial representation of the lake. Elsewhere—in Suzhou, Anhui, and Hangzhou most notably—artists and artisans explored and secularized this imperial image of West Lake to cater to the consumers of different social strata across the country. This chapter delves into the practice of producing images of West Lake in the capital city and the local art markets.

5.1. Redefining the Image of West Lake: The Imperial, Scholarly, Professional, and Local Artistic Explorations of Ten Scenes of West Lake

Canonizing the View: High Qing Definition of the Ten Scenes of West Lake

In claiming West Lake physically and visually, the ten scenes of West Lake theme has an essential intent of displaying and demonstrating authority. The theme originated in the Southern Song as a literary and artistic subject. In the Ming dynasty, with the efforts of local communities and officialdom, most of the scenes had been revitalized and revisited. However, an official definition did not exist until the Kangxi emperor's formalization of the names and appointment of locations. This standardization is plainly and unequivocally marked with the erecting of imperial stone stelae that bear the official names of the sites and are placed on the designated locations.

In the pictorial representation of the ten scenes, standardized visual formulas also take form with the support of the court. The visual formulas emphasize the imperial stela to express the imperial definition of the scenes. For instance, the “Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds” scene denotes the view of Nangao and Beigao Peaks that enclose the lake from the west. With the construction of the Pavilion of Imperial Stele, the locale of the structure then became the assigned place for the scene. Wang Yuanqi’s *Ten Scenes of West Lake* is the earliest depiction of the Imperial Pavilion that sits near the Xingchun Bridge (行春橋, Bridge of Hiking in Spring) at the foot of Beigao Peak (plate 6.1). Following Wang Yuanqi’s work, the illustrations in *Xihu zhi*, *Nanxun shengdian*, *Xihu zhizhuan*, and *Hushan bianlan* and several paintings by artists associated with the court applied this prescription when portraying the “Twin Peaks” scene (plate 6.3). This formulaic representation shows two overarching peaks facing each other on the top of the image, while a pavilion stands next to a bridge at the bottom of the picture. This motif is repeatedly used in court-commissioned images across media.

If we compare the ten scenes of West Lake illustrations in *Nanxun shengdian* with the album attributed to Ye Xiaoyan (plate 6.3), we might be able to trace the possible origin of the compositions and the adjustments made to them. The model for the “Twin Peaks” scene in the High Qing productions is, in fact, an adaptation of the earlier album leaf. The two facing peaks in the album are rendered similarly in the High Qing illustrations. Nonetheless, the later work replaces the pavilion on the lower-left corner with the in-situ Pavilion of the Imperial Stele, thus changing the scene’s perspective and scope. In the album leaf, the twin peaks are seen from a distance across the lake. The two boats suggest water between the pavilion in the foreground and the peaks in the background, forming a tripartite composition that grants recession into deeper

space. This composition is adopted in several Ming dynasty album leaves and book illustrations, including *Xihu zhi leichao* (西湖志類鈔), where the two looming peaks are seen from a distance across the water (plate 6.4).

The Qing court's rendering of the particular scene considers the site specificity of Emperor Kangxi's pavilion while being modeled after the earlier album available in the imperial collection. Moving the vantage point much closer to the two namesake peaks, a view that encompasses the entirety of the twin peaks at a glance is no longer feasible. In other words, the High Qing depiction of the "Twin Peaks" scene offers a much shallower recession that confronts the background peaks immediately, giving viewers little room in the depicted landscape. The adaptation of the earlier composition in representing a specific site sacrifices pictorial scale but evidently pins down the imperial structure.

Although a study of the iconographies and styles of the album attributed to Ye Xiaoyan dates back the work to the Ming era, the Qing emperor treats it as an authentic work of the Southern Song painter-in-attendance. The Southern Song court's members, who were the former occupants of West Lake, were often imaginary rivals of the Qianlong emperor. On one hand, he acknowledges the association between the ten scenes theme and the Southern Song court, claiming a heritage from the orthodox dynasty. On the other hand, he perceives the competition as a successor that aims to excel its predecessor by building and appreciating West Lake. This inheritance and sciamachy are behind the poetic inscriptions written on the Ye Xiaoyan album. On "Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge," he writes:

Years have gone by since the Baoyou reign [1253–58];

Snowflakes still flurry around Duan Bridge.

New scenes have been added again and again;

The earliest ancestor eventually concedes to the Master of Ten Accomplishments.

宝祐贻今岁月踪，断桥仍见雪飞花。便教一再新增景，鼻祖终输十大家。³⁷⁹

On “Moon Reflected on the Three Ponds,” the imperial poem states:

Who is to name the one pond three?

Three pagodas encircle a reflected moon.

Nowadays, pavilions and terraces exceed in number those in the past;

Looking at the scenery makes me feel regretful.

一潭誰與強名三，三塔中間一月涵。

此日樓臺多較昔，率因即景率生慚。³⁸⁰

The claimed triumph over the past dynasty in these writings is forthright. Such a claim also underlies the court-commissioned images of ten scenes of West Lake. Despite mobilizing certain compositions from the earlier album, the artists of the High Qing era focus primarily on

³⁷⁹ The poem is also recorded in the *Shiqu Baoji xubian*, *Midian Zhulin*, *Shiqu Baoji*, vol. 6, 2729.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

representing the new and renovated constructions of specifically designated sites in lieu of the seasonal sentiments that the theme originally conveyed. As discussed in chapter 1, the ten scenes of West Lake theme is compatible with a contemporary trend to evoke sentiments from timely activities. Each of the ten scenes embodies a typical practice on the lake during a particular time and season. Such a tendency pervades the Ye Xiaoyan album in which seasonality and temporality overshadow site specificity.

However, in the High Qing productions of the ten scenes of West Lake theme, temporal sentimentality subsides as site specificity prevails. In Wang Yuanqi's scroll *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, the ten scenes, ideally representing seasonal and temporal variations, are framed within one pictorial plane. Emperor Kangxi's imperial pavilions pinpoint several of the previously unspecific scenes, such as "Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds" (plate 6.5.1) and "Autumnal Moon Reflected on the Calm Lake." Additionally, the "Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway" (plate 6.5.2) scene shows a muted romantic undertone. As such, new iconographies that emphasize the imperial pavilions have emerged.

For instance, "Autumnal Moon Reflected on the Calm Lake" originally described a picturesque night scene over West Lake. The Southern Song poets rendered the theme from various vantage points: Zhang Ju takes a view on the Yongjin Pavilion,³⁸¹ Chen Yunping rides in

³⁸¹ "Being on the Yongjin Pavilion... the silhouette of Gushan Islet echoes with the jade-like waves" 人在湧金樓... 孤山影，波共碧. Zhang Ju's poems are recorded in the *Yuxuan lidai shiyu* 御選歷代詩餘 (Selected Anthology of Poems of Successive Dynasties). Shen Chenyuan 沈辰垣 et al., *Yuxuan lidai shiyu*, juan 64, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

a boat,³⁸² and Zhou Mi glances from a lakeshore brothel.³⁸³ However, during Kangxi's reign, a particular place on the Baidi Causeway was selected as the location of the scene. A pavilion and a terrace were constructed on the bank to display the emperor's transcription of the site's title on a stone stele.³⁸⁴ Thus, the representation of this previously generic seasonal scene became a depiction of this precise location.

The “Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway” scene is another example of redefinition and relocation. The subject matter, often associated with the pleasure quarters on the lake, has unequivocal erotic connotations. Whether in a literary or an artistic exploration, the subject alludes to the image of a scholar waking up from a night's stay in a courtesan's chamber on the lake. For instance, Zhou Mi's *Spring Dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway* poem depicts a morning-after scene on West Lake:

Sitting at the vanity table, [her] eyebrow powder faded, yet the blush is fresh. Looking at the mirror, she vies to complete the morning dress-up. To avoid missing the appointed date, she redoes the make-up from last night and hurried unto the decorated carriage. In order to visit the flowers, one needs to wake up early. Behold, near the causeway, singing

³⁸² “People returned to write on the leaves; boats disperse to pick the lotuses. To look around, the water and the sky match in colors... A white swallow, in the quiet mid-night, soars above the oar and flies over the clear water” 題葉人歸，采菱舟散，望中水天一色……有素鷗，閑伴夜深，呼棹過環碧。 This poem is documented in *Rihu yuchang* 日湖漁唱 (The fisherman's song on the Ri lake). Chen Yunping, *Rihu yuchang*, in *Congshu jicheng xinbian* 叢書集成新編 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1986).

³⁸³ For Zhou Mi's poems, see Zhou Mi, *Juemiao haoci jian* 絕妙好辭箋, juan 7, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

³⁸⁴ “In the thirty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign, the Shengzu emperor visited West Lake. He built a pavilion on the foundation [of the previous Longwang Hall]. A stone platform is constructed in the front court on which a placard transcribing the imperial brush “Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake” is hung. A water terrace is built next to the pavilion to enshrine the stone stele.” 康熙三十八年，聖祖巡幸西湖，建亭其址。前為石台，上懸御書“平湖秋月”匾額，旁構水軒，恭摹勒石。 Ding Jing, *Wulin jinshi ji*, juan 1, *Xihu wenxian jicheng xuji*, vol. 1, 21.

boats have opened. In the rosy bedchambers, the sweet smell lingered, the candlesticks melted like tears, and someone is still inebriated and run-down.

冰奩。黛淺紅鮮。臨曉鑒，兢晨妍。怕誤卻佳期，宿妝旋整，忙上雕駟。都緣探芳
起早，看堤邊、早有已開船。薇帳殘香淚蠟，有人病酒慊慊。³⁸⁵

This morning scene in the pleasure quarters on the lake is also portrayed in painted media. In *Hainei qiguan*, the “Spring Dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway” scene is depicted as a donkey-riding scholar greeting or bidding farewell to a courtesan on a lakeshore terrace (plate 6.6). Romantic motifs, such as the willow trees and a swallow, and the direct eye contact between the male and female figures suggest an intimate bond. Such iconography is repeatedly used in the rendering of this subject matter, even until the early Qing, as a porcelain vase dated to Kangxi’s reign and displayed in the Art Institute of Chicago shows similar motifs and composition (plate 6.7).

However, after the formalization of ten scenes, the “Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway” scene is pinned down to a location between the Wangshan Bridge (望山橋) and the Yadi Bridge (壓堤橋) on the Sudi Causeway.³⁸⁶ Likewise, a pavilion was built, along with an imperially transcribed stone stele bearing the tetragram “Su Di Chun Xiao.” The romantic connotation of the subject matter is completely effaced in the High Qing court-commissioned works. Poems on the scene refocus on Su Shi’s contribution as the local administrator of

³⁸⁵ Zhou Mi, *Juemiao haoci jian*, juan 7

³⁸⁶ Ding Jing, *Wulin jinshi ji*, juan 1, *Xihu wenxian jicheng xuji*, vol. 1, 19.

Hangzhou, while paintings of it portray a well-managed dike in a picturesque spring view. Emperor Qianlong's poem, which is also transcribed on a number of paintings by court artists, depicting the Sudi Causeway scene, states:

The Great Su Shi, governor of Qiantang, endowed me with abundant resources.

The dike would forever pass down his name

Not letting Yiguang (aka Xishi) take sole possession of the lake.³⁸⁷

This poem was inscribed on a hanging scroll by Dong Bangda, depicting "Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway," now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. The tripartite composition places the Huxin Pavilion in the foreground, a section of Sudi Dike in the middle ground, and some hills in the background. Water divides the three lands. The Sudi Causeway, revealing only a section between the Yadi Bridge and the Pavilion of Imperial Stone Stele, is adorned with lush willows interspersed with peach blossoms. In an album leaf by Qian Weicheng, the Sudi scene is again represented as a horizontal dike, with the portrayal of the Yadi Bridge and the imperial pavilion seen from the east (plate 6.8). The bridge and the pavilion become the iconic motifs for the "Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway" scene, replacing the romantic connotation that the subject matter had previously conveyed.

With this canonization of ten scenes of West Lake as a pictorial theme, this previously elusive subject became overwhelmingly topographic yet also increasingly iconic. The built structures themselves (pavilions, bridges, and stupas), rather than the sites at large, became the foci of the scenes. For instance, the Duan Bridge in itself represents the "Lingering Snow on

³⁸⁷ See chapter 4.

Duan Bridge” scene (plate 6.9). In this case, snow or a rider in wintry weather are no longer necessary. Likewise, the three stone stupas could represent the “Moon Reflected on the Three Ponds” scene, without the need for the moon or the reflecting water. In this way, the Manchu court’s efforts to renovate and rebuild the scenery of the lake after the destruction it suffered during the dynastic turmoil are presented visually to viewers of different social strata via court-commissioned images using various media.

In sum, to formalize the ten scenes of West Lake, the Qing court decided on the official names and locations of all scenes, which were marked in situ by the imperial pavilions. This formalization was also visualized in pictorial representations focusing on locationality and site specificity. The seasonal sentiments and romantic undertones of certain scenes were superseded by standardized images of site-specific views. The royal, scholarly, professional, and local artists working for the emperor all participated in making this set of motifs to represent ten scenes of West Lake.

Painters on Call

To produce and promote the new images of ten scenes, the emperor(s) of the Qing dynasty had a large roster of painters from which to recruit. Painters of West Lake who worked under the patronage of the emperor(s) can be grouped into four main categories: royalty, literati-painters who held official ranks, professional court painters, and artisans in the Jiangnan region.

In the first group, a number of princes in the palace were skilled in the art of painting. Prince Shen (慎郡王, Aisin Gioro Yunxi 允禧, 1711–58), Aisin Gioro Hongwu (弘晔, 1743–1811, grandson of Emperor Kangxi), and Aisin Gioro Yongrong (永瑢, 1743–90, sixth son of

Emperor Qianlong) all had paintings listed in the *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈 catalogues.³⁸⁸ Among these princes, Yongrong left a West Lake album that exemplifies the portrayal of the lake by a member of the royalty.

The second group included Dong Bangda, his son Dong Gao (董誥, 1740–1818), and his student Qian Weicheng. Dong Bangda passed the imperial-level examination and became a *jinshi* (進士) during Yongzheng’s reign.³⁸⁹ With the favor of Emperor Qianlong, he achieved the status of minister (尚書) around 1755.³⁹⁰ His son, Dong Gao, also a *jinshi*, attained the position of vice minister of the Ministry of Works (工部侍郎) during Qianlong’s reign and was appointed the grand academician of Wenhua Palace (文華殿大學士) during Jiaqing’s reign (1796–1820).³⁹¹ Likewise, Qian Weicheng was a *zhuangyuan* (狀元, the primus of the imperial-level examination) who rose to the position of vice minister of the Ministry of Justice (刑部侍郎).³⁹² These three eminent officials also excelled in painting, and all had depicted the scenery of West Lake for the emperors.

³⁸⁸ Yunxi was the son of Emperor Kangxi, Hongwu was the grandson of Emperor Kangxi, and Yongrong was the sixth son of Emperor Qianlong and was later adopted into the lineage of Yunxi, his granduncle. See *Qingshigao*, juan. 220, liezhuan 7. *Shiqu baoji* catalogues record 34 paintings by Yunxi, 17 paintings by Yongrong, and 37 paintings by Hongwu, most of which are landscapes. See *Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji*, vol. 2, 7, 12.

³⁸⁹ See Zhao Erxun et al., *Qing shi gao, liezhuan* 92, juan. 30 (Taipei: Dingwen chubanshe, 1981), 10518.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ *Qing shi gao, liezhuan* 127, juan. 340, 11089–90.

³⁹² *Qing shi gao, liezhuan* 92, juan. 305, 10519–20.

These high-ranking officials/painters had a peculiar relationship with the emperor and his imperial academy of painting.³⁹³ On one hand, these officials held senior positions in the government, supervising important government affairs.³⁹⁴ They did not receive any payment for their paintings submitted to the palace.³⁹⁵ On the other hand, they spent large chunks of time painting for the emperor. In the year 1752 alone, Dong Bangda submitted at least thirty-three paintings to the imperial workshops Zaobanchu.³⁹⁶ In the same year, Qian Weicheng submitted a minimum of twenty-four works.³⁹⁷ According to the Zaobanchu records, all these works were paintings on paper, many of which were landscapes.³⁹⁸ They were intended to be mounted with silk bindings by Zaobanchu and stored in the palace.³⁹⁹ The Ruyi Guan (如意館) catalogues in the Zaobanchu records indicate that Dong and Qian, unlike professional court painters, rarely obtained financial or material support from the palace. The emperor's commission of Dong Bangda's paintings might be personal and private and therefore would not have been processed through Zaobanchu or other ministries.

³⁹³ Dong Gao was the son of Dong Bangda, and Qian Weicheng was believed to have learned from Dong Bangda as well. See *ibid.*, 10520.

³⁹⁴ Qian Weicheng was the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Law who promoted several reforms in law enforcement. He also investigated the corruption of local officials and appeased rebellions in the southwest. See *ibid.*, 10519. Dong Gao also supervised the Ministry of Law, protected the imperial entourage against riots in the imperial city, and repressed uprisings led by illegal religious groups. See *Qing shi gao*, juan 92, 11090.

³⁹⁵ In contrast to painters who worked in the painting academy, Dong Bangda, Dong Gao, and Qian Weicheng were not on the payroll of *Neiwufu*. A record of expenses on painters' salaries on the fourth month of 1753 lists all the painters on the payroll of Ruyi Guan, which includes Zhang Zongcang and Xu Yang among the first rank. Other records on the expenses of Ruyi Guan also suggest that Dong Bangda, Dong Gao, and Qian Weicheng never received payment or reimbursement from zaobanchu. See *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 20, 602.

³⁹⁶ Zaobanchu *biaozuo* 裱作(Mounting workshop) record, *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 18, 44–128. The *biaozuo* record only documents the works that arrived in the mounting workshop of zaobanchu. It is an incomplete list that gives a lower estimate of the total number of paintings that Dong Bangda and Qian Weicheng submitted to the palace inventories.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

One record in the Ruyi Guan documents sheds some light on the imperial patronage of Dong Bangda's works. In 1748,

on the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month, eunuch Hu Shijie brought the imperial order, asking Shen Yuan [a court painter] and Dong Bangda to go to several sites in the Imperial Temporary Palace in Panshan, make sketches and drawings, and submit them for the emperor's review.

七月二十六日，太監胡士傑傳旨，“沈源、董邦達往盤山行宮等處起稿畫圖圖，呈覽。⁴⁰⁰

This and other extant records in the Zaobanchu documents suggest the collaboration between Dong Bangda and the painters listed on the payroll of the imperial painting academy. However, other evidence reveals the emperor's more direct patronage of Dong Bangda. On a West Lake painting by Dong Bangda, the emperor stated that he personally ordered Dong “to stay in the capital and compose [such a work] for my review.”⁴⁰¹ These texts suggest that although Dong Bangda was not on the payroll of the court academy of painting, he cooperated with painters on the payroll and answered the emperor's calls. Although he seemingly had more liberty regarding his paintings than did professional court painters, it is difficult to argue that the works that he submitted to the palace were free of the emperor's influence. Being the patron, inscriber, viewer, and collector of Dong Bangda's paintings, Emperor Qianlong was precise in

⁴⁰⁰ *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 16, 259.

⁴⁰¹ See note 18.

expressing his preferences. Per the Zaobanchu record, a painting by Dong Bangda needed the emperor's permission before its actual execution.⁴⁰²

The third group of artists comprised the professional painters who worked for the palace. During most of Qianlong's reign, these professional painters worked in the *huazuo* (畫作, painting workshop) or in Ruyi Guan. Zhang Zongcang and Xu Yang were among the most successful.⁴⁰³ These professional court painters received a fixed salary based on rank.⁴⁰⁴ Each specialized in one or two genres (figure painting, architecture painting, tree painting, flower and bird painting, landscape painting, etc.). For this reason, they would often collaborate to finish a project. These painters obtained the materials and tools, including paper, silk, pigments, and brushes, from Zaobanchu. The orders that they received were as precise as could be. On the eleventh month of 1750,

the emperor demands [court painter] Zhang Gao [張鎬] to design five model sketches to present for imperial review. When approved, Zhang Gao should use *xuanzhi* paper to paint an image of Chuitai. The other four [projects] are assigned to Dong Bangda, Qian

⁴⁰² The word *chenglan* 呈覽 means “to present for imperial review” and indicates that the emperor's approval is necessary before turning the drafts into final works. Additionally, many of Dong's works became part of the décor of the palaces—pasted on screens, mounted on walls, and stitched onto window shields in the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, and Yuanming Yuan Garden. To fit the media, Dong Bangda must have received the emperor's very specific instructions regarding the size and the subject matter.

⁴⁰³ See *Qing shi gao*, *liezhuan* 291, juan. 504, 13912.

⁴⁰⁴ A record in *Zaobanchu* states that “from this day on, painter Zhang Zongcang shall receive a monthly salary, food, and reimbursement on the same level as Yu Sheng and Ding Guanpeng.” See *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 16. This piece of evidence suggests that painters were ranked on various pay levels and a promotion was decided by officials in charge of *Neiwufu*.

Weicheng, Li Shizhuo, and Zhang Ruocheng. Each should use *xuanzhi* paper to paint based on the models.

俱着張鎬起稿呈覽，準時，張鎬用宣紙畫吹臺圖一幅。其四幅着董邦達、錢維城、李世卓、張若澄各照樣用宣紙畫一幅。⁴⁰⁵

Four days later, this new order came from the emperor:

When Zhang Gao's sketches are completed, have Dong Bangda and so on paint trees and rocks. When they have done so, have student painters depict the architecture using rulers.

張鎬起的圖稿，得時，着董邦達等畫樹石，得時，着學徒等畫界畫。⁴⁰⁶

This text demonstrates that collaboration among professional court painters and even with literati-painters was common per the request of the emperor or *Neiwu Fu* officials. It also suggests that the emperor had absolute control over images produced by his court and officials.

The last group that produced West Lake images under the commission of the court of Qianlong comprised the artists, artisans, and craftsmen of local *zhizao* (織造, manufacturing) bureaus.⁴⁰⁷ The 1784 inventory of *Zaobanchu* lists “a pair of rosewood hanging screens painted with the ten scenes of West Lake, and with embroidered edges and jade inlays” (紫檀木商絲邊

⁴⁰⁵ *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 17, 373.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ The three *zhizao* bureaus refer to Jiangning *zhizao*, Suzhou *zhizao*, and Hangzhou *zhizao*. They were also under the supervision of *Neiwu Fu* and worked for the imperial household.

漆心嵌玉西湖十景掛屏一對).⁴⁰⁸ This work was most likely a present from the Jiangnan region.⁴⁰⁹ In the sixth month of 1784, Emperor Qianlong received two West Lake handscrolls from the director of the Suzhou *zhizao* bureau, Side (四德, eighteenth century).⁴¹⁰ The emperor ordered:

Two cases containing the two West Lake handscrolls are to be attended by [the officials of] Maoqin Hall. [Have them] [w]rite large characters and impress imperial seals [on the scrolls]. When done, place one scroll in Rehe Summer Palace. Have someone bring the other scroll to West Lake Palace and settle it there.

西湖圖手卷二匣，交懋勤殿伺候。寫大字，用寶，得時，在熱河擺一分。剩餘一分俟盛往進貢，使人帶去在西湖行宮安設。⁴¹¹

Four months later, Side offered two more West Lake handscrolls, which were also accepted and stored in Maoqin Hall.⁴¹² These handscrolls were manufactured by artists and

⁴⁰⁸ *Qingong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 47, 405.

⁴⁰⁹ Shen Chu 沈初 (1735–1799) writes in *Xiqing Biji* 西清筆記 (Notes of Xiqing), “The Jiangnan region pays tribute to the palace with hanging screens, most of which are horizontal 江南進掛屏，多橫幅。” See Shen Chu, *Xiqing Biji*, juan. 1, 126. Several local officials sent in painted screens with sceneries of their jurisdiction. For instance, in 1780 alone, the Governor of Jiangxi presented a “Glass bedside screen with Ten Scenes of Jiang Xi 玻璃江西十景炕屏,” the Governor of Shan Dong submitted a “Hanging screen with images of Mt. Penglai and Mt. Lao 蓬萊嶗山圖掛屏,” and the Governor of Zhejiang sent in a “Jade standing screen depicting images of Mt. Lianhua 玉蓮花峰圖插屏.” See *Qingong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 43, 381, 401, 431.

⁴¹⁰ *Qingong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 47, 512–3.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹² *Qingong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 47, 523.

artisans under the commission of the Suzhou *zhizao*. Considering the highly commercialized art market in Suzhou and their capability in producing images of famous sites, it is reasonable to assume that the artisans who collaborated with the *zhizao* bureau to present landscape paintings of West Lake had some overlap with commercial painters of mass production.⁴¹³

The resourceful emperor utilized painters belonging to these four categories, engaging artists from a wide range of social status, from Manchu royals and Han Chinese officials to professional painters and local artisans. Being the head and nexus of all these painters, as well as the agent of the emperor, Zaobanchu facilitated the communication of images that penetrated social divisions. The princes' paintings were placed alongside the works of professional court painters. High-ranking officials collaborated with court painters in the palace. The emperor's own portrayal of West Lake, in the form of two handscrolls, was sent to Suzhou to be mounted by the *zhizao* artisans.⁴¹⁴ Local artists of Suzhou compiled West Lake handscrolls to be presented to and collected by the emperor. Screens painted with images of West Lake, produced by Jiangnan craftsmen, were accepted as gifts to decorate the Forbidden City. In this way, a new canonization of West Lake imagery, initiated by the emperor with the input of his painters, expanded across social strata, media, and regions.

⁴¹³ The artisans and the craftsmen worked for the *zhizao* bureaus on commission, that is, the bureaus commissioned products from certified households or workshops. See Peng Zeyi 彭澤益, "Qingdai qianqi Jiangnan zhizao de yanjiu" 清代前期江南織造的研究 (Research on early-Qing Jiangnan Zhizao), *Historical Research* 歷史研究 4 (1963): 91–116.

⁴¹⁴ *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 47, 529.

5.2 The Mobile Image: Translocal Efforts in Painting West Lake

In the imperial city of Beijing, the producers of the ten scenes of West Lake paintings ranged from Manchu royals (such as Prince Aisin Goro Yongrong), high-ranking Han Chinese scholar-officials (such as Dong Bangda, Dong Gao, and Qian Weicheng), professional artists and artisans who served the court (such as Zhang Zongcang) to Jiangnan-based artisans who worked under contract to the *zhizao* bureaus. Outside the court, literati/amateur artists (such as Zhang Zhaolan 張照蘭, dates unknown), local professional painters (such as Sun Tong 孫桐, dates unknown), local publishers (such as the Zhai 翟 brothers), and commercial porcelain workshops (such as Mushi Ju 木石居) were avid makers of images of the ten scenes of West Lake (plates 6.10).

During the Qing dynasty, such motifs became emblematic of the visual representation of West Lake, using various media, including painting, print, porcelain, inkstone, photography, and textile.

The exchange of objects among different groups of artists and their collaboration allowed the circulation of the images of West Lake and thus completed the “iconic circuit.”⁴¹⁵ For instance, Emperor Qianlong’s depictions of West Lake were sent to Suzhou to be mounted, allowing local craftsmen a view of the imperial brushwork. Additionally, he deliberately sent landscape paintings to the Jiangnan region to be placed in situ.⁴¹⁶ In return, the Jiangnan artisans’

⁴¹⁵ Craig Clunas defines the “iconic circuit” as a system in which images refer to one another based on art historical features. In this sense, images of different media, functions, and prices could allude to one another by sharing common motifs and iconographies. See Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 48.

⁴¹⁶ Emperor Qianlong sent a painting of him to Suzhou. A West Lake scroll as sent to West Lake Palace in Hangzhou. See note 320.

works were chosen to be presented to the emperor, either via the *zhizao* bureau channel or among the tributes from local governors. High-ranking officials who had connections in Jiangnan, such as Shen Deqian, commissioned the illustrated *Gazetteer of West Lake* with the emperor's approval.⁴¹⁷ Printed illustrations of the ten scenes of West Lake in this volume were stored in the capital and in local and private libraries.⁴¹⁸ Likewise, senior officials' portrayals of West Lake were presented to royalty and professional court painters as they submitted works to the palace for mounting and storage. In a similar fashion, the works of professional court painters were also shown to scholar-officials for collaboration. In this way, Emperor Qianlong and his court, being the nexus of the circulation of West Lake images, enabled the transmission and popularization of the new imperial image of ten scenes.

On the local level, images of the ten scenes of West Lake were imprinted on various media for mass consumption. These works, imbued with the propagandic motifs of the court, further permeated society beyond the elite class.

Inside the Palace: Collaboration and Exchange of Artworks

Prince Yongrong's album of ten scenes of West Lake (plate 6.11) includes four scenes from the conventional ten scenes of West Lake and six scenes selected from the eighteen scenes of West Lake.⁴¹⁹ The imperial pavilion is evidently presented in each scene. The architecture is rendered

⁴¹⁷ Liang Shizheng et al., *Xihu Zhizuan*, juan. 1.

⁴¹⁸ A copy of this compilation is in the library of the Forbidden City. Another copy, which is compiled in *Siku quanshu*, is in the Wenlan ge library in Hangzhou.

⁴¹⁹ These include Moon Reflected on Three Ponds, Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds, Grand View on Mt. Wu 吳山大觀, Autumn Tides of Zhejiang River 浙江秋濤, Level Perspective on Huxin Pavilion 湖心平眺, Lingyin and Tianzhu 靈隱天竺, Sunny Rainbow at Jade-belt Bridge 玉帶晴虹, Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor, Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway, Sounding the zither at Plantain Stone 蕉石鳴琴.

in a ruled-line painting technique, using black, vermilion, and blue colors to delineate the magnificent structures patronized by the central and the provincial administrations. In each leaf, the main site is positioned in the center, surrounded by disproportionately reduced scenes on the four sides as contexts. For instance, in the “Level Perspective on Huxin Pavilion” scene (plate 6.12), Huxin Island sits in the center of the square-shaped album leaf. On the bottom of the painting, small icons with written labels denote the Baochu Pagoda, the Duan Bridge, the Baidi Causeway, and Gushan Islet. On the right, the six bridges of the Sudi Causeway are aligned. The South Mountain route, the Leifeng Pagoda, and the Three Ponds are on top; the city gates and wall are in the upper-left corner. The Huxin Pavilion, delineated in fine brushwork and colors, represents a prestigious royal garden that bestows perfect vistas of all sides. Stylistically and compositionally, Yongrong’s rendering of the scene takes from the court models exemplified by the *Xihu zhi* and Dong Bangda (plate 6.13).

An album depicting twenty-four scenes of West Lake, including the ten scenes, datable to Qianlong’s reign, is part of the collection of Baoyun Lou (寶蘊樓) in the Forbidden City (plate 6.14). This album consists of a map of West Lake, the ten scenes of West Lake, an illustration of Shengyin Monastery, and eleven illustrations of new scenes of the lake established during Emperor Yongzheng’s reign. Each illustration is a 14.9 x 19.7 cm album leaf painted with color on silk and paired with a text page with gold characters written on a black background.

The album was produced for imperial spectatorship and was collected in the Forbidden City. It exemplifies the new motifs of the ten scenes of West Lake rendered in an elaborate style. In the “Apes Howling in Cold Spring” (冷泉猿嘯) (plate 6.15) scene, the hills are executed in a prototypical axe-cut texturing brushwork associated with Li Tang and painted with layering

azurite and malachite colors, with a reference to the blue-and-green landscape.⁴²⁰ Under the overarching cliffs, a pavilion with intricate designs rises in the foreground. The pavilion sits on a pastel pebble foundation fenced by carved rails, supported by vermilion pillars, and decorated by a brocade banner between the two-tiered roofs and on the gable. The decorative style, the patternizing motifs, and the use of expensive pigments suggest a work of the imperial factory Zaobanchu or the divisional bureau in Suzhou.

Prince Yongrong's album and the Baoyun Lou album both show compositional references to the *Xihu zhi*-Dong Bangda model in representing the ten scenes of West Lake (plate 6.16). Although the painters of the two albums differed significantly in social class, the circulation of images among the artists working for Emperor Qianlong facilitated this exchange. Yongrong, one of the most talented artists of the Aisin Gioro clan, sent his works to the palace on a regular basis. Many of his works were mounted by artisans of Qixiang Palace (啟祥宮) in the Forbidden City or Ruyi Guan in Yuanming Yuan, among them works by artists such as Dong Bangda and Zhang Zongcang.⁴²¹ As such, the prince had access to the imperial collection in the palace to which he also contributed by submitting his own works. The painter (painters) of the Baoyun Lou album, who probably worked in the palace as a professional artist (professional artists), could also utilize Dong Bangda's and other predecessors' paintings as pictorial models. While learning from the compositions in Dong Bangda's *Ten Scenes*, the artist(s) of this album strived for a much more decorative and lurid style.

⁴²⁰ Azurite and malachite pigments were expensive materials for painting, which were perceived in complex ways by artists and scholars of China. These colorations refer to archaic landscape paintings before the Tang and Song, yet their over-application was often criticized. See Quincy Ngan, "The Materiality of Azurite Blue and Malachite Green in the Age of Chinese Colorist Qiu Ying (ca. 1498–ca. 1552)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016), 32–34, 78–80, 113–4.

⁴²¹ For examples, see *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 46, 754.

From the Palace to the Gentry: Collaboration among the Emperor, Court Painters, and Scholar-Officials

A set of ten hanging scrolls by Dong Bangda, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, offers insights into the collaboration in the creation of ten scenes of West Lake by people of various social classes (plate 6.17). Each hanging scroll is in tripartite organization, consisting of the imperially brushed inscription at the top, a scene of West Lake depicted by Dong Bangda in the middle, and a colophon of eight poetic inscriptions by eight calligraphers on the bottom. The eight inscribers are Jiang Fu (蒋溥, 1708–61), Jin Deying (金德瑛, 1701–62), Wang Youdun (汪由敦 1692–1758), Qian Rucheng (錢汝誠, 1722–79), Wang Jihua (王際華, 1717–76), Yu Minzhong (于敏中, 1714–80), Qiu Rixiu (裘日修, 1712–73), and [Soqoro] Guanbao (觀保, 1711–76). All excelled in the imperial-level exam to become *jinshi* and obtained important positions in the court by the time the scrolls were executed.⁴²² Five came from the Jiangnan region (three from present-day Zhejiang, two from Jiangsu); the other two were from the broader Jiangnan area—Anhui and Jiangxi, respectively.⁴²³ The only Manchu official was Guanbao; despite his birth in a Manchu bannerman household, he succeeded through the civil service examination.⁴²⁴ The painter Dong Bangda came from Fuyang, a neighboring county of West Lake. Such a work—designed for the emperor, commissioned under court patronage, and

⁴²² See *Qing shi gao* for biographic entries on Jiang Fu (jinshi, 1730), juan. 289, liezhuan 76; Jin Deying (jinshi, 1736) and Qian Rucheng (jinshi, 1748), juan. 305, liezhuan 92, pp. 10510, 10513; Wang Youdun (jinshi, 1724), juan. 302, liezhuan 89, p. 10456; Wang Jihua (jinshi, 1745), and Qiu Rixiu (jinshi, 1739), juan. 321, liezhuan 108, pp. 10773, 10780; and Yu Minzhong (jinshi, 1738), juan. 319, liezhuan 106, pp. 10749, 10252. For Guanbao (jinshi, 1737), see “buyuan dacheng nianbiao 部院大臣年表,” *Qing shi gao*, juan. 184–7, 6601–7.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

executed by the emperor, high-ranking scholar-officials of Chinese ethnicity, and a Manchu bannerman with a *jinshi* title—epitomizes the collaborative work required of the court to accomplish a West Lake project. This final product, mounted by Zaobanchu and stored in the imperial collection, was also viewable to painters in the palace. The emperor, Dong Bangda, the eight scholar-calligraphers, the craftsmen in the mounting division of Zaobanchu, the weavers of the Suzhou *zhizao* bureaus who made the silk bag, the makers of wooden cases in the “woodcraft workshop” (油木作), and the keepers of the imperial inventory all participated in the assembly line, adding to the final work while facilitating the movement of the object.

The scholars who collaborated with the emperor in this project were mostly Han-Jiangnan literati who achieved high status via the civil service examination. On the local level, less successful literati artists still appreciate landscape paintings of West Lake as a continuation of the tradition since the Ming dynasty. As chapter 2 demonstrates, depicting West Lake as an ideal site for scholarly contemplation and reclusion was a desirable subject for scholars of the Jiangnan region during the Ming dynasty. For instance, paintings by Li Liufang and Xiang Shengmo frame the then-touristy West Lake in an otherworldly sphere in an ink-monochromatic landscape. Such a tendency never ceased to exist in the Qing period even when the lake was heavily inscribed by imperial traces.

Plate 6.18 is a scroll by a professional artist of Zhejiang, named Fei Danxu (費丹旭, ca. 1801–50), depicting Gushan Islet (fig. 82).⁴²⁵ Two paintings of Gushan are mounted on the ink-

⁴²⁵ Fei Danxu, a Huzhou native who resided in Hangzhou for almost twenty years, was a celebrated artist skilled in landscape and figure paintings. See Gong Jiajun, Wu Qingqiu, *Hangzhou Fuzhi* 杭州府志 (*Gazetteer of Hangzhou*), juan. 170, 1922 reprint of 1898 original.

monochromatic handscroll. The first painting positions Gushan Islet in the upper-right half, across the water from the viewers and shielded by hills on the back. A rustic pavilion occupies the focal point. Several plum blossom branches surround the pavilion, while four scholars greet one another in front. In the second painting, Gushan Islet is again depicted in an ink-monochromatic landscape. Again, a bucolic pavilion stands among hills and water. Three groups of scholars are walking toward the pavilion, while three sit in it. In each painting, the traces of imperial influence are reduced to a minimum, although the scenes depicted are adjacent to the imperial West Lake Palace. The deliberate omission of imperial traces suggests the tendency to reclaim Gushan as the hermitage of Lin Bu despite the imperial occupancy.

In a painting by literati-artist Ma Lvtao (馬履泰, 1746–1829), imperial traces were again effaced in the lightly colored landscape (plate 6.19).⁴²⁶ These two works, done slightly after Qianlong's reign, suggest a decline in control after the six southern tours by the late emperor. With this vacuum of power, local, professional, and literati artists sought to return to a pictorial tradition that undermined the Manchu influence.

This trend was also present in the imperial city. Dong Gao, the son of Dong Bangda and one of the most prominent statesmen of the Jiaqing era, toned down the political connotation in the representation of the scenes of West Lake. An album in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum signed by Dong Gao and datable to Jiaqing's reign depicts the ten scenes of West Lake (plate 6.20). Each of the ten scenes takes up two facing pages to show a pictorial representation of the

⁴²⁶ Ma Lvtao was a local Hangzhou scholar-official of *jinshi* rank who was also skilled in landscape paintings. See Peng Yuncan 彭蘊燦, *Lidai Huashi Huizhuan* 歷代畫史彙傳, juan. 48, Erudition Database of Chinese Local Records.

scene and a transcription of a poem by Emperor Jiaqing (1760–1820, r. 1796–1820). Although the album was probably presented to the emperor or produced under imperial patronage, its political overtone is much subtler than that of a work during Qianlong’s time. The album leaves are much smaller than those of any work by Dong Bangda. In each scene, the imperial pavilion is contextualized in a literati-style landscape. For instance, in the “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds” scene, its overall composition is derived from the court model that is present in *Xihu zhi* and Dong Bangda, showing three stupas emerging from the water on the left and a building on a balcony on the right. In both Dong Bangda’s and Dong Gao’s paintings, the moon in the upper right corner is reflected on the lower-left pond, a motif repeatedly used in illustrations of the particular scene. Compared with Dong Bangda’s depiction of the site, Dong Gao’s balcony and the imperial pavilion are rendered in a simple and reduced manner, without the use of rulers. Ink washes are applied to the buildings to give them a more subdued and softer look. The hills in Dong Gao’s imagery are rendered in ink-wash and texturing strokes.

The reduction of built structures, the use of literati-style landscape elements, and the subdued coloration are the common features of Dong Gao’s album. In the illustrations, scholar figures reside in the bucolic buildings and ride in small fisherman’s boats amid a literati-style landscape. In the “Breeze among the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard” scene, in particular, the composition refers to the court model, while the architecture is rendered in a literati-style cottage (plate 6.22). On the cottages, the prototypical Huang Gongwang hill screens the lake. On the water, light green washes of color patches interspersed with painterly rose dots represent lotus blossoms. A scholar figure sits in the cottage, looking down at the lotus blossoms. Although the composition and motifs are almost identical to those of the *Xihu zhi* illustration, the soft color scheme, the painterly brushwork, and the adaptation of prototypical literati landscape elements in

Dong Gao's painting eschew overt political undertones and present a subtle image that showcases the site specificity of the imperial structures while appealing to a literati taste in landscape painting. The sites per se are evidently depicted, while the sentiments evoked by the scenes are also preserved to a certain degree. The imperial structures are immersed in the poetic atmosphere. This album epitomizes a balanced negotiation between representing the sites as traces of imperial influence and as grounds for scholarly enjoyment.

An album of twelve scenes by Zhang Zhaolan also represents the tendency to contextualize imperial structures in a literati-style landscape (plate 6.23). In the "Moon Reflected on Three Ponds" scene, the composition is again derived from the *Xihu zhi*-Dong Bangda stereotype, presenting the Imperial Pavilions predominantly. However, the landscape elements, namely trees, rocks, and water, are all rendered in a literati style with monochromatic ink. In the picture, two scholar figures raise their heads to appreciate the moon. In the "Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds" scene, the short hills of Hangzhou are depicted in the monumental style of mountains, which pierce the sky (plate 6.24). In the foreground, two scholars play the chess-like board game of go, while another scholar gazes at the water inside a terrace. In each painting, the architecture is painted with a ruled-line technique, whereas the landscape elements are rendered in the typical literati style. Similarly, the architecture in each scene symbolizes imperial influence, whereas the figures dressed as Han Chinese scholars participate in activities associated with the literati. Zhang Zhaolan's and Dong Gao's albums, done at a time of declining imperial control over West Lake, demonstrate an interpolation of the image of West Lake promoted by the court into the representation of the lake as an ideal landscape for scholarly pleasures.

2. From the Court to the Masses: The Secularization of Ten Scenes of West Lake across Media

As previously pointed out in this chapter, the representation of the ten scenes of West Lake became emblematic and iconic, following the standardization in pictorial representation. The iconic motifs of the built structures were rearranged freely to fit different media and functions. As such, they were no longer subjugated to and confined by the actual geography of West Lake. As a woman's *dapo yi* (達婆衣) robe in the Palace Museum demonstrates (plate 6.25), symbolic motifs associated with West Lake, such as the Duan Bridge, the Three Ponds, and the Sudi Causeway, are stitched onto the main part of the costume like decorative patterns that do not abide by realistic spatial vectors. This robe, a costume for a female comedian in a theatrical performance in the palace, is also decorated on its collar and edges with stories from *Dream of the Red Chamber* (紅樓夢).⁴²⁷ Again, the lake's iconic landmarks as tropes of the scenic beauty of West Lake were associated with romance in the context of a dramatic performance.

Mid-late Qing printing houses recognized a lucrative business opportunity in illustrations and posters of West Lake. In Suzhou, one of the national centers of printmaking, new visual models emerged with the influence of Western printing and painting techniques. In *Scenery of West Lake* (西湖風景圖), dated to Qianlong's reign, scenes of West Lake, including "Autumnal Moon Reflected on the Calm Lake," "Huxin Pavilion," "Breeze among the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard," "Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway," and "Twin Peaks Piercing the

⁴²⁷ Zhang Shuxian 張淑賢 et al., *Qinggong xiqu wenwu* 清宮戲曲文物 (Drama props from the Qing palace) (Shanghai: Kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008, no. 182.

Clouds,” are portrayed with the use of a linear perspective (plate 6.25). This vantage point, starting with the Baidi Causeway in the foreground and advancing to the twin peaks in the background, is a typical configuration observed in Suzhou prints of the West Lake genre.

Another work, *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, depicts the Duan Bridge in the immediate foreground, followed by the predominant imperial palace on Gushan and screened by Sudi and the western peaks in the background (plate 6.27). Such a layout is the model for Suzhou-based printing houses, mostly in the Taohuawu (桃花塢) district. These printed images of West Lake had evident emphasis on the Duan Bridge, West Lake Palace, Gushan, and Huxin Pavilion, the part of the lake most directly under imperial control.

However, the Suzhou printmakers played with the notion of “imperiality” using concepts of auspicious motifs that were suitable for new-year prints. In the *West Lake Temporary Palace* (西湖行宮圖) print, the aforementioned visual model is applied with an interesting twist (plate 6.28). The foreground shows a two-story pavilion (representing the imperial pavilion of the “Autumnal Moon Reflected on the Calm Lake” scene; following the pavilion, across from a bridge, a garden titled Xinggong (Imperial Temporary Palace) is shown. Behind the Xinggong garden, the lake, the Sudi Causeway, and the hills pin down the landscape to West Lake. Interestingly, inside the pavilion and the Xinggong garden, a number of palace ladies dressed in Han Chinese costumes are immersed in various activities: attending to children, playing musical instruments, teasing pets, and watching others. The image of palace ladies in a garden, engaged in different activities, is a popular subject matter frequently seen in pictures of beauties.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸An example is Chen Mei’s 陳枚 (active 18th century) *Yueman Qingyou* 月曼清遊 (*The Pursuit of Pleasure in the Courses of the Seasons*), an album of twelve scenes framing ladies in architectural settings. Another example would

Meanwhile, chubby babies and beautiful ladies are also popular motifs on New Year prints. The juxtaposition of the “beautiful lady” genre, the “hundred babies” subject, and the imperial palace on West Lake contextualizes the latter in a joyful and auspicious setting. Touristy West Lake is now a lively yet secluded feminine space.⁴²⁹ West Lake Palace, reserved exclusively for the Qing emperors, is now represented as a home of charming ladies, cute babies, and cuddly pets. The combination of these subjects set in the scenic beauty of West Lake and the imperial garden caters to customers who wish to have it all.

This tendency to combine imperial influence, tourist fascination, and folk culture is common in many other West Lake prints around the mid-Qing dynasty. In a printed poster titled *Ten Scenes of Hangzhou’s West Lake along with Scenes of the Tianzhu and the Yunlin Monasteries* (杭州西湖十景聖因天竺云林之圖) (plate 6.29), the lake and its ten scenes are distortedly represented in a vertical layout. The header of the poster depicts two dragons around a circular flaming sun in which *yushu* (御書, imperial transcription) is written. Beneath the header is the title of the print in standard script. The main pictorial plane is divided into three parts. The uppermost part shows the Upper Tianzhu Monastery surrounded by mountains and

be the twelve panels of *Yongzheng’s Twelve Beauties*. Each panel depicts a court lady dressed in Han Chinese costume in an interior setting. Qiu Ying’s 仇英 (1494-1552) *Spring Dawn at Han Palace* 漢宮春曉圖 is another example, enclosing court ladies in a palatial structure yet providing a voyeuristic gaze for viewers. See Wu Hung’s discussion on the Chen Mei album and the *Twelve Beauties* paintings in “Beyond Stereotypes.” For discussions on Qiu Ying’s *Spring Dawn at Han Palace*, see Ngan, “Materiality of Azurite Blue and Malachite Green,” 105–185; Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 68.

⁴²⁹ Feminine space, as defined in Wu Hung, “refers to a real or fictional place that is perceived, imagined, and represented as a woman,” “feminine space takes figure and objects as its constituent elements and thus encompasses them. . . a feminine space is a spatial entity – an artificial world composed of landscape, vegetation, architecture, atmosphere, climate, color, fragrance, light, and sound as well as selected human occupants and their activities. . . a painted feminine space. . . derives its vocabulary from individual genres.” Wu Hung, “Beyond Stereotypes: the twelve beauties in Qing court art and the ‘Dream of the Red Chamber’,” in eds., Ellen Widmer and Kang-I Sun Chang, *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 317-318.

hills. The iconic Beigao and Nangao Peaks screen the monastery in the center. Baiyun (白雲) Peak, under which the Tianzhu monasteries are situated, occupies the top-center position. Below the hills and the monasteries lies the lake proper, including the Sudi and Baidi Causeways, the South Mountain and the North Mountain routes, Gushan Islet, and the Huxin Pavilion. Beneath the lake is the City of Hangzhou, enclosed on two sides by the city walls.

Such composition is an adaptation of the Li Song format in the bird's-eye panorama model. However, it also inherited Wang Yuanqi's method in including all of the ten scenes on a panorama layout. Each of the ten scenes is pinpointed specifically by the Imperial Pavilions, with the title labeled on it. Next to each scene, a poem is inscribed. The poems are composed by either the Southern Song poet Wang Wei (王洧, active thirteenth century) or the Ming dynasty poet Yang Zhou (楊周, active sixteenth century).⁴³⁰ Such representation is no longer a useful tool for tourists, as the geographical features subsided for all-inclusiveness. The print is more of a souvenir than a tourist guide, which was probably sold in the Tianzhu Monasteries.⁴³¹ The *yushu* characters draw attention to the imperial pavilions, while reversely showing the mass tourists' interest in retracing the imperial path. The poems of the Southern Song and the Ming poets recall the lake's association with the past. An amalgam of the panoramic, topo-poetic, and imperial West Lake is the outcome of such an encyclopedic poster.

⁴³⁰ Poems on ten scenes of West Lake by both poets were documented in the *Xihu youlan zhiyu*. This compilation might have been an important source for the proliferation of the citations of the two poets. See Tian Rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhiyu*, juan 10, in *Xihu wenxian jicheng*, vol.3, 395.

⁴³¹ As the poster label states, "the plates are stored in the Banyun fang of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery 版存上天竺伴雲房," indicating the monastery's engagement in the production and distribution of the printed posters.

To imbue images of West Lake with the notions of *yuzhi*, (御制, imperially composed) is both a way to please the emperor and a selling point to common consumers. Officials commissioned or purchased artworks that bore the transcription of the emperor's writings and sent them as tributes to the palace. For instance, high-quality prints of the emperor's poems were popular tributes from local governors. Emperor Kangxi's and Emperor Qianlong's countless poems on West Lake, especially on the ten scenes of West Lake, inevitably became associated with images of the lake.

During Qianlong's reign, Jiqing (吉慶, active eighteenth century), a high-ranking official superintending the salt business in the Lianghuai (兩淮) region, who was also originally from Neiwu Fu, sent in a set of ten inkstones, titled *Imperial Poems on Scenic Attraction of West Lake* (御制西湖名勝圖詩墨). On one side of the inkstones, each of the ten scenes of West Lake is depicted (plate 6.30). On the other side, a transcription of the corresponding poem by Emperor Qianlong is carved.⁴³² According to Wang Chongqi, this set of inkstones was the work of the family of the renowned ink maker Wang Jinsheng's (汪近聖, 1692–1761). On the painted side of the small, narrow inkstones, ten scenes of West Lake are reduced to their essence—the imperial pavilions and their immediate surroundings. The composition clearly follows the *Xihu zhi*-Dong Bangda formula, and the emphasis is always on the built structures. This set, now in the

⁴³² Wang Chongqi 王崇齊, “Xihu mingsheng shimo” 西湖名勝詩墨 (Inkstones inscribed with poems and famous scenes of West Lake), *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 (National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art), no. 284 (November, 2002): 40–52.

collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, had been stored in the imperial collection since being accepted.

However, a wealthy commoner could also obtain this set of inkstones designed for the emperor. As noted in a record in *Wangshi Jiangu zhai Mo shu* (汪氏鑑古齋墨藪, Summary of inkstones from the Wang family's Chamber of Authenticating Antiques), such a set was priced at twenty *liang* (兩).⁴³³ A record in another ink manual lists the price of a similar set of inkstones as seven *liang*.⁴³⁴ Seven or twenty *liang* of silver were not insignificant sums, as these topnotch inkstones were not meant for the masses. However, it implies that affluent commoners could acquire such readily available products and thus acquire images of an imperially inscribed West Lake.

This case also offers an insight into the circulation of West Lake images via the exchange of objects. The inkstones, commissioned by a local official of the Anhui region and produced by a Huizhou ink maker, were proffered to the emperor in Beijing. However, the images and inscriptions are reflections of the artistic and literary works being done in the central court. As tangible examples of the work of court painters and of the emperor's poems, these inkstones were also sold to merchants and wealthy households in the south. The Wang family, being the intermediary between the emperor and the local masses, enabled the circulation of the court-promoted image of West Lake among the several strata of society that could afford to purchase them.

⁴³³ Ibid., 52, note 5.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

In addition to inkstones, porcelain was the novel medium for images of West Lake since Kangxi's reign. These wares ranged from large jars with elaborate designs to medium-sized vases with normal quality, to small bowls, cups, and plates with simple patterns and cheap quality. They were ready-made, mass-produced goods for purchase in the market. With these, images of West Lake infiltrated the daily lives of common city dwellers in the south. As images of West Lake were no longer limited to two-dimensional surfaces, new means of representation emerged.

A blue-and-white porcelain vase from Qianlong's reign, now in the West Lake Museum, Hangzhou, embodies the ten scenes of West Lake. It rearranges the sites so that the bottom of the vase represents the city, the belly symbolizes the lake, and the neck signifies the surrounding mountains (plate 6.31). The vase depicts Qiantang, Qingbo, and Yongjin Gates at the foot. Going upward, several routes departing from each gate are presented, leading up to the Baochu Pagoda on the north, the Liuhe Pagoda on the south, Xiangbi Peak (象鼻峰, Elephant-Trunk Peak) and Yipian Yun (一片雲, Piece of Cloud) on the southwest, and the Tianzhu and the Lingyin Monasteries on the west. The body of the vase encompasses a fan-shaped vista of West Lake, as seen from the side of the city (plate 6.32). To fit the medium, the northern Qiantang Gate is adjacent to the southern Qingbo Gate, just as the northernmost Baochu Pagoda sits next to the southernmost Liuhe Pagoda. In this way, the trapezoid/fan-shaped vista wraps around the cylindrical vase. When viewed, only a section of the vase can be seen at one time, thus revealing only one route from the bottom to the top. If the viewer starts from the bottom and moves upward, he or she is shown a tourist route, beginning with a city gate and ending at a peak. If the viewer turns the vase in a counterclockwise direction, starting from Qiantang Gate (as one

should with almost all images of West Lake), he or she moves from the north shores to the south shores, from Qiantang Gate to Qingbo Gate, from the Baochu Pagoda to the Liuhe Pagoda. In this pioneering way, a panorama of the lake is incarnated on a cylindrical porcelain vase.

It is easier to incorporate the ten scenes of West Lake theme onto porcelainware without complying with geographic coordinates. As ten iconic images, the ten scenes could be arranged in any way that the maker liked. Sometimes, each scene is the subject of an individual plate. For instance, a plate in the Metropolitan Museum dated to Kangxi's reign shows the "Moon Reflected on Three Ponds" scene (plate 6.33). On the center of the plate, an elaborate pavilion rises, overlooking three stone stupas in water. The plate bears an inscription of the poem written by Yang Zhou and a "seal" that states "Mushi Ju" (木石居, Residence of Wood and Stone). On the rim, a pattern of rocks and trees encircles the central scene. Yang Zhou's poem was also transcribed on the upper Tianzhu poster print, suggesting a popular trend in citing his poems when depicting the ten scenes of West Lake.

A porcelain jar in the Art Institute of Chicago dated to Kangxi's reign is also decorated with the motifs of the ten scenes of West Lake (6.34). The main body of the jar is decorated with eight scenes, each framed in a pictorial window. The eight scenes are aligned in two rows. Between the scenes, floral and insect patterns fill the space, adding to the decorativeness of the jar. However, the representations of the scenes allude to the motifs of popular Ming dynasty illustrations, suggesting an early production date before the High Qing formalization.

In the Qing dynasty, as the image of West Lake was being redefined and widely circulated, the three basic pictorial formats proposed in chapter 1 were explored by artists of all classes nationwide. The ten scenes of West Lake, along with the new scenes established under

the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong became pictorial icons that represented site specificity by highlighting the built structures. *Sites* became more important than *scenes* as the image of West Lake was, to a large extent, defined by the iconic structures, including the Imperial Pavilions, bridges, and pagodas.

5.3. Displacing West Lake

Images of West Lake were crucial in the formation of regional identity during the Ming dynasty as much as they were essential in the visual appropriation of the site during the Qing regime. Imposing an imperial image of West Lake on landscape paintings had profound impacts on the ways in which the actual site was practiced and experienced.

In the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll by Xu Yang, a modified landscape is shown being trod upon by the horses of the Manchu conquerors, a clear representation of the projection of power over the land. In Zhang Zongcang's and Qian Weicheng's depictions of West Lake, the water and the land form an impenetrable triangle with a compelling image of the imperial palace. In the ten scenes of West Lake paintings patronized by the court, the foci are on the imperial pavilions as signifiers of imperial presence, sponsorship, and control. The architectural elements of the lake define and frame it in landscape paintings, and its natural beauty is peripheral and contextual. In the images of the new scene, "Archery and Equestrianism in Pavilion Bay," the martial Manchu bannermen are deliberately positioned on the otherwise serene landscape of West Lake, juxtaposed with fishermen and their oars. In a similar fashion, a section in the *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll and the upper Tianzhu Monastery print portray people dressed in Manchu costumes flooding the streets of Hangzhou and the bank of West Lake. These images seek to naturalize the position of the Manchu conquerors—considered invaders of Hangzhou,

and more broadly, of the Jiangnan region—by superimposing martial Manchu settlers on the submissive landscape of West Lake.

The image of West Lake was also removed from its geographical context in the Qing dynasty as its scenes were displaced and redeployed elsewhere across the nation. The imperial Yuanming Yuan Garden in Beijing has eight sites named after scenes of West Lake: “Autumn Moon Reflected on the Calm Lake,” “Breeze among the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard,” “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds,” “Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway,” “Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge,” “Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor,” “Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain,” “Glow of Sunset upon Leifeng Peak.”⁴³⁵ In an album depicting scenes of Yuanming Yuan, each site is paired with a poem by Emperor Qianlong.⁴³⁶ On the “Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake” scene (plate 6.35), the emperor’s poem describes the scenery and alludes to Su Shi and Bai Juyi. The poem concludes by referring to Hangzhou: “Who would not speak of Qiantang at this moment” (此时谁不道钱塘).⁴³⁷ A site in the imperial garden in Beijing could be associated with Su Shi and Bai Juyi just because the design is reminiscent, more or less, of the scenery of West Lake.

The “Breeze among the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard” poem alludes to the brewing courtyard on West Lake during the Southern Song dynasty: “Here, red drapes reflected in the waves, lingering rainbow rustles its shadow; the resemblance [to the namesake scene in West

⁴³⁵ See Young-tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* (Springer, 2001).

⁴³⁶ This album, *Forty Scenes of Yuanming Yuan*, was painted by court painters Tang Dai 唐岱 (1673-ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan 沈源 (ca. 1736- ca. 1795) around the year 1744. An extant copy of the album is now in the collection of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

Lake] grants its name” (茲处红衣映波，长虹摇影，风景相似，故以其名名之).⁴³⁸ Similitude to the scenery of West Lake allowed a site thousands of miles away to be named after the renowned scene of west lake. More importantly, this site could then inherit the cultural and historical associations conveyed by West Lake.

Furthermore, an “imitation” site could be rendered even more similar to the original site in pictorial representations. In Dong Bangda’s handscroll (plate 6.36) delineating the scenes of the imperial Jingming Yuan (靜明園) Garden in Beijing, Emperor Qianlong’s poems on eight scenes of West Lake Palace (西湖行宮八景) were attached in front.⁴³⁹ The title page states, “Sentiments meet sites” (情與境會) followed by the imperially transcribed inscription of the eight poems. The painting comes after the poems to delineate a garden landscape. Its composition and style echo a work by Zhang Zongcang—*Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace* (行宮八景圖)—now in Changzhou Museum (plate 6.37).⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace* refers to eight specific sites—the Pavilion of Four Brightness 四照亭, the Place of Bamboo Coolness 竹涼處, the Pathway of Green Clouds 綠云徑, the Pavilion of Overlooking Jade 瞰碧樓, the Spring of Preserving the Moon 貯月泉, the Eagle-scented Pavilion 鷺香亭, the Chamber of Understanding the Essence 領要閣, and the Magnolia Mansion 玉蘭館—inside the West Lake imperial palace on Gushan Islet. This subject matter is frequently explored in the poems of Emperor Qianlong. The set of poems attached to Dong Bangda’s scroll was written around 1751.

⁴⁴⁰ On the Zhang Zongcang scroll, a senior statesman, Zhuang Yougong 莊有恭 (1713–1767), brushed another set of poems (written by Emperor Qianlong) on *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace*. This set of poems was written in 1751, as documented in *Yuzhishi erji* 御製詩二集, juan. 25, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

The inscription on Dong Bangda's painting reveals the relation between "Shengyin zonghui" in Jingming Yuan and West Lake Palace.⁴⁴¹

On West Lake, a palace called Shengyin is the one I love.

To paint it like this is just appropriate; to arrange scenes like this seems real.

The bell transmits the rhyme of Nanping; the hills mark the texture of Upper Tianzhu.

The only lacking thing is the ten thousand acres of waves.

So I would just inspect agricultural lands [in this painting].

The above poem is written on the scene "Shengyin zonghui." Located on the southwest corner of Jingming Yuan, it is a secluded and faraway place. Pavilions and terraces were erected to slightly imitate the scenery of West Lake Palace. I named it "Shengyin zonghui," and incorporated it in the Sixteen Scenes of the Jingming Yuan Garden. Since it is named after Shengyin Monastery, I have therefore found a calligraphic work done previously on the subject. I then summoned Bangda to depict this image. I brushed the poem of "Shengyin zonghui" on this scroll. Yet my verse never mentioned the actual site. Comparing the painting with the views, which is depicted, and which is real? Which comes first, and which comes second? Which is faraway, and which is nearby? I can almost ignore the answers.

⁴⁴¹ The name *Shengyin Zonghui* 聖因總繪 (Comprehensive View of Shengyin) already alludes to the Shengyin Monastery, which is located in West Lake Palace to enshrine Emperor Kangxi. Gao Jin et al., *Nanxun Shengdian*, juan 94, 6a-6b.

為愛西湖上，行宮號聖因。圖來原恰當，構得宛成真。鐘遞南屏韻，山標上竺皴。

所輸波萬頃，卻便閱耕畝。

右題聖因綜繪之作，靜明園西南隅，地頗幽迥，略仿西湖行宮意，點綴亭榭，命之

曰聖因綜繪，為園中十六景之一。既出聖因，原做于前，後命邦達繪為此圖。而書

綜繪詩於卷，度藏其地，批圖對景，孰畫孰真，孰一孰二，孰遠孰近，故可渾然相

忘而。

According to this inscription, Dong Bangda's painting depicts the "Shengyin zonghui" in Jingming Yuan Garden.⁴⁴² However, because the design of "Shengyin zonghui" was modeled on West Lake Palace, the pictorial representation shows a composition similar to that of Zhang

⁴⁴² On Dong Bangda's scroll, the inscription page attached to the front of the painting is a transcription of Emperor Qianlong's poems by the hand of the emperor himself. Brushed in 1752, a year after his first southern inspection tour, the eight poems describe eight respective scenes inside the lodging palace on Gushan. An inventory record from Zaobanchu indicates that the emperor completed this calligraphy and valued it highly. On the 12th day of the 7th month of the year 1752, the woodcraft division of Zaobanchu in the imperial city received the order to make a rosewood case for "Imperially transcribed poems of the Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace 御制西湖行宮八景詩." The edict states that a design should be presented for approval and that the case must be "somehow elegant 文雅些." Five days later, the craftsman submitted a design, which was approved with a detailed instruction, "the cloud and dragon pattern should follow the one on the hand rest of the Fangbi cong throne seat 其雲龍照方碧從寶座扶手上龍一樣雕做." Three months later, the finished wood case did not satisfy the emperor, who said, "The cloud and dragon pattern on the case is horizontal; have them paint another design and change that 此匣雲龍橫了，着另畫樣改做." This exchange between the emperor and his craftsmen is a rare case, in which the emperor was very precise and picky. It reveals the emperor's unique bias for the *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace* calligraphy scroll. It was also around the year 1752 that Emperor Qianlong sent a professional court artist to depict the Shengyin Zonghui in Jingming Yuan. The combination of the West Lake poems and Jingming Yuan Garden illustrations came about around the same time. See, *Qinggong Neiwufu Zaobanchu Dang'an Zonghui*, juan. 19, 68.

Zongcang's painting of West Lake Palace. The similarity is so evident that Emperor Qianlong challenges viewers to distinguish the original from the facsimile. In this way, the two distinct places are almost indistinguishably represented in landscape paintings.

In this sense, an image of West Lake is removed from its original location in Hangzhou to represent a site in an imperial garden in Beijing. This displacement of scenic sites in Jiangnan and their relocation to the imperial city were so successful that an album consisting of thirty-six illustrations of the views of the Summer Palace was later mistakenly rebound and labeled as an album of the "famous scenic views of Zhejiang."⁴⁴³

Again, with the help of the imperial poems on West Lake, a site thousands of miles away in the capital city could be loaded with pictorial, poetic, and cultural associations conveyed by the renowned lake. In this way, the landscape not only transcends the geographic space but also transplants the cultural heritage and the historical lineage. Building gardens with reference to the scenes of West Lake not only copies the image of the lake but also appropriates its cultural roots.

Across the nation, the imitation of West Lake occurs frequently in real space and in paintings. For instance, a woodblock printed illustration, titled *Stone Lake of Gusu in the Style of West Lake* (姑蘇石湖仿西湖勝景圖), depicts scenes of Suzhou, strategically arranged to allude to West Lake (plate 2.30).

⁴⁴³ This edition, in two volumes, only consists of illustrations. The name of the site is written on each illustration. The thirty-six illustrations correspond to the thirty-six views of the Summer Palace, and the composition is almost identical to that of the Shen Yu 沈喻 album of the *Thirty-six Views of the Summer Palace*, with Emperor Kangxi's poems (published in 1712 by Neifu 內府), and that of Zhang Ruo'ai's 張若靄 (1713-1746) album of the *Thirty-six Views of the Summer Palace* with Emperor Qianlong's poems (now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei). However, the cover pages of the two volumes state, *Liangzhe shenggai tupu* 兩浙勝概圖譜 (*Painting Manual of the Famous Scenic Sites of Zhejiang*). This edition is now in the collection of Harvard Yenching Library.

In the illustrations of sites in the imperial gardens of Beijing and elsewhere, the image of West Lake is sometimes directly applied or cited. In the case of Dong Bangda's painting of "Shengyin zonghui," the "West Lake image" in question is Zhang Zongcang's painting *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace*. As for the Stone Lake print, the "West Lake image" is the popular pictorial model already in the repertoire of the same group of artisans. In this way, the landscape, in Mitchell's sense, is detached from the place, yet the space—how a place is *practiced*—is somehow preserved. Both Zhang Zongcang's *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace* and Dong Bangda's *Shengyin zonghui* portray a politicized space configured for the emperor. Be it the temporary lodging palace on West Lake or the imperial garden in the suburbs of Beijing, the vistas and landscapes are curated to satisfy the emperor's taste. As Pao-chen Chen points out, West Lake, being one of the most frequently cited sites, is at the emperor's disposal.⁴⁴⁴

Similarly, both the West Lake prints and the Stone Lake (in the style of West Lake) prints showcase a scenic vista designed for mass tourism. Therefore, the dyadic landscape-site discourse that considers the accuracy of specific places in landscape paintings is no longer effective, since an image of West Lake does not necessarily refer to the place in Hangzhou. It could represent a site within the imperial garden of Beijing or an imitation site in other cities. The image of West Lake is displaced from its geographical context and relocated in the narrative of the imperial landscape of the Qing as part of the all-encompassing, ethno-dynastic, and multicultural image of the Manchu empire.

⁴⁴⁴ Pao-chen Chen 陳葆真, "Kangxi he Qianlong erdi de nanxun jiqi dui Jiangnan mingsheng he yuanlin de huizhi yu fangjian" 康熙和乾隆二帝的南巡及其對江南名勝和園林的繪製與仿建 (Kangxi and Qianlong emperors' southern tours and their portrayal and imitation of the famous sites and gardens of Jiangnan), *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 故宮學術季刊 32, no. 3 (2015): 1–62.

By examining the Qing emperor's impacts on the physical, ideological, and visual aspects of West Lake, part 3 of this dissertation has investigated the imperially inscribed landscape of the lake, which helps reinforce ethno-dynastic control, naturalize the position of the Manchu conquerors, highlight imperial sponsorship in building the new vista, and finally reshape the image of West Lake. The lake that was previously associated with the Song dynasty is now marked with ubiquitous traces of the Manchu emperors.

Redefining the ten scenes of West Lake theme in writing and painting is a successful effort to recontextualize the Southern Song genre in the Qing imperial ideology. The standardized ten scenes images infiltrated the pictorial representation of West Lake as they were circulated among the imperial palace, the central government, and the local workshops and markets. As the pictorial ten scenes became iconic, they eventually—and inevitably—took on imagistic lives of their own, still evoking their site-specific iconography but independent of the actual landscape that had originally inspired them.

As the power of the Qing court declined toward the end of the nineteenth century, its control over West Lake plummeted, and the lake's image was liberated from political influence. The folktales of Hangzhou during the late Qing and Republican eras ridiculed Emperor Kangxi's and Emperor Qianlong's southern tours.⁴⁴⁵ During this time, the campgrounds and the residences of the Manchu bannerman inside Yongjin Gate were gradually torn down, and the site of "Archery and Equestrianism in Pavilion Bay" became decrepit.⁴⁴⁶ Imperial stelae were stolen or

⁴⁴⁵ A popular folklore of the late Qing and the early Republican eras tells the story about a monk in the Jingci Monastery teasing Emperor Qianlong. The story is translated into English in "Monk Censure Teases Emperor Qianlong," Jan Walls and Yvonne Walls, trans., *West Lake, a Collection of Folktales* (Beijing and Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1980), 104.

⁴⁴⁶ A diary entry of a Jesuit missionary written in 1870 records, "Returned by the Lake and through the Tartar City [the Manchu garrison and its community]. The Tartars are but a feeble folk compared with what they were before the T'aiiping rebels razed their city to the ground.... The scourge of the rebellion had left the city in ruins, and very

damaged, leaving only two till today.⁴⁴⁷ The West Lake Palace became the memorial park of the revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen (孫中山, 1866–1925). The tomb of the female revolutionary Qiu Jin (秋瑾, 1875–1907) is constructed on the Xiling Bridge. The imperial image of West Lake transitioned to a new image of modern tourism, technology, and revolution as the 1929 West Lake Exposition took place (plate 6.38). Nonetheless, the imprints of the Qing emperors, although depoliticized, would forever engrave the landscape of the lake.

Lastly, this dislocationality of images of West Lake challenges the traditional discourse on topographical paintings, calling for a new model by which to analyze site-specific landscapes. Using Mitchell's triadic model, which incorporates "place," "space," and "landscape" as three components of topographical representation, the penultimate and final chapters of this dissertation consider paintings of West Lake as tropes of the topographic, political, and cultural image of the south in the imperial landscape of the Qing empire.

few of the original inhabitants remained. The people, reduced to poverty, were very willing to rent or sell property which, without the devastations of war, would have been almost impossible to obtain. Thus, in the providence of God, this great city was opened to the missionary." David N. Lyon (1824–1927), *Hangchow Journal of 1870* (Pebble Beach, CA: White Clouds Papers, 1937), 7.

⁴⁴⁷ An article introducing *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, published in 1920, states, "Emperor Shengzu [Kangxi] inscribed the name of the Ten Scenes during his southern tours, half of which inherited the old names of the Song. [His Majesty] inscribed stones and erected pavilions which gradually became damaged due to old age. In the seventh month of the second year of the Republican era (1912), the stelae were repaired. Fame of the ten scenes of West Lake is still popular among the people" (聖祖南巡，御題十景，半仍宋人舊作。勒石建亭，歲久摧殘。民國二年七月續葺之。而西湖十景之名，乃膾炙人口矣). Sun De 孫德, "Xihu shijing kao" 西湖十景考 (Research on Ten Scenes of West Lake). *Zhixin* 知新 (1920): 5.

Conclusion

Focusing on the representation of West Lake from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, this dissertation began with a categorization of three key visual formats: the bird's-eye panoramic, the close-up scenic, and the linearized panoptic. The three formats are three frameworks to view, engage with, and understand images of West Lake. While the first two formats emerged around the Song dynasty, the last format took shape in the sixteenth to the eighteenth century as a unique visual mode to transmute a circular structure—the shores of lakes—into a horizontal layout on a handscroll.

The second and third parts of this dissertation study the process of building the *image* of West Lake. The desire to represent the views of West Lake in paintings emerged during the Tang and Northern Song dynasties when the lake was a semiwild lagoon that provided water for irrigation and a fertile environment for aquaculture. Paintings of the lake capture its wild beauty and eremitic nature.⁴⁴⁸ At this time, the tendency to portray the entirety of the lake, or specific scenic sites, did not materialize.

During the Shenzong reign (1067–85) of the Northern Song period, maps of West Lake that outlined specific sites were submitted for the emperor's view.⁴⁴⁹ These were topographic depictions of the lake that aimed to pinpoint geographic locations of government offices, guards, and properties of important houses around the lake. The map in the Southern Song *Gazetteer of Lin'an*, which delineates private gardens and mansions, along with administrative buildings, official monasteries, and military bases, exemplifies maps of this kind.

⁴⁴⁸ See Appendix I, no. 1 and no. 2.

⁴⁴⁹ See Appendix I, no. 4 and no. 5.

Just before and soon after the fall of the Southern Song, two artisans, one from the Jurchen empire Jin (1115–1234) and one “left-over” craftsman of the Southern Song, produced maps of the city for various purposes. The Jin painter delineated the layout of the city and the lake to provide strategic information for the Jurchen’s planned invasion, while the “left-over” Song artist conveyed nostalgia for the bygone dynasty in the map of the former capital city.⁴⁵⁰ By this time, scenic maps that portray the picturesque landscape of the lake had not appeared.

In the Song dynasty, Buddhist monks residing in monasteries near the lake were known for depicting views of West Lake in ink-monochromatic paintings. Pre-Ming records suggest that Ruofen (若芬, also known as Yujian [玉澗], active thirteenth century), and Muqi (牧溪, active thirteenth century) had worked in such a genre. Although their paintings of West Lake have not survived, several extant works in their oeuvre alluded to the style of their West Lake images. Known as masters of Chan paintings, Muqi and Yujian were skilled in applying ink in swift and rough motions, which resulted in unrefined ink washes with minimal brushwork. In addition to capricious execution of ink, Chan paintings are also characterized by their monochrome color and *liubai* (留白, leaving the space blank).

Toward the end of the Southern Song dynasty, the ten scenes of West Lake, as a poetic and pictorial theme, began to flourish. The record in *Mengliang lu* states, “Recently, painters claim that the most extraordinary views of the West Lake in the four seasons are [the ten scenes of West Lake].” However, based on stylistic analysis, no extant paintings in this subject can be attributed to the Southern Song dynasty. In addition to the *Mengliang lu* statement, a twelfth-

⁴⁵⁰ See Appendix I, no. 35 and no. 36.

century poem by Yang Wujiu comments on a West Lake painting by Zhao Bian, a professional painter working in Hangzhou.⁴⁵¹ Other than this, the degree of involvement of famous court painters of the Southern Song in the depiction of the ten scenes of West Lake remains to be understood, and the evidence of their dedication is yet to be found.

The impression that the Southern Song court participated in patronizing and producing images of West Lake was first conveyed in the writings of Yuan dynasty connoisseurs. Zhuang Su notes a landscape painting of West Lake signed by Emperor Gaozong in his private collection.⁴⁵² Xia Wenyan mentions the name of Chen Qingbo in *Tuhui baojian*:

Chen Qingbo, a native of Qiantang, frequently painted panoramic views of West Lake. He was skilled at delineating Zhong Kui and figures of the three religions. He served as a painter-in-attendance during the Baoyou reign [1253–58].

陳清波，錢塘人，多作西湖全景，喬鍾馗，喬三教，寶祐待詔。⁴⁵³

By assigning the names of painters associated with the court to images of the lake, these writers of the Yuan dynasty laid the foundation for retracing a Song lineage in landscape representations of West Lake.

Since the Ming dynasty, the perception that landscape paintings of West Lake originated and proliferated in the Imperial Academy of Painting in the Southern Song was significantly enhanced and fully articulated. As chapter 3 demonstrates, this concept was put forth in three steps. First, during the Yuan-Ming transition, a group of scholars from Hangzhou (or

⁴⁵¹ See Appendix 1, no. 31.

⁴⁵² See Appendix 1, no. 8.

⁴⁵³ Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui Baojian*, juan 4, 16b.

neighboring towns) attributed a number of paintings depicting views of Hangzhou to Li Song. From then on, representing the scenery of Hangzhou (which necessarily includes West Lake) in ruled-painting technique is listed in the repertory of the artist Li Song. Several paintings of this type were posthumously assigned to the oeuvre of Li Song by Ming dynasty collectors.

The second step involves a complex cycle of art-history making. Professional painters trained in the styles of the Zhe school produced paintings of West Lake of varied quality. The most outstanding are by the hands of Dai Jin. Because of the stylistic similarity between Dai Jin and the Southern Song masters such as Xia Gui, Ma Yuan, and Ma Lin, some of the former's works were mistakenly or deliberately attributed to the latter's oeuvre. Followers of Dai Jin also participated in the fabrication of Xia Gui, Ma Yuan, and Ma Lin in signing their paintings with the name of these Southern Song masters. These works baffled connoisseurs; many of the works found their way to the private collections of prestigious collectors in Suzhou and Hangzhou. These collectors and connoisseurs recorded these paintings in catalogue entries, gazetteers, poems, and diaries.

Among these paintings, panoramic views of West Lake using the ruled-painting technique were naturally attributed to Li Song, while small album leaves and fan paintings tinged with axe-cut brushwork and one-sided composition were often assigned to Xia Gui, Ma Yuan, and Ma Lin. These records, in return, promoted these alleged Southern Song court paintings of West Lake, resulting in a surge in the production of such forgeries. This vicious cycle left modern scholars with a large quantity of dubious Song paintings and a good number of textual sources endorsing the Song dates of these paintings.

The consummation of a Song lineage of West Lake paintings occurred in the Qing dynasty, as scholars and emperors authenticated these ostensible Song paintings and validated

the attribution. However, these farfetched conclusions based on cherry-picked evidence demand an investigation of their motivations. A case study on Li E in chapter 5 and appendix 2 demonstrates the scholar's intention to bolster local pride by endorsing the earlier date of these Zhe school paintings. Furthermore, the analysis on the Qing emperor's attitudes toward collecting, appreciating, and inscribing these presumed Song court paintings in chapter 4 reveals the Manchu conquerors' ambition to rival their Song counterparts by confiscating and manipulating paintings that they claimed had belonged to the emperors of the Song.⁴⁵⁴

In sum, the second part of the dissertation studies the transformation of the notion of *Xihu tu* (西湖圖, image of West Lake). Before the Ming dynasty, this term was an elusive concept that could refer to either a map or a landscape painting containing certain site-specific features of West Lake in the style of Chan painting. Although there has been evidence suggesting that monk and professional artists of the Song period worked in this subject matter, we have scant information regarding the court's patronage. Since the Ming dynasty, the concept of a Southern Song *Xihu tu* has been construed as a subject inextricably associated with the court and court painters of the Southern Song. Comparing this politically imbued *Xihu tu* of the Ming-Qing era to the Song dynasty notion of an image of West Lake in maps and Chan paintings, this dissertation traces the process of filtering, shaping, and remodeling the *image* of West Lake through history writing and image making. In doing so, this dissertation challenges the widely

⁴⁵⁴ The two dubious paintings, *Willows and Boats on West Lake* attributed to Xia Gui, and the *Ten Scenes of West Lake* album attributed to Ye Xiaoyan both came from the collection of Liang Qingbiao, a scholar-official who served the Ming and the Qing. When the Qing conquerors occupied most of the country, he offered a part of his collection to the emperor. Among them, the two works of West Lake were included. Emperor Qianlong was the first one to confirm the date of album to the Southern Song based on the suspicious signature "Xiaoyan." The attribution of the *Willows and Boats on West Lake* to Xia Gui was based on a cheaply forged inscription in the name of Guo Bi. It is impossible to determine whether emperor Qianlong was genuinely deceived, or he decided to endorse them in spite of these obvious stylistic doubts for other purposes.

held view that painters associated with the Imperial Academy of Painting of the Southern Song actively depicted paintings of West Lake for imperial patronage and viewership. In chapter 3 and appendix 2, I date to the Ming and Qing periods three important paintings that were formerly attributed to court painters of the Southern Song, based on extensive stylistic and iconographic studies. Drawing on recent scholarships, I question the relationship between painters with the titles in the court and their actual commitment to the court. I argue that painters from different social strata of the Southern Song depicted West Lake mainly for contemplative, commemorative, decorative, and emulative purposes. There is little evidence to suggest that the court actively participated in patronizing images of West Lake for political or leisurely ends. The impression that the Southern Song court commissioned paintings of West Lake was an idea constructed by generations of scholars writing on the history of West Lake paintings. This finding contributes to the study of Song paintings, filtering out dubious works and clarifying the concept of *Xihu tu* in the Song dynasty. It also shed light on the function of the Academy of Painting during the Southern Song. These topics are essential to the study of Chinese paintings.

Methodologically, this dissertation relied heavily on stylistic and iconographic studies of key paintings. In addition to providing new dates and attributions to the three paintings mentioned earlier, this dissertation traces the formation of a unique composition in Chinese art, the linearized panoptic. Chapter 1 provides a detailed explanation of the format, including its function, visualities, engagement with the viewers, and production process. Appendix 2 offers an in-depth analysis on the origin of this format. This distinctive composition explores the boundaries of the handscroll format in Chinese art by turning the long horizontal pictorial surface into a 360-degree cinematic screen like a mini Cinéorama, the late nineteenth-century experiment in multi-screen moving-picture exhibition. Whereas the original Cinéorama

simulated a hot-air balloon ride over Paris, the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* and the two other similar works embark viewers on a boat tour on West Lake. The analysis of the linearized panoptic complements the understanding of the handscroll medium and the representation of place in art history. This dissertation also attempts to study this format with the Foucauldian discourse on visibility and power, but questions about the visual and image theory beyond the scope of Chinese paintings remain for future scholarship to address.

This dissertation also studies the efficacies of site-specific paintings. In studying the three visual format of West Lake paintings, the dissertation finds a close relationship between the sightseer's vision and the depicted views. As tourists—whether scholarly, mass, or imperial—shifted their vantage points and itineraries, they desired new views in the paintings to match their own visual experiences. The images of West Lake coped well with the needs of tourists to incorporate panoramic, close-up, and immersive views in various media. In return, these images not only facilitated and elucidated one's lake tour but also regulated and controlled it. The spectacular image is an active agent that shaped the ways in which West Lake was encountered, visualized, and experienced. As such, emperors of the Qing utilized images to canonize views, lionize imperial power, and publicize the court's contribution in the revival of the lake.

The images of West Lake, unlike those of the Xiaoxiang River and the Red Cliff, never went through a phase of losing site specificity. On the contrary, the representation of West Lake grew increasingly specific to the site throughout its history. Even ninety years after the collapse of the Leifeng Pagoda, Cai Guoqiang's work, to which I will turn in the coda, could still convey the image of the pagoda in its most precise details. The uniqueness of West Lake among the rest of the topographical subject matter of China necessitates further examination. Outside of China, artists in Japan and Korea also engaged in portraying West Lake, and the role that the *image* of

West Lake played in the social, political, economic, and artistic world of Japan and Korea merits in-depth investigation.

CODA

The Fall of the Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse on Iconoclasm

On the afternoon of September 25, 1924, the iconic landmark Leifeng Pagoda, the tallest structure on the southern tip of West Lake, the terminus of Emperor Qianlong's view of the lake (plate 5.13), the prominent edifice that gives height to the Southern Song image of West Lake (plate 2.1), the place of contemplation in the paintings of literati artists (plate 7.1), collapsed.

Long before that catastrophic fall, the historic pagoda had suffered nearly a half century of neglect and mistreatment. The razing of the Manchu city in 1870 by the Tailing rebels had left the local administration weakened and ineffectual, no longer able to maintain the imperial temples, pavilions, and other sites or to protect them from abuse, vandalism, and the ravages of time. A 1908 photo shows a house, once part of the imperial monastery under the Leifeng Pagoda, now standing forlorn and abandoned. Behind the dilapidated structure, the pagoda, already listing ominously, stood in infirm solitude (plate 7.2). Eleven years later, the original photographer, American sociologist and chronicler of early twentieth-century China Sidney Gamble, returned to Hangzhou, only to find the pagoda, standing now in an almost barren landscape, in even worse condition than before, with trees, weeds, and mold growing from its walls and its roof (plate 1.3). The imperial pavilion hosting the transcribed brushwork of the Qing emperors had now become the visitor center, with seats for exhausted tourists, spaces for parking sedan chairs, and food stalls for hungry travelers (plate 5.30, 5.32).

Although the Leifeng Pagoda never relinquished its prominence or its landmark status, it was no longer treated as an ancient religious site, a place of imperial power, or a retreat for scholarly contemplation, as these photographic images so starkly attest. The secularization of the

pagoda in the real landscape of West Lake and in the photographs of Sidney Gamble marked the beginning of a century-long iconoclastic discourse on the landmark of West Lake.

Soon after its fall, discussions about whether the Leifeng Pagoda should be renovated centered around the discussion about the value of the building. To many in this period of political uncertainty, the crumbling pagoda signaled the impending demise of the province itself, and calls for its remediation and rehabilitation spread far beyond the local environs of the lake and the city. While local military leaders pursued rebuilding the pagoda with an enhanced central structure, everyday tourists from across the nation, decrying the disappearance of the famed historic pagoda that was for them so deeply imbued with significance and nostalgia, sponsored fundraising events to support the project.⁴⁵⁵ Those in favor of the reconstruction of the pagoda also considered the building to be an indispensable component in the landscape of West Lake; erasing the pagoda from the scenery of the lake, they argued, would render the landscape forever incomplete and fragmented.⁴⁵⁶

Local administrations, common citizens, and scholars insisted that the pagoda's value derived from its three primary cultural contributions: its symbolic stature representing the fate of

⁴⁵⁵ Ma Juanhun (馬捐魂), "Leifeng Ta Jinxun" (雷峰塔近訊; recent news on Leifeng Pagoda), *Zi Putao* (紫葡萄, purple grapes), 1925(4): 1. Also See "Chongjian Leifeng Ta Juanqi" (重建雷峰塔捐啟; notice of fundraising for reconstructing Leifeng Pagoda), *Sucheng Yinpinghui Xunkan* (蘇城隱貧會旬刊; Suzhou poverty-relief quarterly), 1926(32):1.

⁴⁵⁶ Hangzhou shi Gongbu juzhang (杭州市工部局長; head of the bureau of construction, city of Hangzhou), "Chongjian Leifengta wenti' zhi xuzhi" (重建雷峰塔問題之續執; reply to "issues on reconstructing Leifeng Pagoda"), *Yishu jie* (藝術界; the art world), 1927 (23):23.

the state, its historic standing in conveying the sentiments of past dynasties, and its iconic status as an indispensable component of the image of West Lake, a national treasure.⁴⁵⁷

Modernist writers took a decidedly different view. They argued that the pagoda was a symbol of superstition that had no place in modern society; one author even went so far as to call the pagoda a “living hell” that should be demolished.⁴⁵⁸ For nostalgic contemplation, its ruins, they insisted, would be more suitable than some newly reconstructed edifice. Opposed to spending taxpayers’ money to revive what had been, in their view, nothing less than a feudal prison, they proposed instead that funds be allocated to updating the West Lake environs with more public parks and libraries, which better suited the needs of the mass.⁴⁵⁹

In 2002, after three cycles of proposals and opposition, the reconstruction project was finally completed, and the lake was now adorned with a brand-new, five-story pagoda in steel and copper.

To reconstruct the past or to modernize the landscape are two conflicting and intertwining trends through the history of West Lake and its images. A map from the 1930s clearly denotes the “ruins of the Leifeng Pagoda” on a heap of debris, while a map from the 1940s shows an undamaged stone pagoda labeled “Glow of Sunset on Leifeng Peak.”

⁴⁵⁷ However, despite this enthusiasm in reinstating the pagoda, fundraisers only succeeded in collecting 10,000 gold, far from the 100,000 gold that was needed. Zhao Zhiyou (趙志游), “Hanqing jiang chongjian Leifeng ta juankuan quanbu yixiu Baochu ta you” (函請將重建雷峰塔捐款全部移修保俶塔由; letter explaining reasons for transferring donations for reconstructing Leifeng Pagoda to fixing Baochu Pagoda), *Shizheng Jikan* (市政季刊; quarterly report on prefectural administrations), 1933(1): 3-4.

⁴⁵⁸ Yingchuan Qiushui (穎川秋水), “Bai Niangniang fandui chongjian Leifeng ta yi” (白娘娘反對重建雷峰塔議; Lady White Snake’s opposition of reconstructing Leifeng Pagoda), *Hong Meigui* (紅玫瑰; Red Rose), 1924 (1:22): 2.

⁴⁵⁹ Qingyuan (晴園), “Guanyu chongjian Leifeng ta wenti” (關於重建雷峰塔問題; issues on the reconstruction of Leifeng Pagoda), *Yishu Jie*, 1927 (23): 19.

According to Lu Xun, the inevitable collapse and the eventual reconstruction of the pagoda are the results of the will to destroy and the need to restore. The destruction of the lake, Lu points out, was initiated by military conquerors and commoners alike, while the ultimate restoration of the lake was predetermined by the endemic “ten-scenes syndrome.”⁴⁶⁰

Landscape paintings of West Lake, in this cycle of iconolatry and iconoclasm, played a vital role in expressing two temporalities of the lake: the past and the present. Just like the resurrection of the Leifeng Pagoda after its fall, images of West Lake aim to reconstruct the views of the past to allude to the history of the lake. Other works portray the up-to-date scenery of the lake to record its contemporary charm.

Cai Guoqiang’s post-explosion *Leifeng Pagoda* (described in the introduction) captures the iconic ancient structure in the modernist medium of gunpowder. The artist chose to replicate a photograph of the historic pagoda taken in 1918, six years before the collapse, rather than to represent the present-day pagoda built in 2002. As such, the pagoda, being reinstalled in the image of Cai Guoqiang, is positioned at a historic moment on the eve of its disintegration. This work, like so many of its predecessors, presents to a contemporary audience an image of the ancient site filtered through a sensibility of historic nostalgia and local identity. Renderings of the material world, whether done in paint, ink wash, or photographic plate, are only ever semblances and simulacra mimetic depictions transduced through the culture-bound filters of human perception.

⁴⁶⁰ Lu Xun, “More Thoughts on the Collapse of Leifeng Pagoda,” (再論雷峰塔的倒下), in *Selected Works of Lu Hsun* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1957), 96.

Thus it was for West Lake, a shallow freshwater lake located outside the west wall of a city in southeast China whose unique natural endowments captured the imaginations of artists and writers, emperors and commoners, for at least a thousand years.

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APPENDIX 1

Textual Records of Tang-Song West Lake paintings ¹

1. **Presumed artist:** Anonymous

Title of the painting: *Climbing up the City Tower of Hangzhou and Gazing into the Distance* (杭州郡樓登望圖)

Name of the recorder: Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846)

Source: *Baishi wenji* (白氏文集; Anthology of Bai Juyi)

Presumed date of the painting: 9th century (Tang)

Approximate date of the record: 9th century (Tang)

江樓晚眺，景物鮮奇，吟玩成篇，寄水部張員外

淡煙疏雨間斜陽，江色鮮明海氣涼。蜃散雲收破樓閣，虹殘水照斷橋梁。

風翻白浪花千片，雁點青天字一行。好著丹青圖畫取，題詩寄與水曹郎。²

2. **Presumed artist:** Anonymous monk (僧)

Title of the painting: *Hermitage of mountain recluse Lin*(林山人隱居)

Name of the recorder: Lin Bu (林逋; 967-1028)

Source: *Lin Hejing Ji* (林和靖集; Anthology of Lin Hejing)

Presumed date of the painting: 10th to early 11th century (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 10th to early 11th century (Northern Song)

僧有示西湖墨本者，就孤山左側林夢秘邃間，狀出衡茅之所，且題云：林山

人隱居，謹書二韻以承之：

¹ This appendix summarizes the textual records on pre-Yuan dynasty paintings with views of West Lake. The subject matter is determined by the title of the paintings or by the textual records. To be enlisted in this appendix, the record must be the earliest extant piece of writing to document a work of art attributed to a pre-Yuan artist.

² Bai Juyi, *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏長慶集 (Anthology of Bai Changqing), in *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 (Anthology of Bai Juyi), juan 20, *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

泉石年來偶結廬，冷挨松雪瞰西湖。高僧好事仍多藝，已共孤山入畫圖。³

3. Presumed artist: Anonymous

Title of the painting: *Painted Screen of West Lake* (西湖圖屏)

Name of the recorder: Su Shi (蘇軾; 1037-1101)

Source: Hu Zai (胡仔; 1110-1170), *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua* (茗溪魚隱從話; fisherman in recluse in the sweet potato stream)

Presumed date of the painting: 11th century (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 12th century (Northern Song)

《復齋漫錄》云：元豐末，張詵樞言：“龍圖之守杭也。”一日，宴客湖上。劉涇巨濟，僧仲殊在焉。命即席賦詩曲。巨濟先唱，云：“憑誰妙筆，橫掃素縑三百尺。天下應無，此是錢塘湖上圖。”仲殊遽云：“一般奇絕，雲淡天高秋夜月。費盡丹青，只這些兒畫不成。”……

《古今詞話》云：東坡守錢塘，劉巨濟赴處州道，過錢塘。東坡留飲于中和堂，僧仲殊與焉。時堂之屏有《西湖圖》，東坡遽索牋管，作減字木蘭花曰：“憑誰妙筆，橫掃素縑三百尺。天下應無，此是錢塘湖上圖。”以後疊屬。巨濟辭遜再三，遂以屬。仲殊繼曰：“一般奇絕，雲淡天高秋夜月。費

³ Lin Bu, *Lin Hejing Ji* 林和靖集 (Anthology of Lin Hejing), juan 4, Sibü Congkan jingming chaoben 四部叢刊景明抄本, 42. For an English translation, see chapter one of this dissertation.

盡丹青，只這些兒畫不成。”東坡大稱賞之。苕溪漁隱曰：此詞首句云：“憑誰妙筆，橫掃素縑三百尺。”則是初無此《西湖圖》，姑言之耳。《詞話》乃云：中和堂屏有《西湖圖》，可見其附會為說，全與詞意不合，以此驗之。其以為東坡作，亦必妄言，當以復齋為正也。⁴

4. Presumed artist: Anonymous

Title of the painting: (*Map of*) *West Lake* (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Zhou Zizhi (周紫芝; 1082-1155)

Source: *Taicang Timi Ji* (太倉稊米集; A Small Grain in the Large Barn)

Presumed date of the painting: 1067-1085 (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1082-1155 (Northern Song)

孤山之顛舊有開氏四照閣。次年，部使者獻《西湖圖》，神廟閱圖久之，問：開氏四照閣安在？部使者失對。其知名如此。昨跋馬過下山，見赭衣荷鍤數百人，問之，則軍中藏冰於此也。⁵

5. Presumed artist: Anonymous

Title of the painting: (*Map of*) *West Lake* (西湖圖)⁶

Name of the recorder: Qian Shuoyou (潛說友; 1216-1277)

⁴ Hu Zai, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianhouji yibaijuan: tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji* 苕溪魚隱從話前後一百卷：苕溪魚隱從話後集 (100 volumes of the Fisherman in Recluse in the Trumpet Vine Stream: Sequel to Fisherman in Recluse in the Trumpet Vine Stream), juan 37, Qing Haishan Xianguan congshu ben 清海山仙館叢書本, 6b-7b.

⁵ Zhou Zizhi, *Taicang Timi ji* 太倉稊米集 (A Small Grain in the Large Barn), juan 33, Wenyan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 13b.

⁶ This (*Map of*) *West Lake* is probably the same one as in no.3. They were both submitted to emperor Shenzong (1048-1085, r. 1067-1085) and both portray specific sites on West Lake.

Source: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* (咸淳臨安志; Gazetteer of Lin'an in the Xianchun reign)

Presumed date of the painting: 1067-1085 (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: mid 13th century (Southern Song)

《華庚記》：錢塘尉承平時號八仙。裕陵覽《西湖圖》，嘗有“真仙尉”之語。⁷

6. Presumed artist: Zhang Zeduan (張擇端; 1085-1145)

Title of the painting: *Spring Morning on West Lake* (西湖春曉圖)

Name of the recorder: Tian Yiheng (田藝蘅; 1524-?)

Source: *Liuqing Rizha* (留青日札; daily records on paintings)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 16th century (Ming)

古今名畫，刻絲納紗，紙織金繡，手卷冊葉，共三千二百零一軸。內有唐九

成宮《避暑圖》、《阿房宮圖》；宋周文矩《學士文會圖》、《金谷園

圖》；唐閻立本《職貢圖》、《杏壇圖》、《越王宮殿圖》；宋張擇端《清

明上河圖》、《西湖春曉圖》、《南屏晚鐘圖》；劉松源《西湖圖》……⁸

7. Presumed artist: Zhang Zeduan (張擇端; 1085-1145)

⁷ Qian Shuoyou, *Lin'an zhi* 臨安志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an), Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, juan 54, 2b.

⁸ This painting, along with the *Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain*, belonged to the collection of the state minister Yan Song (嚴嵩; 1480-1567). Tian Yiheng's record is an inventory of the possessions confiscated from Yan Song. Tian Yiheng, *Liuqing Rizha* 留青日札 (Daily Records on Paintings), juan 35, Wanli chongke ben 萬曆重刻本 (reprint edition during the Wanli reign), 9b.

Title of the painting: *Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain* (南屏晚鐘圖)⁹

Name of the recorder: Tian Yiheng (田藝蘅; 1524-?)

Source: *Liuqing Rizha* (留青日札; daily records on paintings)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 16th century (Ming)

8. **Presumed artist:** Zhao Gou (趙構; Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song Dynasty; 1107-1187, r. 1127-1162)

Title of the painting: *West Lake after Rain* (西湖雨霽圖)

Name of the recorder: Zhuang Su (莊肅; 1245-1315)

Source: *Huaji Buyi* (畫繼補遺; supplement to *Records of Paintings*)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1298 (Yuan)

宋高宗天縱多能，書法復出唐宋帝王上，而於萬幾之暇時，作小筆山水，專

寫煙嵐昏雨難狀之景，非羣庶所可企及也。予家舊藏小景，橫卷上親題“西

湖雨霽”四字，又二扇頭，其一題一聯，曰：“萬木雲深隱，連山雨未晴。”

其二曰：“子猷訪戴，極有天趣。”¹⁰

9. **Presumed artist:** Zhang Xunli (張訓禮; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Tip of the Lakeside Hills Dipped in Green* 湖峰蘸碧圖

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

⁹ See Ibid.

¹⁰ Zhuang Su, *Huaji Buyi* 畫繼補遺 (Supplement to *Records of Paintings*), juan shang 卷上 (first volume), Qing Zuijinglou Zhengben 清醉經樓正本, 1789, 1a.

張訓禮，畫山水人物，專學李唐，筆致恬雅，時輩不能及。至於著色青綠，亦如趙千里，他人為之皆不能及也。劉松年師事之，盡得其法，畫之傳世者：《清江綠樹圖》一，《湍流圖》一，《湖峰蘸碧圖》二，《閣道圖》一，《控棹圖》二，《水圖》一，《題壁圖》二……¹¹

10. Presumed artist: Li Tang (李唐; 1066-1150)

Title of the painting: *Palace Gates in Wansong Mountain*(萬松宮闕圖)

Name of the recorder: Wu Qizhen (吳其貞; ca. 1607-1681)

Source: *Shuhua ji* (書畫記; records of calligraphy and painting)

Presumed date of the painting: 11th-12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 17th century (Qing)

李唐《萬松宮闕圖》絹畫一大幅

畫羣松于壑內，兩邊斗立方塊峻峰，左低而右高，有水流下松壑而出，左有水流下宮闕而出，下段石坂皆為劈斧皴，上段峰頭蓋用側筆直皴。畫法清潤，結構高妙，為李之神品，惜其中段剝落星點裂，此皆捲時為指頭抓破者。老米所云：卷佇不得法，最為壞物。此之謂也。此圖當時蕭照亦曾畫，

¹¹ Wang Yuxian, *Huishi Beikao* 繪事備考 (Comprehensive Research on Painting), juan 6, Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 32b.

有元人見之，多賦傷感之詩。余今得此圖，復觀宋朝宮闕，興趣欣然，似覺

比于見圖賦傷感詩者，為之相反。¹²

11. Presumed artist: Liu Songnian (劉松年; ca. 1131-1218)

Title of the painting: *Spring Morning on West Lake* (西湖春曉圖)¹³

Name of the recorder: Zhang Chou (張丑; 1577-1643)

Source: *Qinghe Shuhua fang* (清河書畫舫; boat of calligraphy and painting on Qinghe River)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1616 (Ming)

嚴氏藏劉松年《西湖春曉圖》，筆法秀美，設色古雅，堪與趙千里《桃源問

津卷》相伯仲。¹⁴

12. Presumed artist: Liu Songnian (劉松年; ca. 1131-1218)

Title of the painting: West Lake (西湖圖)¹⁵

Name of the recorder: Li E (厲鶚; 1692-1762)

Source: *Nansong Yuanhua lu* (南宋院畫錄; records of Southern Song court paintings)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1721 (Qing)

¹² Wu Qizhen, *Shuhua ji* 書畫記 (Records of Calligraphy and Painting), juan 5, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2006, 451.

¹³ This painting might be the same one as mentioned in no. 5, “Liu Songyuan [nian] West Lake painting” 劉松源《西湖圖》. It belonged in the collection of Yan Song.

¹⁴ Zhang Chou, *Qinghe Shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫 (Boat of Calligraphy and Painting on Qinghe River), juan 10, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2011, 497.

¹⁵ This painting might be the same as the one mentioned in no. 10 and no. 5. The source of Li E’s account is *Yanshi Shuhuaiji* 嚴氏書畫記 (Catalogue of Calligraphy and Paintings of the Yan family), which is the inventory of Yan Song’s collection.

劉松年《陽關圖》、《西湖圖》……嚴氏書畫記¹⁶

13. Presumed artist: Li Song (李嵩; 1166-1243)

Title of the painting: *West Lake* (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Lu Shen(陸深; 1477-1544)

Source: *Yanshan ji* (儼山集, Anthology of Yanshan)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th-13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1538 (Ming)

跋李嵩西湖圖

此卷購得之長安，當是西湖圖。第有蘇堤而無岳墳，豈思陵時畫耶？或云李嵩手筆，然無題識可考。觀其粉金題額，非宋人不能書也。予夙有山水之好，頗留意錢塘之西湖。昨歲出持浙憲，輿舫往來，若為己有。既去而未能忘之。今嘉靖戊戌臘日，邂逅此幅，恍如再到。¹⁷

14. Presumed artist: Li Song (李嵩; 1166-1243)

Title of the painting: *West Lake* (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋; Emperor Taizu of Ming Dynasty; 1328-1398; r. 1368-1398)

Source: *Ming Taizu Wenji* (明太祖文集; collection of writing of Emperor Taizu of Ming)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th-13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 14th century (first published in 1582) (Ming)

¹⁶ Li E, *Nansong Yuanhua lu* 南宋院畫錄 (Records of Southern Song Court Paintings), Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2016, 93.

¹⁷ Lu Shen, *Yanshan ji* 儼山集 (Anthology of Yanshan), juan 88, Wenyan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 2a-2b. For an English translation, see chapter three of this dissertation.

朕聞杭城之西湖今古以為美，賞人皆稱之，我亦聽聞未見。一日，閱李嵩之畫，見西湖圖一幅，其上皴山染水，界畫樓臺，寫人形而駕舟舫、舉棹擎橈、飛帆布網、拋綸擲釣。歌者音，舞者旋，管絃者，則有笙□簫築。其為湖也，汪洋汗漫，致翫景者若是，可不樂乎！然斯湖之佳，則佳矣於中。昂君子、卑小人，不難見也。

夫君子之游湖，當世泰之時，乘舟於湖，晝則推蓬翫景，極目遐觀，覽佳氣於胷中，著以詩文，黼黻皇猷。夜則仰卧葉舟，觀皓月而品瓊簫。樂其樂，而歌世之清泰。比狎小人者何若？小人之游，會無知，務聲色，耗費財，而酣飲無厭，縱其欲而不絕，是有破家蕩產，身乏衣食者多矣。比君子游何如？於昂君子、卑小人，可不信乎！¹⁸

15. Presumed artist: Li Song (李嵩; 1166-1243)

Title of the painting: *West Lake* (西湖圖)¹⁹

Name of the recorder: Tian Rucheng (田汝成; 1503-1557)

Source: *Xihu Youlan zhiyu* (西湖遊覽志餘; addendum to *Gazetteer of Sightseeing in West Lake*)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th-13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: mid-16th century (Ming)

¹⁸ Zhu Yuanzhang, *Ming Taizu wenji*, Yao Shiguan (姚士觀; active 16th century) et al. (eds.), juan 16, prefaced 1582, Wenyan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 43a-43b. For an English translation, see chapter three of this dissertation.

¹⁹ Tian Rucheng claims to have seen “four scrolls of *West Lake* by Li Song”. For the convenience of discussion, I group the four painting under one entry in this appendix.

近日於洪靜夫家見《西湖圖》四幅欸，云李嵩作，寺觀峰塢，皆有標題，工巧絕倫，蓋當時進御物也。²⁰

16. Presumed artist: Xia Gui (夏圭; active 12th-13th century)²¹

Title of the painting: *Spring Rain over West Lake* (西湖春雨)

Name of the recorder: Zhang Chou

Source: *Zhenji Rilü* (真蹟日錄; daily records on authentic works)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1620 (Ming)

《西湖春雨》，廷暉筆也。畫前有“許氏廷美”圓印、“松皋清玩”方印，卷尾小楷云：“臣夏圭進”。書畫皆屬真筆無疑。設色尤古，所乏者士氣耳。

覆閱前卷，的屬戴文進筆，其稱“臣夏圭進”，亦傳會耳。²²

17. Presumed artist: Ma Yuan (馬遠; 1140-1225)

Title of the painting: *Album of Ten Views of West Lake in Ink-Monochrome* (水墨西湖十景冊)

Name of the recorder: Jin Zhi (金埴; 1663-1740)

Source: *Bu Xiandai bian* (不下帶編; anthology of writing on “not looking below one’s waist”)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th-13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 18th century (Qing)

²⁰ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu Youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘 (Addendum to Gazetteer of Sightseeing on West Lake), juan 17, Wenyan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 31b-32a. For an English translation, see chapter three of this dissertation.

²¹ Please note that Zhang Chou initially attributed this work to Xia Gui. He revised this attribution and ascribed this painting to Dai Jin in a later note. However, as discussed in chapter three, Li E deleted the later note and kept the attribution to Xia Gui.

²² Zhang Chou, *Zhenji Rilü* 真蹟日錄 (Daily Records on Authentic Works), Wenyan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, juan 1, 2b-3a. For an English translation, see chapter three of this dissertation.

馬遠《水墨西湖十景冊》

畫不滿幅，人稱為“馬一角”。姚雲東詩：“宋家內院馬一角”是也。彼非不能布滿也，蓋方寸具千里之勢耳。²³

18. Presumed artist: Monk Yujian (玉澗; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: West Lake (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Liu Ji (劉基; 1311-1375)

Source: *Xihu youlan zhiyu* (西湖遊覽志餘; addendum to *Gazetteer of Sightseeing in West Lake*)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 14th century (Ming) (first published in 16th century)

玉澗和尚西湖圖歌

大江之南風景殊，杭州西湖天下無。

浮光吐景十裏外，疊嶂湧出青芙蓉。

百年王氣散荊棘，惟有歌舞留歡娛。

重樓峻閣妒鉛黛，媚柳嬌花使人愛。

老僧不善兒女情，故作粗豪見真態。

想其泚筆欲畫時，高視畫工如小兒。

²³ Jin Zhi, *Bu Xiandai bian* 不下帶編 (Anthology of Writing on “not looking below one’s waist”), Qing Gaoben 清稿本 (Qing dynasty manuscript), accessed via Database of Chinese Classic Ancient Books, Erudition, on 02/25/2022, juan 7, 2b.

千巖萬壑吾意匠，誇娥巨靈吾指麾。
卻憶往年秋雨夕，畫舫沖煙度空碧。
蒼茫不辨雲與山，但覺微風響蘆荻。
須臾冷月迸深霧，時見松杉半昏黑。
開尊命客彈焦桐，扣舷大笑驚海童。
鮫人唱歌魚鱉應，水底影動雙高峰。
只今倏忽成老翁，可憐此樂難再逢。
愁來看畫欲自縱，誰知感生愁轉劇。²⁴

19. Presumed artist: Chen Juzhong (陳居中; active 12th century)

Title of the painting: *West Lake Clearing up after Rain* (西湖雨霽圖)

Name of the recorder: Min Hua (閔華; active 18th century)

Source: *Chengqiu Ge ji* (澄秋閣集; collection of writing of the pavilion of clear autumn skies)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 18th century (Qing)

題陳居中《西湖雨霽圖》陳爲宋理宗畫院供奉

雨奇霽亦佳，西湖無限好。秀潤山週遭，澄鮮波浩渺。陳君供奉官，六法世所寶。摹寫極林巒，刻畫到花鳥。高峰夕照明，深柳扁舟小。傍識作圖年，

²⁴ Tian Rucheng, *Xihu Youlan zhiyu*, juan 17, Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 31a-31b.

湖山屬殘趙。人事想嬉娛，樓觀見縹緲。憶我昔曾遊，幽邃恣探討。天容有
晦明，物態變昏曉。酒壚訪蕭娘，魚羹思宋嫂。至今夢寐間，閑懷尚縈繞。
即此當卧遊，恍入孤山道。²⁵

20. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Panoramic View of West Lake* (西湖全景)

Name of the recorder: Xia Wenyan (夏文彥; active 14th century)

Source: *Tuhui Baojian* (圖繪寶鑑; Precious Reflections on Picturing and Painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1365

陳清波，錢塘人，多作西湖全景，喬鍾馗，喬三教，寶祐待詔。²⁶

21. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Lingering Snow upon Duan Bridge* (斷橋殘雪圖)²⁷

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

陳清波，錢塘人，多作西湖全景，為大幅，叙致典雅，筆墨嫵潤，有求其方
冊者，則以七圖畀之，尤善畫道釋鍾馗，無一不臻妙境，寶祐間畫院待詔，
畫之傳世者：

²⁵ Min Hua, *Chengqiu Ge ji* 澄秋閣集 (Collection of Writing of the Pavilion of Clear Autumn Skies), san ji, juan 4, Qing Qianlong shiqi nian keben 清乾隆十七年刻本, 5b.

²⁶ Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui Baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (Precious Reflections on Picturing and Painting), juan 4, Yuan Zhizheng keben 元至正刻本, 16b.

²⁷ *Huishi Beikao* records three paintings titled of Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge by Chen Qingbo. Wang Yuxian, *Huishi Beikao* 繪事備考 (Comprehensive Research on Painting), juan 6, Wenyuan Ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 36a-36b.

《斷橋殘雪圖》三、《三潭印月圖》一、《雷峯夕照圖》一、《麴院荷風圖》一、《蘇堤春曉圖》二、《南屏晚鐘圖》二、《石屋煙霞圖》二、《勾漏丹砂圖》一、《函關遇真圖》二。²⁸

22. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Moon Reflected on Three Ponds* (三潭印月圖)

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

23. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Glow of Sunset upon Leifeng Peak* (雷峰夕照圖)

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

24. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Breeze amongst the Lotus of Brewing Courtyard* (麴院荷風圖)

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

25. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway* (蘇堤春曉圖)²⁹

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ The number of paintings in this title is two.

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

26. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain* (南屏晚鐘圖)³⁰

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

27. Presumed artist: Chen Qingbo (陳清波; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Mt. Shiwu and Mt. Yanxia* (石屋煙霞圖)³¹

Name of the recorder: Wang Yuxian (王毓賢; active 17th century)

Source: *Huishi Beikao* (繪事備考; comprehensive research on painting)

Approximate date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1690 (Qing)

28. Presumed artist: Ma Lin (馬麟, 12th-13th century)

Title of the painting: *Ten Scenes of West Lake* (西湖十景冊)

Name of the recorder: Gao Shiqi (高士奇; 1645-1703)

Source: *Jiangcun Xiaoxia lu* (江村銷夏錄; spending summer in the river valley)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th-13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1693 (Qing)

宋馬麟《西湖十景冊》絹本，元班恕齋隸書標目四大字，骨肉停勻，有夏承碑遺意。明瞿宗吉楷書十景詩，亦精謹有法，惜內缺《兩峰插漢》一葉，庚午六月，江邨銷夏，漫為補書，遂成三十冊付之裝池。³²

³⁰ The number of paintings in this title is two.

³¹ The number of paintings in this title is two.

³² Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun Xiaoxia lu* 江村銷夏錄 (Spending Summer in the River Valley), juan 3, Wenyan Ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 29b.

29. Presumed artist: Ma Lin (馬麟, 12th-13th century)

Title of the painting: *West Lake* (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Wu Qizhen (吳其貞; ca. 1607-1681)

Source: *Shuhua ji* (書畫記; records of calligraphy and painting)

Presumed date of the painting: 11th-12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 17th century (Qing)

馬麟《西湖圖》大絹畫二幅

高七尺，廣三尺。此圖原有四幅，向藏叢睦坊，分為兩處，此是保俶塔、孤山二景也，畫法淋漓，雲烟吞吐，氣韻生動，為生平第一。³³

30. Presumed artist: Ruofen (若芬; also known as Yujian; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *West Lake* (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Wu Taisu (吳太素; active 13th-14th century)

Source: *Songzhai Meipu* (松齋梅譜; manual of plum blossoms in the pine studio)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1274 (Southern Song)

僧若芬，字仲石，號玉澗。婺州金華人……受具為臨安天竺寺書記。遍游諸方。或風日清好。遊目騁懷。必摹寫雲山，托意聲畫。寺外求者漸眾。因謂世間宜假不宜真，如錢唐八月潮西湖雪後諸峰山，古澗側流蒼壁間，占勝作亭，扁曰“玉澗”，因以為號，專精作墨梅，師逃禪……字古怪如其畫，時稱三絕，壽八十，有《竹石圖》《西湖》《瀟湘》《北山》等圖於世。³⁴

³³ Wu Qizhen, *Shuhua ji*, juan 2, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2006, 149-150.

³⁴ Wu Taisu, *Songzhai Meipu*, juan 14, *Zhongguo Shuhua Quanshu* 中國書畫全書 (Complete Anthology of Writings on Calligraphy and Painting), volume 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 702.

31. Presumed artist: Zhao Bian (趙弁; active 12th century)

Title of the painting: *Good-looking under all Conditions* (總相宜圖)

Name of the recorder: Yang Wujiu (揚無咎; 1097-1171)

Source: *Taochan ci* (逃禪詞; poems on escaping the world)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 12th century (Southern Song)

趙祖文畫西湖圖名曰總相宜

西湖天下應如是。誰喚作、真西子。雲凝山秀，日增波媚，宜晴宜雨，況是
深秋，更當遙夜，月華如水。記詞人解道，丹青妙手，應難寫、真奇語。

往事輸他范蠡。泛扁舟、仍攜佳麗。豪端幻出，淡妝濃抹，可人風味。和靖
幽居，老坡遺跡，也應勘記。更憑君畫我，追隨二老，遊千家寺。³⁵

32. Presumed artist: Muqi (牧溪; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *West Lake* (西湖圖)

Name of the recorder: Daocan (道燦; ?-1271)

Source: *Wuwen yin* (無文印; anthology of Wuwen)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century

Approximate date of the record: 1273

題西湖圖

³⁵ Yang Wujiu, *Taochan ci* 逃禪詞 (Poems on escaping the world), *Song Mingjia Ci* 宋名家詞 (Poems of Famous Poets of the Song), Jigu ge ben 汲古閣本, 3a

坡仙吟不到處，牧溪畫得到。牧溪畫得到處，無文看不到。往來西湖三十年，少也冥心痴坐，腳力不暇及，今病眩倦游，眼力不能及，不獨媿西湖，亦媿此圖也。³⁶

33. Presumed artist: Gu Shiyan (顧師顏; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: West Lake(西湖)

Name of the recorder: Yu Xingzhi (俞行之; active 15th century)

Source: *Gushu Poutan* (孤樹哀談; collected stories under the lonely tree)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 16th century (Ming)

清江俞行之在永樂中游能詩盛名……近見其題顧師顏西湖昼二幅云：“西湖湖上可憐春，煙柳風花最惱人。羅袖淚乾無好思，畫船歌舞為誰新。”

又，“秋來碧草湛平湖，荷葉菱花取次枯。唯有斷堤殘柳樹，淡煙猶鎖亂啼鳥。”《聖諭》³⁷

34. Presumed artist: Shi Xianzu (史顯祖; active 1230s)

Title of the painting: *View of Autumn in Nanping* (南屏秋色圖)

Name of the recorder: Li E

Source: *Nansong Yuanhua lu*

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1721 (Qing)

史顯祖《南屏秋色圖》，絹畫斗方一頁。沉着古雅。吳其貞《書畫記》³⁸

³⁶ Daocan, *Wuwen yin* 無文印 (Anthology of Wuwen), juan 10, Song keben 日本國立國會圖書館藏宋刻本 (Song dynasty printed edition kept in the National Diet Library, Japan), 11b.

³⁷ Li Mo (李默; 1494-1556), *Gushu Poutan*, juan 3, Ming keben 明刻本 (Ming dynasty printed edition), 29b.

³⁸ Li E, *Nansong Yuanhua lu*, juan 8, 210. Please note that although Li E cites Wu Qizhen as his source, Wu's original account states that the name of the artist is Zhu Xianzu 朱顯祖, not Shi Xianzu. I double checked several extant editions of *Shihua ji*, and confirmed that this is not a printing error. Wu Qizhen puts this album leave among several other works by Song and Yuan artists, and titled the set “Album of twenty-four small-scale paintings by

35. Presumed artist: Anonymous painter of the Jin court

Title of the painting: City of Lin'an, Mt. Wu and West Lake (臨安之城邑，及吳山、西湖之勝)

Name of the recorder: Yue Ke (岳珂; 1183-1243)

Source: Ting Shi (程史; bedside history)

Presumed date of the painting: late 12th century (Jin/Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1208-1224 (Southern Song)

遣我叛臣施宜生來賀天申節，隱畫工於中，使圖臨安之城邑，及吳山、西湖之勝以歸。既進繪事，大喜，[日間]然有垂涎杭、越之想。亟命撤坐間軟屏，更設所獻，而於吳山絕頂，貌已之狀，策馬而立，題其上曰：“萬里車書盍混同，江南豈有別疆封，提兵百萬西湖上，立馬吳山第一峰。”³⁹

36. Presumed artist: Anonymous

Title of the painting: *The Bygone Capital Lin'an, two scrolls* (臨安故城二圖)

Name of the recorder: Zhang Zhu (張翥; 1287-1368)

Source: *Tui'an shi* (蛻菴詩; poems in the Cocoon Cottage)

Presumed date of the painting: 12th-13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 14th century (Yuan)

周漢長公主府，今開元宮，《臨安故城》二圖

Song and Yuan people” 宋元人小畫圖冊一本二十四頁。It could be Wu Qizhen's typo to write the name of the artist as Zhu Xianzu instead of Shi Xianzu. It is also possible that the painting was indeed signed by Zhu Xianzu (active 17th century), a late Ming and early Qing scholar who was also an amateur artist. *Huajia Zhixi lu* (畫家知希錄, records on the information of painters) notes that Zhu Xianzu was a “scholar of the late Ming” who was skilled at painting plum blossom (明季諸生朱顯祖畫梅卷). Li Fang (李放; 1884-1924), *Huajia Zhixi lu*, prefaced 1923, juan 5, Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985. In either case, Li E deliberately changed the name of the artist, “Zhu Xianzu”, as recorded in Wu Qizhen's catalogue to “Shi Xianzu”, a Southern Song artist who worked as a painter-in-attendance in the court. See Wu Qizhen, *Shuhua ji*, juan 2, 98.

³⁹ Yue Ke, *Ting Shi* 程史 (Bedside History) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 95.

主家樓觀鬱參差，想見當年全盛時。宮草細分行輦路，苑花深覆汎舟池。瑶
臺仙去塵生海，甲帳神來風滿旗。好在畫圖留勝跡，五雲長護鶴笙祠。

南渡君臣建業偏，不堪喬木黯風煙。豈知白馬興王後，紅羊換劫年，三輔黃
圖空郡國，六朝王氣渺山川，白頭開府歸來日，應覽遺踪一愴然。⁴⁰

37. Presumed artist: Fan Bin (范彬; active 13th century)

Title of the painting: *Peach Blossoms and Willows along the Six Bridges* 六橋桃柳圖

Name of the recorder: Bian Yongyu (卞永譽; 1645-1712)

Source: Shigu Tang Shuhua huikao 式古堂書畫彙考 (Combined texts on calligraphy and painting in the Hall of Forming Antiques)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1682 (Qing)

范彬《六橋桃柳圖》⁴¹

38. Presumed artist: Ruofen (若芬; also known as Yujian; active 13th century)

Title of the paintings: *Gushan Islet* 孤山圖; *Mt. Wu* 吳山圖; *Six Bridge* 六橋圖; *Ten Scenes of West Lake* 西湖十景圖 (ten leaves)

Name of the recorder: Bian Yongyu (卞永譽; 1645-1712)

Source: Shigu Tang Shuhua huikao 式古堂書畫彙考 (Combined texts on calligraphy and painting in the Hall of Forming Antiques)

Presumed date of the painting: 13th century (Southern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1682 (Qing)

僧若芬……《孤山圖》、《吳山圖》、《六橋圖》、《西湖十景圖》十。⁴²

⁴⁰ Zhang Zhu, *Tui'an shi* 蛻菴詩 (Poems in the Cocoon Cottage), juan 3, Sibū congkan xubian jingming ben 四部叢刊續編景明本, 21a-21b.

⁴¹ Bian Yongyu, Shigu Tang Shuhua huikao 式古堂書畫彙考 (Combined texts on calligraphy and painting in the Hall of Forming Antiques), juan 32, Wenyan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 183a.

⁴² Ibid, 177a.

39. Presumed artist: Zhongren (仲仁; ca. 1086- ca.1093)

Title of the painting: *Lake and Mountains, Level Distance* 湖山平遠

Name of the recorder: Sun Yueban et al.

Source: *Peiwen zhai Shuhua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜

Presumed date of the painting: 11th century (Northern Song)

Approximate date of the record: 1708 (Qing)

宋釋仲仁畫《湖山平遠》

好在華光真子，過於雲屋之間。春色都隨談笑，袖中仍有湖山。

宣和元年十二月初五日，惠子出其師所作《湖山平遠》，曰：“此蓋老人得意時筆也。”予平生無所嗜山水，少年游戲錢塘，眷湖山之勝，欲老焉，以詩寫之，不能肖逮，今衰暮，雖與華光，善得其戲筆，必為人持去，惠子呵予不能善祕之，予曰：“凡四海九州山川，煙雲皆吾畫筭也。奈何為兒戲畜紙墨間乎？惠子笑曰：“公懍懍大言，蓋其天性然，為題此紙，於是書六言付之。《石門文字禪》⁴³

⁴³ Sun Yueban et al., *Peiwen zhai Shuhua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜, juan 84, Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu ben 文淵閣四庫全書本, 42a-42b.

APPENDIX 2

*Scenic Attraction of West Lake: a stylistic analysis and study of iconography*⁴⁴

1. Visual analysis

The Scenic Attractions of West Lake best is comprised of four parts, consisting of a frontispiece, a drawing of a map, a painting composed of 14 pieces of paper, and a colophon at the end. It is now mounted as a long handscroll (32.9 x 1581.1 cm) in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington DC.

The frontispiece bears four characters in seal script “Xi Hu Qing Qu” (西湖清趣, pure pleasures on West Lake) signed by Cheng Nanyun 程南雲 (? -1458), a renowned scholar and calligrapher in early Ming Dynasty (plate 8.1).⁴⁵ The section following the frontispiece is a

⁴⁴ I discuss the date and iconography of this painting in a journal article published in Chinese. See Yunfei Shao 邵韻霏, “Chongxian Nansong Lin’an: Fuli’er *Xihu Qingqu Tu* de shidai, shijuexing yu lishixing” 重現南宋臨安：弗里爾《西湖清趣圖》的時代、視覺性與歷史性 (Reconstructing Southern Song Lin’an: the date, visuality and historicity of Scenic Attractions of West Lake), *Meishu* (January, 2022): 99-107.

⁴⁵ Cheng Nanyun was a renowned scholar-office of early Ming dynasty who have inscribed on many Yuan paintings. I will not doubt the authenticity of this frontispiece, but I will challenge its association with the rest of the scroll. It is not uncommon for people of the Ming-Qing period to attach genuine frontispiece or colophons to forged paintings. See Xu Bangda, *Gu shuhua jian ding gailun* (古書畫鑑定概論: introduction to authenticating ancient paintings and calligraphy), Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2005, 87-88. The quality and size of the paper do not match the rest of the scroll. The frontispiece bears obvious traces of tears and stains. Most tears are horizontal rips that are parallel to each other. This is typically the result of folding and unfolding the piece of paper vertically a substantial number of times. We usually see this type of tears in hanging scroll. As such, this frontispiece, a genuine work of the early Ming period, was probably mounted on another work that was a hanging scroll. Furthermore, the title “Xi Hu Qing Qu” (pure pleasures in West Lake) does not go along with the theme of the painting because the term “painting of pure pleasure” usually refers to the eremitic sentiments of scholars in ink-monochromatic landscape paintings. A ink-monochromatic landscape painting by Wang Meng (王蒙; 1308-1385) is titled *Linquan*

drawing with a map-like layout of West Lake, painted with ink and color on paper (plate 8.2).⁴⁶ The map shows the lake in an oval shape that fills the entire picture. The artist finely delineated the surrounding mountains, two causeways, the bridges, some important architectural landmarks, city gates, and a simplified layout of Hangzhou city. He adds a variation of tones of blue and grey to the mountains to give them texture, and greyish blue to the water to set it aside from land. The vermilion red on the bridges, and a lighter orange red highlight some of the temples and pagodas, making these infrastructures stand out visually. Along the Baidi and Sudi causeways, the artist painted a number of evenly spread lollipop-shaped trees. The square-shaped region adjacent to the right of the lake is very likely a simplified and distorted city layout of Hangzhou/Lin'an. The light greyish blue tunnels represent water, and the ink lines represent walls. The rectangular shape inside the city map might represent the Imperial Palace. It has three gates, faces north and sits in the arms of Mt. Pheonix. However, the size of the palace is strangely enlarged and the layout does not fit with the actual city map of Hangzhou during the Southern Song.⁴⁷

The following sections, which are the main part of the handscroll (1584.2 cm long), form a continuous painting done with ink and color on paper (fig.30). This painting depicts the scene on the banks of West Lake starting from the Qiantang Gate, moving in a counter-clockwise motion to the northeast of the lake, and ending with the same gate toward the end. For the convenience of

Qingqu tu (林泉清趣圖; pure pleasure amidst the forest and spring). An early Ming painting that depicts the hermitage of a Daoist hermit is titled *Yunshan Qingqu tu* (雲山清趣圖; pure pleasures amidst the cloudy mountains). For the Wang Meng painting, see Shiqu Baoji, juan 26, Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu ben, 6a; for a record of the early Ming painting, see Qiu Jun (丘浚; 1418-1596), “Yunshan Qingqu tu wei Ouyang Daoren zuo” (雲山清趣圖為歐陽道人作, pure pleasures amidst the cloudy mountains painted for Daoist priest Ouyang), Cao Xuequan (ed.), *Shicang Lidai Shixuan* (石倉歷代詩選; selected poems of Shicang of all dynasties), juan 387, Wenyuange Siku Quanshu ben, 9a.

⁴⁶ For convenience of discussion, I will call this diagram a “map” because it has certain map elements. However, it was not necessarily made as a map or used as one.

⁴⁷ It is uncertain whether this map has been cut. Some traces of ink under the mounted borders suggest the map was very likely cut during the process of mounting. However, the part showing the lake is complete and intact.

discussion, I will divide the painting into 14 sections, with each section corresponding to a separate sheet of paper. From right to left, one unfolds the scroll to find the city wall, the north harbor, Baidi Causeway, Gushan Islet, Sudi Causeway, the south bank with Leifeng Pagoda, the city wall to the southeast, and finally the gate where we started. In the first section, the tall Qiantang Gate dominates the scene through which a number of city dwellers are departing. Wine houses and restaurants are open on the two sides of the streets to host the travelers. The 2nd and 3rd section depict the scene from the gate to the Baidi Causeway with more shops and crowded streets. The 4th and 5th sections show the Baidi Causeway with part of the lake behind it. Section 6 depicts the Gushan Islet connecting the Baidi and Sudi Causeways. Sections 7, 8 and 9 show the Sudi Causeway, placing it in the middle of the horizontal plane. The 10th and 11th sections depict the south bank with hills, temples and pagodas. In the following sections, we turn back to the city's south and the southeast walls, and eventually returns to the Qiantang Gate in the last section. Although the basic composition remains the same, some variations were made to suggest a different temporal period. For instance, the human figures in the first section are coming out **to** the lake, while the people in the last section seem to be returning home **from** the lake (plate 8.3). Some shops that were open in the first section are now closed in the last one, as are some windows, too.

The viewpoint suggested by this composition indicates that the spectators of this painting are placed somewhere on the water in the main part of the lake, looking at the scenes on the banks and across causeways (plate 8.4). The architecture was painted using the *jiehua* (ruled painting) technique, with red accents on the buildings to bring them out from the blue and grey landscape background. The commoners' houses are also painted with the use of rulers, aligned to the two sides of the streets, creating a sense of solidarity and rigidity. The faraway hills are colored in light blue and the trees alongside the banks are in green with some pink peach blossoms among

them to suggest the season of spring. A number of large and small boats are sailing in the lake, on some of which the boatmen are paddling while their passengers enjoy the leisure of cruising on the lake. The dark outlines on the boats and on the buildings create an artificial sense that sets them apart from the misty and ink-washed landscape. In this way, the artist gave equal importance to both the manmade structures and the natural beauty of the lake. The composition of each scene is divided into an upper half dominated by architecture and mountains, and a lower half composed mostly of water and boats. The human figures fill in the gaps to enliven the painting. The heavy and dense architectural space seems imposed upon the water in the lake, yet the heavily lined boats on the water balance the composition.

Figures are grouped into different modal clusters and appear repeatedly throughout the painting: a scholar in a pink robe and a black cap, holding hands, facing left; two men carrying a sedan chair; one lady wearing a calabash-shaped extravagant hairpiece; a group of three or four ladies in a row; a man with a shoulder pole, a man holding a dark umbrella; and a man on horseback (plate 8.5). These figural motifs are interspersed throughout the entire painting, filling up gaps in the landscape and give a sense of the diversification of tourists. This repetition also guides viewers across the page from one part to another in a coherent flow, suggesting a sense of motion and passage of time. The majority of the figures are portrayed in simplified profiles, in the act of walking. As a result, from beginning to end, viewers are presented with the round-trip journey of these groups of tourists as they travel outbound and inbound.

The rendition of landscape, vegetation and architecture also demonstrate repetition. The faraway mountains in either blue or grey colors come in an orderly fashion; five main types of trees (willow, peach, phoenix trees “wutong”, bamboo and pine) are scattered across the painting (plate 8.6); the boats depicted in singular or groups recall each other (plate 8.7). Upon scrutiny, it

is not difficult to notice the basic forms the artist used to delineate each element in the painting. Consequently, the painting is composed of a number of modal motifs used repetitively to allude to the liveliness and prosperity of West Lake in spring.

2. Provenance

The last part of the scroll is a colophon that bears the signature of the Qing dynasty scholar Li E. In this lengthy colophon, Li tells the story of seeing the painting at the house of his friend Wang Shengwu 王繩武 (dates unknown) from Guangling (廣陵; present-day Yangzhou), where Wang asked him to identify each of the scenes in the painting based on his knowledge of the Southern Song painting academy and Hangzhou.⁴⁸ He thus gives a detailed list of the sites, buildings, gardens, temples and pagodas depicted in the painting, describing how the painting proceeds from one place to another. The names of the places listed in the colophon are all based on *Wulin jiushi*.⁴⁹ He attributes the painting to a Southern Song court painter, Li Song,

“This is a work presented for imperial viewership by a celebrated painter of the Southern Song Academy of Painting. It is a pity that no name is signed. Since it depicts the Tomb of Yue Fei, the painting should be done after the reign emperor Xiaozong (r.1162-1189). The painter is probably Li Song.”

此南宋畫院名手進御作，惜不書名。上有岳墳，當是孝宗以後人，疑李嵩也。

⁴⁸ In the colophon, the author notes, “Mr. Wang was pleased to see this hard evidence. He pled with me, ‘I am convinced that the painting is indeed a Southern Song work. Please label the names of each of the gardens, pavilions, monasteries, and temples so that viewers could compare them to texts. It would be of great value.’...” 王君喜其確據，因請與予曰：“畫，信乎南宋矣。園庭寺觀，求一一標舉其名，使觀者有所考，則更善也。

⁴⁹ The author of the colophon claims to base his description of a Southern Song landscape of West Lake on two main textual sources, *Mengliang lu* and *Wulin Jiushi*. However, all the place names and the sequential arrangement of sites precisely follow *Wulin Jiushi* and not *Mengliang lu*.

An entry in the *Gazetteer of West Lake* commissioned by Li Wei records the painting as “Panoramic View of West Lake by Southern Song Imperial Academy of Painting” (南宋畫院西湖全景圖卷), the source of which is “see Li E’s colophon” (見厲鶚畫跋). Li E was on the editorial board of this official gazetteer. He should be the one who brought this painting to the attention of his fellow editors of the volume on “paintings and calligraphies”.⁵⁰

A timeline of Li E’s encountering with the scroll could thus be constructed as such:

1721: Li E completed *Records of Southern Song Court Paintings* and stored the manuscript in his study and made frequent revisions.

1726, Autumn: Li E travelled to Yangzhou and visited Wang Chengwu’s house with two artist friends. He identified the painting as a “work by a famous painter of the Southern Song Imperial Academy of Painting”, “probably Li Song” and was requested to write a colophon to document his findings. Li E accepted the plea and carried the painting back to his residence.

1727, Autumn: Li E finally wrote the colophon, and asked the collector Wang Chengwu to “treat it like a treasure.”

1731: Li E joined the editorial team of *Gazetteer of West Lake* as an expert on paintings.

1734- Li E finished editing the *Gazetteer of West Lake* and included this painting in the volume on “paintings and calligraphies”.

It should be noted that Li E never added this work to his *Records of Southern Song Court Paintings* even though he had the opportunity and even though he was criticized for “citing

⁵⁰ Li Wei et al. (eds.), *Gazetteer of West Lake*, juan 30, first published in 1731. For Li E’s participation in the project, see “Guoshi wenyuan zhuan” (國史文苑傳; biographies of literati of present dynasty), *Fanxie Shanfang ji: yishi* (樊榭山房集:軼事; collections of writing from the cottage of fenced terrace: stories), *Sibu congkan qing Zhenqitang ben* (四部叢刊清振綺堂本), 7b.

a wide range of sources, and even incorporating every anecdote and urban story.”⁵¹ Li E’s hesitance in attributing this work to Li Song in the official gazetteer, and in appending it to his own *Records of Southern Song Court Paintings* is a strong signal that scholars should treat his conclusions with caution.

3. Style, genre, and format: the date of the painting in post-16th century period.

Even though the author of the colophon, Li E, dates this painting to the Southern Song and loosely attributes it to Li Song, this dissertation dates it to the post-16th century era based on an examination of the style, genre, and format.

Stylistically, the painting demonstrates influence from Zhe school painters of the Ming dynasty, *Suzhou pian* (苏州片) painters of the Ming-Qing era, and court painters of the Qing empire.

A comparison between *Scenic Attractions of West Lake to Ten Thousand Li of the Yangzi* attributed to Dai Jin in Cleveland Museum of Art suggests a closeness in the styles and techniques used to delineate landscape and architecture.⁵² In the hands of the Zhe school painters such as Dai Jin, Wu Wei (吴伟; 1459-1508), and their followers, the prototypical “axe-cut”

⁵¹ Ji Yun (紀昀; 1724-1805), “*Nansong Yuanhua Lu bajuan*” (南宋院畫錄八卷; preface to the eight volumes of *Records of the Southern Song Court Paintings*), *Siku Quanshu Zongmu Tiyao* (四庫全書總目提要; abstract on the complete list of entries of Siku Quanshu), juan 113, Wenyuan ge *Siku Quanshu* ben, 29a. For a timeline of Li E and his *Records of Southern Song Court Paintings*, see Li Fanghong 李方紅, “*Nansong Yuanhua Lu de neirong yu banben kaoshu*,” (南宋院畫錄的內容與版本考述; a study on the content and editions of *Records of Southern Song Court Paintings*) *Meishu Yanjiu*, 2017 (3): 50-52; Xia Piaopiao 夏飄飄, “Li E yu kangqian shitan” (厲鶚與康乾詩壇, Li E and the world of poetry during the Kangxi-Qianlong reigns), PhD dissertation, Zhejiang University, 2014.

⁵² Although the *Ten Thousand Li of Yangzi* is signed by Dai Jin, it could likely be a work from a follower of Dai. In either case, this scroll is a Ming dynasty or slightly later work.

texturing strokes (大斧劈皴) of the Li Tang tradition grew more and more manneristic (plate 8.8).

This texturing brushwork became a formalistic approach to decorate the otherwise void surface of rocks and hills. The *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* scroll and the *Ten Thousand Li of Yangzi* both use this kind of formulaic texturing brushwork in delineating boulder and cliffs. The parallel stripes in plate 8.9 create a stark contrast between light and shade yet it does little to suggest texture and volume. The rocks still appear to be flat and weightless. The treatment of faraway hills in the two works is also similar as they both use blue and grey washes on the mountain cliffs while leaving the rim along the top and bottom contours blank.

Plate 8.10 shows similarities in the treatment of other motifs. In depicting boats, each painting delineates a narrow two-level painted boat in almost identical shape and coloration. To portray the merlons on the city wall, both paintings render them in simple, repetitive step-tapered forms. Likewise, the faraway cottage houses are represented in triangular compositions that pile up on each other.

In addition to the predominant stylistic associations with the paintings of the Zhe school artists, the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* also drew upon the works of *Suzhou Pian* painters and Qing court artists. During the mid-late Ming Dynasty, *Suzhou Pian* as mass-produced commercial paintings in workshops in Suzhou enjoyed wide popularity, many of which were titled “Qingming Shanghe Tu” (清明上河圖; Along the River during the Qingming Festival), and bore the signatures of famous professional artists like Qiu Ying (仇英; 1494-1552).⁵³ A comparison with two anonymous *Qingming Shanghe Tu* scrolls in the Metropolitan

⁵³ For a discussion for this group of “Qingming Shanghe Tu”, see Roderick Whitfield, “Chang Tze-tuan’s Ch-ing-Ming Shang-ho T’u,” PhD dissertation, Princeton University. 1965. For a discussion on *Suzhou Pian* and its

Museum of Art demonstrate clear stylistic proximity. A *Qingming Shanghe Tu* scroll dated to the 18th century to an anonymous painter uses rulers to delineate the contours of the wall structures with dark crisp lines and fill the surface of the wall with vermilion-colored grids. Such technique is present in the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* (plate 8.11). Another *Qingming Shanghe Tu* signed by “Qiu Ying” show a monastery painted in red walls and dark roofs with the contours of the Buddha carved out. This treatment of Buddhist monasteries is consistently seen in the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* (plate 8.12).

The closeness with court paintings of the Qing is discernable in the rendering of streets, buildings, and bridges. In many paintings by the court artist Xu Yang, the imbrication of shops along the crowded streets is a symbol of the city’s prosperity. Plate 8.13 shows street-side shops in black, white and yellow colors that are imbricated in the *Shengshi zisheng tu* and *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. The yellow-walled cottage houses in Xu Yang’s painting is also seen in the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. Probably the most astounding similarity lies in the comparison of Duan Bridge in *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* and a bridge in Xu Yang’s scroll *Zhubi Gusu* (駐蹕姑蘇, Imperial Stay in Suzhou). This stylistic comparison with the Qing court artist Xu Yang demonstrates that the painter of *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* adopted similar styles and motifs but significantly simplified them (plate 8.14). This simplification is consistent in the treatment of figures as they are grouped into several basic prototypical compositions that appear repetitively across the entire scroll.

Several inconsistencies in the treatment of space also reveal the artist’s impetuosity in execution. The Baochu Pagoda appeared twice from two angles; an error that could have been

relationship with Qiu Ying, see Ellen. J. Laing, “‘Suzhou Pian’ and other dubious paintings in the received ‘oeuvre’ of Qiu Ying”, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 59, (2000:3/4): 265-295.

avoided with a more coherent study of layout. Several failures in the use of overlapping suggest the artist's lack of competence in this technique. Other obvious perspectival mistakes conflict with the perfect representation of space in plate 8.15. Throughout the painting, these inconsistencies propose a likelihood of group work.

This reduction, repetition and misconception of space suggest that the painting was probably produced in a workshop during the late Ming period or even later.

4. Format

Moreover, the format of this painting, an extremely lengthy handscroll extending over fifteen meters long, also places it in the post-16th century era. According to Cheng-hua Wang, handscrolls of such length rarely appeared in paintings before the 16th century.⁵⁴ It is frequently used in citiscapes after the 16th century. The subject matter-citiscap-is also not quite common until the 16th century.⁵⁵

For the purpose of comparison, the famous *Along the River during Qingming Festival* scroll by Zhang Zeduan extends for 528.7 centimeters long. And the *Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff* 後赤壁賦圖 by Qiao Zhongchang (喬仲常; active late 11th - early 12th century) is 560.3 centimeters long. The *Dwelling in Fuchun Mountain* scroll by Huang Gongwang is approximately 688.3 centimeters in length when all the remaining parts are combined. These works represent the length of long handscrolls during the Song and Yuan periods. However, a 16th-16th century scroll

⁵⁴ Cheng-hua Wang, "Guoyan fanhua—Wanming chengshi tu, chengshi guan yu wenhua xiaofei de yanjiu (過眼繁華——晚明城市圖、城市觀與文化消費的研究, splendid view at a glimpse, a study on late Ming citiscapes, views on cities, and cultural consumption), *Yishu, Quanli yu Xiaofei: Zhongguo Yishushi Yanjiu de Yige Mianxiang* 藝術、權利與消費：中國藝術史研究的一個面向, art, power and consumption: one perspective on the history of Chinese art, Hangzhou: China Academy of Art Press, 2011, 388-389.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Splendid Sites in the Capital City (皇都積勝圖) extends for 2182 centimeters while Wang Hui's *Southern Inspection Tour* scrolls finished around 1693 each takes between 1555-2612.5 centimeters in length. Similarly, Xu Yang's 1739 scroll of *Burgenoning Life in a Resplendent Age* is 1225 centimeters long. Thus, it is more reasonable to situate the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* in this group of paintings that share similar format and subject matter.

This painting takes the circumferential panoptic format identified in chapter one. According to the inscriptions on the *Surroundings of West Lake* by Sun Yueban written in 1707, the said scroll was based on extensive on-site measurements and study that intended to document the distances between important scenic spots. The *Surroundings of West Lake* was commissioned by the Hangzhou *zhizao* bureau for emperor Kangxi. A clerk in the *zhizao* bureau, Mo'ersen executed this painting. In Sun's words, this scroll is the first to depict West Lake in the circumferential format: "Since there was West Lake, there had never been a painting like this" (自有西湖未有是圖). Sun Yueban, a high level minister who superintended the compilation of the *Peiwen Zhai Shuhua pu* (佩文齋書畫譜; encyclopedic compilation of writings on calligraphy and paintings of the Peiwen Zhai studio) would be a reliable source to confirm the Mo'ersen scroll as the pioneer in rendering West Lake in the circumferential format. Wang Yuanqi's *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, as discussed in chapter one, adopts Mo'ersen's composition and layout. The two works were both completed in the 18th century under imperial patronage. Mo'ersen worked in Hangzhou while Wang Yuanqi served the court in Beijing. Their images could be circulated in these places which could be taken as models by local commercial workshops.

Furthermore, to measure, record, design and ultimately convert the ecliptic lake into a linear layout, the artist needed to be well-versed in cartographic measurements and itinerary maps. The artist Mo'ersen was not an ordinary clerk by any means. Six years before the completion of this West Lake painting, he was assigned another important task: to sail east and to gather information about Japan and surrounding places. In a memorial to the throne, Li Xu (李煦; 1655-1729), the head of Suzhou *zhizao* reported to the emperor that Mo'ersen, a clerk of Hangzhou *zhizao*, had been chosen to sail to the East Ocean (traditionally referring to Japan).⁵⁶ Emperor Kangxi instructed in the response, “(you) must never on any account reveal any traces of his journey” (千萬不可露出形跡). The heads of the three *zhizao* bureaus then jointly decided to let Mo'ersen set sail from Shanghai in the six month of the year 1701. When Mo'ersen returned from his journey from Japan four months later, emperor Kangxi summoned him to his private study. We have little knowledge about the information he brought back from his voyage east of China, but one can assume that his cruise took on the mission to measure, calculate, and record important locales for cartographic and informational purposes. It is also possible that he documented this information in the form of itinerary paintings too. This journey, recorded in the secret communications from the *zhizao* bureaus to the emperor revealed Mo'ersen's skills and experience

⁵⁶ “Suzhou zhizao Li Xu zouchen Hangzhou zhizao wulinda Mo'ersen kequ dongyang zhe” (蘇州織造李煦奏陳杭州織造烏林達莫爾森可去東洋摺, memorial from Suzhou zhizao Li Xu on picking Hangzhou zhizao clerk Mo'ersen's to sail to the East Ocean); “Suzhou zhizao Li Xu zoubao Mo'ersen yicong Shanghai chuyang zhe” (蘇州製造李煦奏報莫爾森已從上海出洋摺; memorial from Suzhou zhizao Li Xu on the launch of Mo'ersen's cruise from Shanghai); “Suzhou zhizao Li Xu zoubao Mo'ersen chuyang yihui xianyi you Suzhou jinjing zhe” (蘇州織造李煦奏報莫爾森出洋已回現已由蘇州進京摺; memorial from Suzhou zhizao Li Xu on Mo'ersen's return from the ocean voyage and leaving for Beijing from Suzhou), Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an guan (中國第一歷史檔案館; First Historical Archives of China), *Kangxi chao Hanwen Zhupi Zouzhe* (康熙朝漢文硃批奏摺, palace memorials in Chinese language of the Kangxi court), 1, Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1983, 54-55,55-56, 67.

in the measurement of aquatic places which would be practical for his execution of West Lake paintings in the circumferential panoptic format.

Based on Sun Yueban's affirmation of the Mo'ersen scroll being the first of its kind, and Mo'ersen's irreplaceable expertise in surveying and computing distances on and around water, it is safe to assume that this work predates the *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. As such, we could move the date of the latter to the 18th century.

In conclusion, the texturing brushwork, coloration, treatment of landscape, architecture, figures and space, and the format date this painting to the 16th century at the earliest. A study of the circumferential panoptic format in West Lake images dates the painting to the 18th century. In conclusion, this painting is a work of the late-Ming to the mid-Qing period. Although it aimed to depict the views of a Southern Song West Lake, it is merely an imaginary vision of the past constructed through texts.

Figures

1. Lingerin^g Snow upon Duan Bridge 斷橋殘雪
2. Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm Lake 平湖秋月
3. Breeze amongst the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard 鞠院風荷
4. Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds 雙峰插雲
5. Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway 蘇堤春曉
6. Moon Reflected on Three Ponds 三潭印月
7. Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor 花港觀魚



8. Evening Bell Toll at Nanping Mountain 南屏晚鐘
9. Glow of Sunsest upon Leifeng Peak 雷峰夕照
10. Listening to Orioles amidst Billowing Willows 柳浪聞鶯

Plate 1.1. Map of West Lake. Image created by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 1.2. Cai Guoqiang. *Leifeng Tower*. 2011. Gunpowder on canvas. 300 x 400 cm. Zhejiang Museum of Art, Hangzhou.



Plate 1.3. Sidney Gamble. *Leifeng Pagoda*, 1918. Photograph. Sidney D. Gamble Photographs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.



Plate 2.1. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *West Lake*. Undated, 13th century. Handscroll, ink on paper. 25.8 x 81.6 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Plate 2.2. Thomas Cole. *A View of the Two Lakes and Mountain House, Catskill Mountains, Morning*. 1844. Oil on canvas. 91 x 136.9 cm. Brooklyn Museum, Disk S. Ramsay Fund, 52.16.



Plate 2.3. Gustave Courbet. *View of Lac Léman*. 1874. Oil on canvas. 38 x 55.5 cm. The National Gallery, bequeathed by Sir Robert Hart, Bt, 1971, NG6396.



Plate 2.4. Kawase Hasui. *Lake Chuzenji, Nikko*. 1930. Color woodblock print. 36.4 x 23.4 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Bruce Goff Archive, gift of Shin'enkan, Inc., 1990. 607.749.



Plate 2.5. Anonymous. *Map of West Lake*, in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*. 1867 imprint. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image in the public domain.



Plate 2.6. Satellite image captured from Google Earth. Screenshot photo by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 2.7. The hexagonal layout as shown on Google Map. Photo by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 2.8. Anonymous. *Map of the Entire West Lake*, in *Hushan shenggai*. 1573-1620 imprint. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. National Museum, Beijing.



Plate 2.9. Huang Gongwang. *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, detail. 1348-1350. Handscroll (consisting of two parts), ink on paper. 31.8 x 51.4 cm, 33 x 636.9 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum and the National Palace Museum.



Plate 2.10. Anonymous. *Most Up-to-Date Scenic Map of West Lake*. 1910. Color print. 54 x 77.5 cm. Private collection.

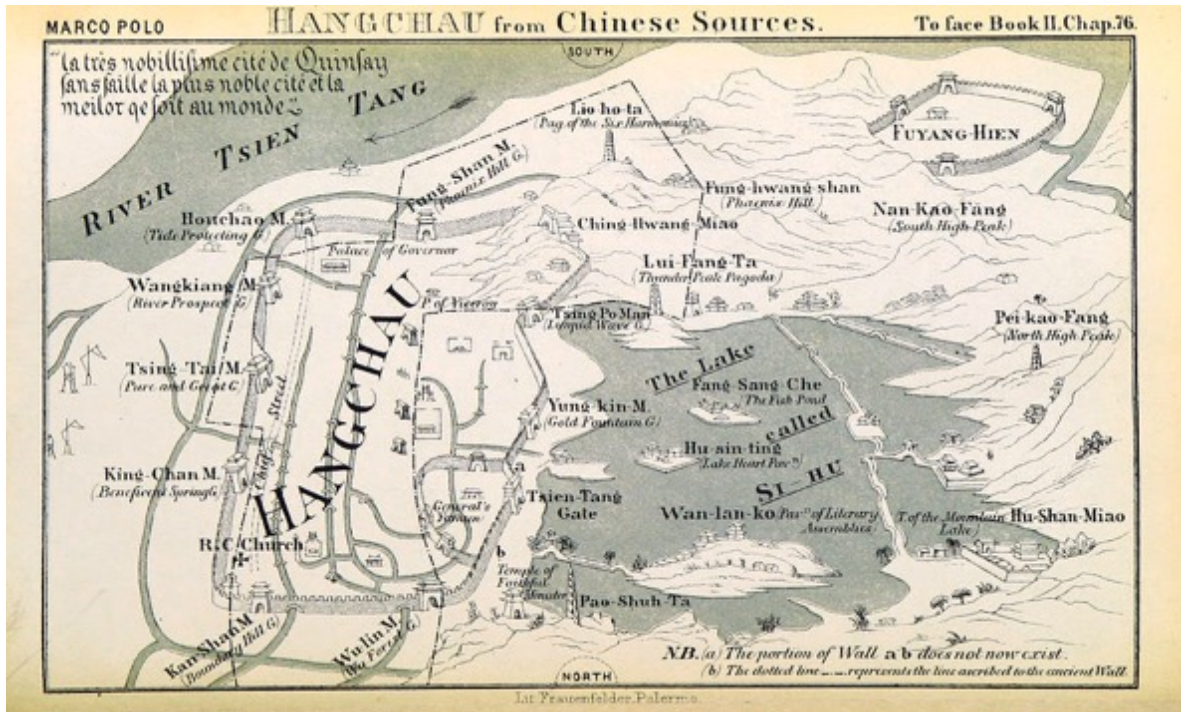


Plate 2.11. Marco Polo. *Hangzhou Map*. 13th century. Print. Original size unknown. In the collection of British Library.

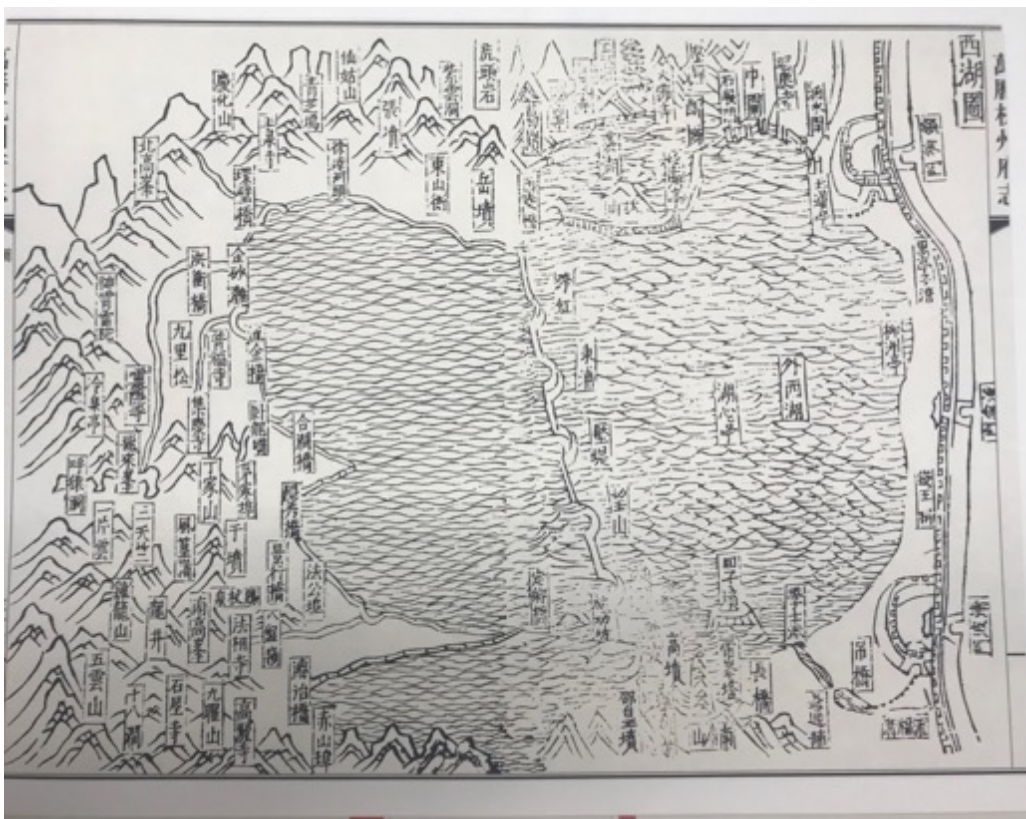


Plate 2.12. Anonymous. Map of West Lake, in *Hangzhou Fuzhi*. 1572-1620 imprint. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Zhejiang gujiu ditu ji*.



Plate 2.13. Anonymous. Map of West Lake, in *Zhejiang Tongzhi*. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Zhejiang gujiu ditu ji*.



Plate 2.14 Anonymous. Map of West Lake, in *Hangzhou Fuzhi*. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Zhejiang gujiu ditu ji*.



Plate 2.15. Anonymous. Map of West Lake, in *Sancai tuhui*. 1609. Woodblock print. Image in the public domain.



Plate 2.16. Anonymous. Map of Present-dynasty West Lake, in *Xihu youlan zhi*. Woodblock print. *Siku quanshu* electronic version.



Plate 2.17. Anonymous. Picture of West Lake, in *Mingshan Shenggai ji*. Woodblock print. Image in the public domain.



Plate 2.18. Zhang Bao. "Boating in Spring on West Lake", in *Xu Fancha tu*. 1826. Woodblock print. Yangcheng Shangguzhai print.



Plate 2.19. Photo taken from the Chenghuang Pavilion on Mt. Wu. 2019. Photograph by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 2.20. Attributed to Liu Songnian. *Four Seasons*. 12th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 40 x 69 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 2.21. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Xia Gui). *Willows and Boats on West Lake*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 107.2 x 59.3 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 2.22. Xia Gui. *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains*. 12th-13th century. Handscroll, ink on paper. 46.5 x 889.1 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 2.23.1. (Top) Xia Gui. *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains*, detail. (Bottom) Anonymous (formerly attributed to Xia Gui). *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, detail.



Plate 2.23.2. (Top) Xia Gui. *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains*, detail. (Bottom) Anonymous (formerly attributed to Xia Gui). *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, detail.

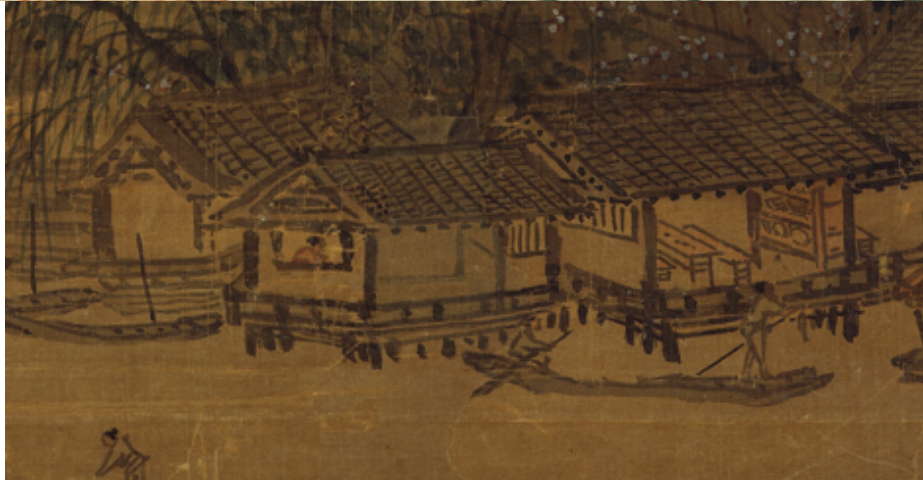


Plate 2.23.3. (Top) Xia Gui. *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains*, detail. (Bottom) Anonymous (formerly attributed to Xia Gui). *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, detail.



Plate 2.23.4. (Top) Xia Gui. *Pure and Remote Views of Stream and Mountains*, detail. (Bottom) Anonymous (formerly attributed to Xia Gui). *Willows and Boats on West Lake*, detail.

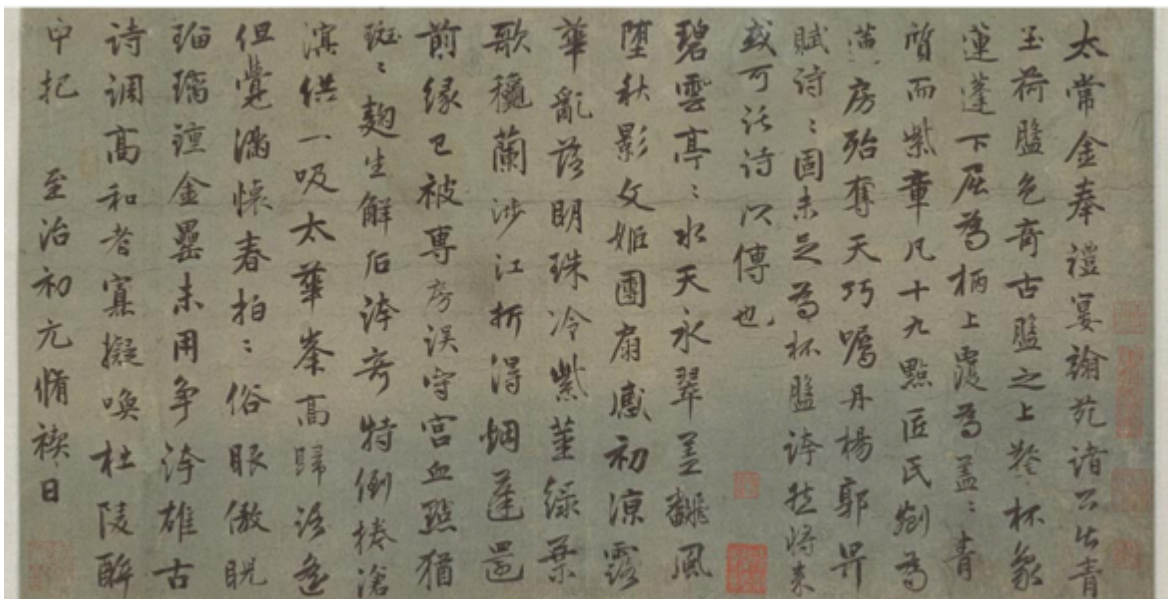


Plate 2.24.1. Guo Bi. *Poems on the Jade Lotus Plate*. 1322. Handscroll, ink on paper. 29.3 x 56.2 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.

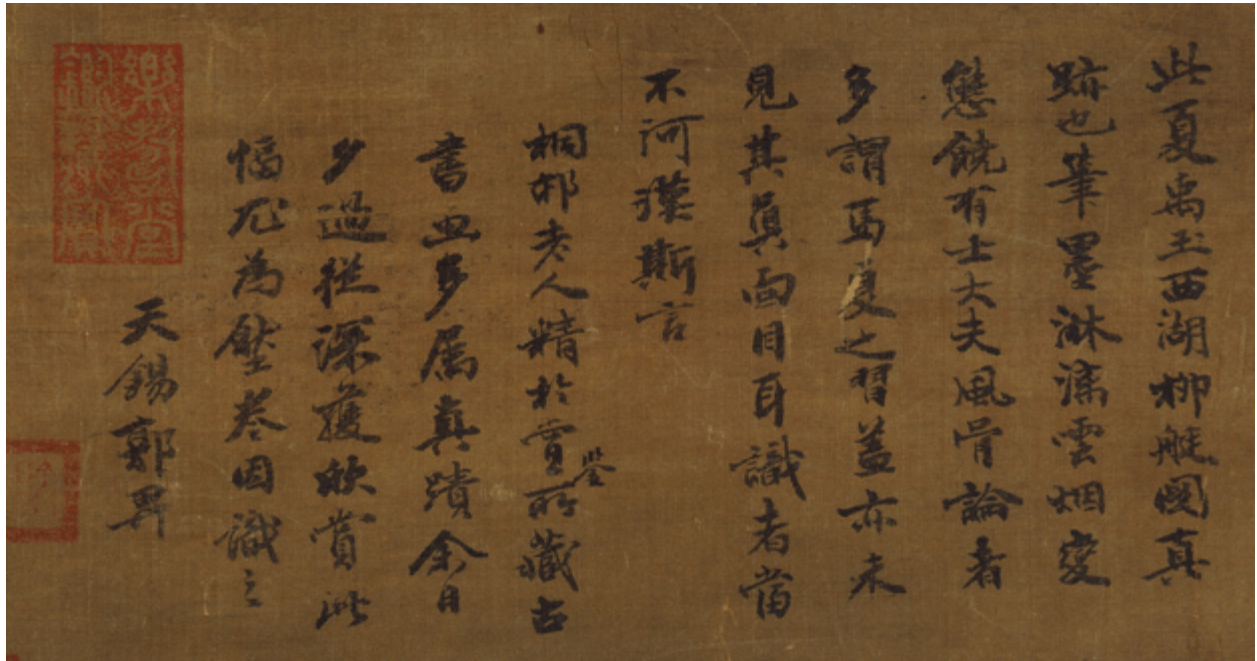


Plate 2.24.2. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Guo Bi). Inscription on the *Willows and Boats on West Lake*.

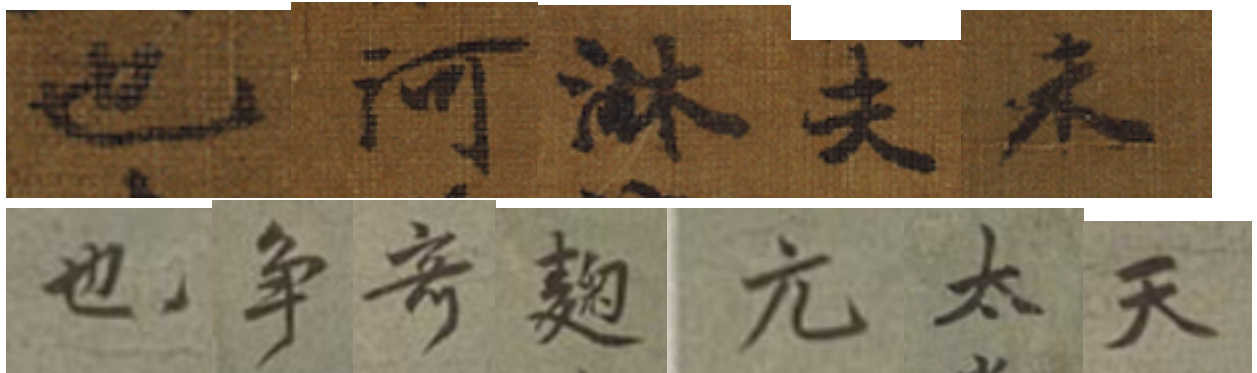


Plate 2.25. (Top) Guo Bi. Detail of *Poems on the Jade Lotus Plate*. (Bottom) Detail of the inscription on the *Willows and Boats on West Lake*.



Plate 2.26. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Ye Xiaoyan). *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. Album leaves, ink and color on silk. 23.9 x 20.2 cm each leave. The collection of National Palace Museum.

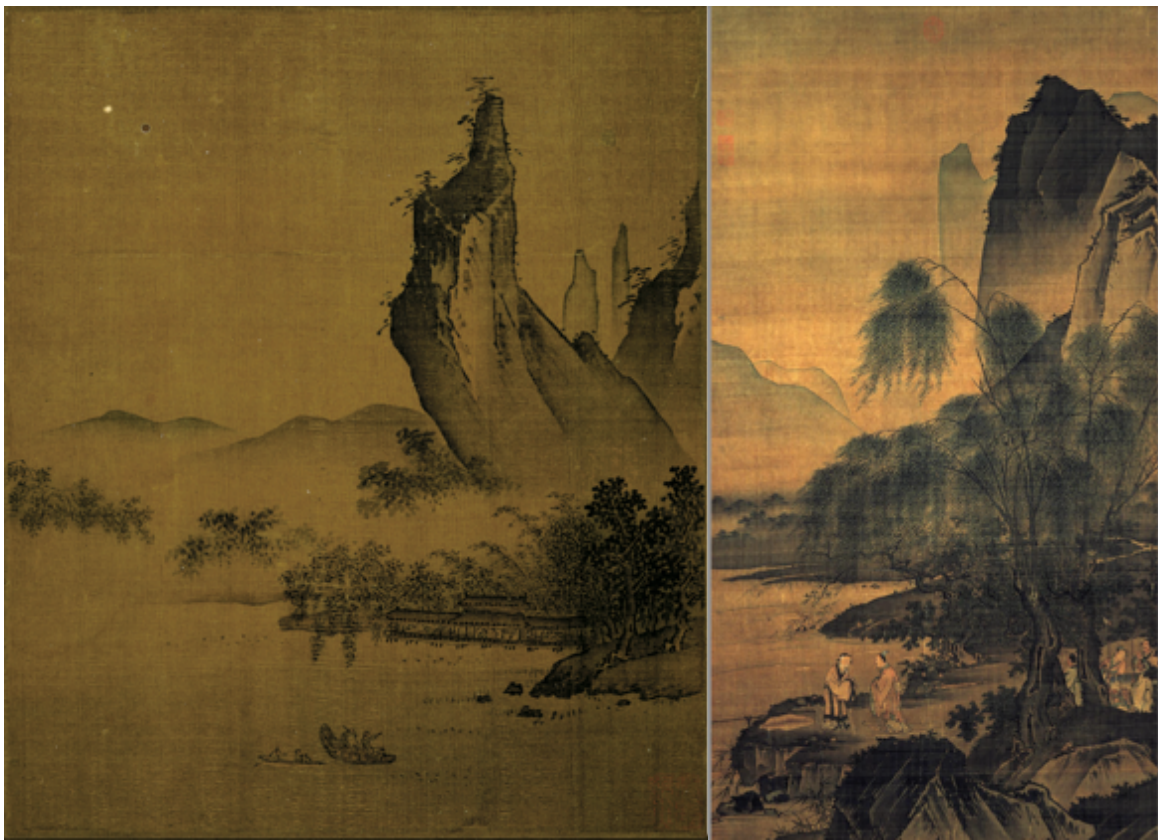


Plate 2.27.1 (Left) Anonymous (formerly attributed to Ye Xiaoyan). "Autumnal Moon on the Calm Lake" from *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. (Right) Dai Jin. *Fishing at the Shores of Wei River*. 15th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 139.6 x 75.4 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.

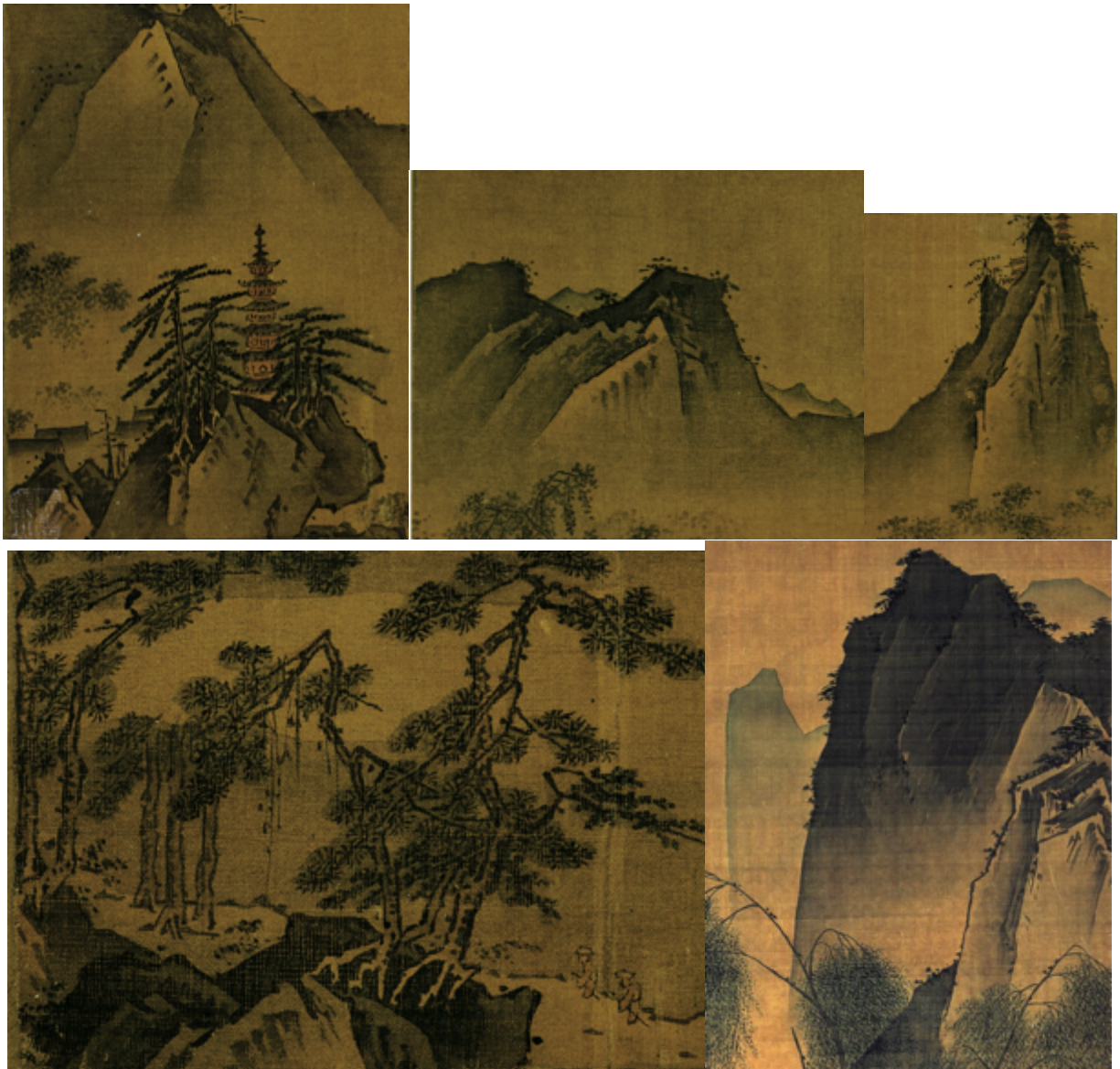


Plate 2.27.2. (Top) Anonymous (formerly attributed to Ye Xiaoyan). *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, details (Bottom) Dai Jin, *Fishing at the Shores of Wei River*, details.



Plate 2.28. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Ye Xiaoyan). “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds” from *Ten Scenes of West Lake*.



Plate 2.29. Yang Erzeng. "Moon Reflected on Three Ponds from *Hainei Qiguan*". 1612. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image from *Xihu wenxian jicheng xuji*.



Plate 2.30. Anonymous. *Stone Lake of Gusu, imitating scenic views of West Lake*. 18th century. Color woodblock print. 71.4 x 51.2 cm. Kobe City Museum. Image scanned from *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng*.



Plate 2.31. Mo'ersen, *Surroundings of West Lake*. 1708. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 59.3 x 637.9 cm. Shanghai Museum. Image scanned from *Lidai xihu shuhua ji*.

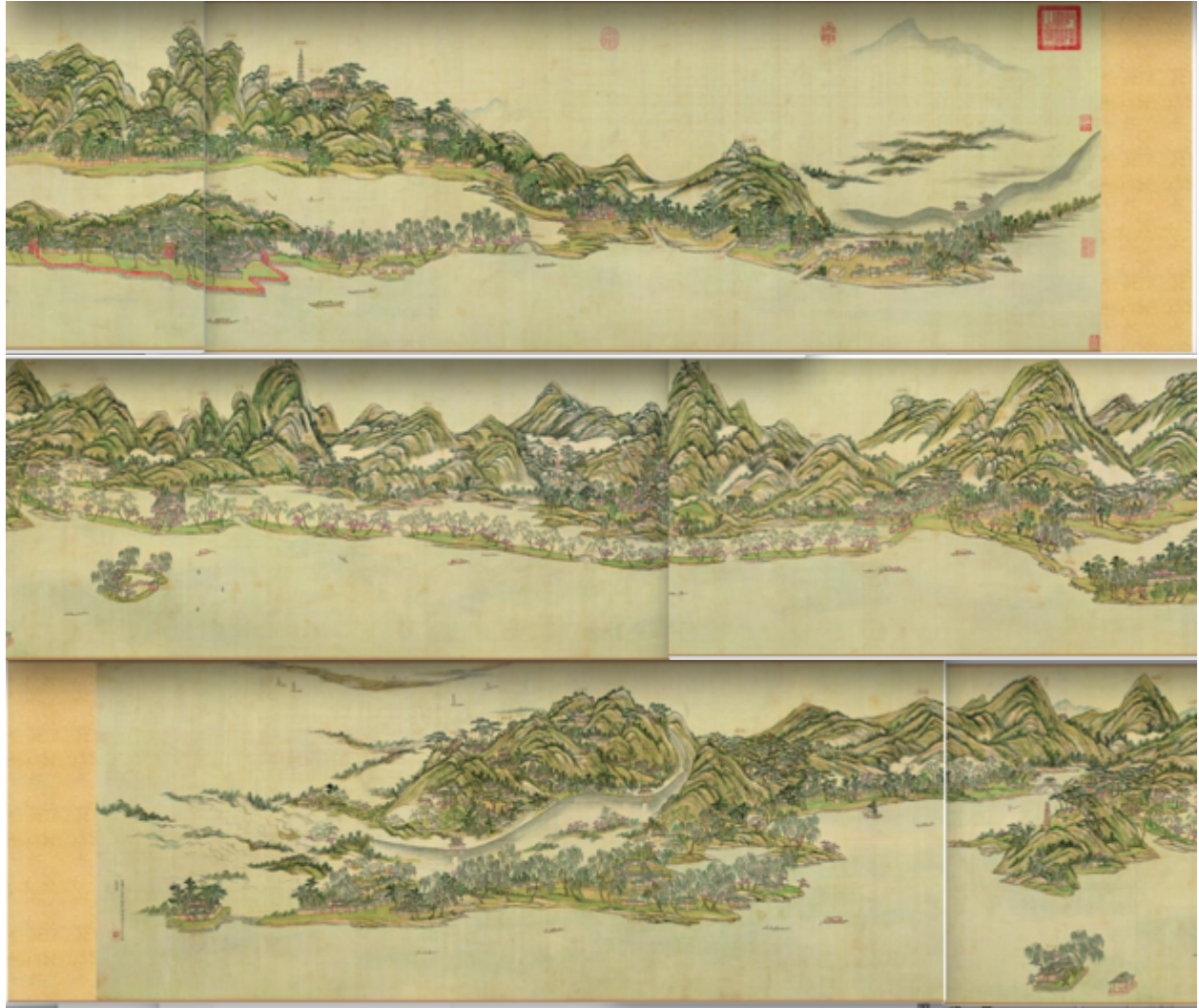


Plate 2.32. Wang Yuanqi, *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. After 1708. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 62.6 x 656.6 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum.

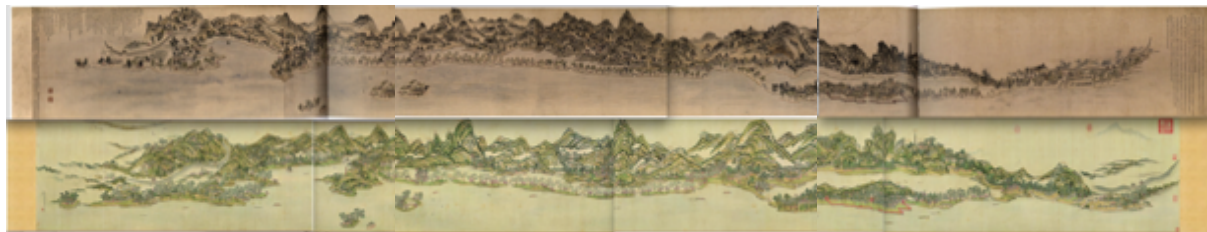


Plate 2.33. (Top) Mo'ersen. *Surroundings of West Lake*. (Bottom) Wang Yuanqi. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*.



Plate 2.34. Wang Yuanqi. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, detail.

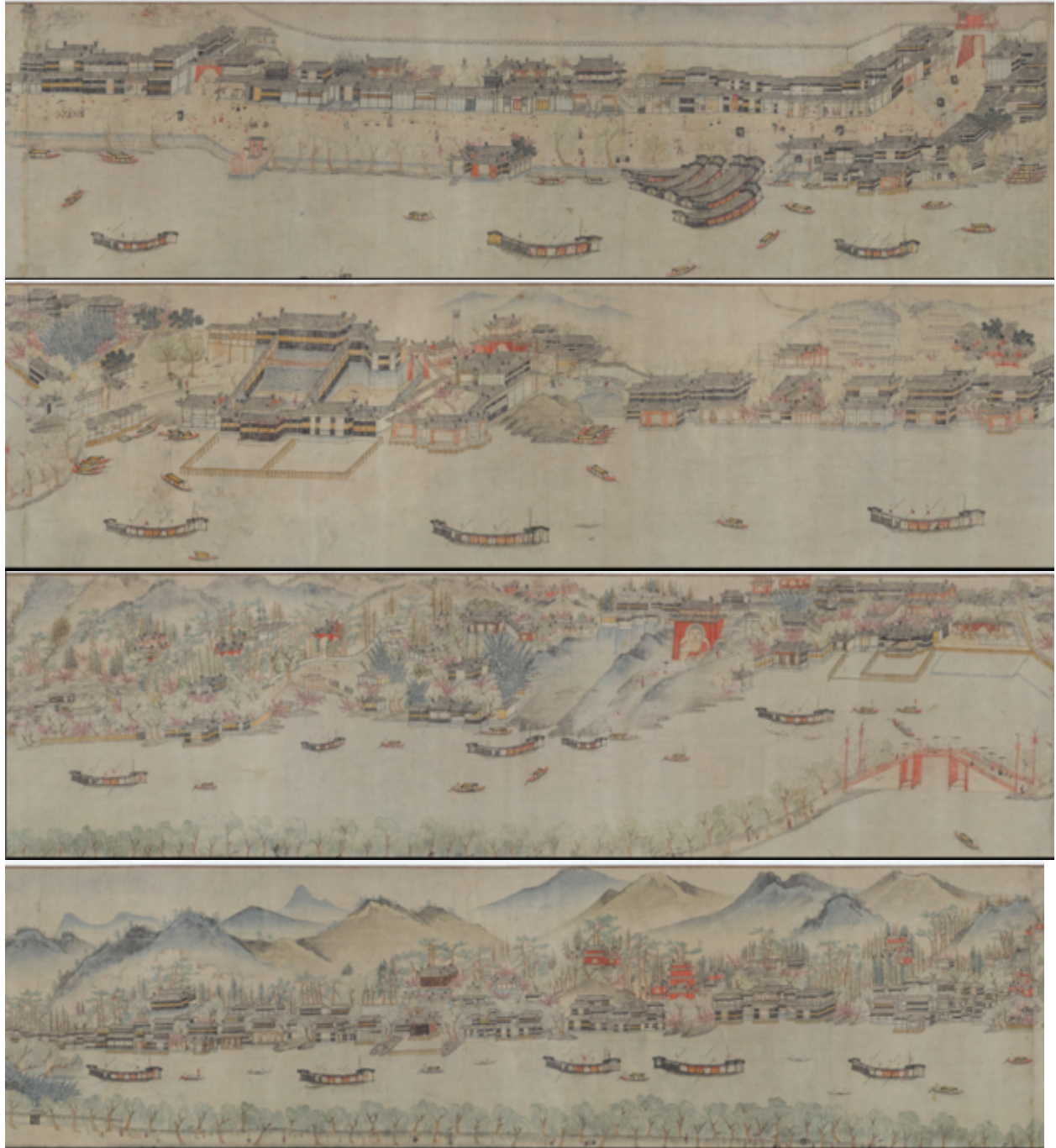


Plate 2.35. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. Undated. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 32.9 x 1581.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, gift of Charles Lang Freer. F1911. 209.



Plate 2.35 (continued).

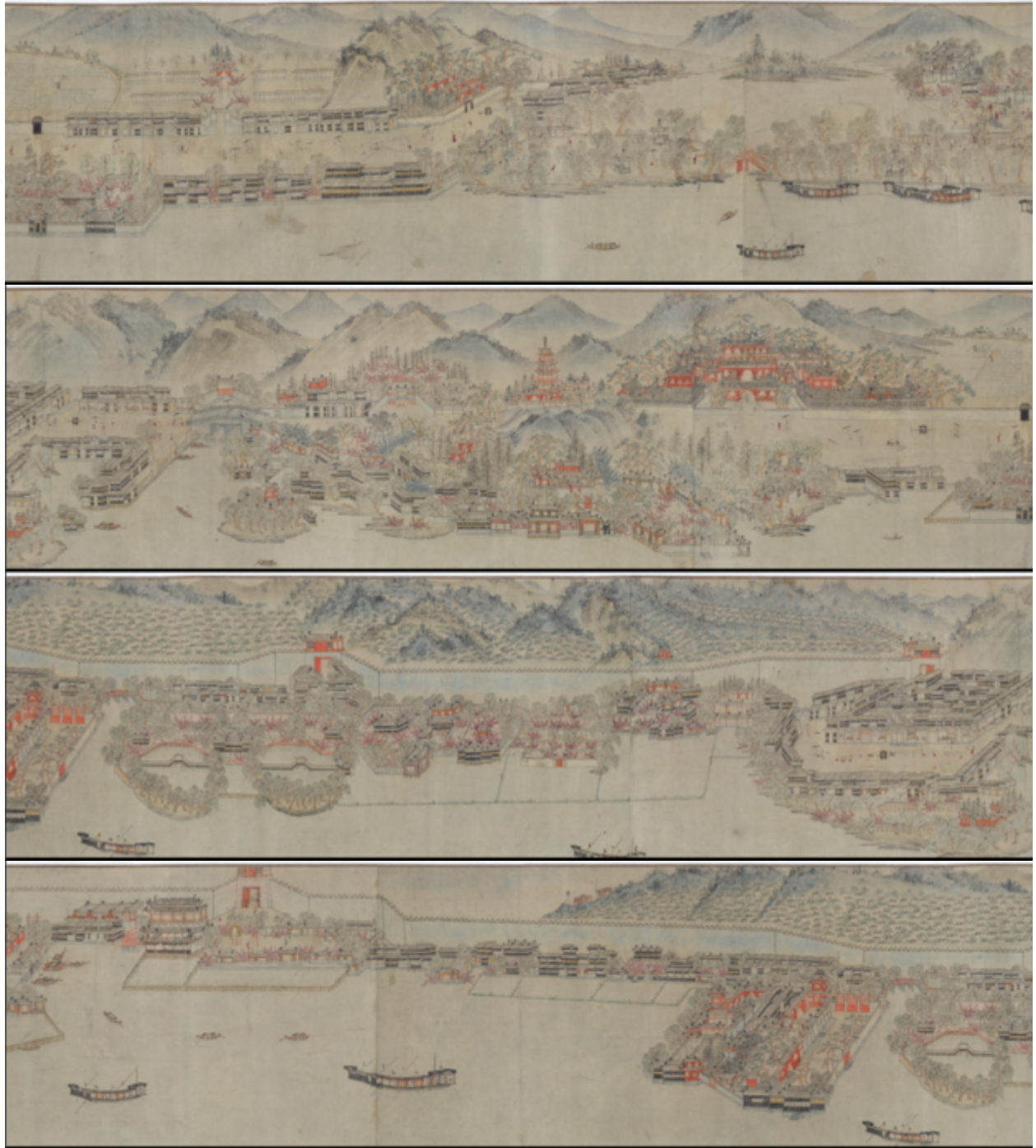


Plate 2.35 (continued).



Plate 2.35 (continued).



Plate 2.36. Dong Bangda. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. 1750. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 41.6 x 361.8 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 2.37. Anonymous. *Views of West Lake*. Dated to the late Qing period (late 19th-early 20th century). Color on print. 61 x 107 cm. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia. Image scanned from *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng*.



Plate 3.1. Anonymous. "Map of Qiantang County" from *Gazetteer of Qiantang County*. 1609. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Zhejiang gujiu ditu ji*.

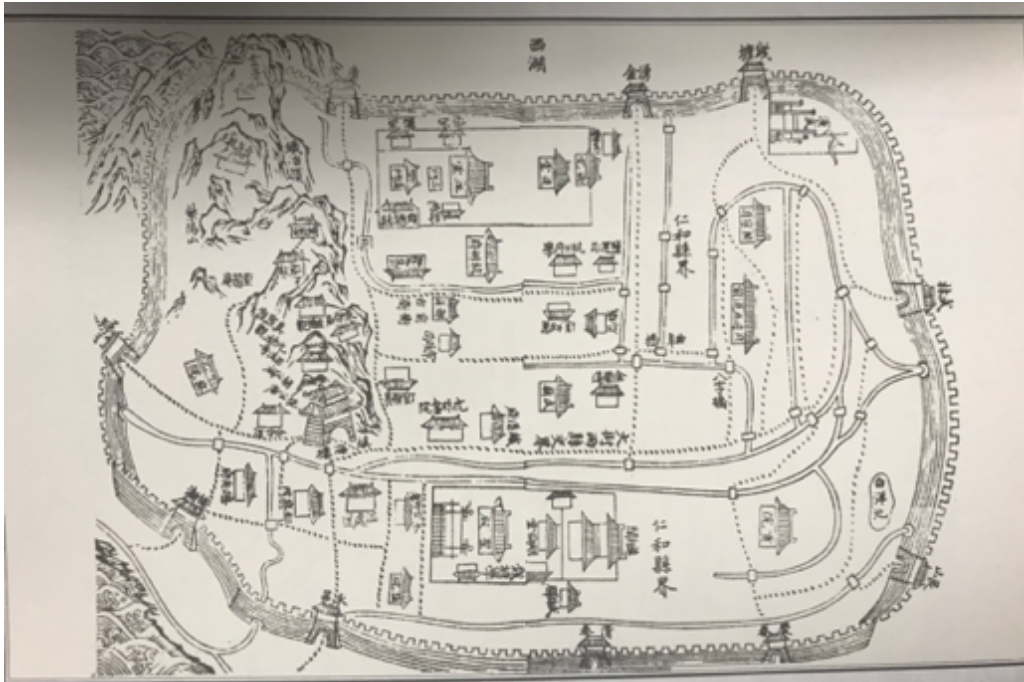


Plate 3.2. Anonymous. "Map of Hangzhou City" from *Gazetteer of Qiantang County*. 1609. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Zhejiang gujiu ditu ji*.



Plate 3.3. Anonymous. "Map of the Provincial Capital City" from *Gazetteer of Hangzhou*. 1784. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Zhejiang gujiu ditu ji*.



Plate 3.4.1 Anonymous. "Map of the lake and mountains in one glance", from *Hainei Qiguan*. 1610. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Harvard Yenching Library.

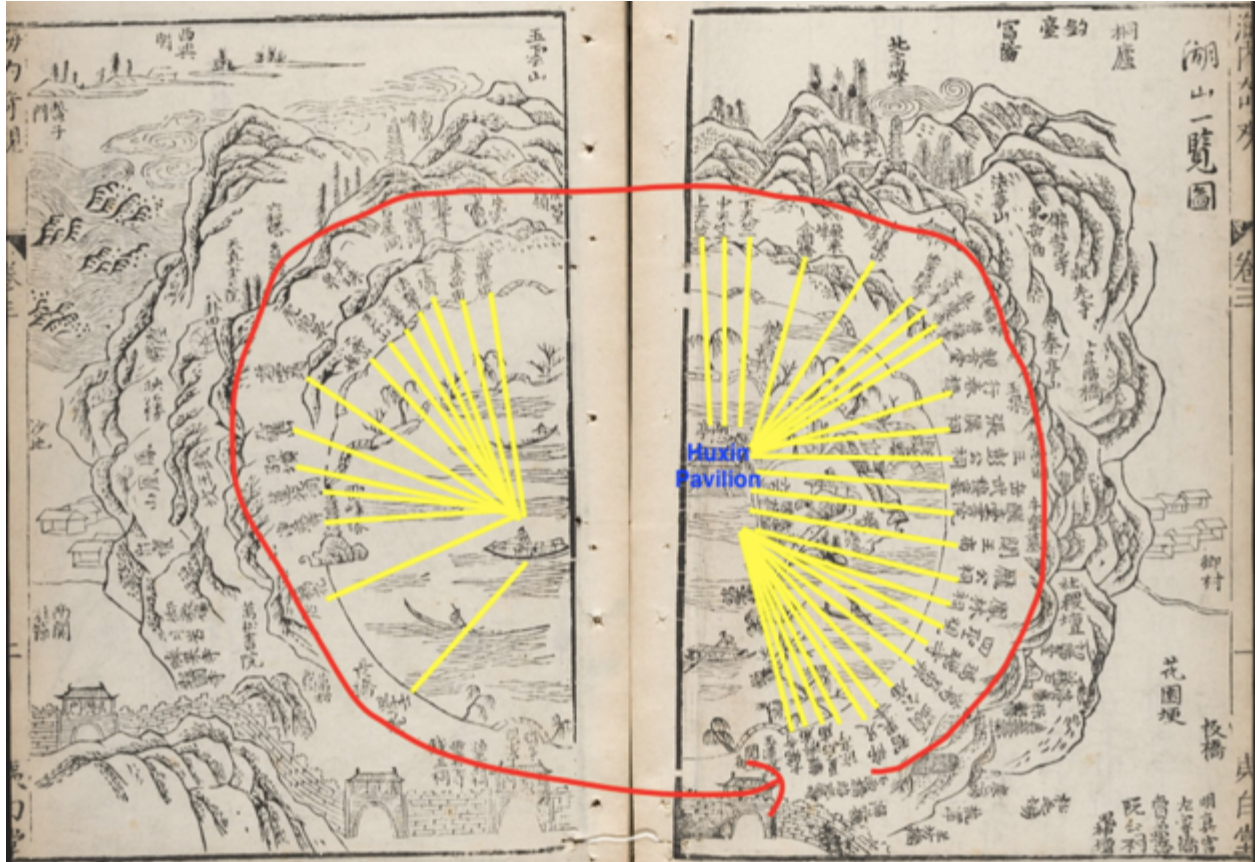


Plate 3.4.2. Lines connecting the written place names in “Map of the lake and mountains in one glance”.



Plate 3.4.3. The characters “Yulian Si” and “Dafo Si” written in “Map of the lake and mountains in one glance”.

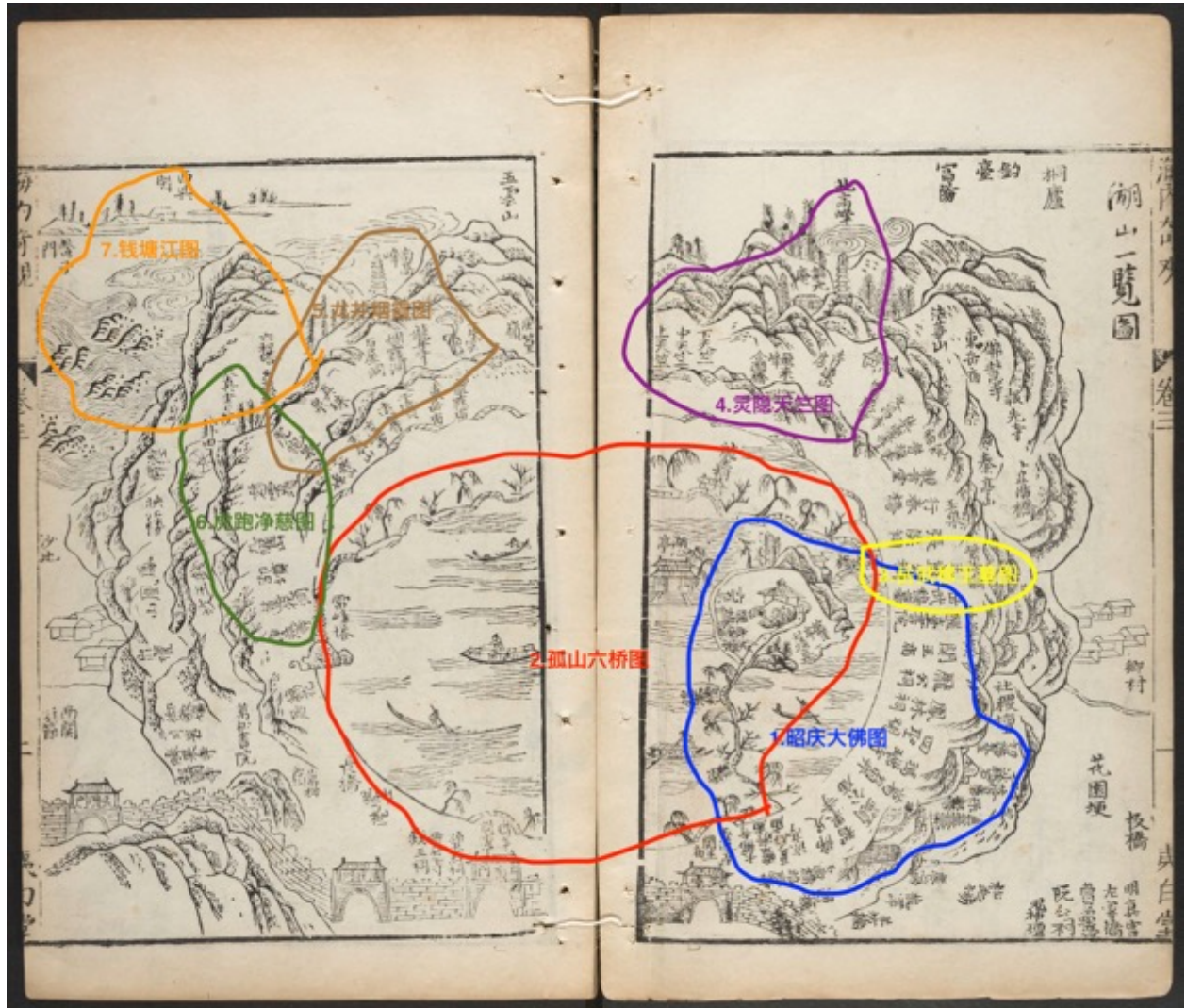


Plate 3.4.4. The sequence of the seven sectional views of West Lake in *Hainei Qiguan* shown on the “Map of the lake and mountains in one glance”.



Plate 3.5. The seven sectional views of West Lake from *Hainei Qiguan*. From top to bottom: (1) Zhaoqing Monastery and Dafo Monastery; (2) Gushan Islet and the Sudi Causeway; (3) Tomb of Yue Fei; (4) Lingyin and Tianzhu Monasteries; (5) Longjing Spring and Yanxia Peak; (6) Hupao Spring and Jingci Monastery; (7) The Zhejiang River.



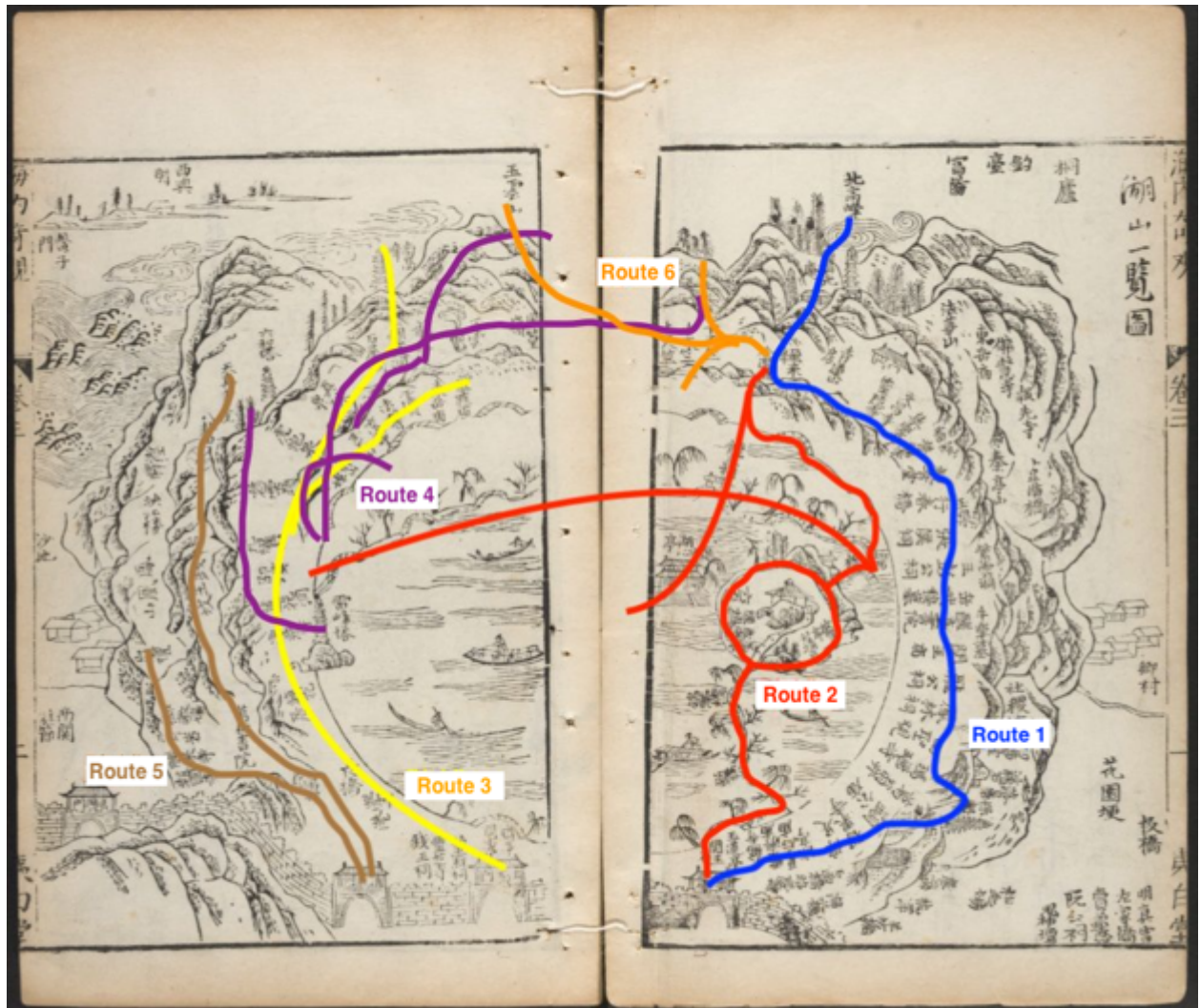
Plate 3.5 (continued).



Plate 3.5 (continued).



Plate 3.5 (continued).



Pate 3.6. The six routes described in the text of *Hainei Qiguan*.



Plate 3.7.1. Attributed to Shen Zhou. "The Three Monasteries", in *Famous Sites along the two Rivers*. Around 1477. Album leaf, ink and color on paper. 42.2 x 23.8 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Plate 3.7.2. Li Tang. *Wind in Pines Among a Myriad Valleys*, detail. Song dynasty. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. 188.7 x 139.8 cm. In the collection of the National Palace Museum.

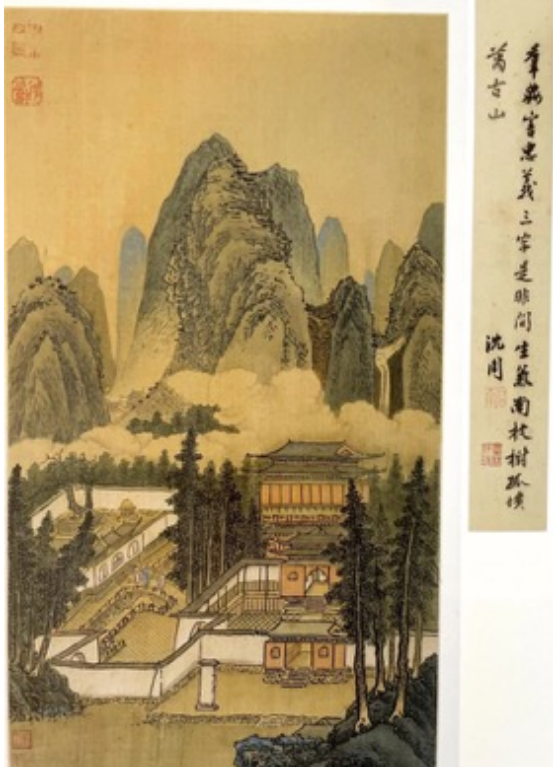


Plate 3.7.3. Attributed to Shen Zhou. "Tomb of Yue Fei", in *Famous Sites along the two Rivers*. Around 1477. Album leaf, ink and color on paper. 42.2 x 23.8 cm. Shanghai Museum.

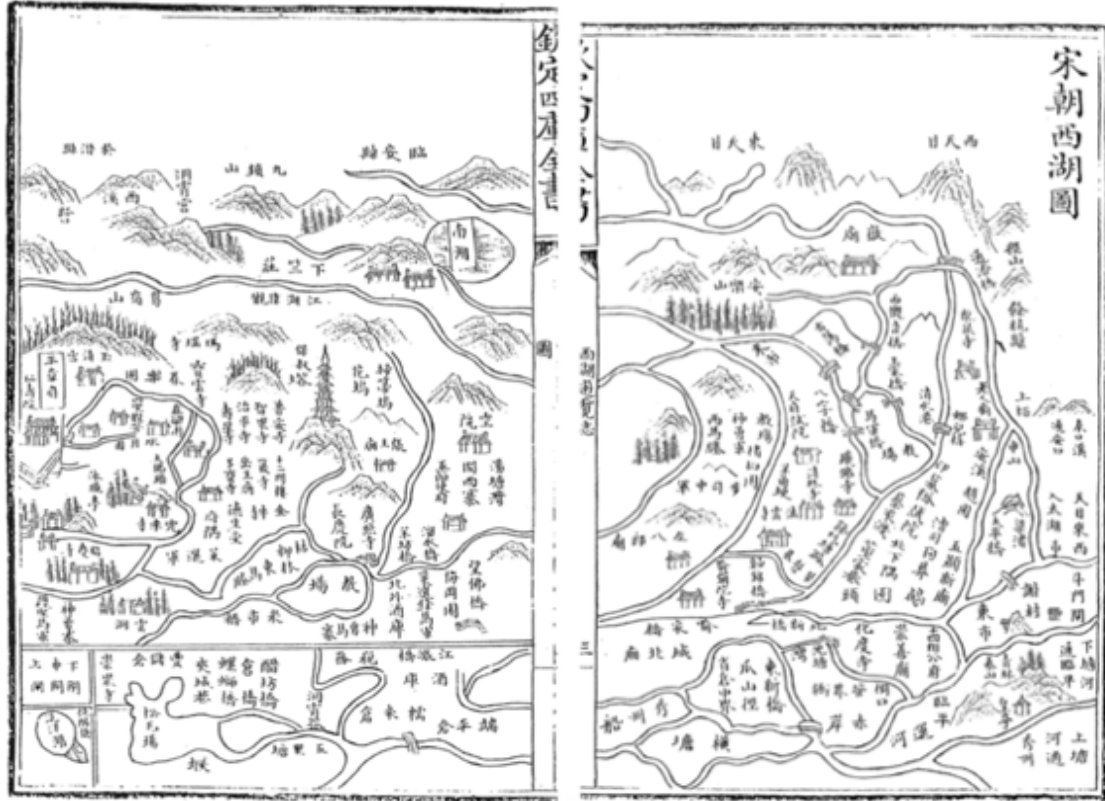


Plate 3.8. Anonymous. Map of Song dynasty West Lake, in *Xihu youlan zhi*. Woodblock print. *Siku quanshu* electronic version.

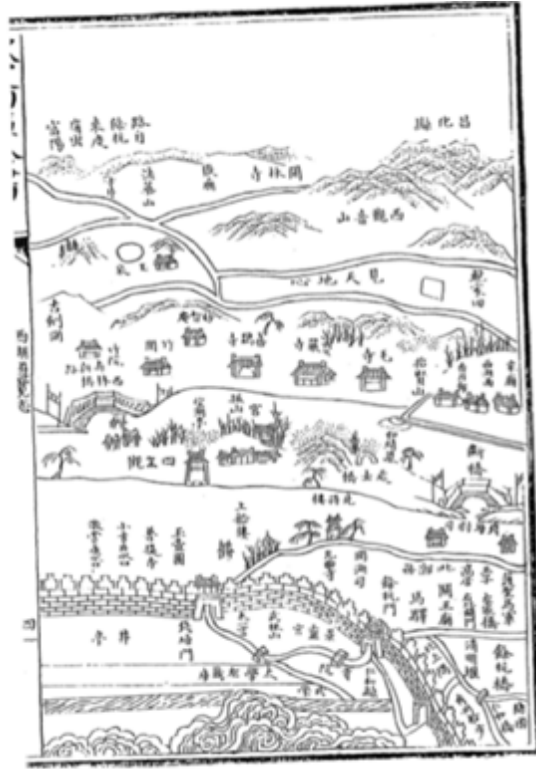


Plate 3.8 (continued).

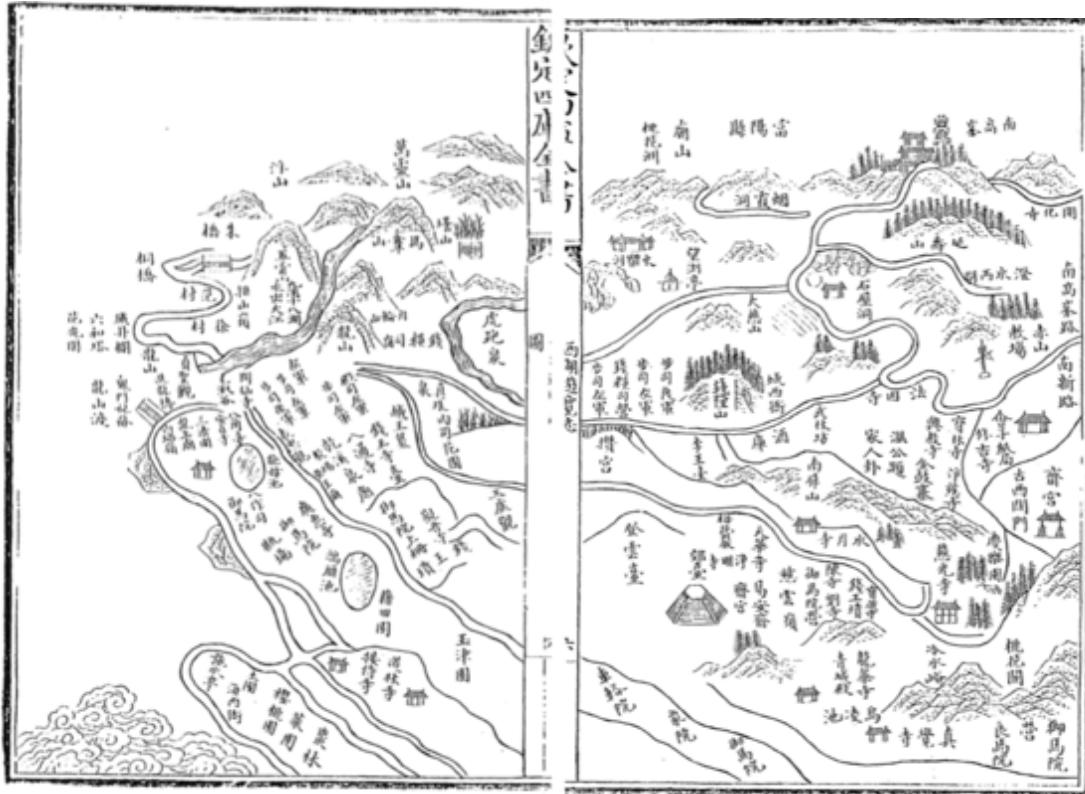


Plate 3.8 (continued).

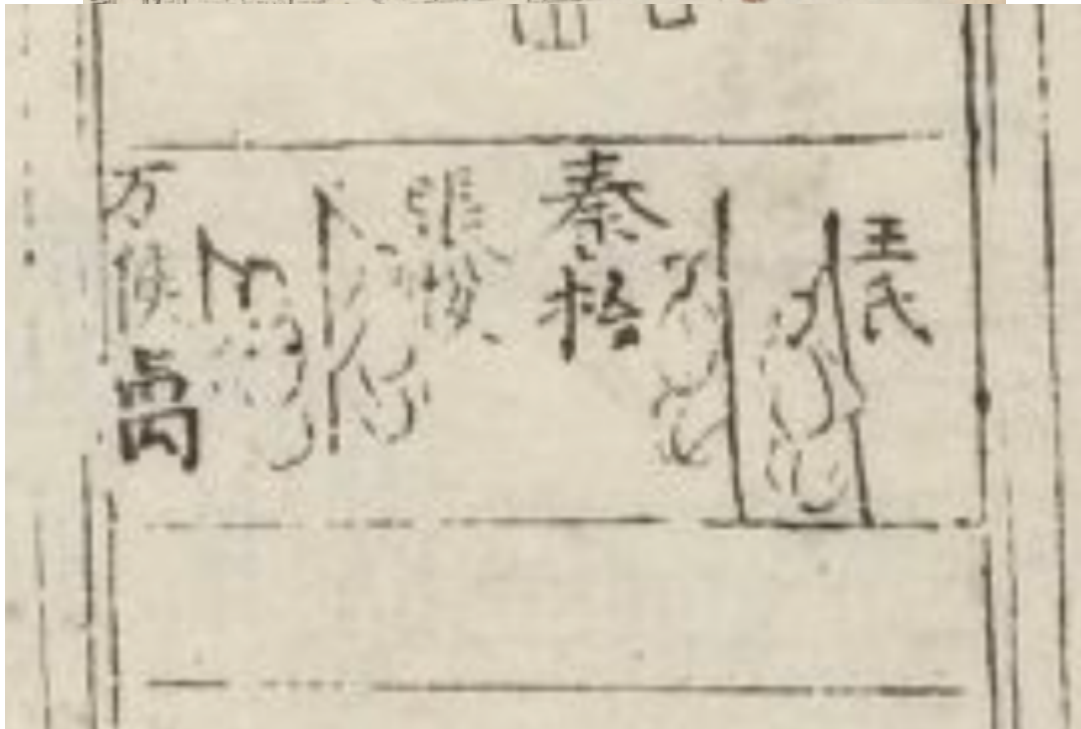
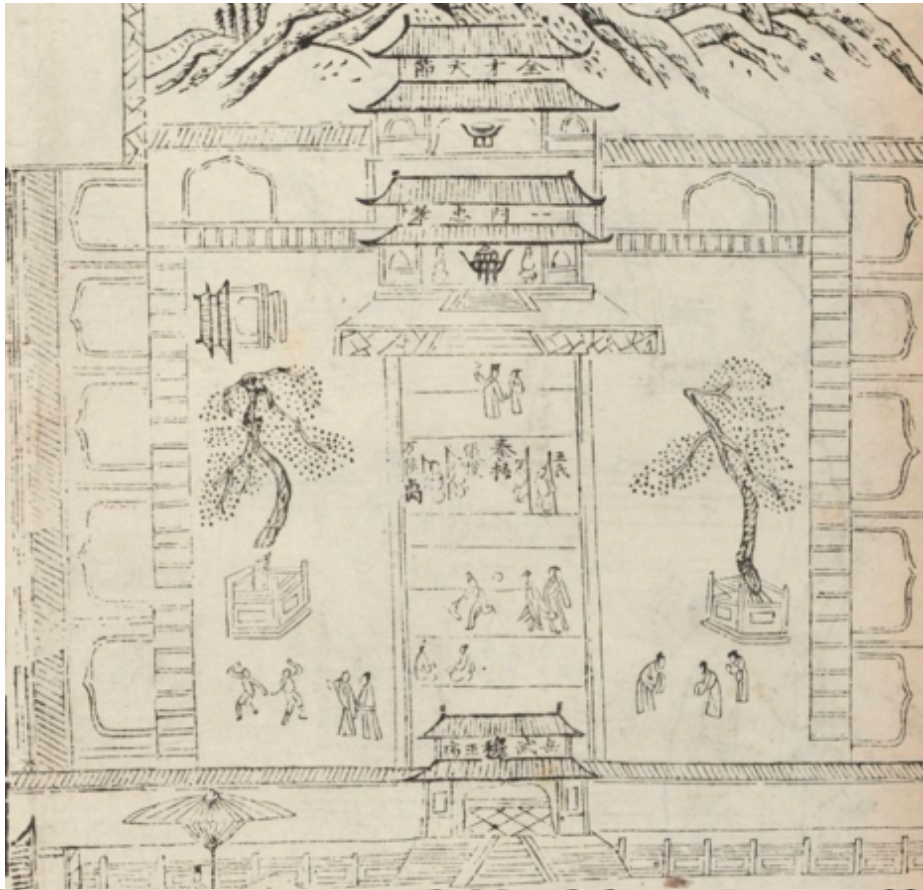


Plate 3.9. "Tomb of Yue Fei", in *Hainei qiguan*, detail.



Plate 3.10. “Longjing Spring and Yanxia Peak”, in *Hainei qiguan*, detail.

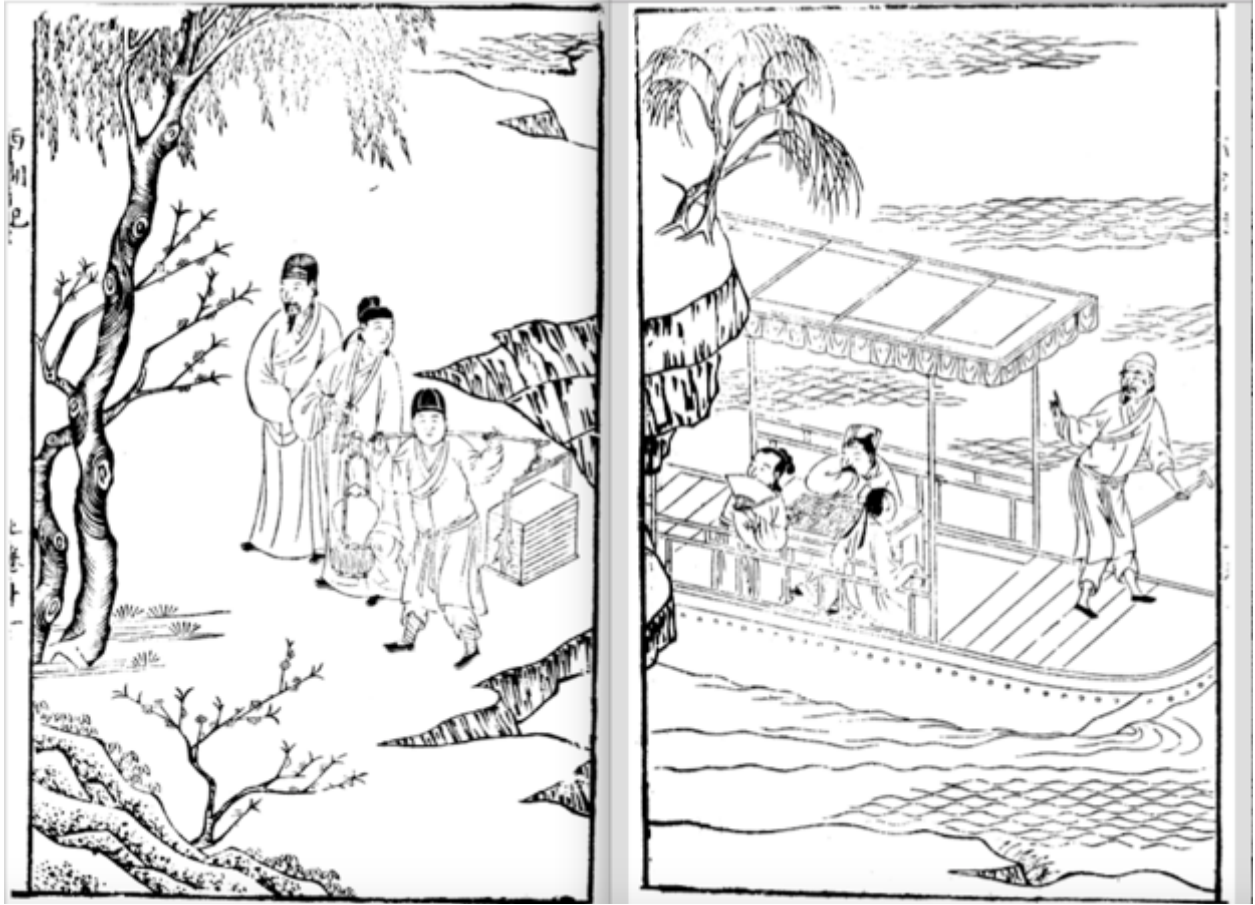


Plate 3.11. Anonymous. "Romantic Encounter on West Lake" scene from *Xihu ji*. 1573-1620. Woodblock print. *Guben xiqu congkan erji*.



Plate 3.12. Anonymous. Illustration from *Xilou meng* (西樓夢, Dream of the West Chamber). Woodblock print. Yuming tang edition.



Plate 3.13. Anonymous. Touring the Lake, from the *Story of the White Snake*. Qing dynasty. Color print, 51 x 35 cm. Private collection. Image scanned from *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng*.

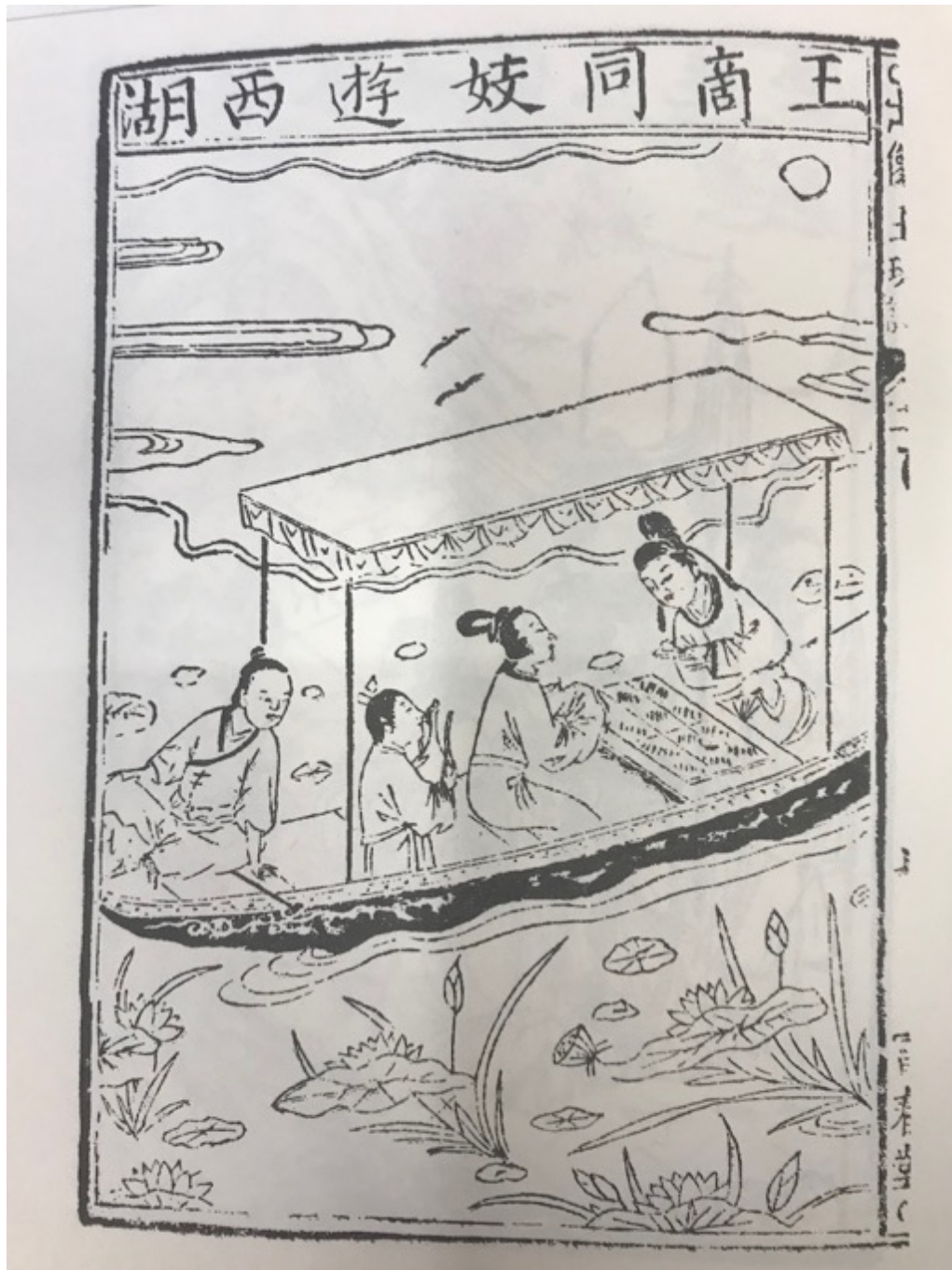


Plate 3.14. Anonymous. “Wang Shang Tours the Lake with a Prostitute” from *Xiuxiang Yujue ji* (繡像玉玦記, illustrated story of the jade plate). Fuchun tang edition.

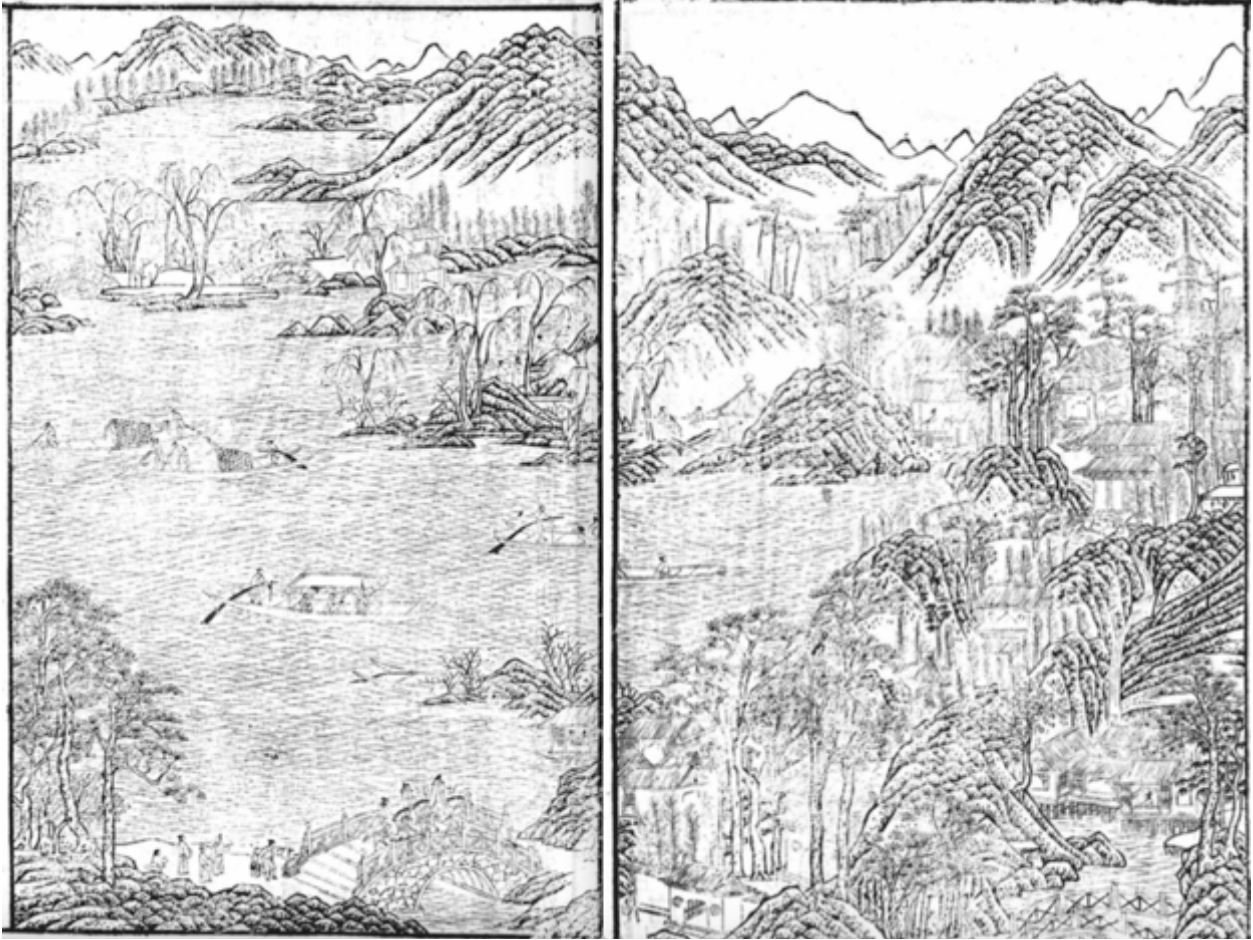


Plate 3.15. Anonymous. "Lake tour" scene from *Dangui ji*. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image from *Guben xiqu congkan chuj*.



Plate 3.16. Anonymous. "Lake tour" scene from *Hongmei ji*. Woodblock print. Original size unknown. Image scanned from *Guben xiqu congkan chuji*.



Plate 3.17. Anonymous. An illustration from *Dangui ji*.



Plate 3.18. Li Liufang. *Boating on West Lake*. 1589. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 122.8 x 31.8 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Plate 3.19. Ni Zan. *Rongxi Studio*. 1372. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 74.7 x 35.5 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 3.20. Xiang Shengmo. *Feeding Cranes in Gushan*. 1657. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 94.8 x 32.7 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 3.21. Liu Du 劉度 (dates unknown). *Extraordinary Views of West Lake at a Glance*. Early Qing dynasty. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 151.6 x 47.8 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 3.22. Liang Hong 梁鋹. *Releasing Cranes on Gushan Islet*. 1659. Handscroll, ink and slight color on silk. 29.5 x 168.5 cm. Gansu Provincial Museum.



Plate 3.23.1. Dai Jin. *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*. 1460. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 27.8 c 298.2 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.

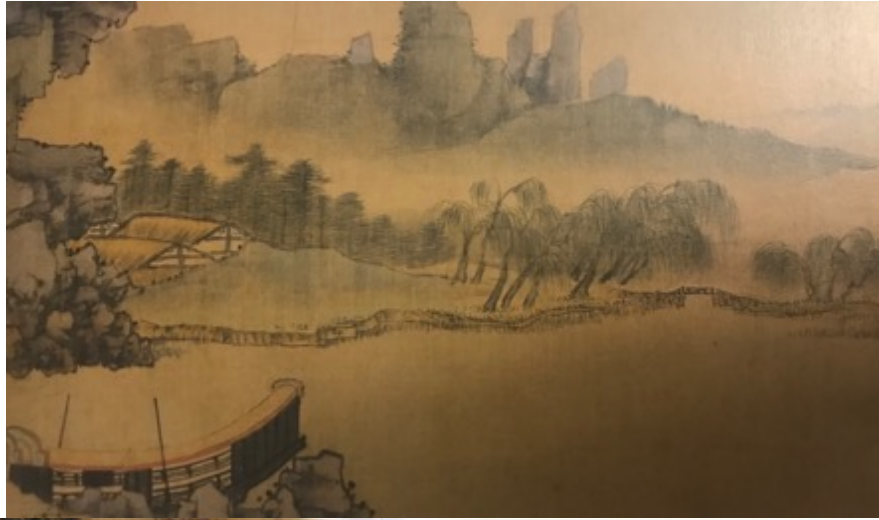


Plate 3.23.2. Three sections of *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*.



Plate 3.24.1. Li Shan 李山 (mid-12th to early 13th century). Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines (風雪松杉圖). Jin dynasty, late 12th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk and paper. 29.7 x 79.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art. Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer, F1961.34a-c.



Plate 3.24.2. (Left) Wang Meng, *Mountain Life at Summer* (夏日山居圖), detail. 1368. Ink on silk. 118.1 x 36.2 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing. (Right) (Traditionally attributed to) Li Shan. *Travelers among the Fir-Pines* (松杉行旅圖), detail. Jin dynasty, late 12th century. Hanging scroll, ink on silk. 164.1 x 107.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1916.552.

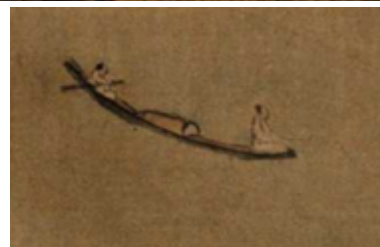


Plate 3.25. (Left) details from the left half of *Elegant Gathering at Nanping*; (Right) details from the right half of *Elegant Gathering at Nanping*.



Plate 3.26. (Top) Song Jinmao 宋懋晉 (mid 16th century-early 17th century). “Leifeng Pagoda”, from *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* 西湖勝跡圖冊. (Bottom) Right half of *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*.



Plate 3.27. (Top) Detail from Qian Xuan 錢選 (1239-1301). *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*. Around 1295. Handscroll, ink, color and gold on paper. 23.2 x 92.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ex coll: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973. 1973.120.6. (Bottom) Left half of *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*.

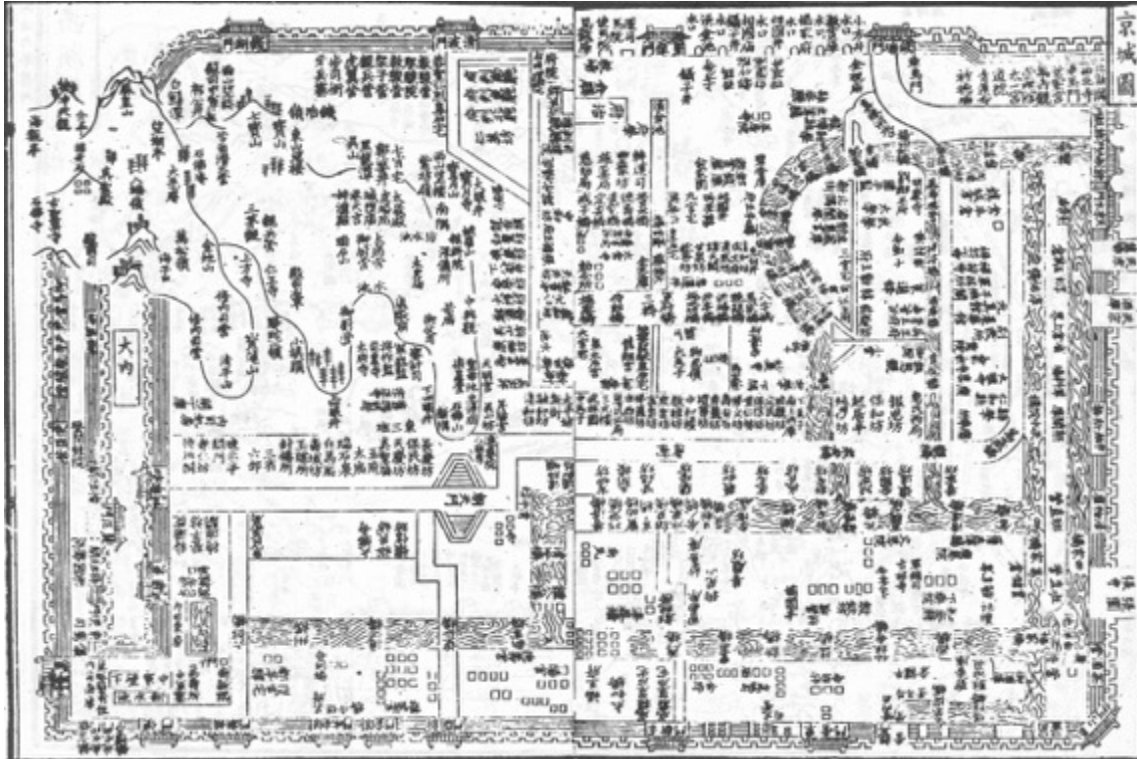


Plate 3.28. Anonymous. “Map of the Capital City”, in *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*.



Plate 3.29.1. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail.



Plate 3.29.2. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail of “Xiaoxin Di”.

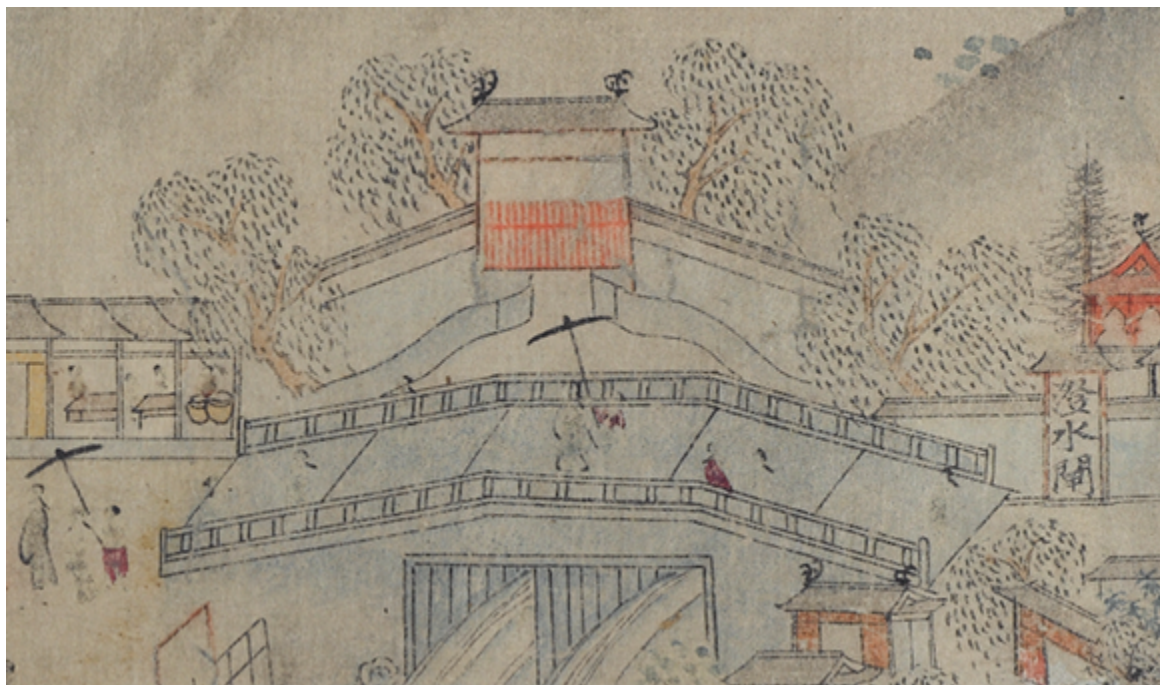


Plate 3.29.3. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail of “Chengshui Zha”.



Plate 3.29.4 Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail of “futou”.



Plate 3.29.5. Anonymous (formerly attributed to Li Song). *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail of “Dormitory with Thirteen Bays”.

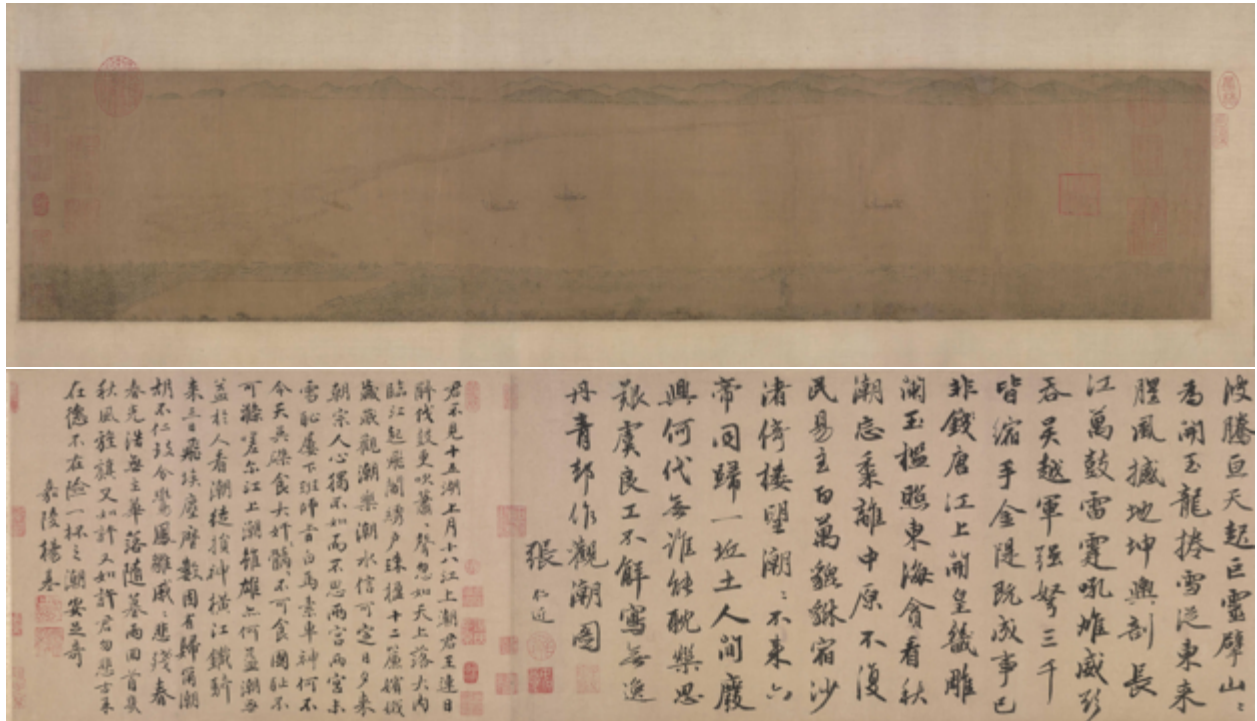


Plate 4.1. Attributed to Li Song. *Watching the Zhejiang River Tide*. Undated, 13th century. Handscroll, ink on silk. 17.4 x 83 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 5.1. Location of two Xingong palaces on Map of West Lake, *Hangzhou fuzhi*.



Plate 5.2. Position of Gushan Islet shown on Google Earth. Image captured from Google Earth by Yunfei Shao.

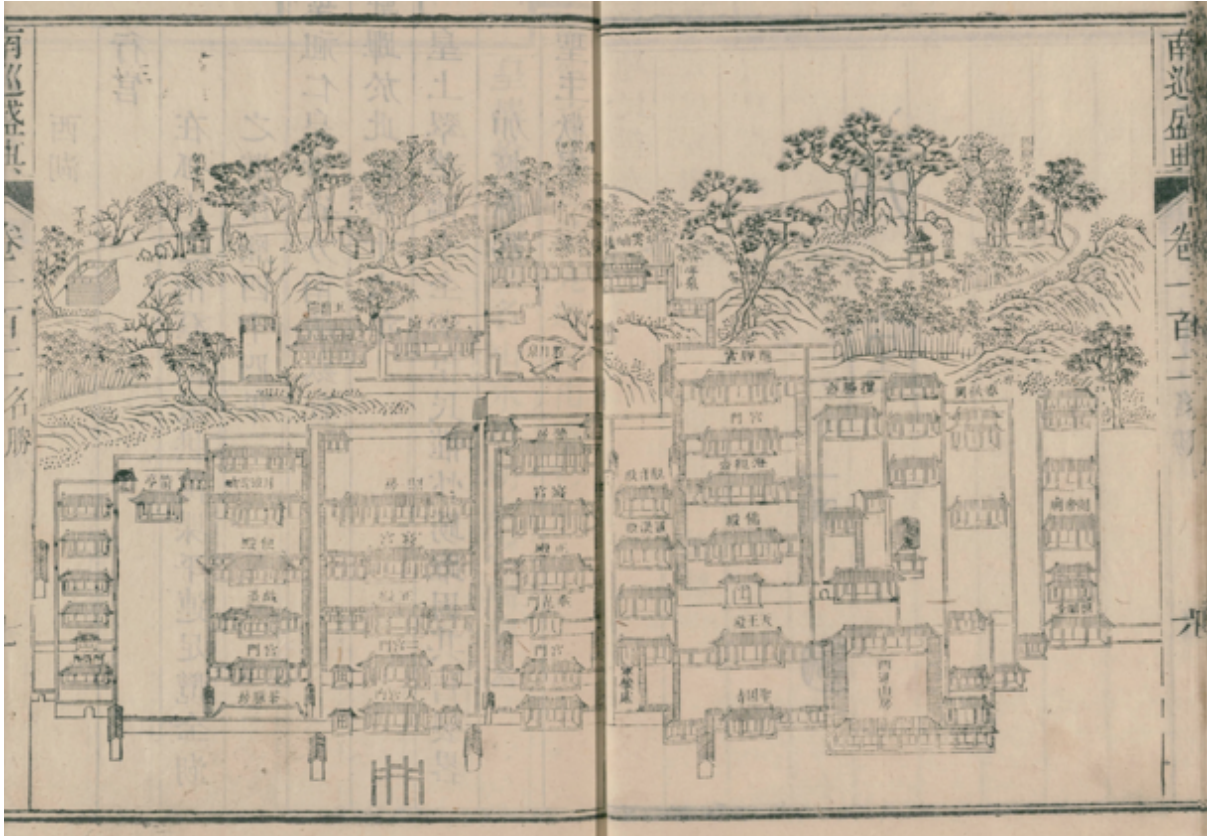


Plate 5.3. Illustration of the West Lake Palace from *Nanxun shengdian*.



Plate 5.4. Zhang Zongcang. *West Lake*. Late 18th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 77.6 x 96.3 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.

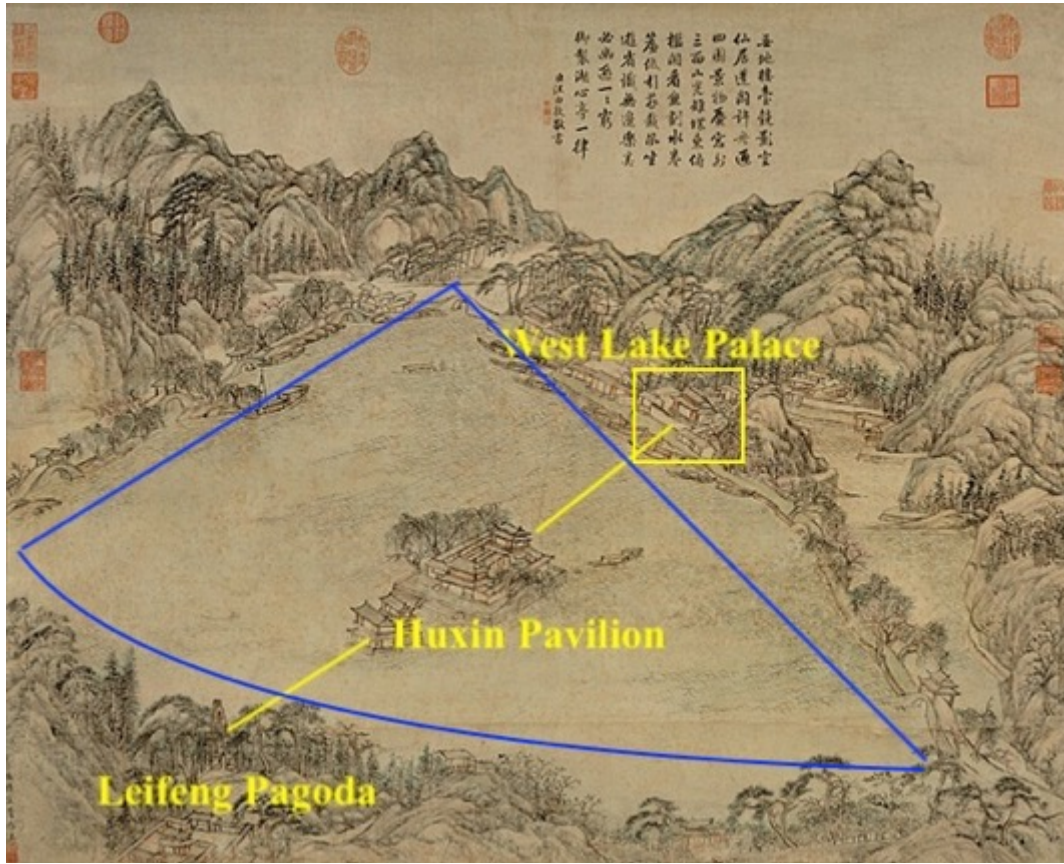


Plate 5.5. The triangular composition in Zhang Zongcang's *West Lake*.



Plate 5.6. Qian Weicheng. *Boating on West Lake during Sunny Days*. 18th century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 30 x 125.5 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.

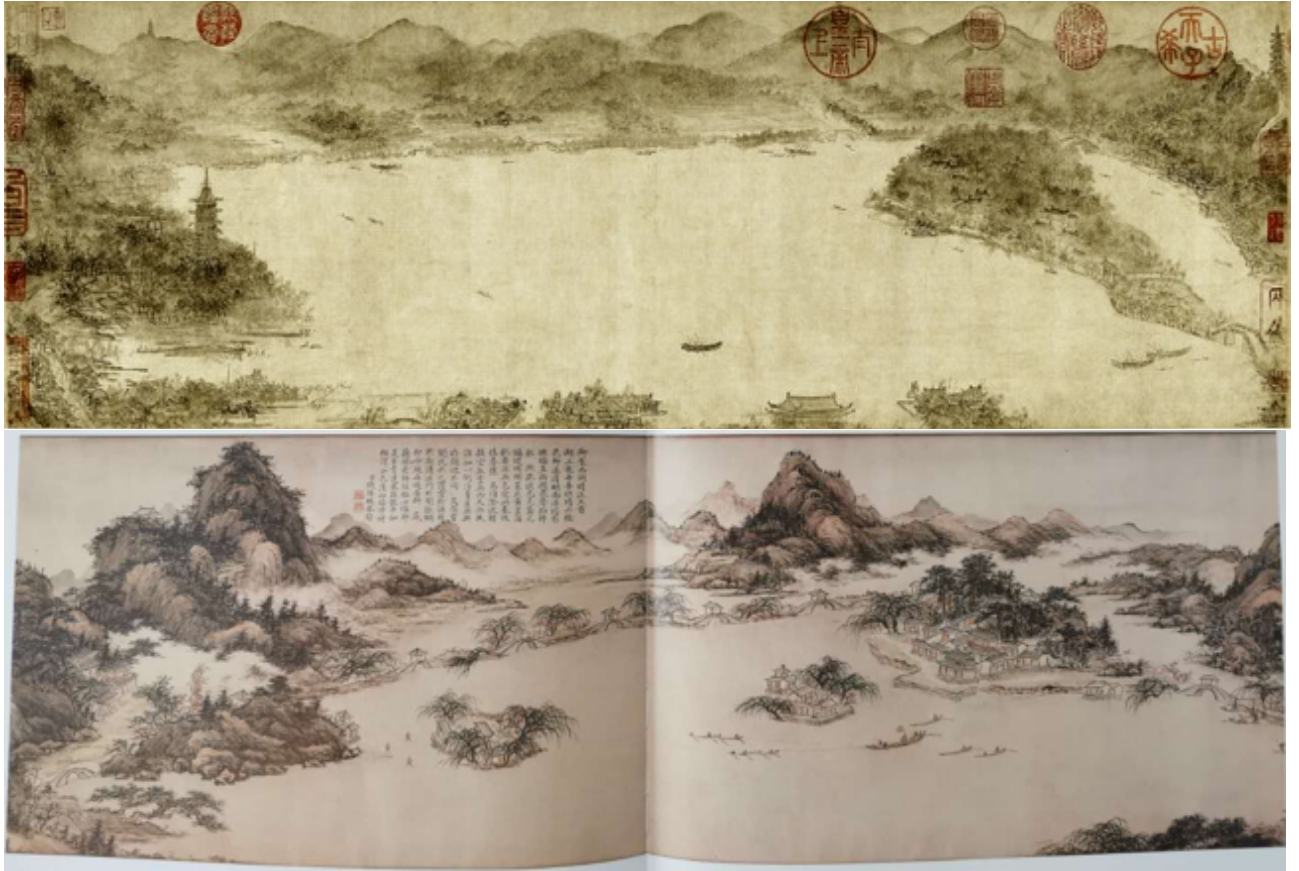


Plate 5.7. Comparison of the *West Lake* scroll in Shanghai Museum and *Boating on West Lake during Sunny Days*.

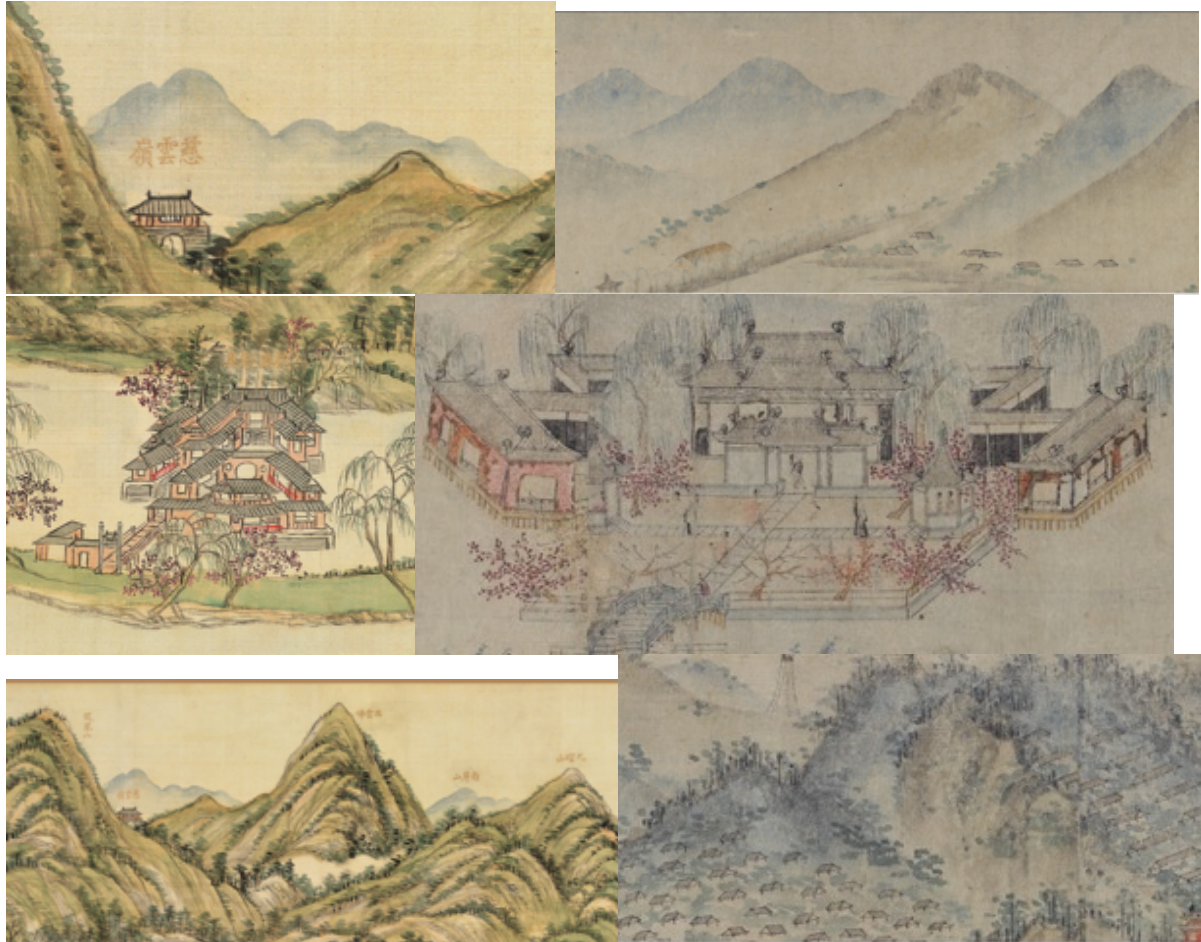


Plate 5.8. (Left) Wang Yuanqi. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, detail. (Right) *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail.



Plate 5.9. (Top) Wang Yuanqi. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, detail. (Bottom) Huang Gongwang, *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, detail.

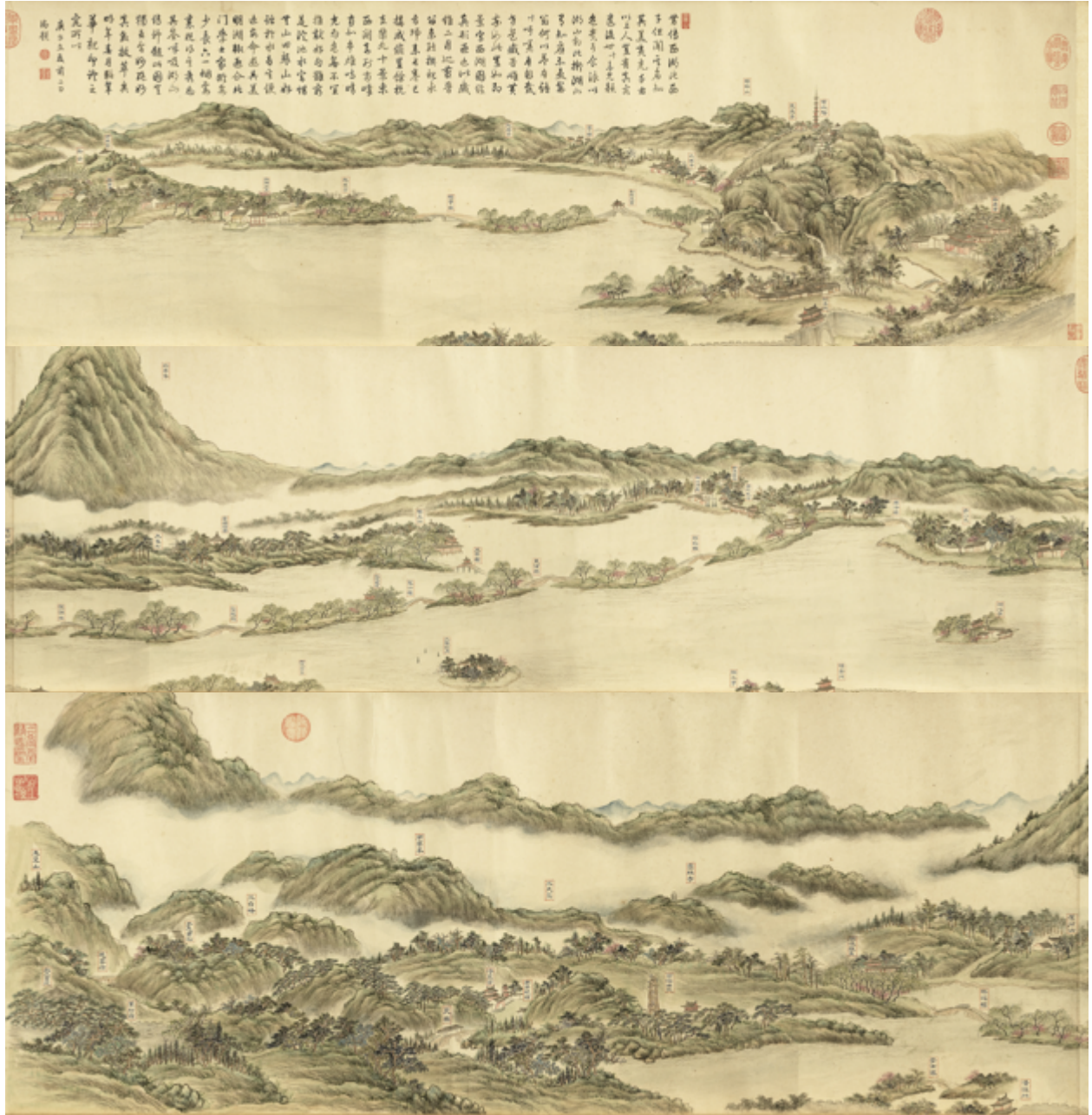


Plate 5.10. Dong Bangda. *West Lake*. 1750. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 41.7 x 361.8 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 5.11. Hongli. *Dwelling in the Lake and Mountains*. 1784. Handscroll, ink on paper. 28.9 x 91.5 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 5.12. Photo taken from the front entrance of Zhongshan Park on Gushan Islet. Photo by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 5.13. Hongli. *Thinking about Lingering in Hangzhou*. 1784. Handscroll, ink on paper. 28.9 x 91.5 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.

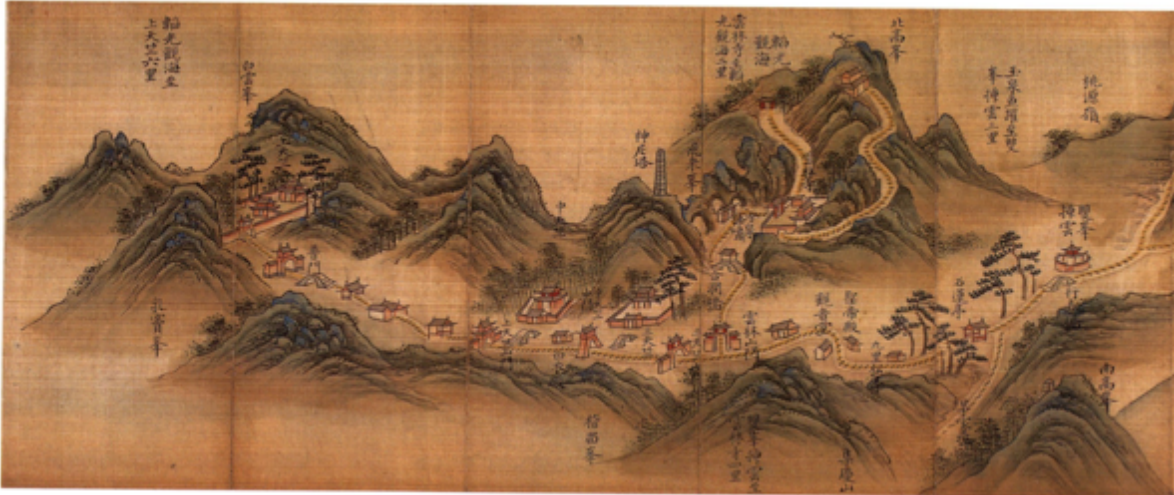


Plate 5.14. Anonymous. *Xihu xinggong tu*. Dated to the 1770s. Ink and color on silk and paper. Original size unknown. National Library of China, Beijing.



Plate 5.15. Itineraries in *Xihu xinggong tu*. Mapped on satellite image using ArcGIS. Image created by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 5.16. Anonymous. *Xihu daoli tushuo*. 18th century. Ink and color on silk. 14 x 84 cm, 14 x 49 cm, 14 x 25 cm, 14 x 50 cm, 14 x 48 cm. British Library.



Plate 5.16 (continued).



Plate 5.16 (continued).

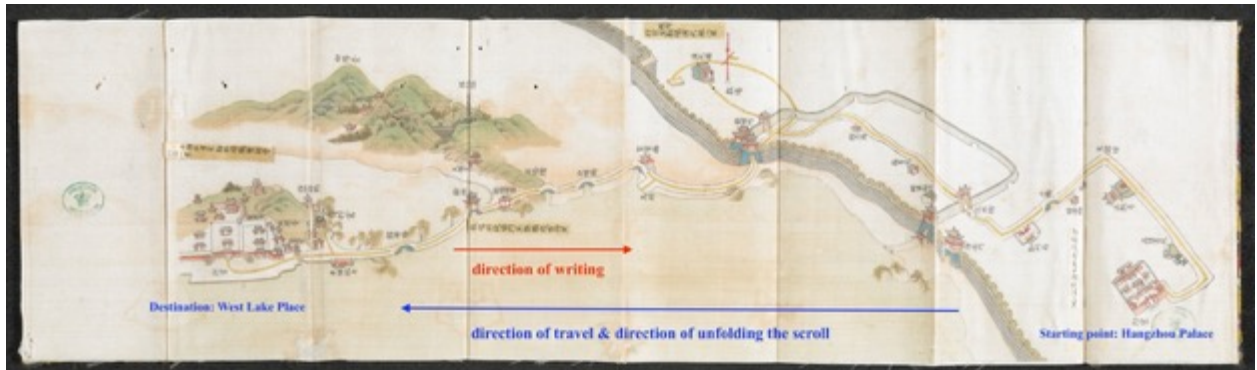


Plate 5.17. Direction of travel, viewing, and writing in the *Xihu daoli tushuo*.

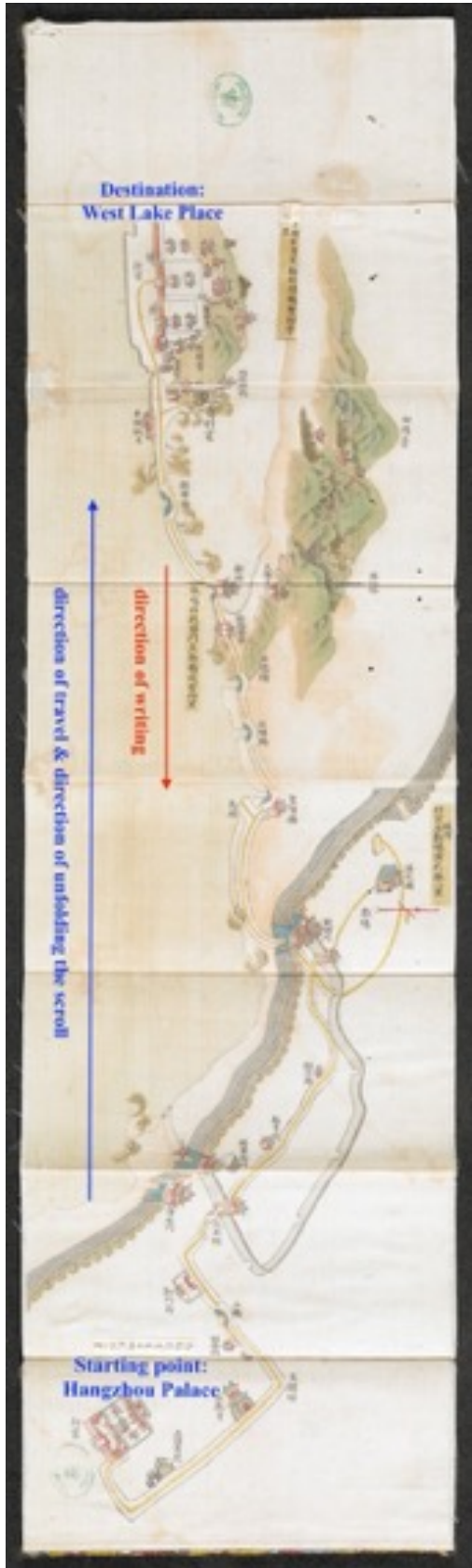


Plate 5.18. Suggested way of viewing the *Xihu daoli tushuo*.



Plate 5.19. Direction of walking from approximate locations of Hangzhou Palace to West Lake Palace on Google Maps. Screenshot from Google Maps. Image created by Yunfei Shao.

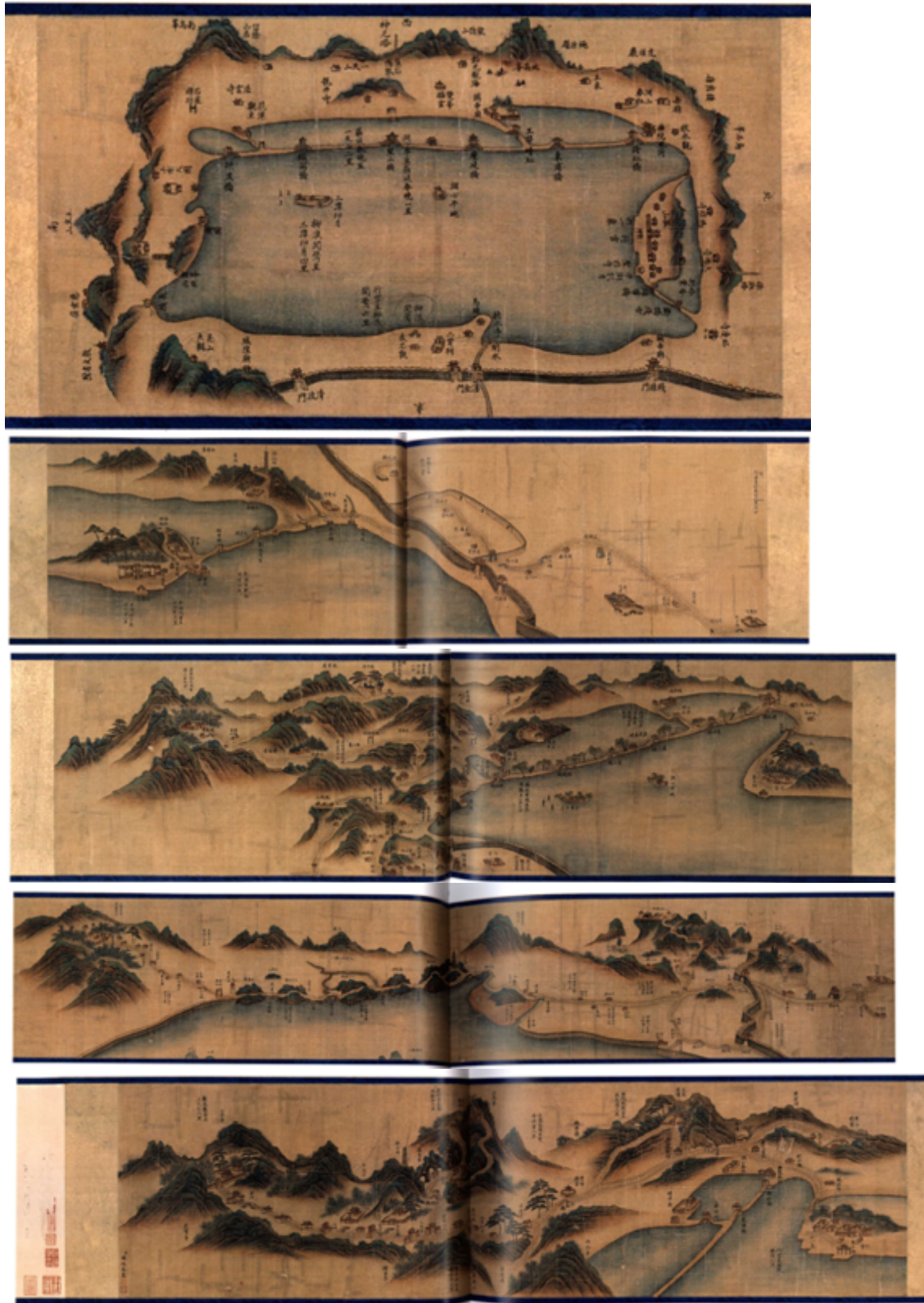


Plate 5.20. Guan Huai. *Xihu xingong tu*. 18th century. Ink and color on silk. 34.5 x 613.3 cm. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.

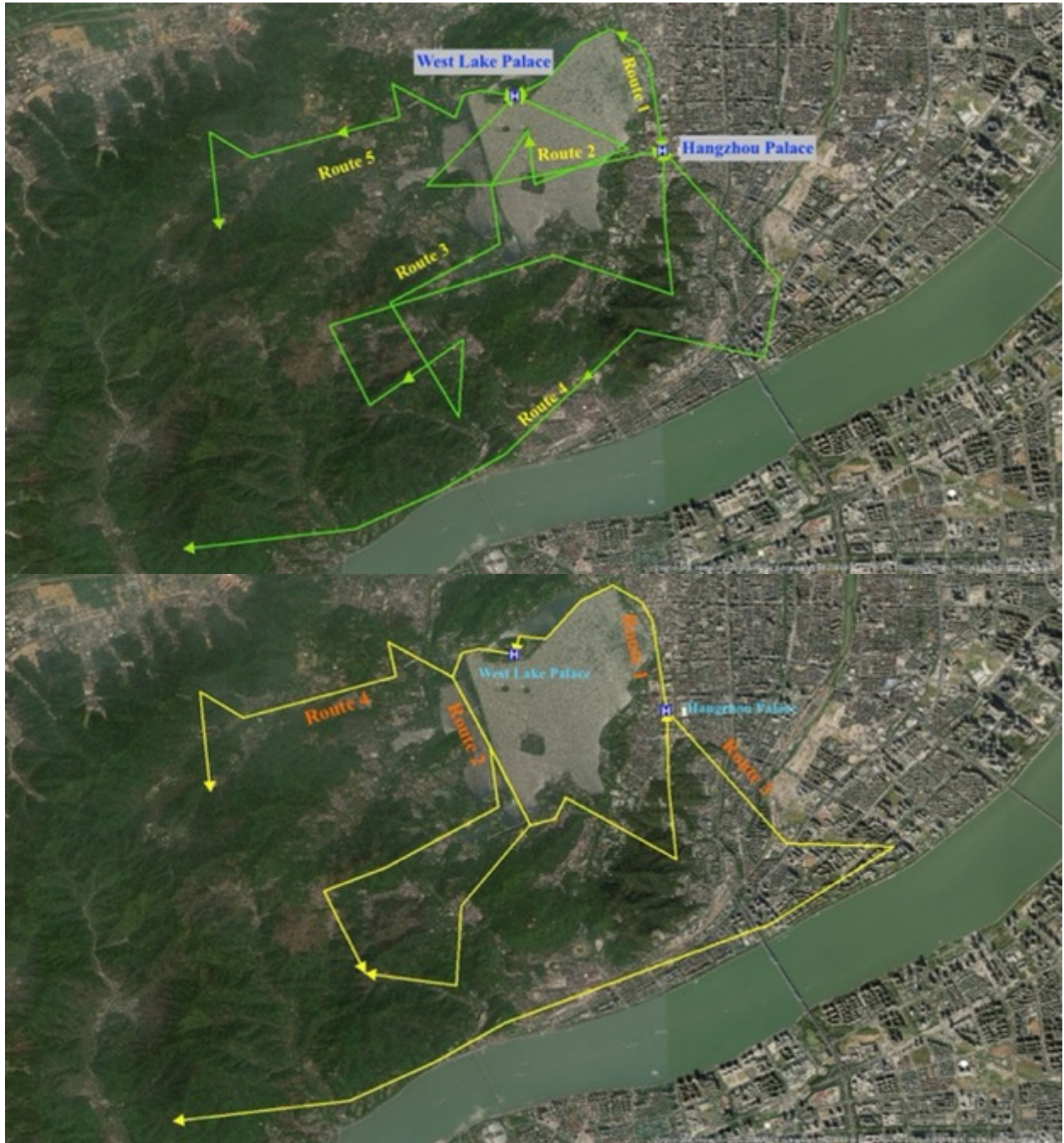


Plate 5.21. (Top) Itineraries in *Xihu daoli tushuo* in British Library, mapped on satellite image using ArcGIS. (Bottom) Itineraries in Guan Huai's *Xinggong tu* mapped on satellite image using ArcGIS. Images created by Yunfei Shao.

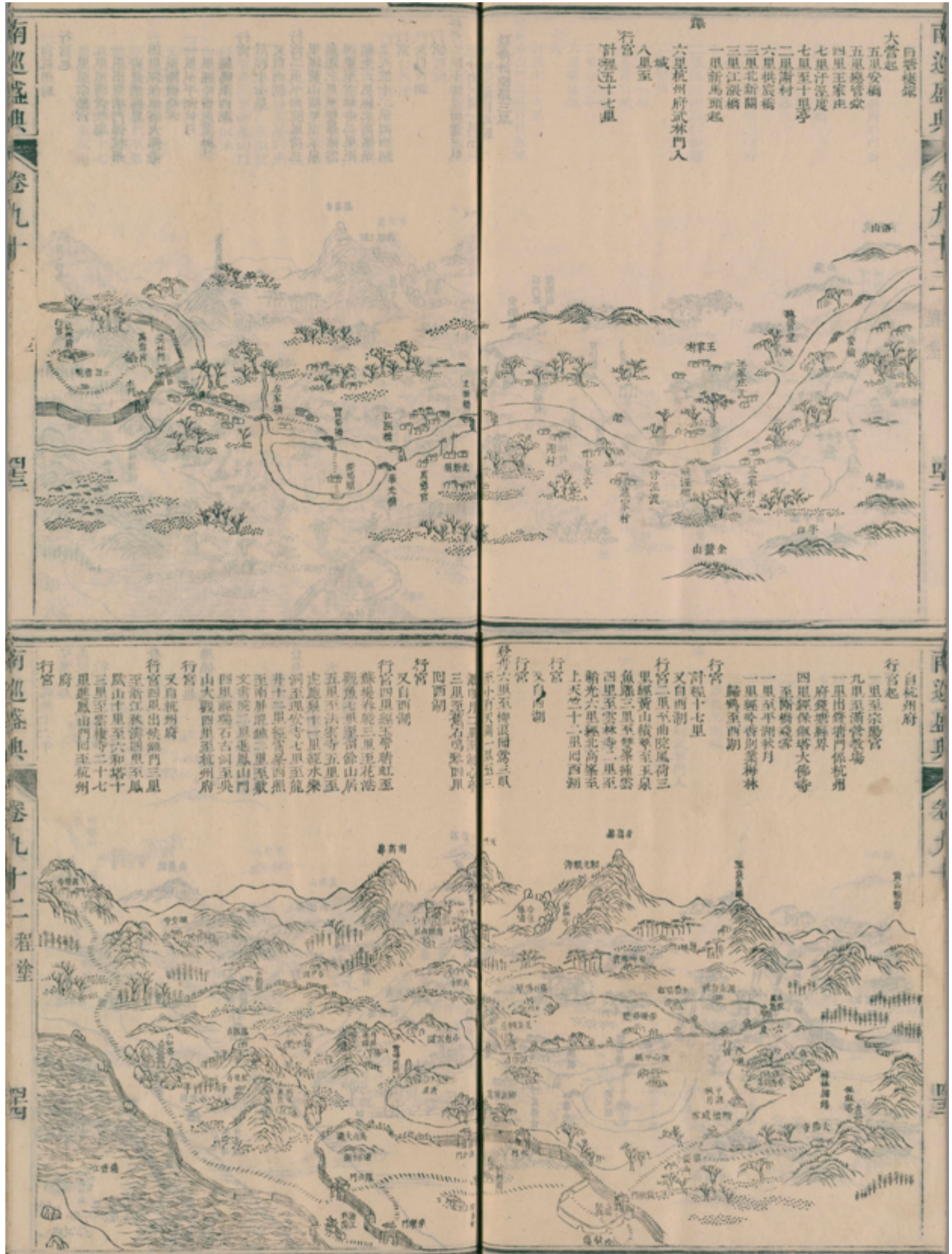


Plate 5.22. Imperial itinerary in *Nanxun Shengdian*.



Plate 5.23.1. Isabella L. Bird. "Pavilion in imperial garden, Si-hu", from Mrs J. F. Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*. 1899. Photograph. London: John Murray.



Plate 5.23. 2. Erwo Xuan Studio. Entrance to Li'an Monastery (wooden placard written by emperor Kangxi). 1911. Photograph. Image in the public domain.



Plate 5.24. Erwo Xuan Studio. "Evening Bell Toll at Nanping", from *Forty-seven views of West Lake*. 1911. Photograph. Bibliotheque Nationale de France.



Plate 5.25. Sidney Gamble. *Imperial Pavilion of Stele in Shengyin Monastery*. 1918. Photograph. Sidney D. Gamble Photographs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

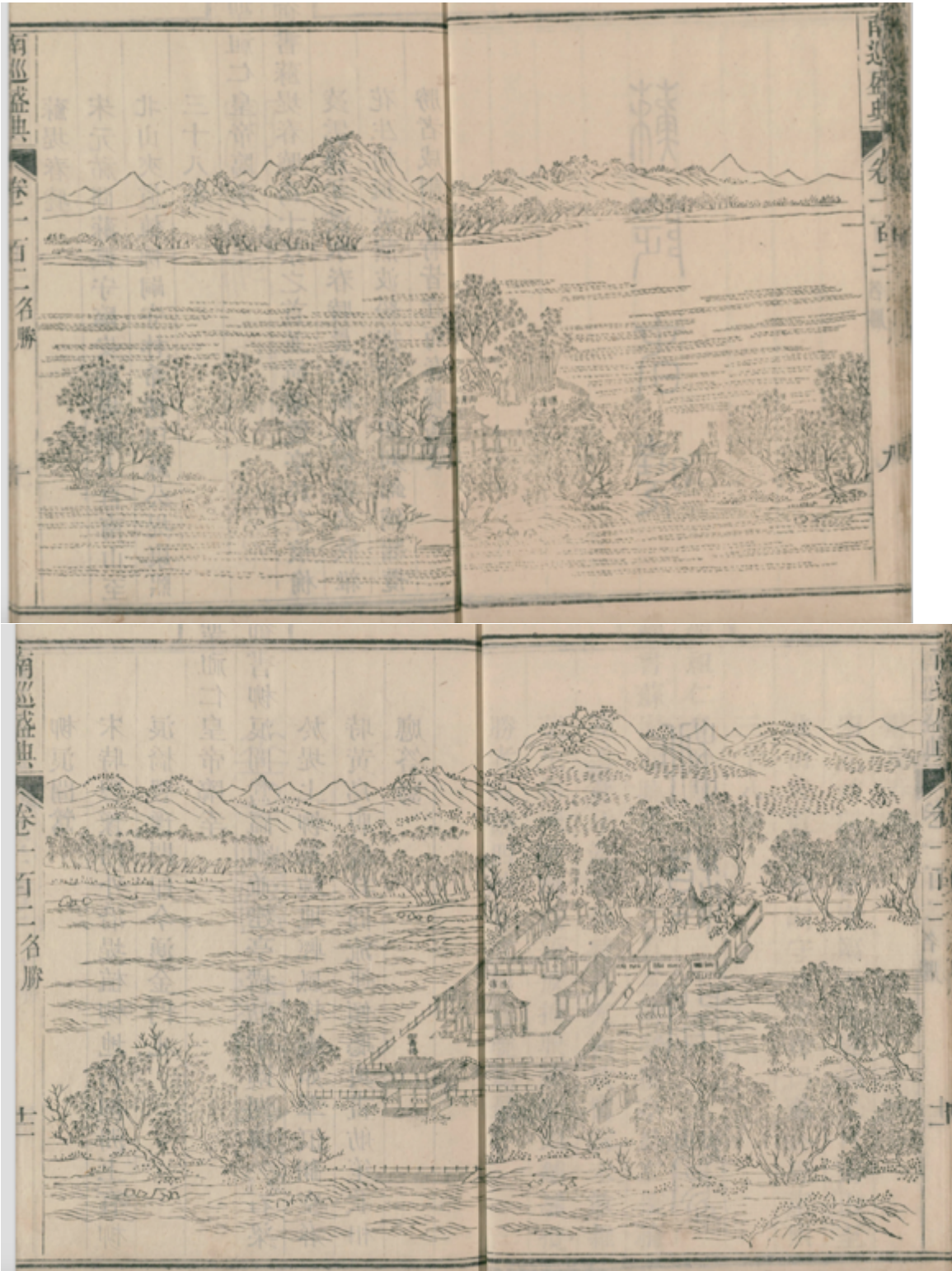


Plate 5.26. Ten Scenes of West Lake, from *Nanxun shengdian*: “Spring Dawn on Sudi Causeway”, “Listening to Orioles amidst Billowing Willows”, “Watching Fish at Flower Harbor”, “Breeze and Lotuses in Brewing Courtyard”, “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds”, “Evening Glow on Leifeng Pagoda”, “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds”, “Autumnal Moon over Calm Lake”, “Evening Bell Toll at Nanping”, “Lingering Snow at Duan Bridge”.



Plate 5.26 (continued).

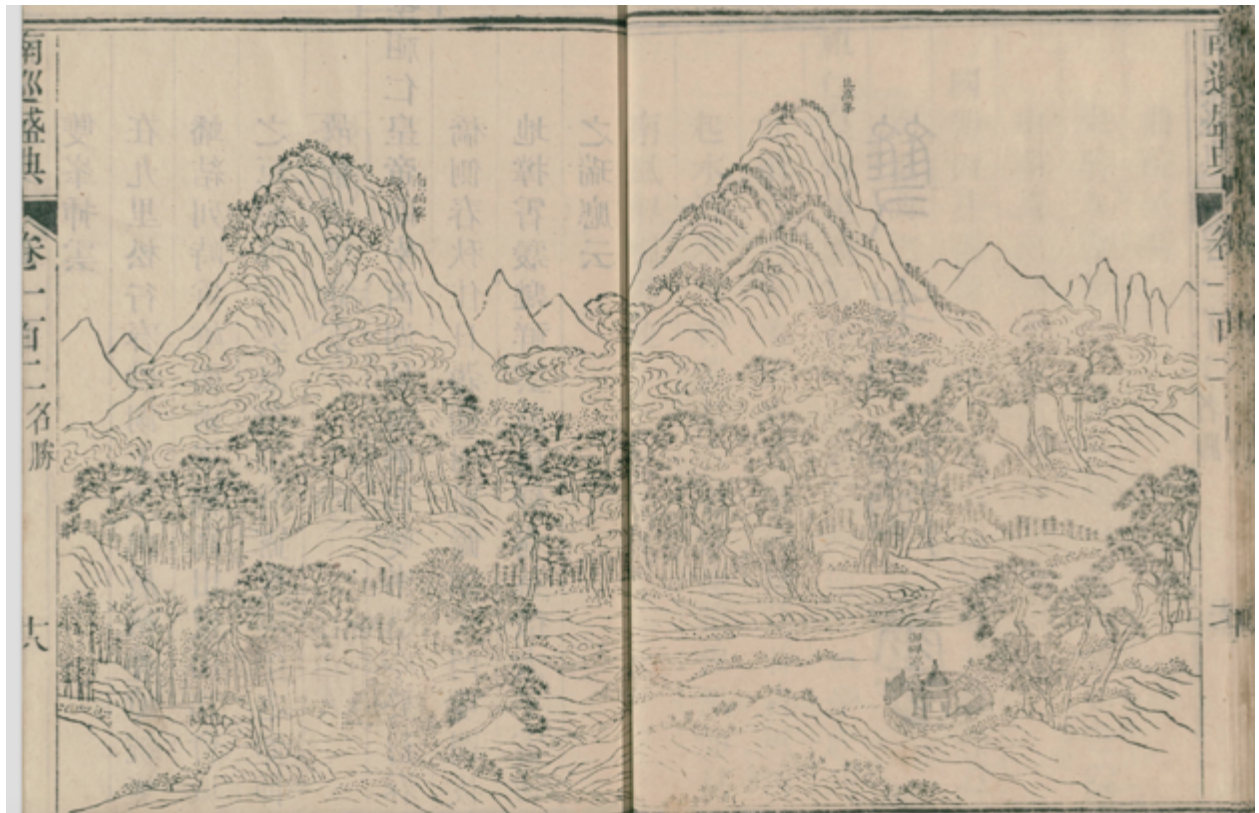


Plate 5.26 (continued).

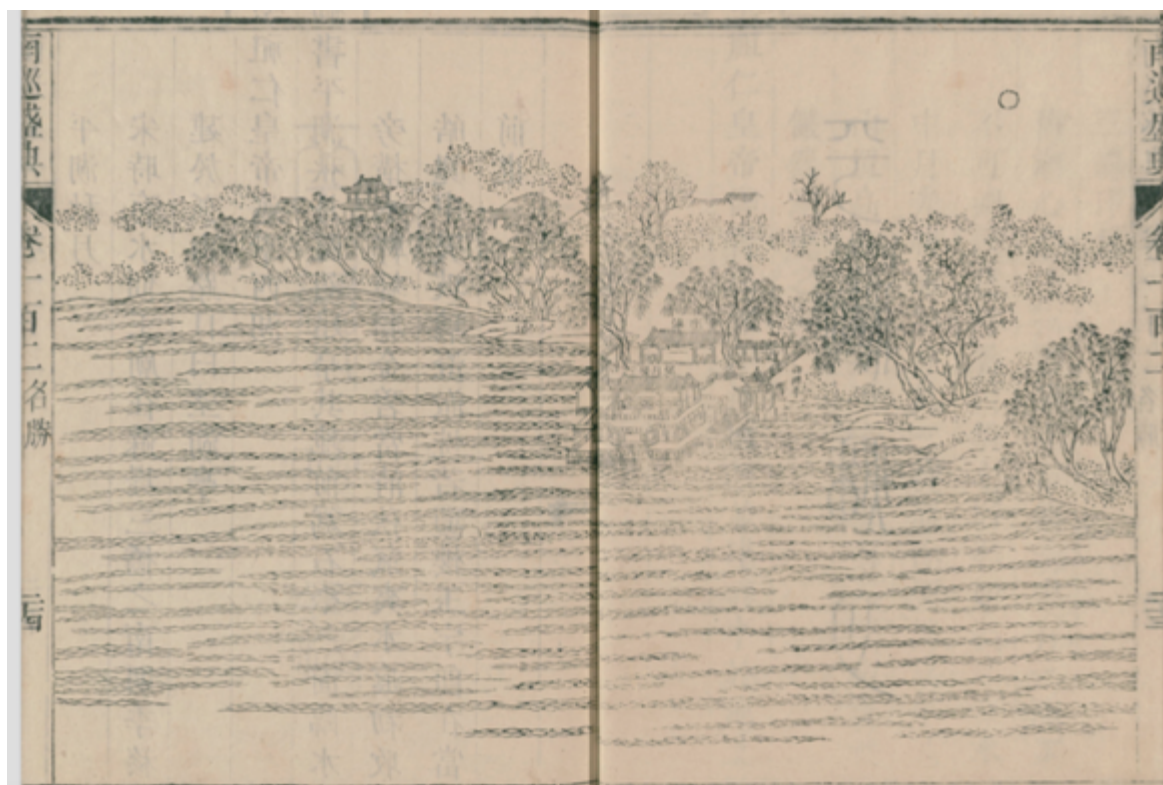
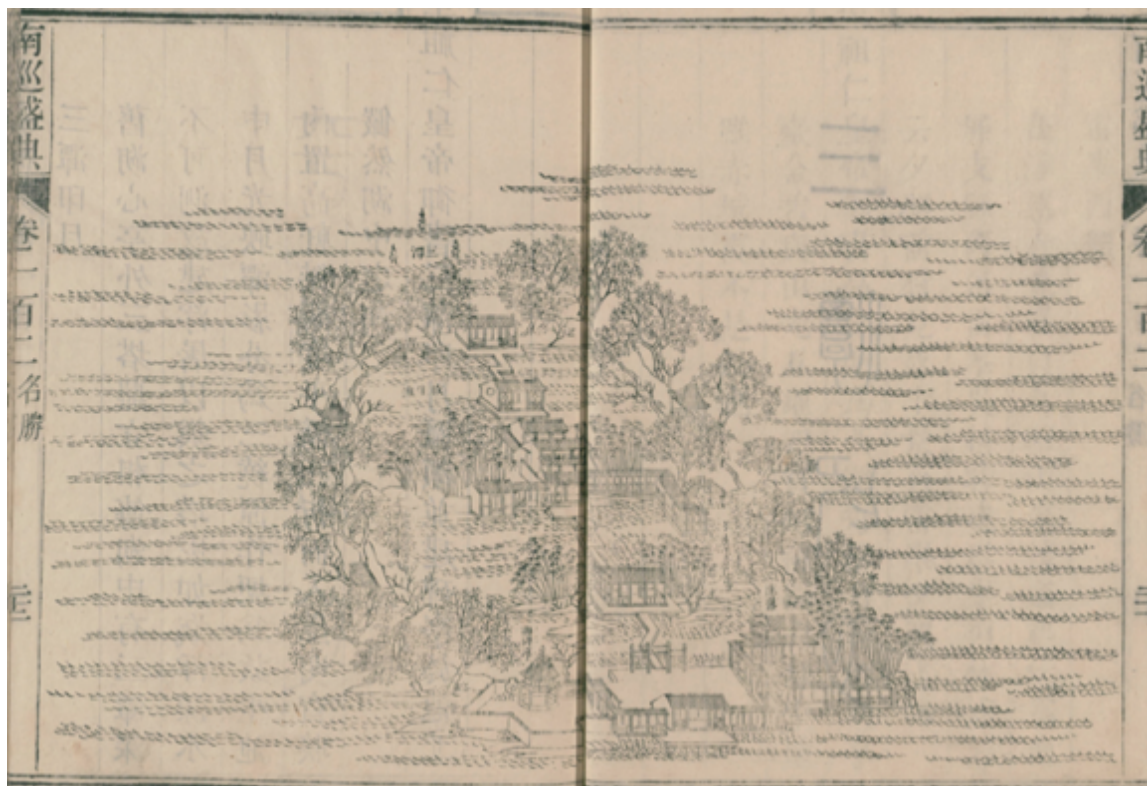


Plate 5.26 (continued).



Plate 5.26 (continued).

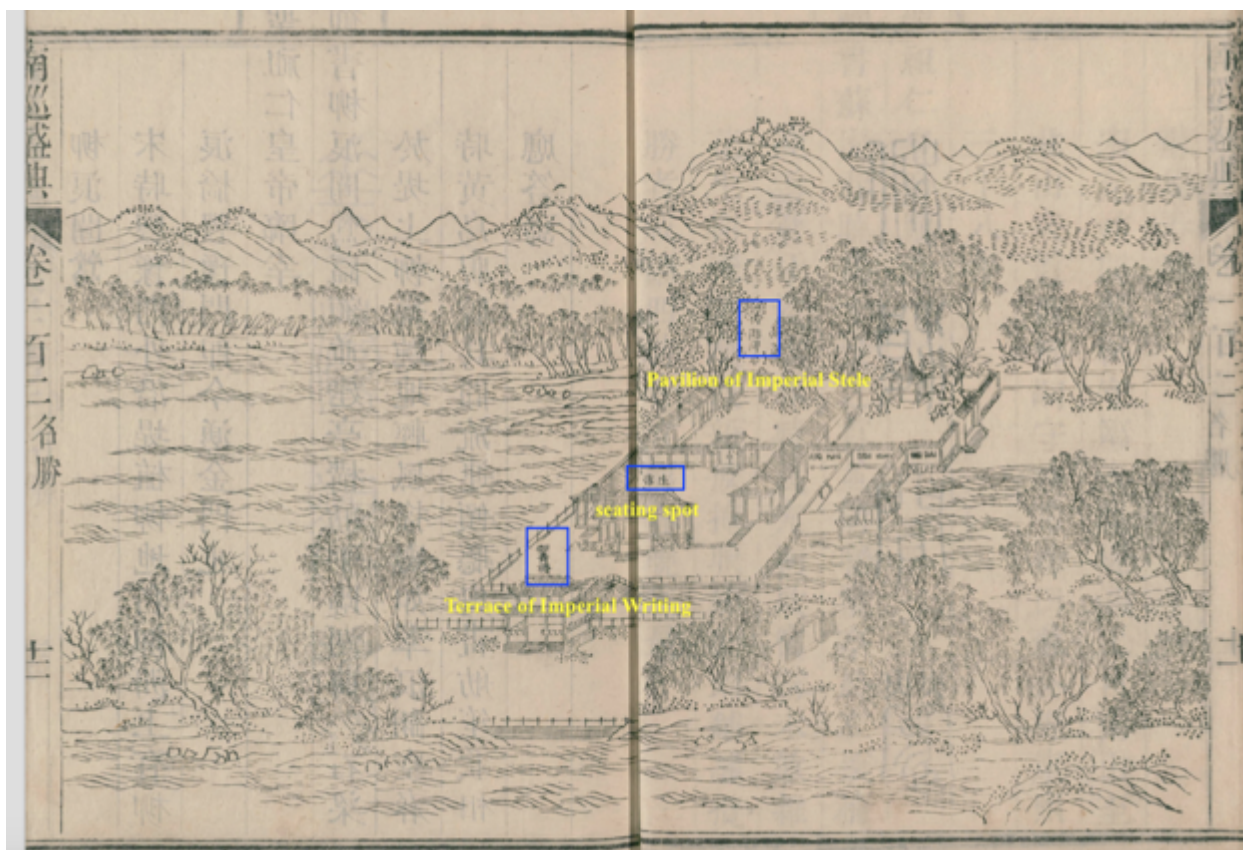


Plate 5.27. Compositional layout in “Listening to Orioles amid Billowing Willows” from *Nanxun shengdian*.

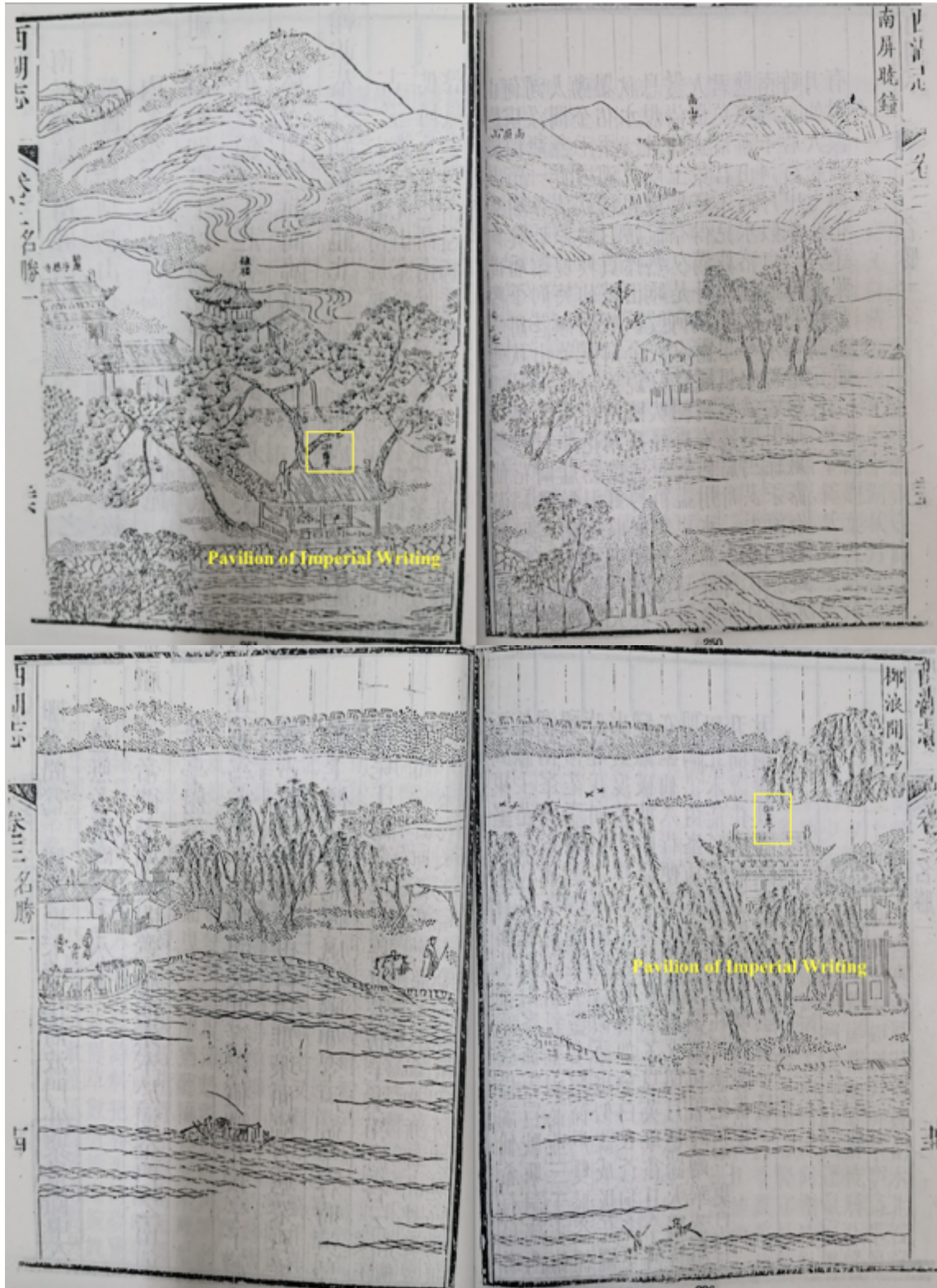


Plate 5.28. Positions of Imperial Stelae from Li Wei et al., *Xihu zhi*: “Morning Bell Toll at Nanping”, “Listening to Orioles amidst Billowing Willows”, “Breeze and Lotuses in Brewing Courtyard”.



Plate 5.28 (continued).

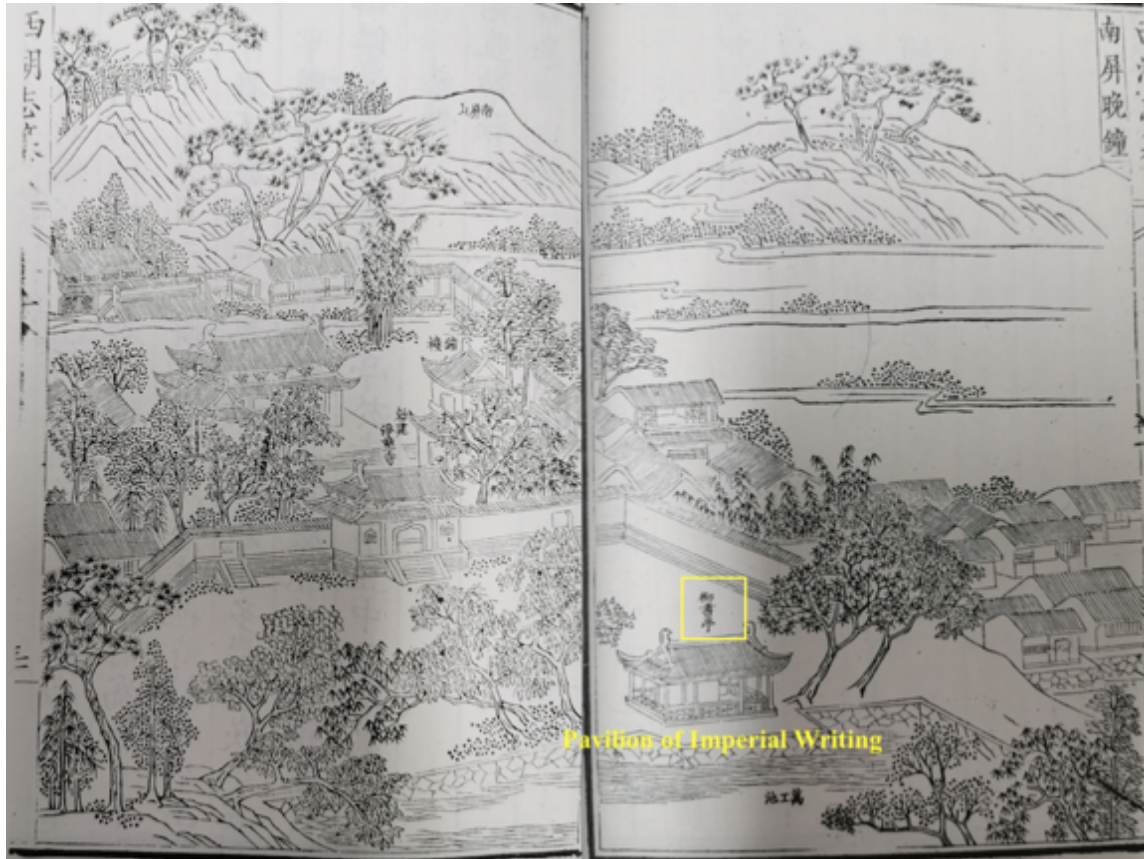


Plate 5.29. Positions of Imperial Stelae from Liang Shizheng et al., *Xihu zhizuan*: “Evening Bell at Nanping”, “Breeze and Lotuses in Brewing Courtyard”, “Listening to Orioles amidst Billowing Willows”.

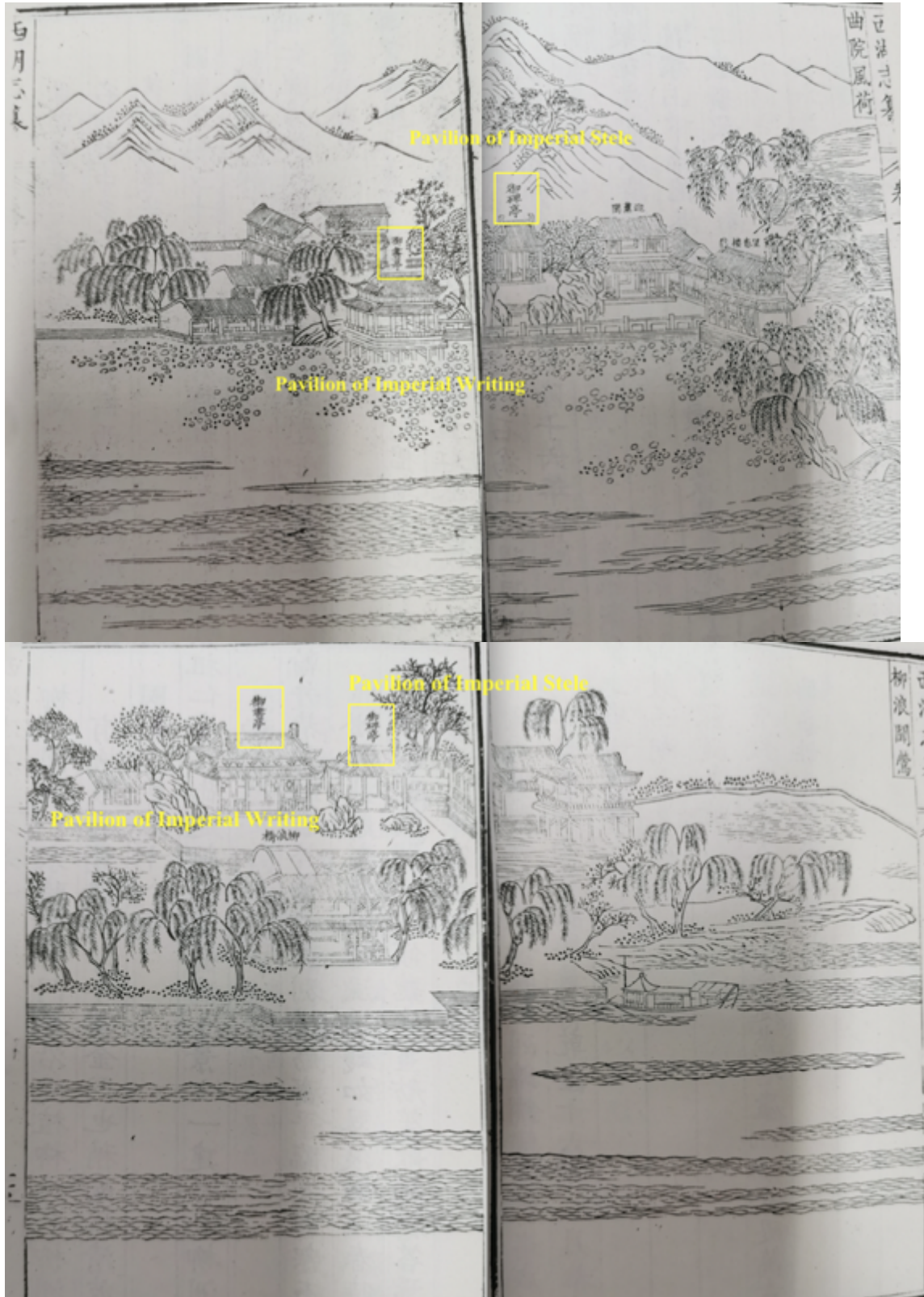


Plate 5.29 (continued).



Plate 5.30. Sidney Gamble. Imperial Pavilion in Nanping. 1919. Photograph. Sidney D. Gamble Photographs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.



Plate 5.31. Dai Jin, *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*, detail.



Palte 5.32. Sidney Gamble, "Liangting" (Leifeng Pagoda). 1919. Photograph. Sidney D. Gamble Photographs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

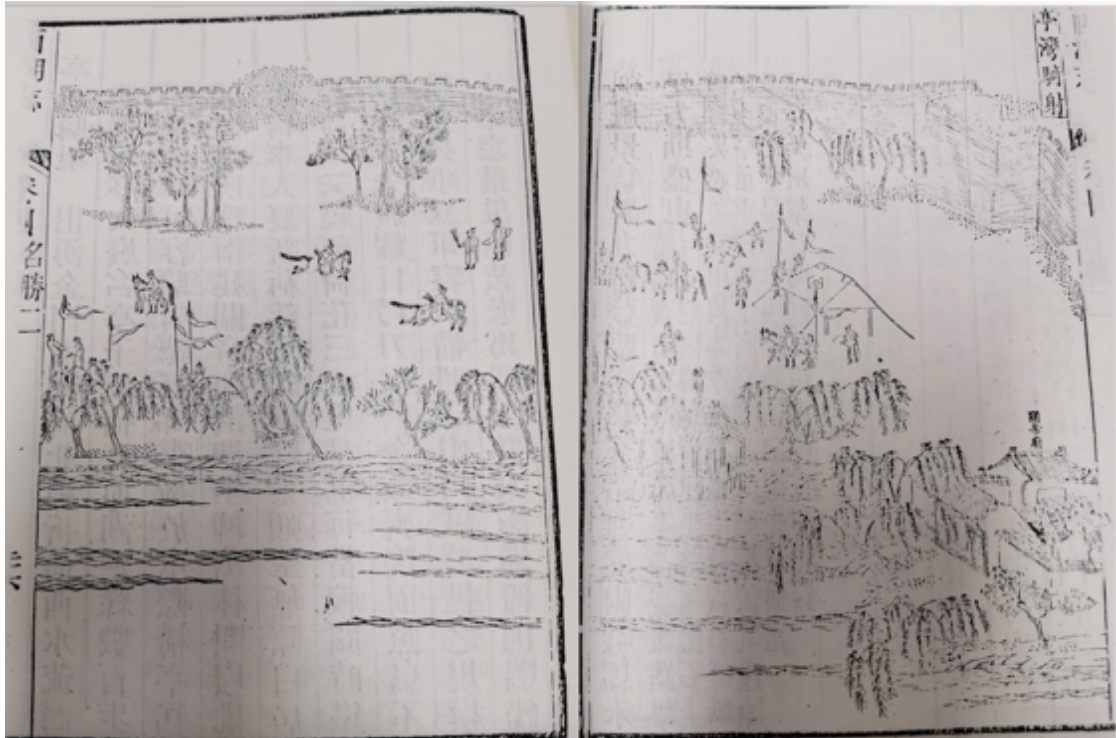


Plate 5.33. “Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay”, from Li Wei et al., *Xihu zhi*.



Plate 5.34. Anonymous. “Equestrian and Archery in Pavilion Bay”, *Ten Views of West Lake*. Undated. Album leaf, 27 x 36 cm. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.



Plate 5.35. Xu Yang. *Southern Inspection Tour*, details. Twelve handscrolls, ink and color on paper. 72.6 x 15417 cm. National Library of China, Beijing. Image scanned from *Zhongguo qingdai shengshi huangjia jishi changjuan: Qianlong nanxun tu*.



Plate 5.36. Xu Yang. "Tours to Hangzhou", from *Southern Inspection Tour*.



Plate 5.36 (continued).



Plate 5.37. Qianlong on West Lake, from Xu Yang, “Tours to Hangzhou” in *Southern Inspection Tour*.

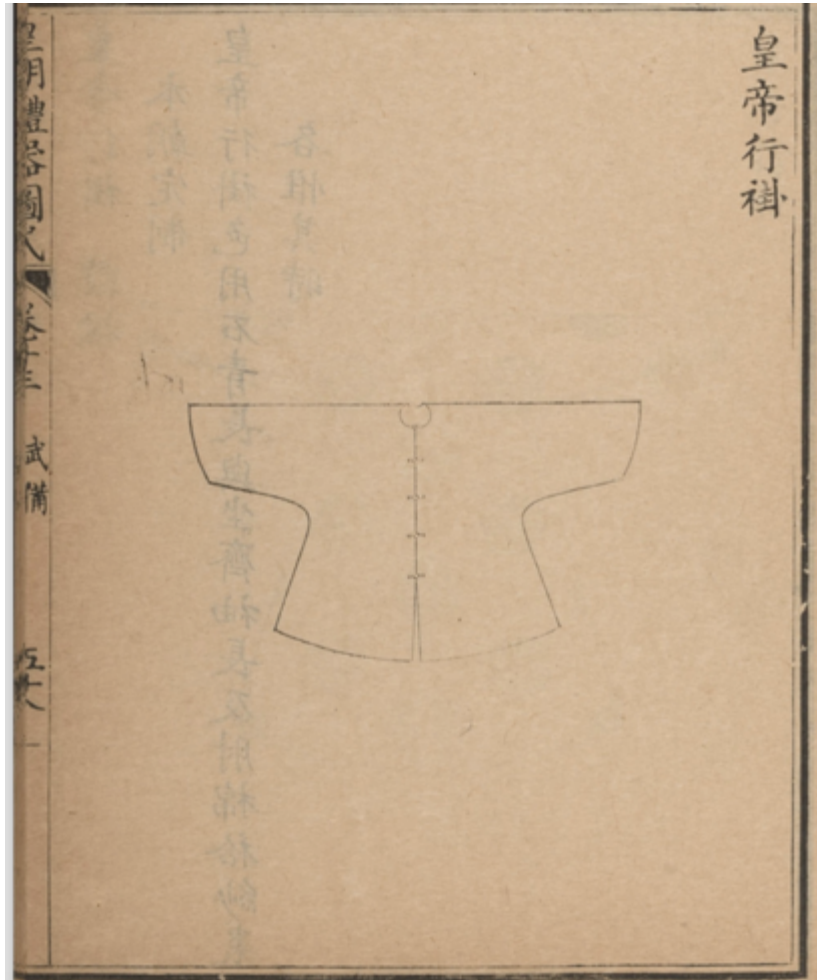


Plate 5.38. “Riding robe of the emperor”, from *Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty*. 1759. Color print. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 5.39. Detail of trees in *Southern Inspection Tour*.



Plate 5.40. Wang Gai et al., “Tree painted by Meihua daoren [Wu Zhen]” from *Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden*. 1679-1722. Woodblock print. Princeton Library.



Plate 5.41. Xu Yang. “Staying in Hangzhou”, from *Southern Inspection Tour*, detail.

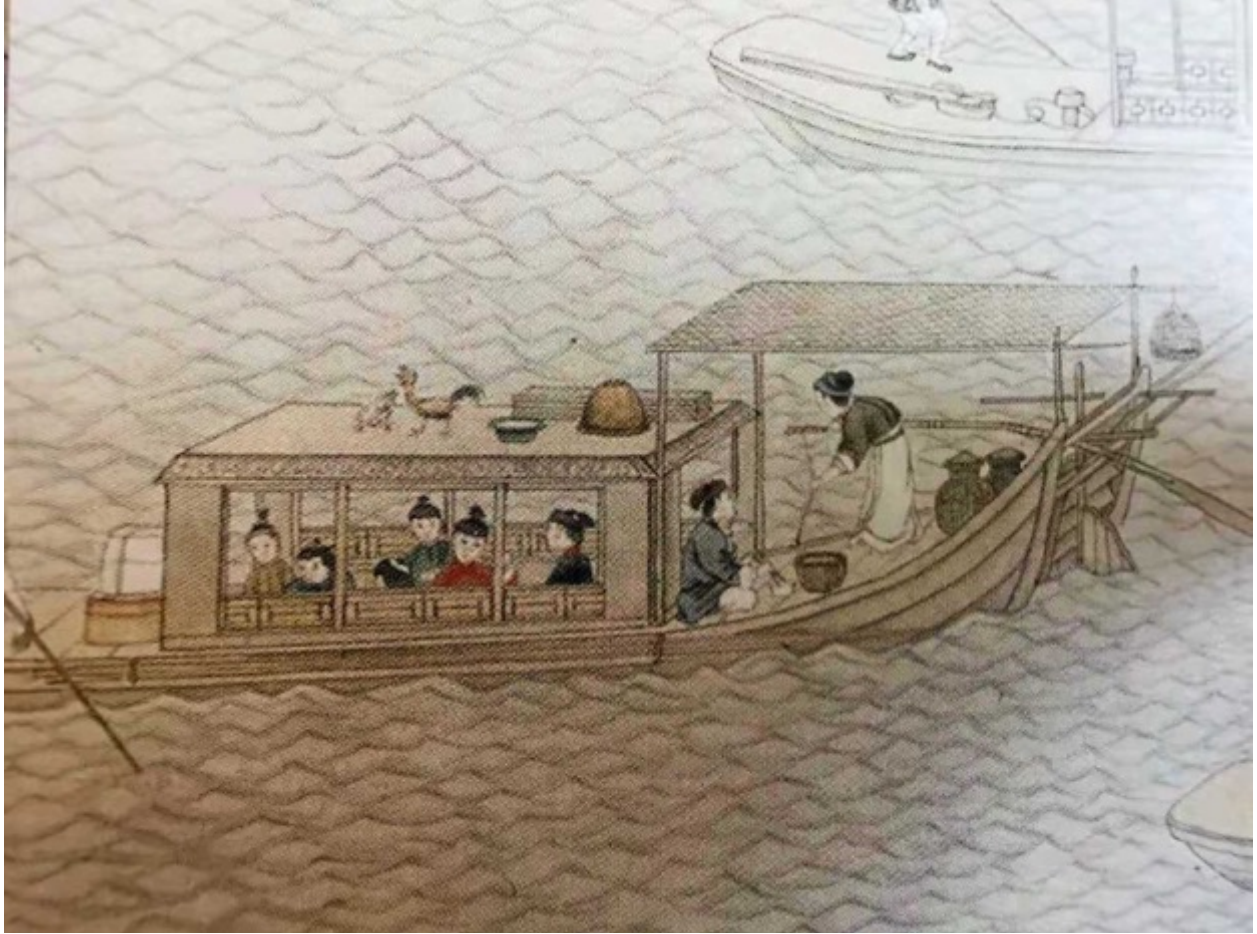


Plate 5.42. Xu Yang. “Staying in Hangzhou”, from *Southern Inspection Tour*, detail.



Plate 5.43. Xu Yang. "Staying in Hangzhou", from *Southern Inspection Tour*, detail.



Plate 5.44. Xu Yang. "Staying in Hangzhou", from *Southern Inspection Tour*, detail.

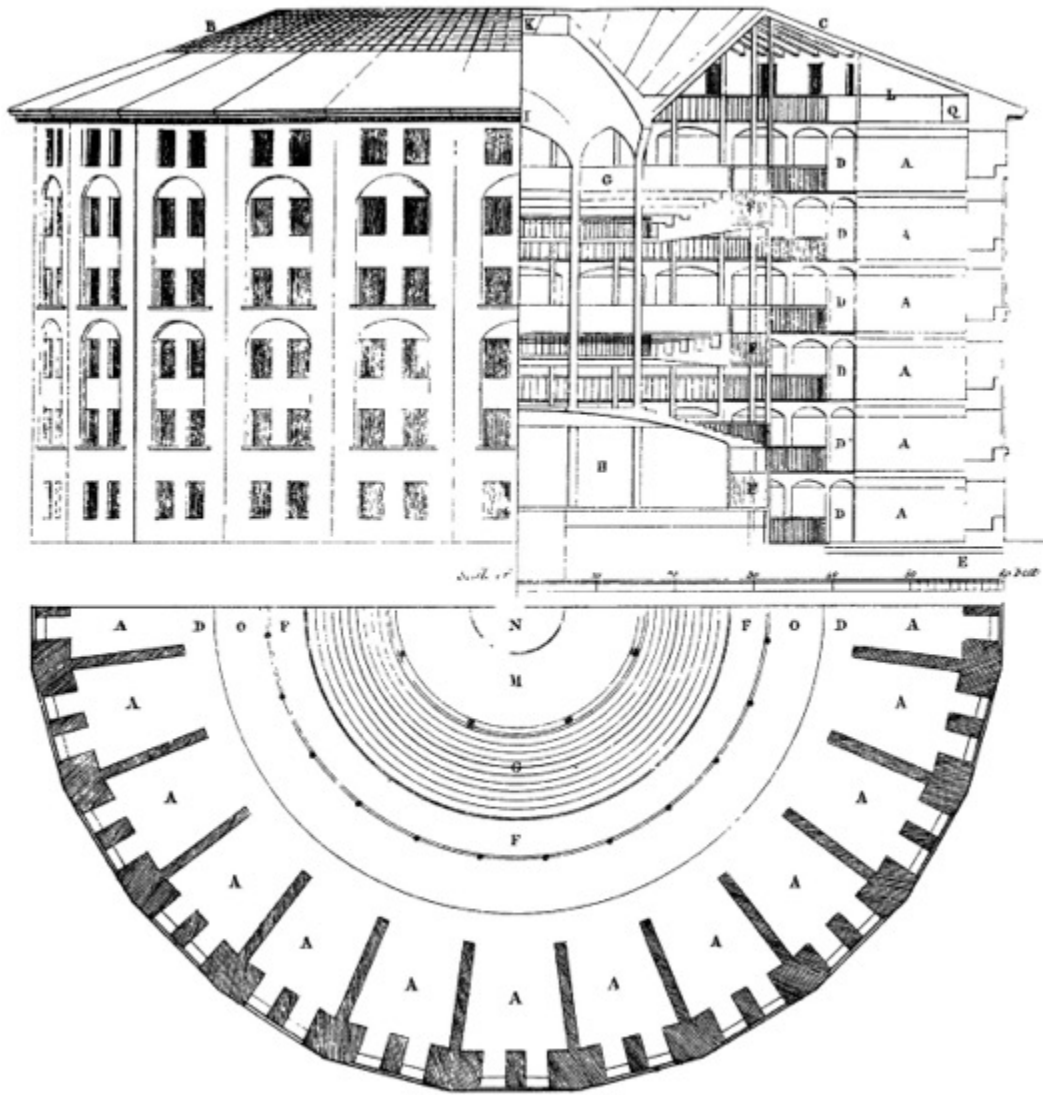


Plate 5.45. Jeremy Bentham, Samuel Bentham, and Wiley Reveley. *The Panopticon*. 1791. Image in the public domain.



Plate 6.1. Wang Yuanqi. “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds”, in *Ten Scenes of West Lake*.

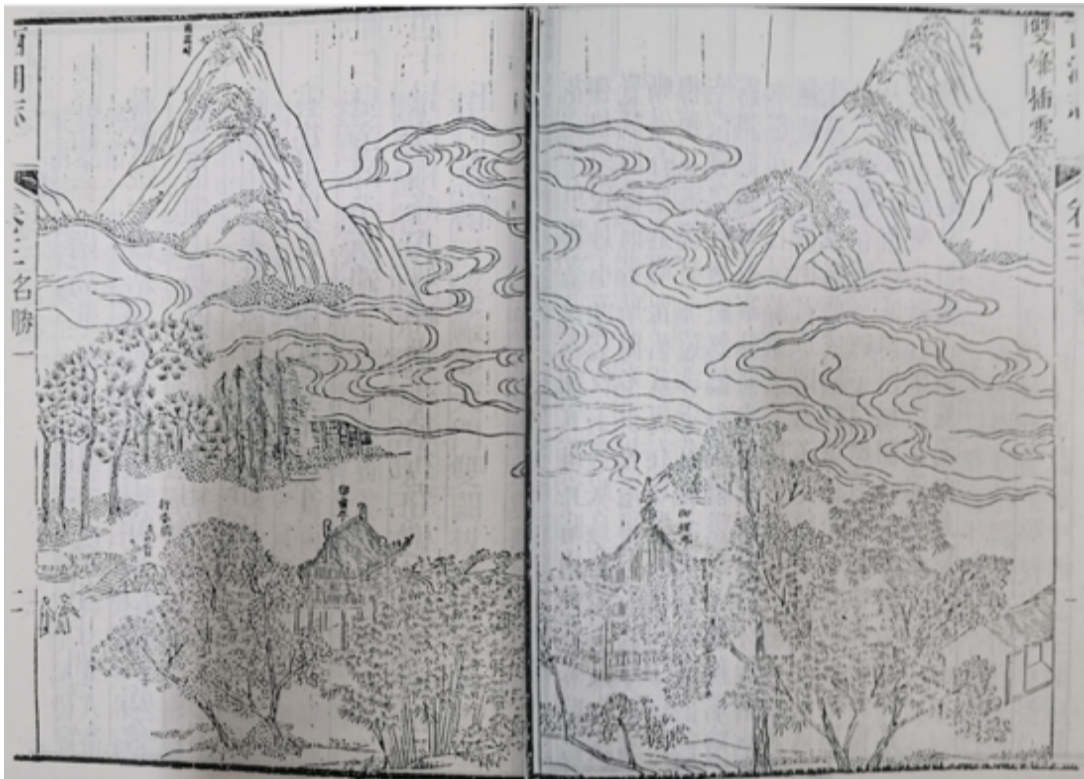


Plate 6.2. (From top to bottom) “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds”, in *Xihu Zhi*. “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds”, in *Nanxun shengdian*. “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds”, in *Xihu zhizuan*. “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds”, in *Hushan bianlan*.

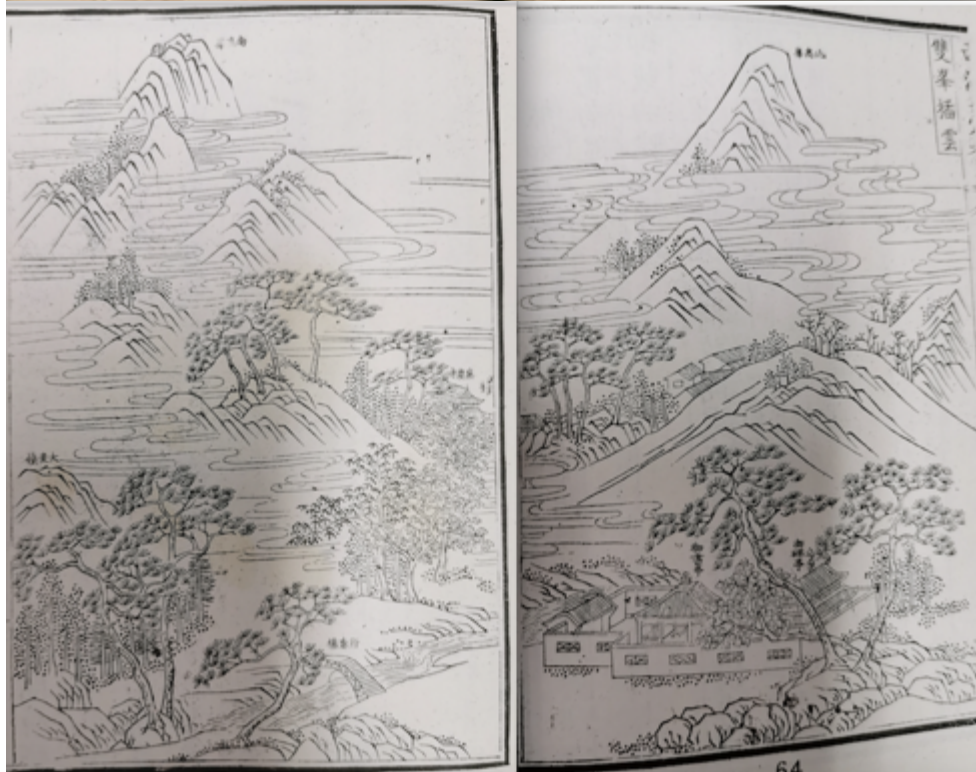
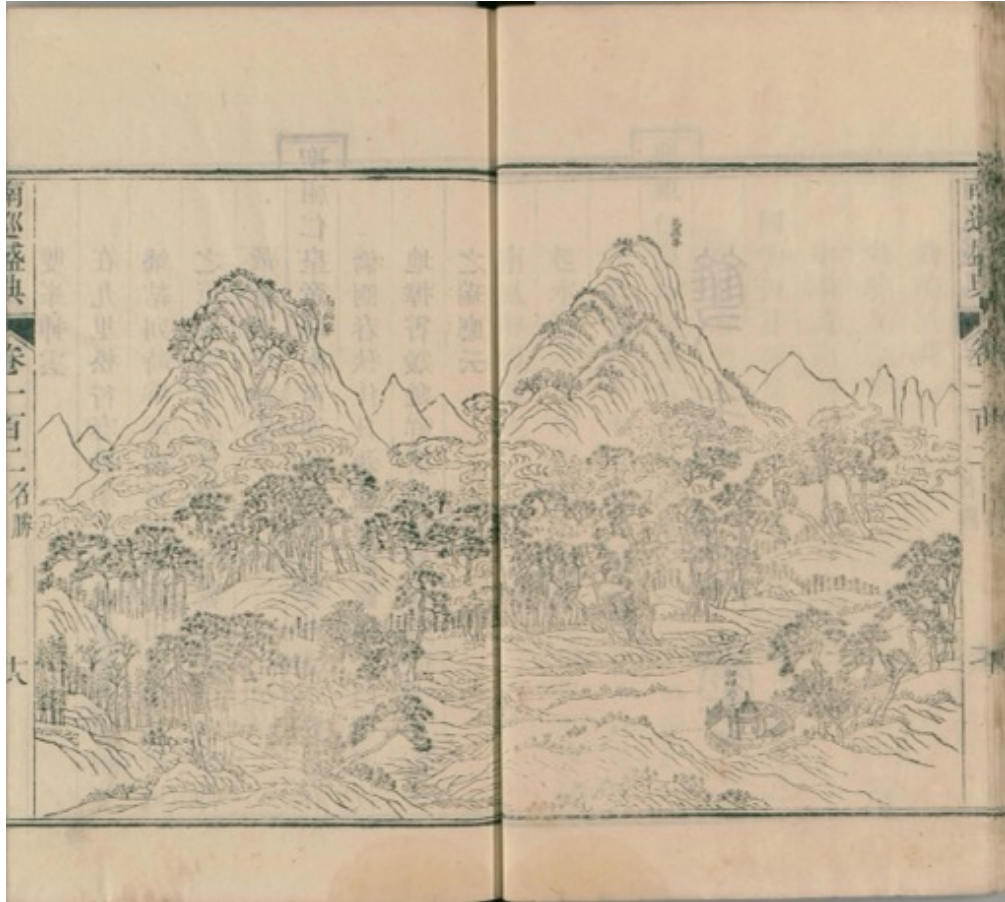


Plate 6.2 (continued).



Plate 6.2 (continued).

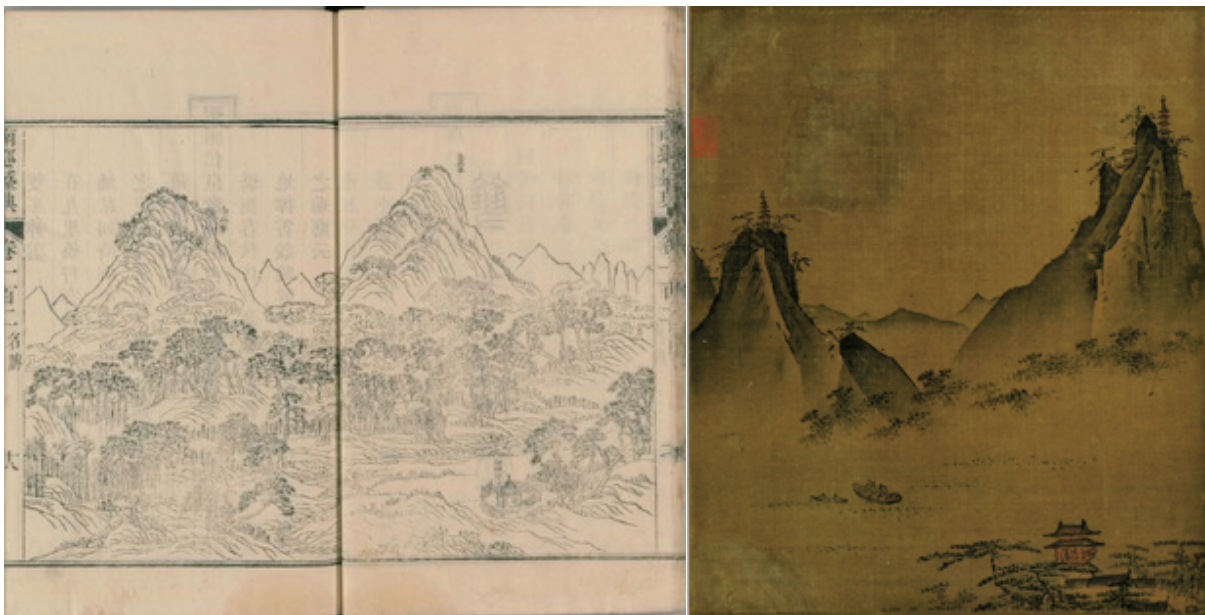


Plate 6.3. (Left) “Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds,” from *Nanxun shengdian*. (Right) (traditionally attributed to Ye Xiaoyan), “Twin peaks Piercing Clouds”, in *Ten Scenes of West Lake*.

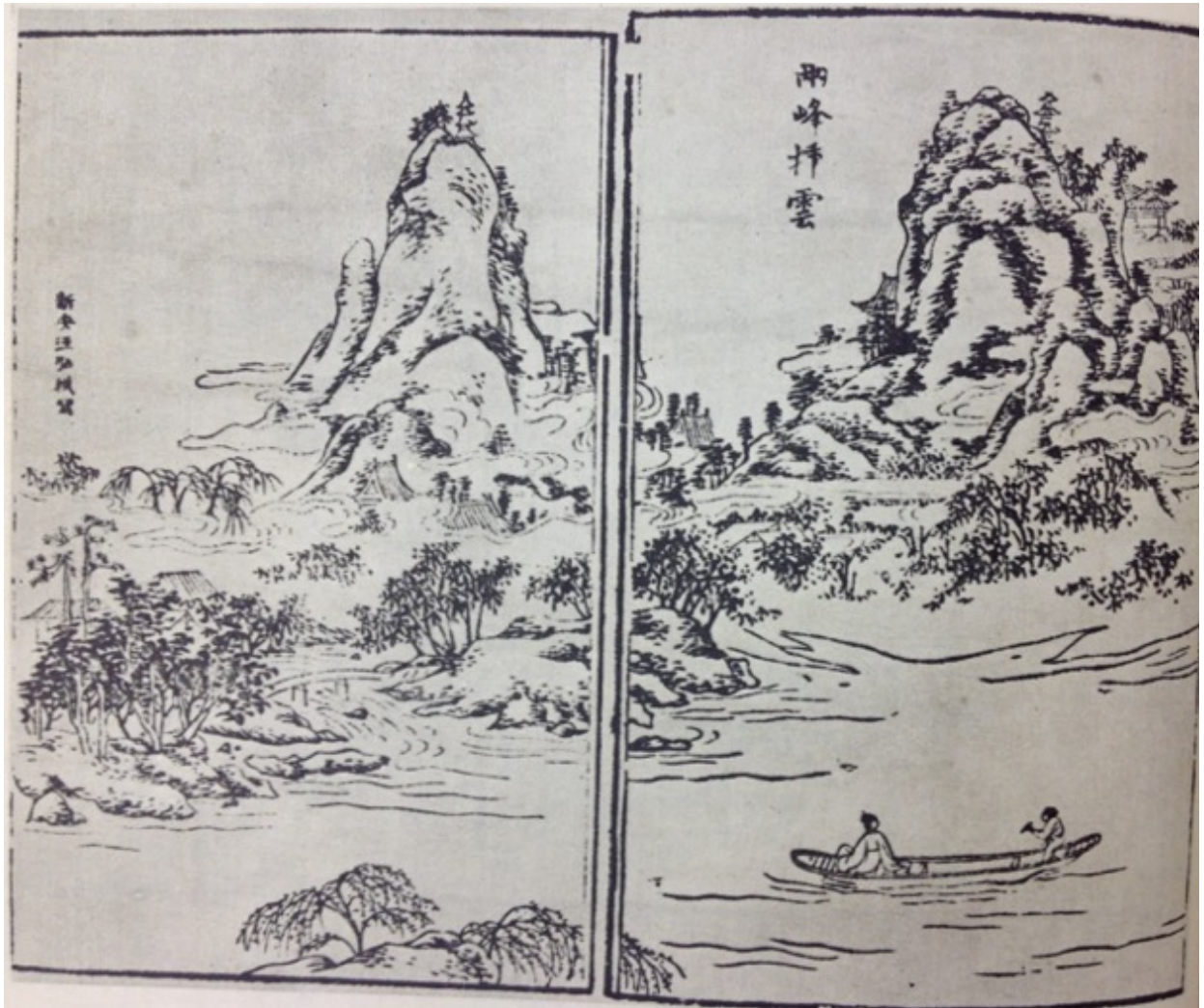


Plate 6.4. Wang Hongshi 汪弘棡 (active 16th century). “Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds,” in Yu Sichong 俞思冲 (active 16th century) et al., *Xihu zhi leichao*. 1579. Woodblock print. 20.3 x 25.7 cm. Wanli period block-printed edition.



Plate 6.5.1. Yongrong. "Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds", in *Views of West Lake*. 18th century. Album leaf, ink and color on silk. 24 x 27.5 cm. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.



Plate 6.5.2. Yongrong. "Spring Dawn Breaking over Sudi Causeway", in *Views of West Lake*.



Plate 6.6. Yang Erzeng. “Spring dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway”, in *Hainei qiguan*.



Plate 6.7. Anonymous. “Spring dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway”, on *Jar decorated with the Ten Scenes of West Lake*. 17th-18th century. Porcelain. The Art Institute of Chicago. 1997.396. Photo taken by Yunfei Shao.

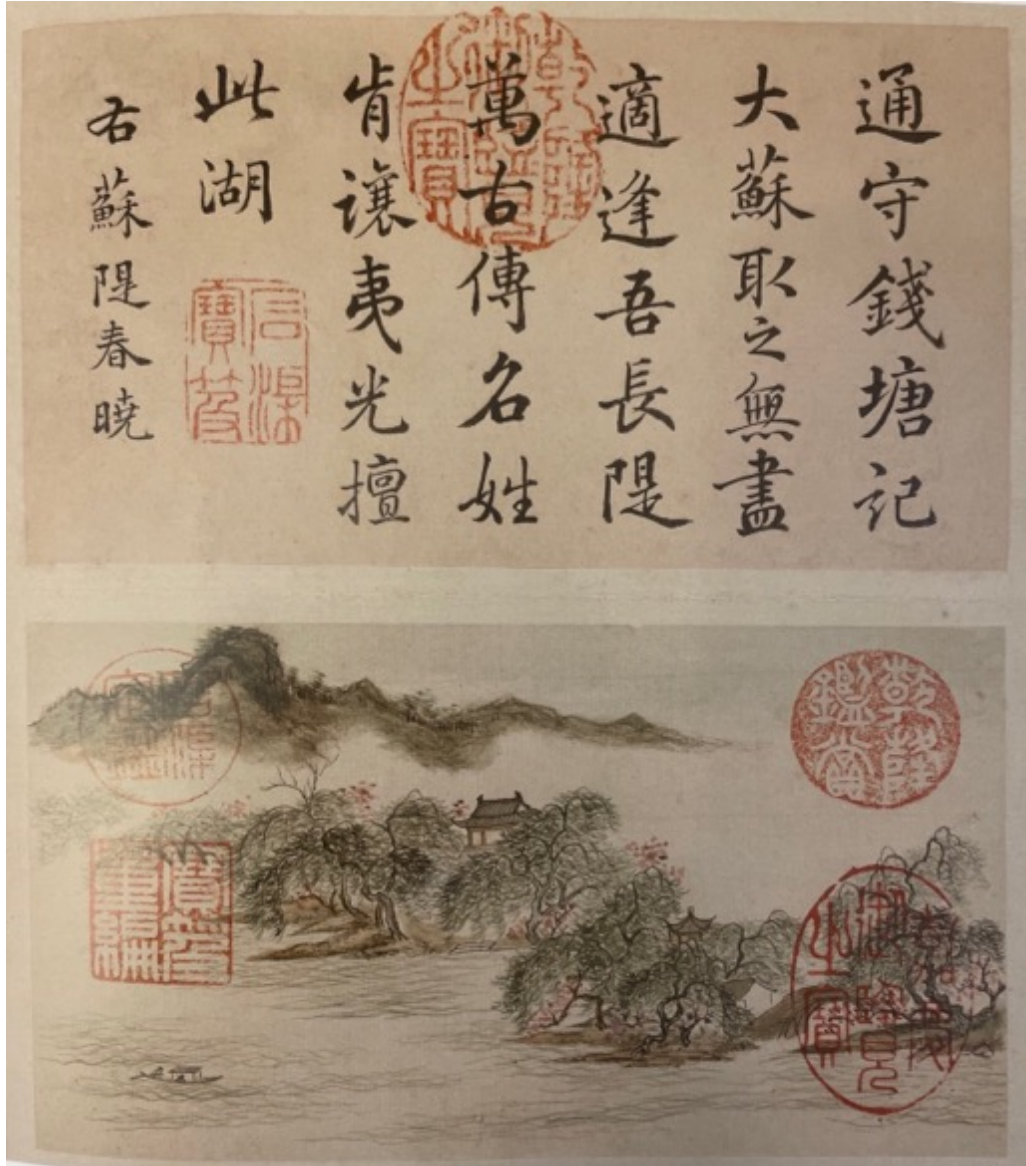


Plate 6.8. Qian Weicheng. "Spring dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway", in *Ten Scenes of West Lake* (with poems of the emperor). Album leaf, ink and color on paper. 9 x 16 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 6.9. Embroidery workshop in Zaobanchu, *Dapo yi robe with views of West Lake*, details. Guangxu reign (1871-1908). Silk florentine stitch embroidery on silk gauze. 87.5 x 136.8 x 90.5 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 6.10.1. Zhang Zhaolan. “Breeze and Lotuses in Brewing Courtyard”, from *Twelve Views of West Lake*. 1834. Album leaf, ink on paper. 31 x 26.5 cm. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.

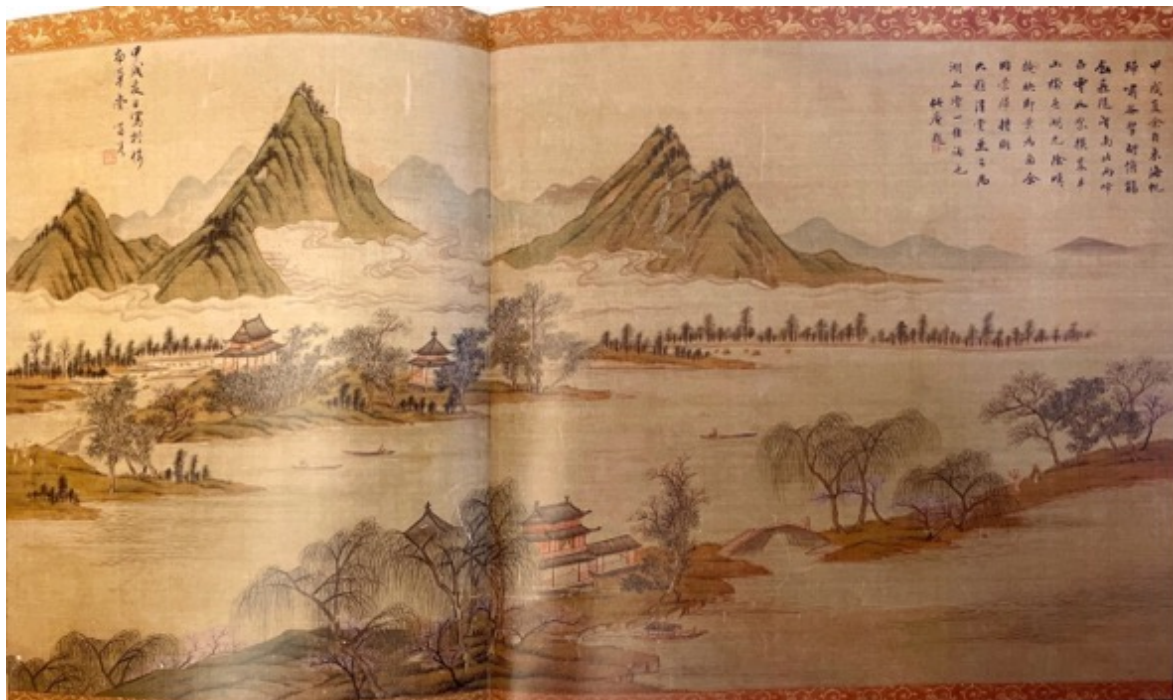


Plate 6.10.2. Sun Tong. *West Lake*. 1874. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 63 x 118 cm. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.



Plate 6.10.3. “Spring Dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway” and “Lingering Snow at Duan Bridge”, in *Hushan bianlan*.



Plate 6.10.4. Mushi ju workshop. Plate decorated with "Evening Glow on Leifeng Pagoda". Kangxi reign (1662-1722). Porcelain. Original size unknown. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.



Plate 6.11. Yongrong. (Top) “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds”. (Bottom left) “Grand Views of Mt. Wu”. (Bottom right) “Watching Fish at Flower Harbor”, in *Views of West Lake*.

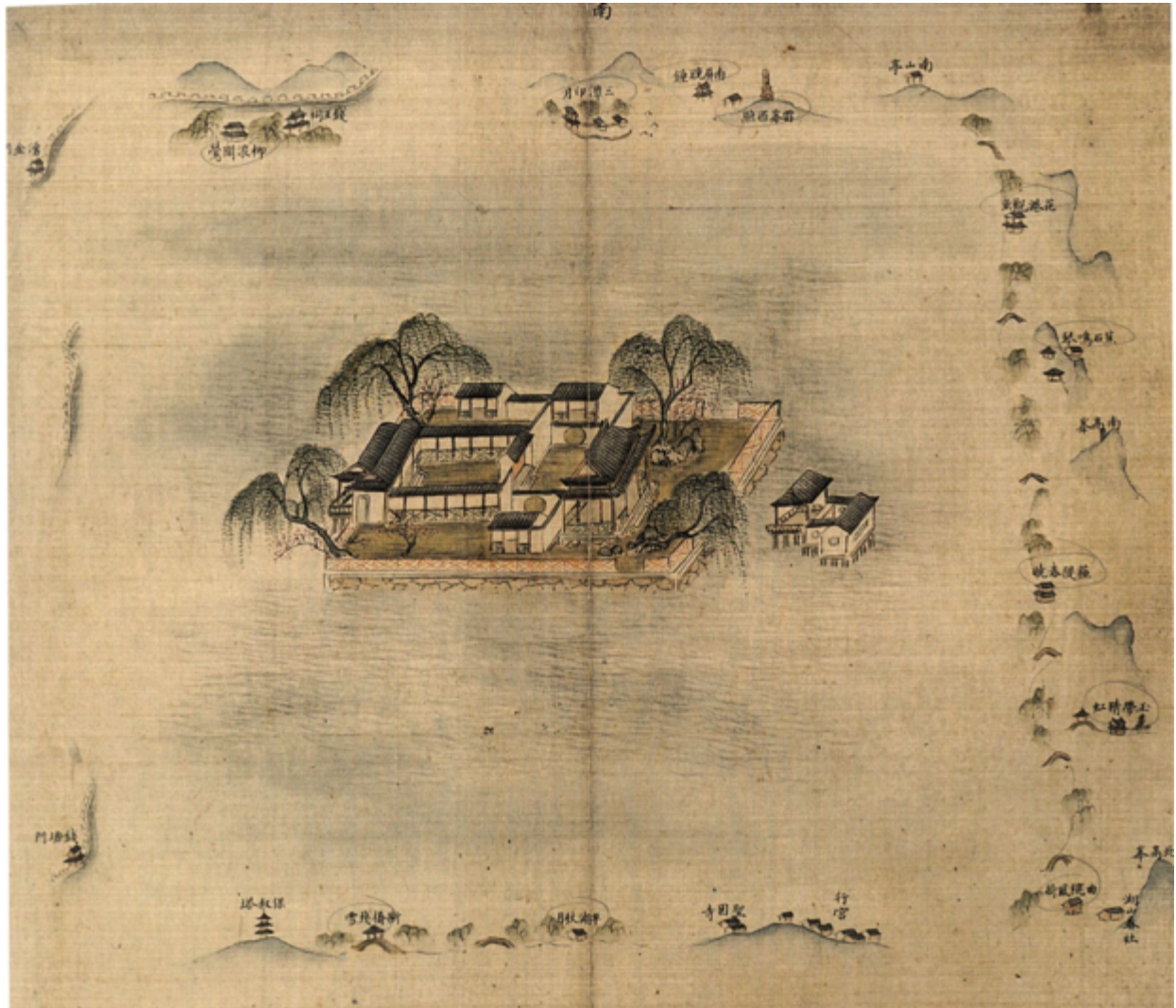


Plate 6.12. Yongrong. “Level Perspective on Huxin Pavilion” in *Views of West Lake*.



Plate 6.13. (Top) Yongrong, “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds” in *Views of West Lake*. (Bottom) Dong Bangda, “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds”, detail. Qing dynasty. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on paper. 126.9 x 66.7 cm. The collection of the National Palace Museum.

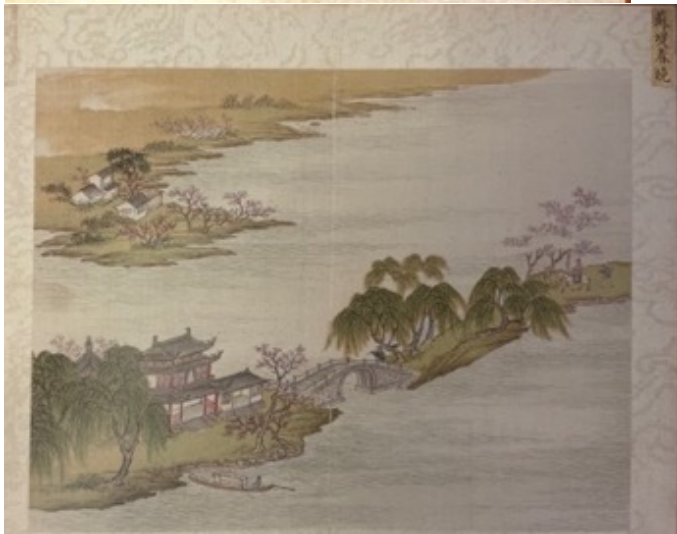


Plate 6.14. Anonymous. *Views of West Lake* (in the collection of *Baoyun lou*). Qing dynasty. Album, 14.9 x 19.7 cm each. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 6.15. Anonymous. "Apes Howling in Cold Spring", in *Views of West Lake* (in the collection of *Baoyun lou*).

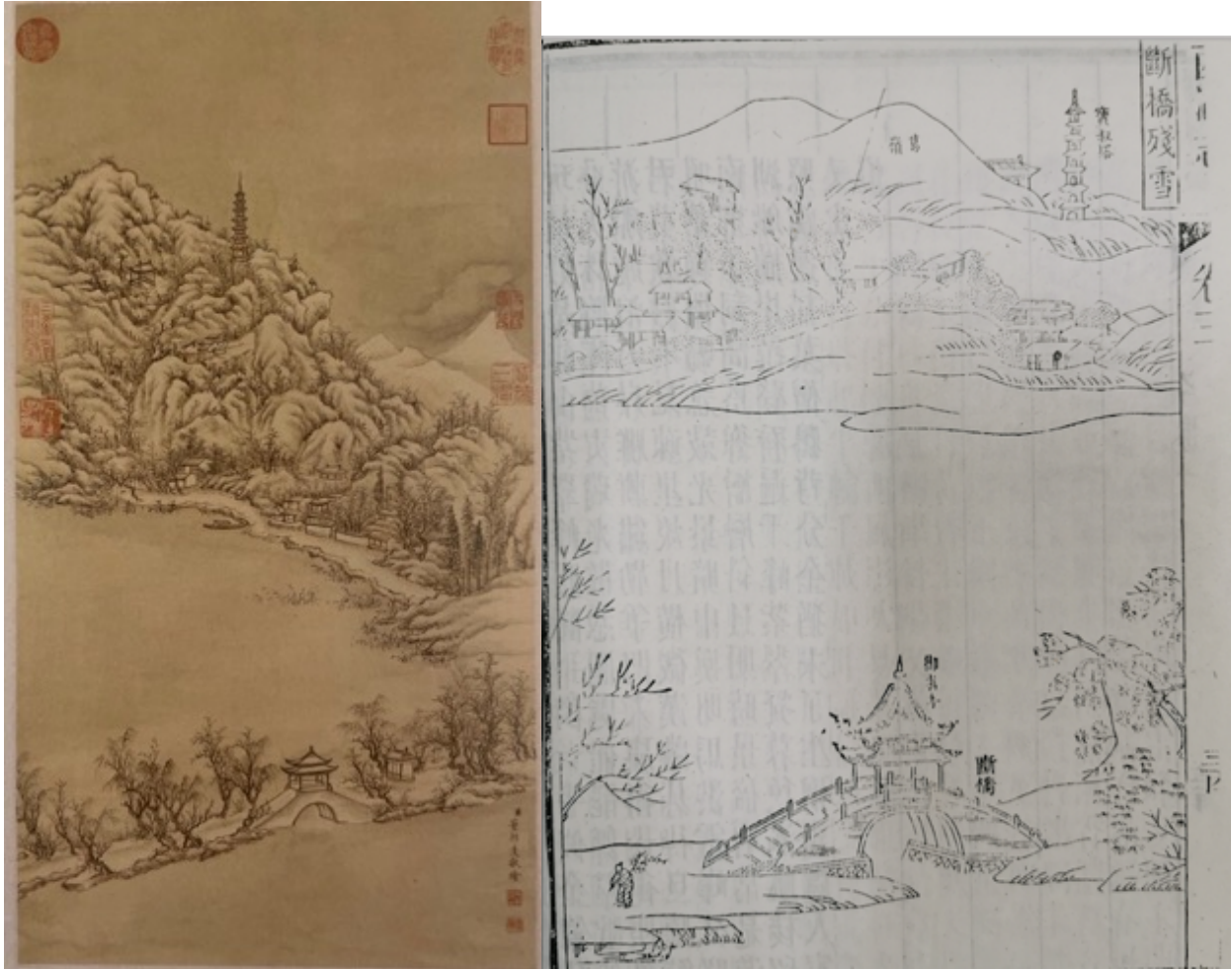


Plate 6.16. 1. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge* (with Qianlong's inscription). 1757. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 68.6 x 38.2 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., "Lingering Snow on Duan Bridge", in *Xihu zhi*.



Plate 6.16. 2. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds* (with Qianlong's inscription). 1757. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 68.4 x 37.8 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., "Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds", in *Xihu zhi*.



Plate 6.16.3. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Breeze and Lotuses in Brewing Courtyard* (with Qianlong's inscription). 1757. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 68.5 x 37 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., "Breeze and Lotuses in Brewing Courtyard", in *Xihu zhi*.

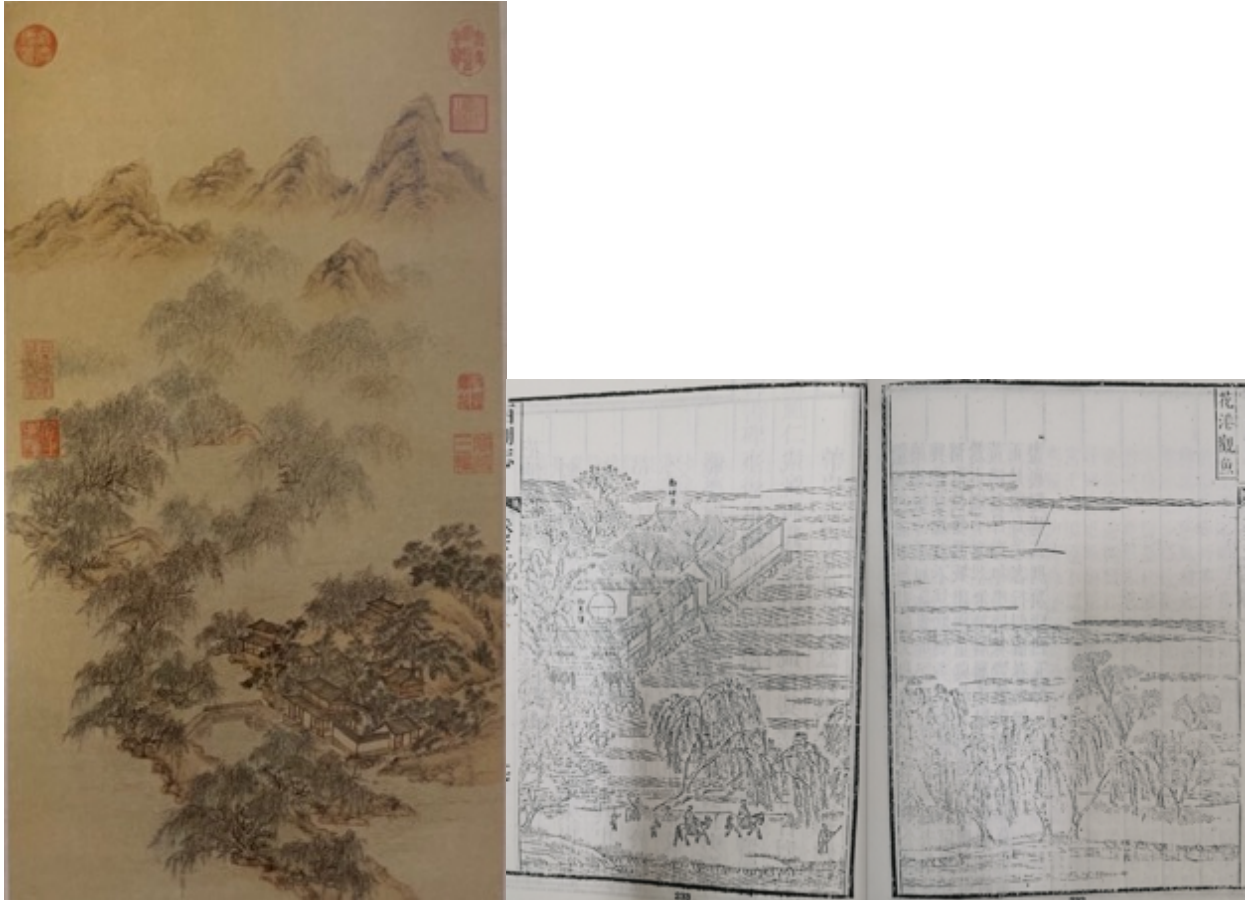


Plate 6.16.4. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Watching Fish at Flower Harbor (with Qianlong's inscription)*. 1757. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 68.2 x 38 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., "Watching Fish at Flower Harbor", in *Xihu zhi*.

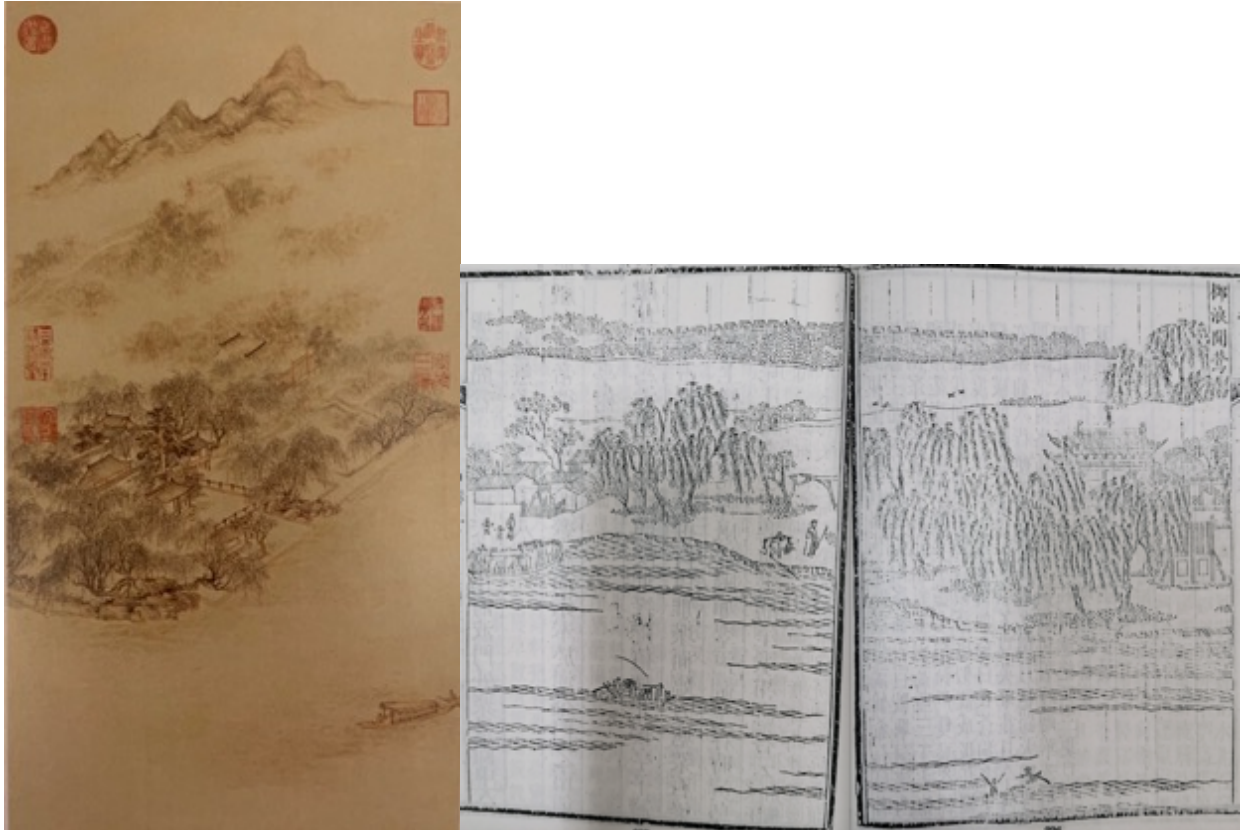


Plate 6.16.5. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Listening to Orioles Amidst Billowing Willows (with Qianlong's inscription)*. 1757. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 68.6 x 37.9 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., "Listening to Orioles Amidst Billowing Willows", in *Xihu zhi*.



Plate 6.16.6. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Spring Dawn breaking over Sudi Causeway*. 18th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 127.8 x 66.4 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., "Listening to Orioles Admist Billowing Willows", in *Xihu zhi*.

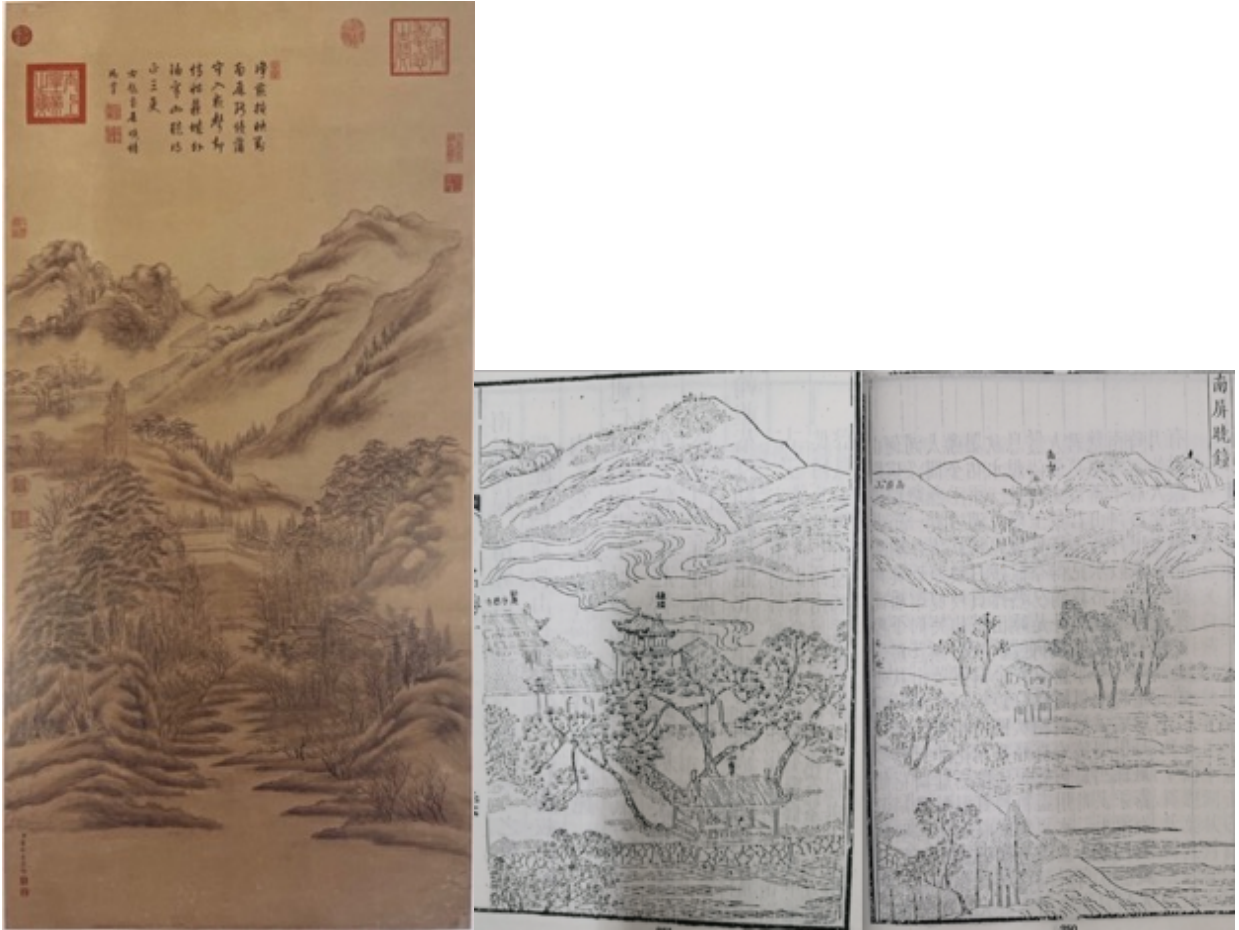


Plate 6.16.7. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Evening Bell Toll at Nanping*. 18th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 127.3 x 64.3 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., “Evening Bell Toll at Nanping”, in *Xihu zhi*.

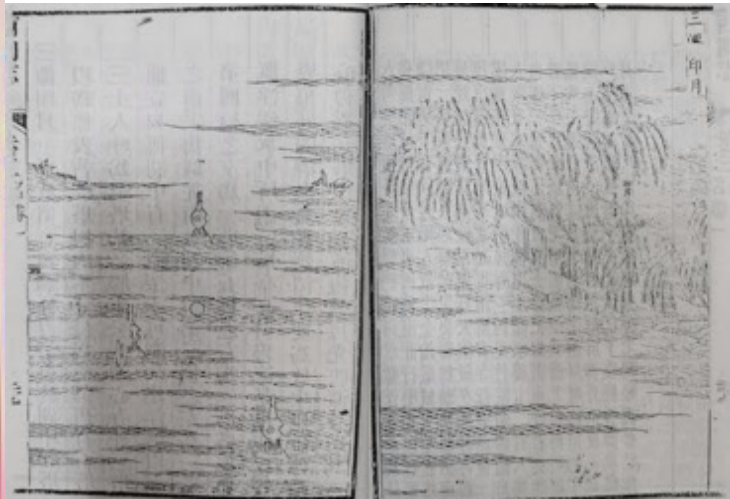


Plate 6.16.8. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Moon Reflected on Three Ponds*. 18th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 126.9 x 66.7 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., “Moon Reflected on Three Ponds”, in *Xihu zhi*.

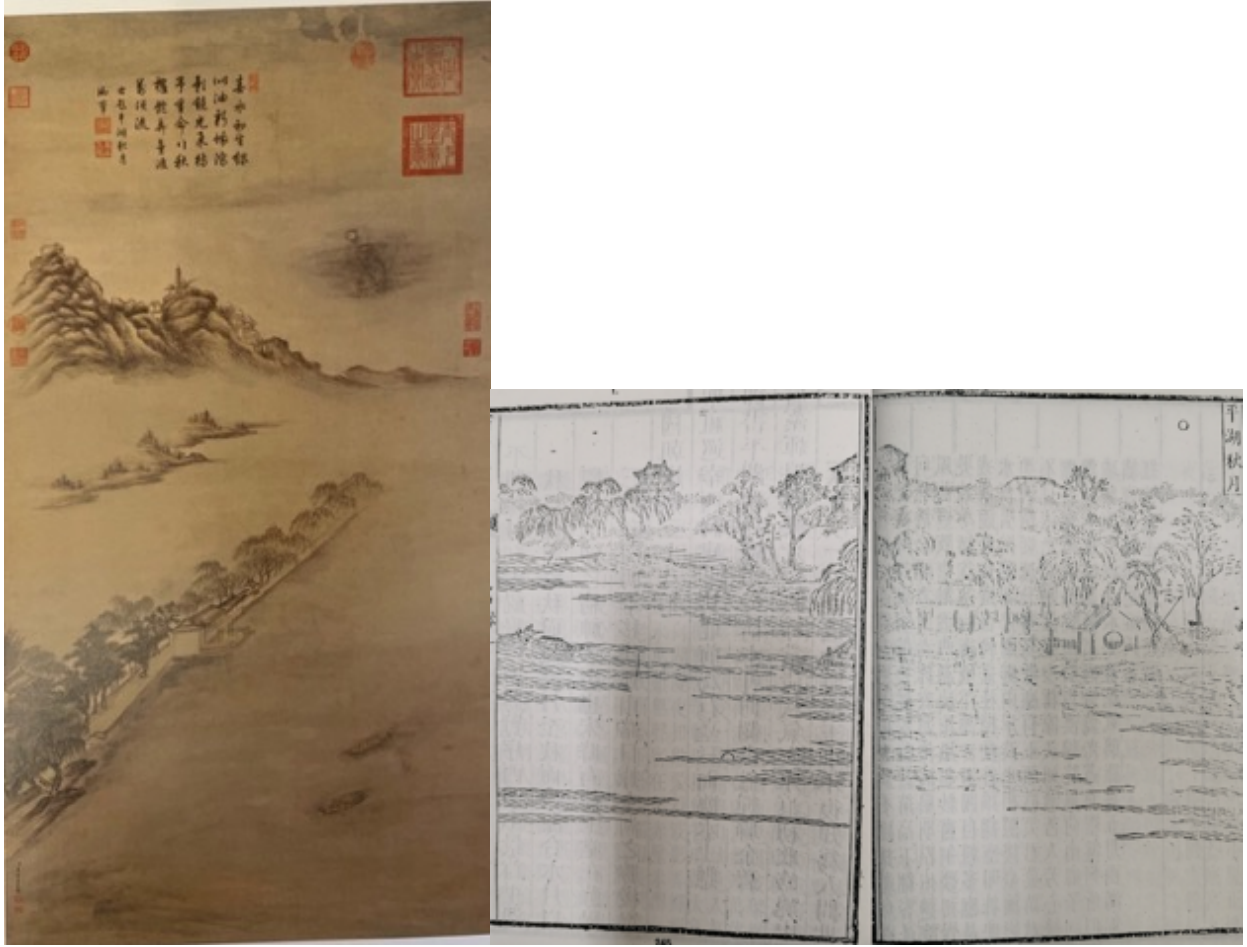


Plate 6.16.9. (Left) Dong Bangda. *Autumnal Moon over Calm Lake*. 18th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 127.3 x 67 cm. The collection of National Palace Museum. (Right) Li Wei et al., “Autumnal Moon over Calm Lake”, in *Xihu zhi*.

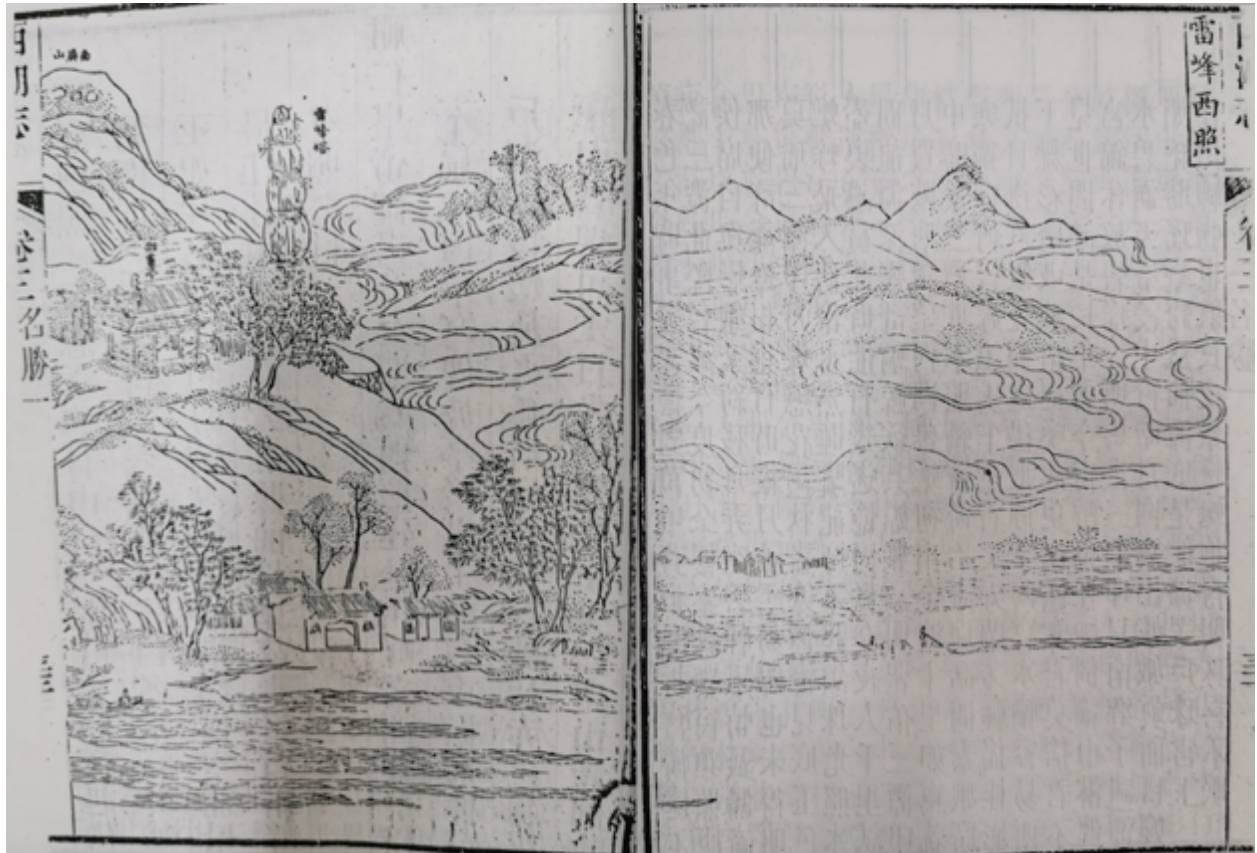


Plate 6.16.10. Li Wei et al., “Evening Glow on Leifeng Pagoda”, in *Xihu zhi*.

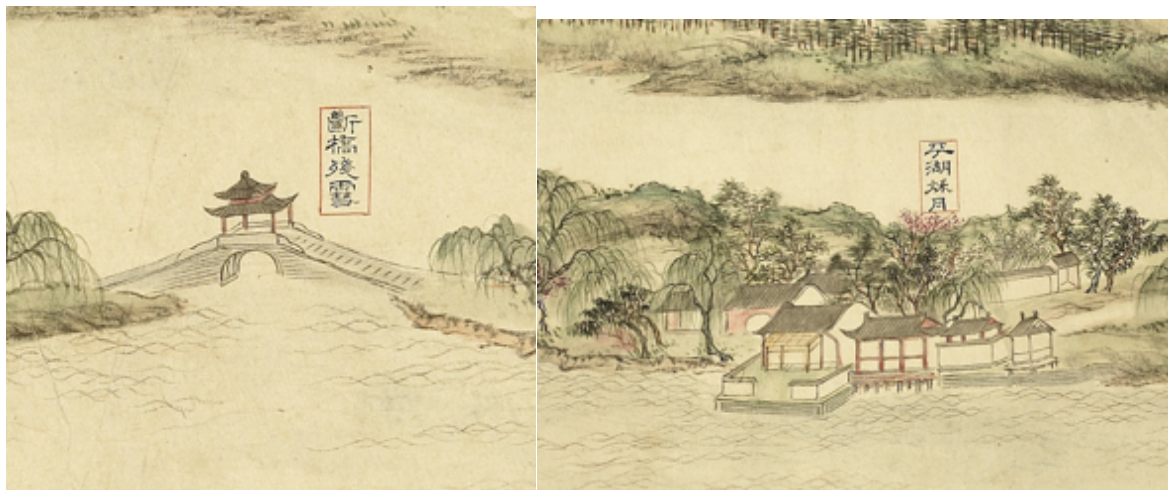


Plate 6.17. Dong Bangda, *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, details.



Plate 6.17 (continued).



Plate 6.17 (continued).



Plate 6.18. Fei Danxu. *Visiting the Plum Blossoms on Gushan*. 1847. Handscroll, ink on paper. 20 x 137 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.

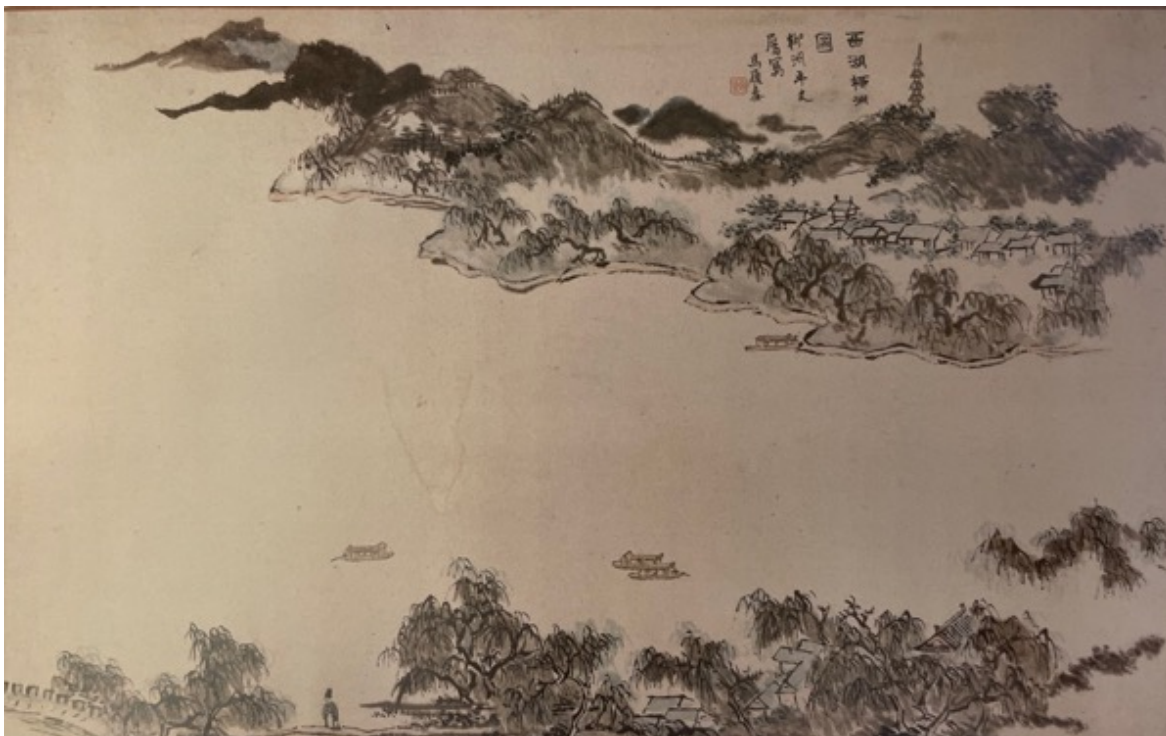


Plate 6.19. Ma Lvtai. *Willow Island on West Lake*. 1816. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 46.6 x 73.3 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.

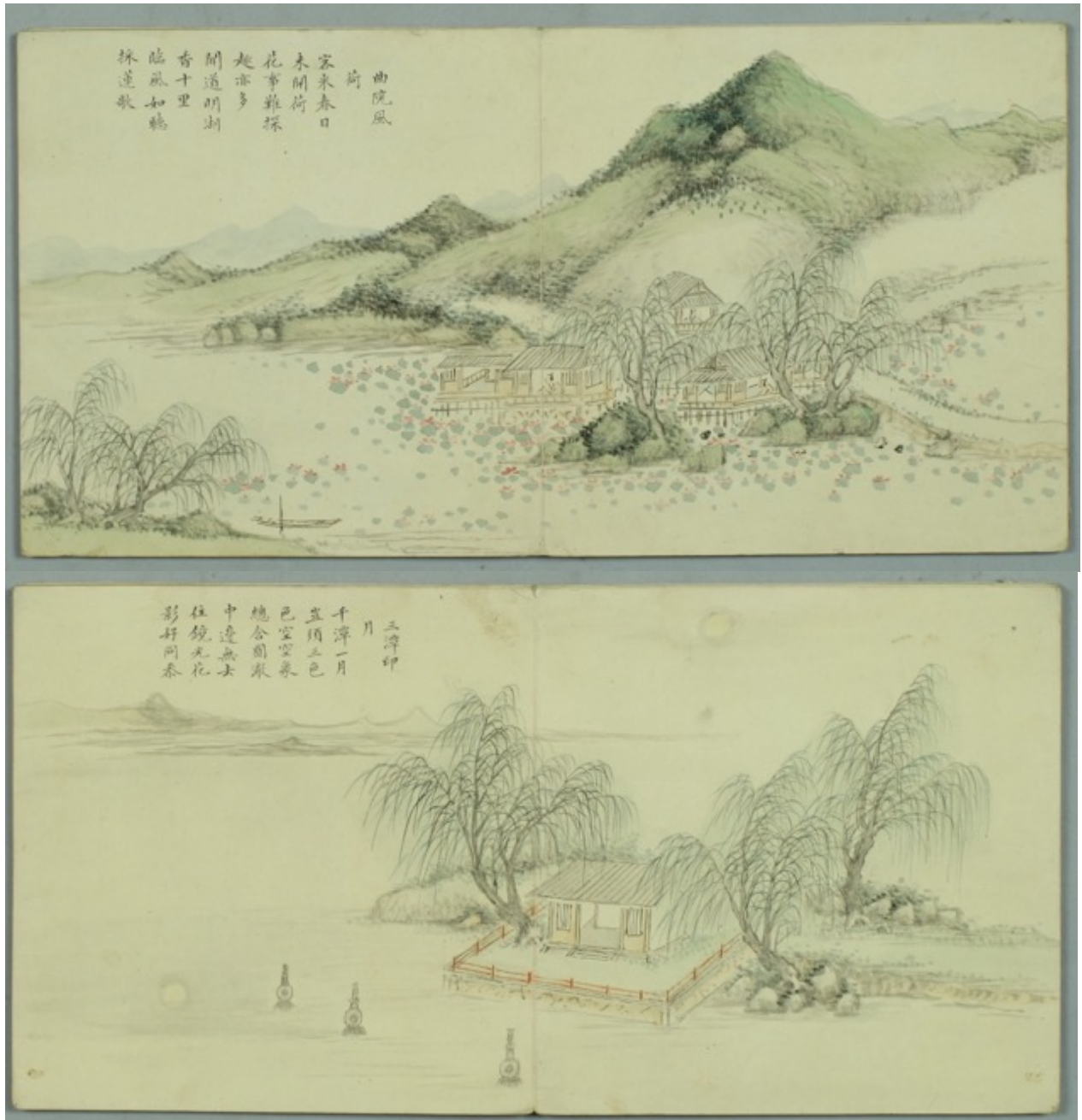


Plate 6.20. Dong Gao. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. 18th century-early 19th century. Album of ten leaves, ink and color on paper. 16.3 x 32.5 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

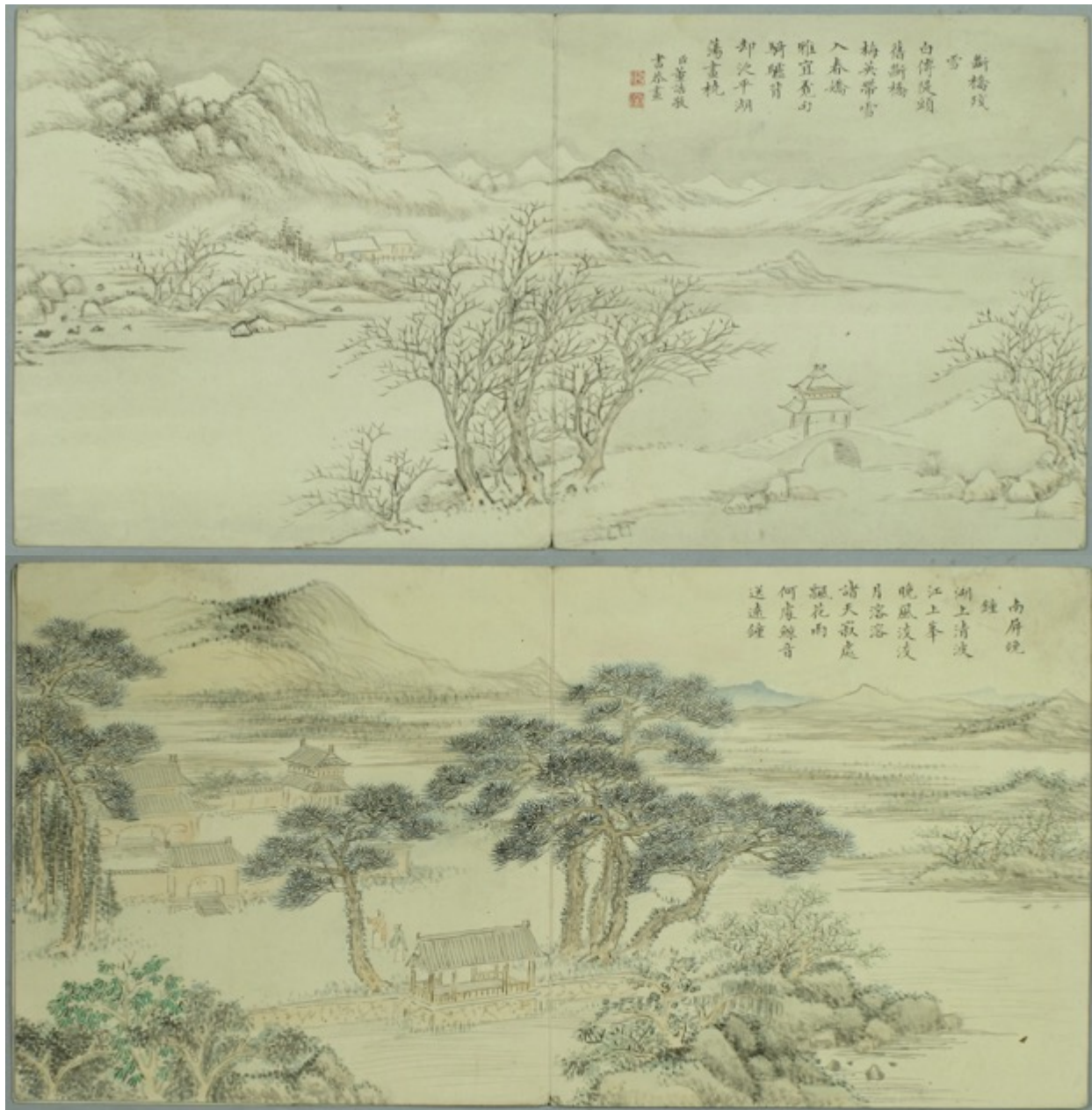


Plate 6.20 (continued).



雷峯西照
 浮屠高矗與
 雲齊湖景偏
 宜日色西千
 飛湖波漾金
 碧六橋掩映
 是蘇堤



平湖秋
 月
 對月吳淞
 春與秋
 湖光清淺
 露華浮
 西冷橋畔
 多芳草
 尚照當年
 舊畫樓

Plate 6.20 (continued).



Plate 6.20 (continued).

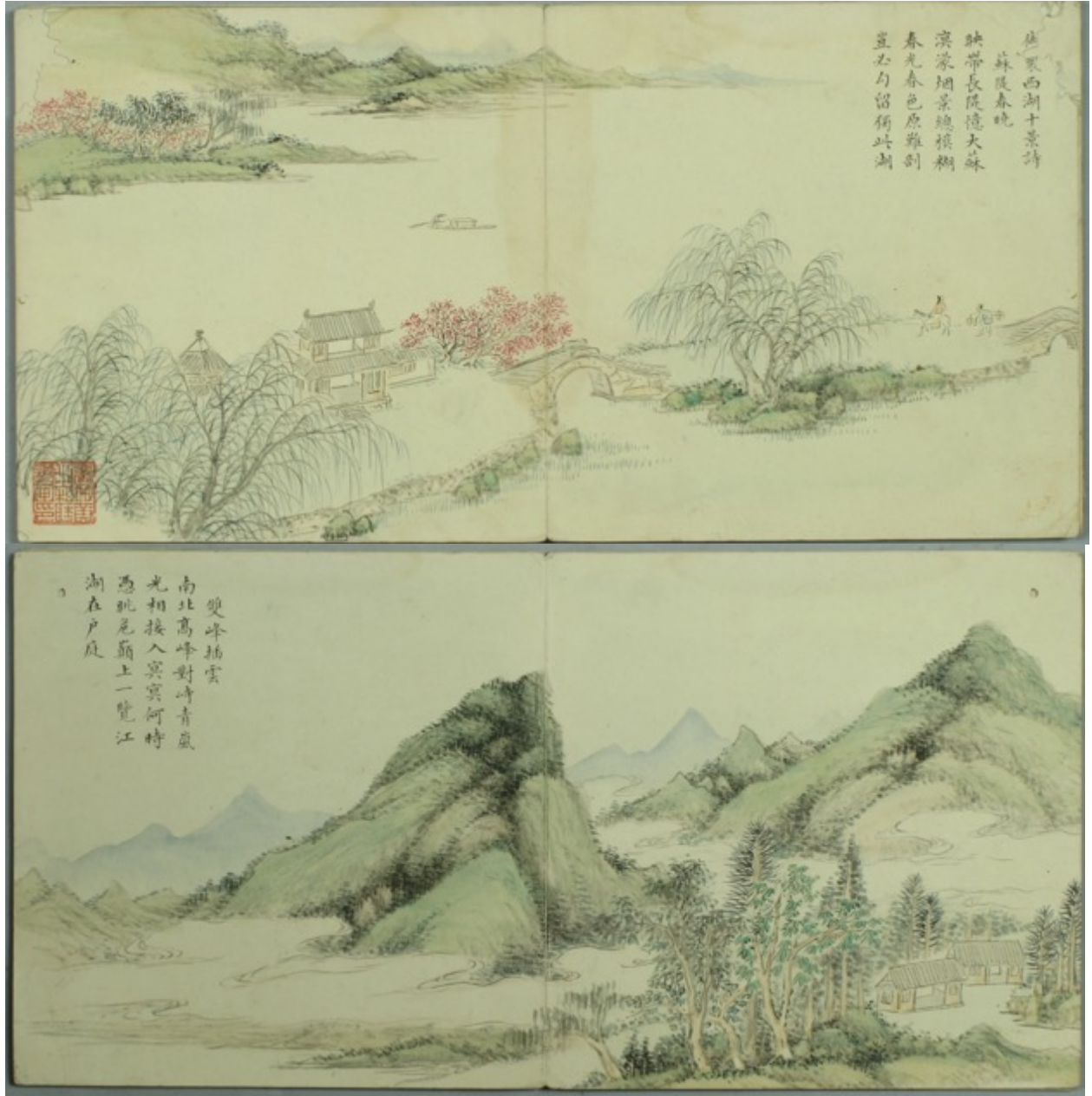


Plate 6.20 (continued).



Plate 6.20 (continued).



Plate 6.21. (Top) Dong Gao. "Moon Reflected on Three Ponds" from *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. (Bottom) Yong Rong. "Moon Reflected on Three Ponds" from *Views of West Lake*.

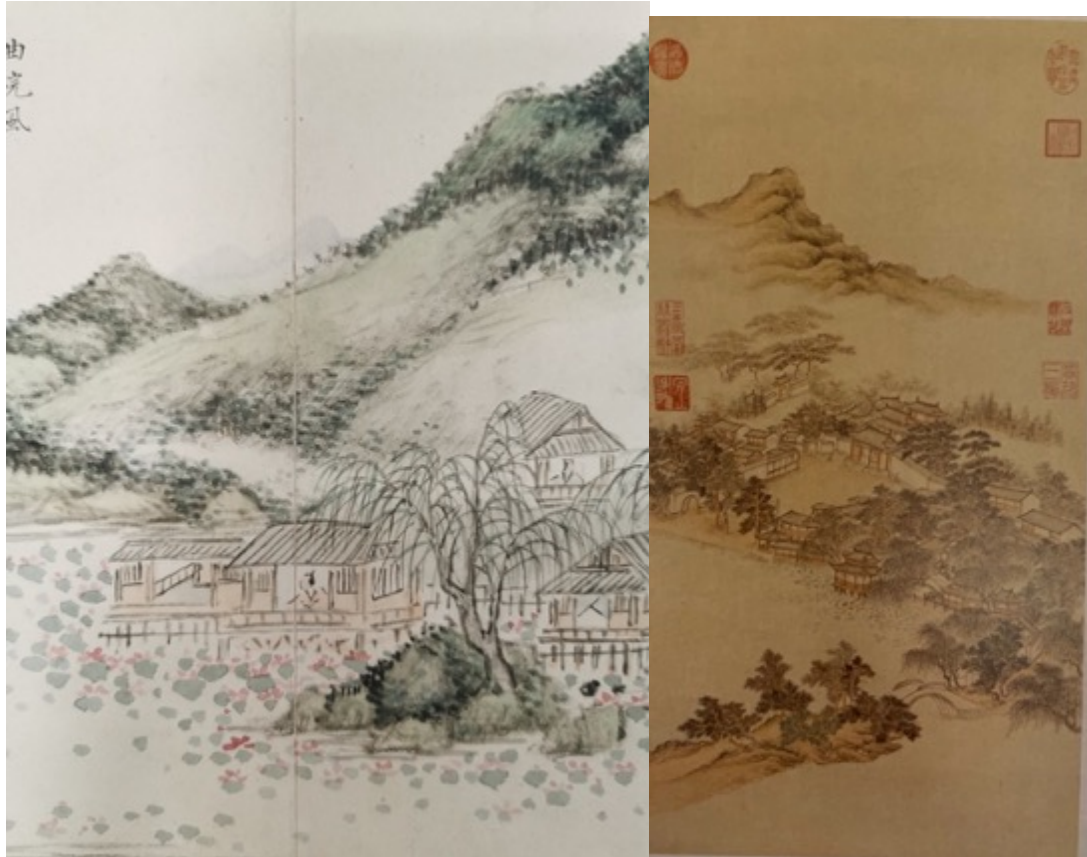


Plate 6.22. (Left) Dong Gao. “Breeze amongst the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard”, in *Ten Scenes of West Lake*, detail. (Right) Dong Bangda. “Breeze amongst the Lotuses of Brewing Courtyard”, in *Ten Scenes of West Lake*.



Plate 6.23. Zhang Zhaolan. "Moon Reflected on Three Ponds", from *Twelve Views of West Lake*. 1834. Album leaf, ink on paper. 31 x 26.5 cm. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou.

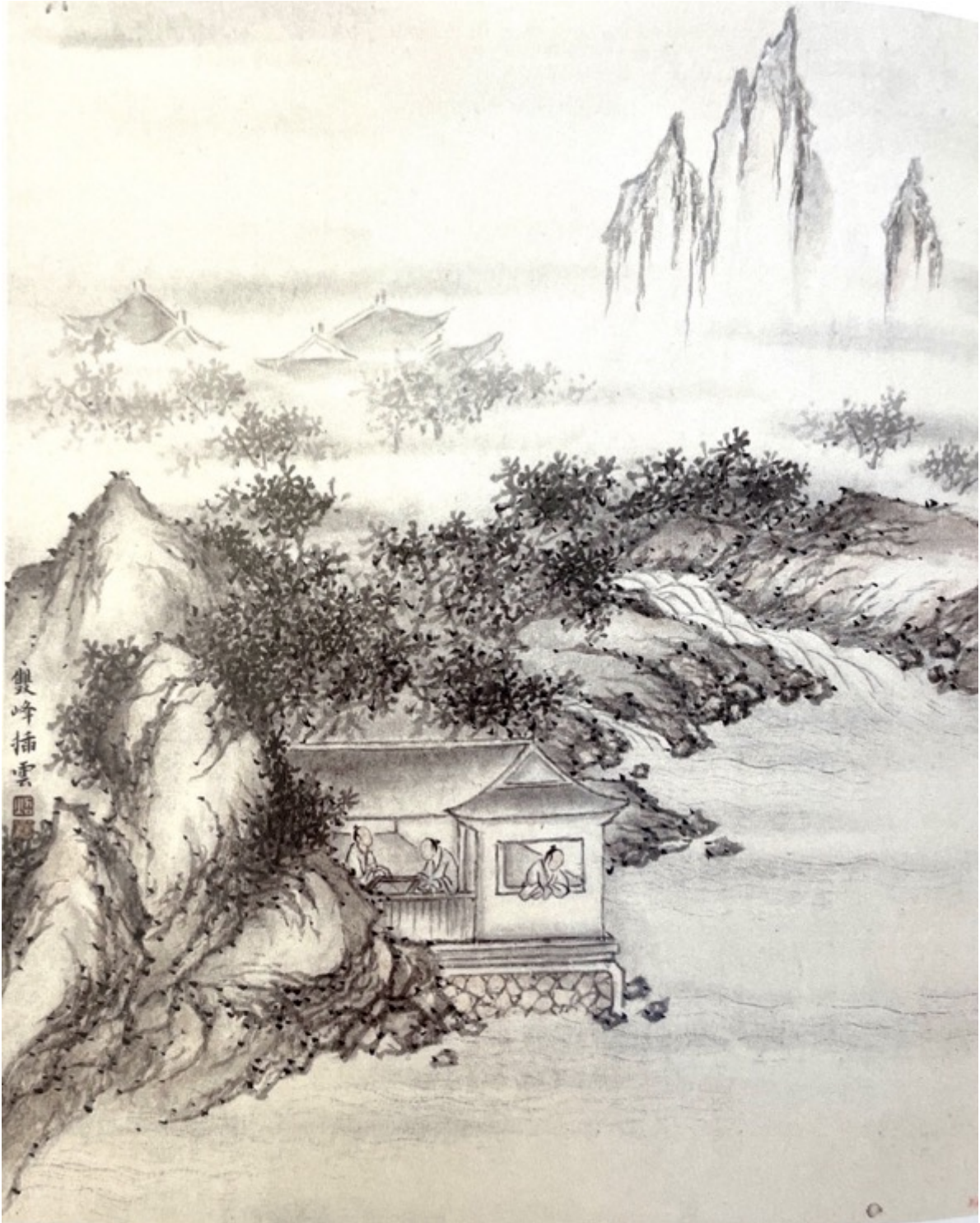


Plate 6.24. Zhang Zhaolan. "Twin Peaks Piecing the Clouds", from *Twelve Views of West Lake*.



Plate 6.25. Embroidery workshop in Zaobanchu, *Dapo yi* robe with views of West Lake.



Plate 6.26. Anonymous artisan from Suzhou. *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. 1757. Color on woodblock print. 93.5 x 104 cm. Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts.



Plate 6.27. (Left) Ding Yingzong 丁應宗 (18th century). *Ten Scenes of West Lake*. Before 1728. Color on woodblock print. 105.7 x 56.5 cm. Ōshajō bijutsu hōmotsukan. (Right). Anonymous. *Scenic Views of West Lake*. Qianlong reign (1736-1796). Color on woodblock print. 101.7 x 56.4 cm. Private Collection.



Plate 6.28. Anonymous. *Temporary Palace on West Lake*. 18th century. Color on woodblock print using register method. 99.6 x 57.3 cm. Ōshajō bijutsu hōmotsukan. Image scanned from *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng*.



Plate 6.29. Anonymous. *Ten Scenes of Hangzhou's West Lake along with scenes of the Shengyin, Tianzhu, and Yunlin Monasteries*. Yongzheng reign. Color on woodblock print. 110.2 x 57.6 cm. Ōshajō bijutsu hōmotsukan. Image scanned from *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng*.



Plate 6.30. Wang Family. *Imperial Poems on Scenic Attraction of West Lake*. Inkstone. Original size unknown. The collection of National Palace Museum.



Plate 6.31. Anonymous. *Vase with Views of West Lake*. Qianlong reign. Porcelain. Original size unknown. West Lake Museum, Hangzhou. Photo taken by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 6.32. *Vase with Views of West Lake*, details in sketches. Image created by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 6.33. Mushi ju workshop, *Plate with landscape of the West Lake*. Early 18th century. Porcelain with powder blue glaze and gold decoration. H: 3.8 cm; Diam: 26.7 cm. Diam of foot: 15.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Shirley M. Mueller, 2018. 2018.892.



Plate 6.34. Anonymous. Jar decorated with the Ten Scenes of West Lake. Kangxi reign (1662-1722). Porcelain. The Art Institute of Chicago. 1997.396. Photos taken by Yunfei Shao.



Plate 6.35. Tang Dai and Shen Yuan. “Autumnal Moon Reflected in a Calm lake”, in *Forty Views of Yuanming Yuan Garden*. 1860 reprint of 1744 original. Album leaf. Color print. Bibliotheque Nationale de France.



Plate 6.36. Dong Bangda, *Views of “Shengyin zonghui”* in the style of *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace*. Approx. 1751. Handscroll, ink on paper. 37 x 90 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing.



Plate 6.37. Zhang Zongcang. *Eight Scenes of West Lake Palace*. 18th century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 94 x 260 cm. Changzhou Museum.



Plate 6.38. Anonymous. *Most up-to-date landscape of West Lake*. 1925. Multi-color print. Private collection.



Plate 7.1. Lan Shen 藍深 (active 17th century). *Leifeng Pagoda*. 17th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 179.8 x 47.75 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum.



Plate 7.2. Sidney Gamble. *Leifeng Pagoda*. 1908. Photograph. Sidney D. Gamble Photographs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

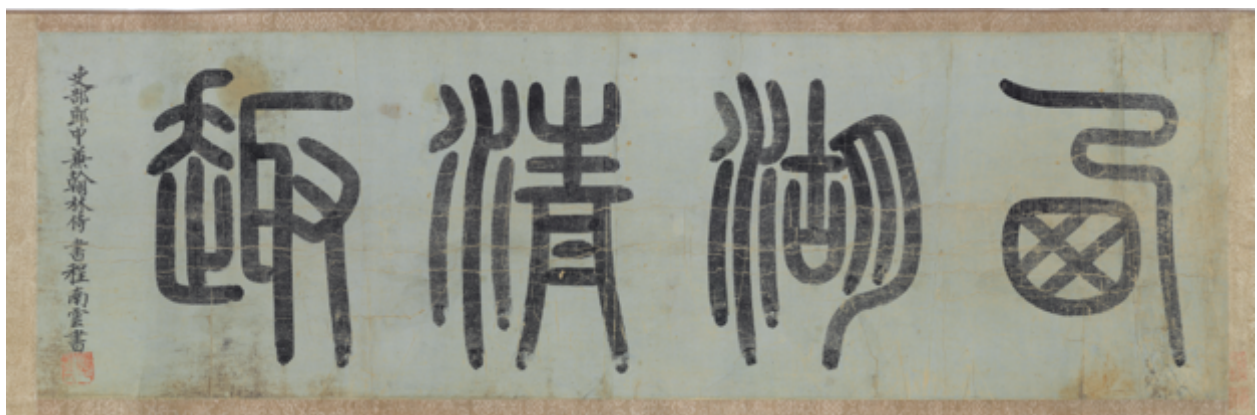


Plate 8.1. (Attributed to) Cheng Nanyun. “Xi Hu Qing Qu” inscription on *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*.



Plate 8.2. Anonymous. "Map of West Lake", from *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*.

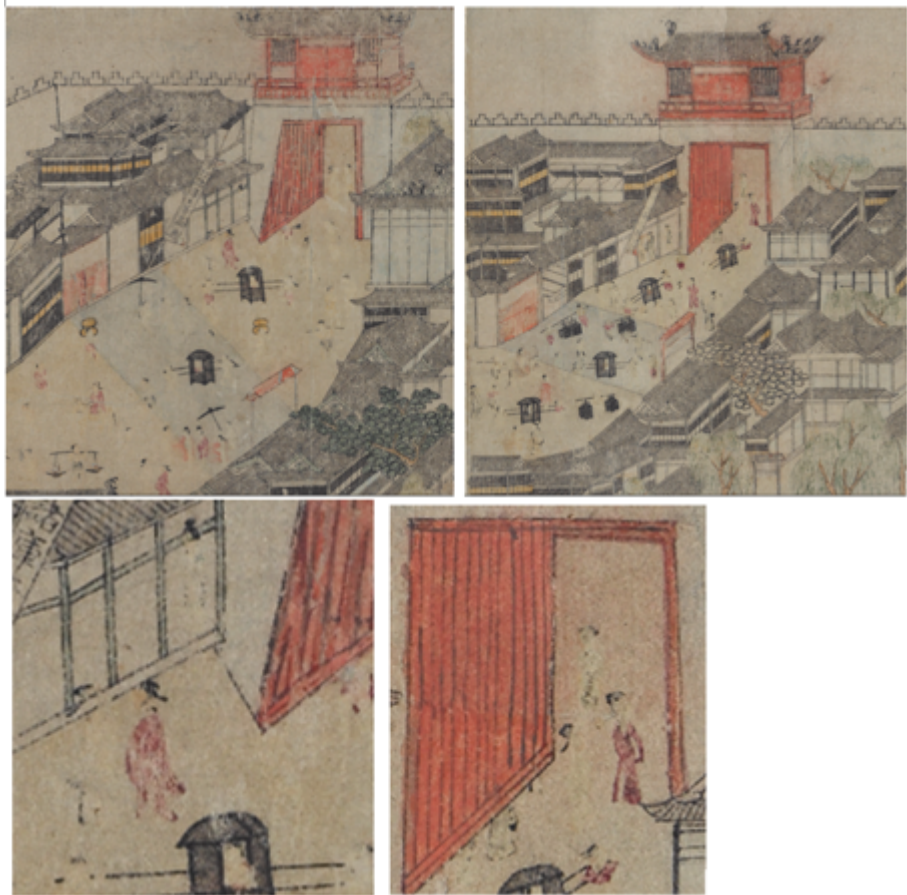


Plate 8.3. (Left) The beginning of *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. (Right) The last section of *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*.

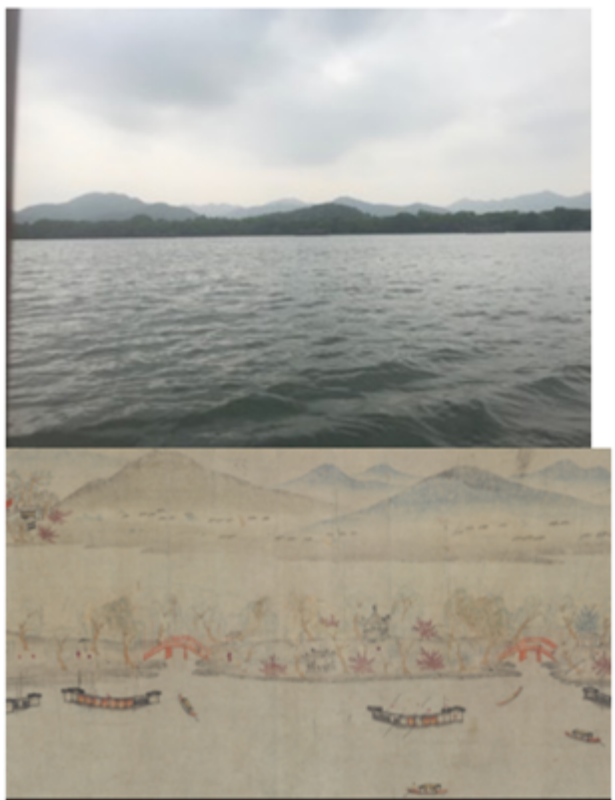


Plate 8.4 (Top) Photo taken from a boat on West Lake. 2019. Photo taken by Yunfei Shao.
(Bottom) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail.



Plate 8.5. Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, details.



Plate 8.6. Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, details.



Plate 8.7. Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, details.



Plate 8.8. (Top) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail. (Bottom) Dai Jin, *Fishing at the shore of Wei River*, detail.



Plate 8.9. (Top) Detail from *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*. (Middle) (Attributed to) Dai Jin. *Ten Thousand Li of Yangzi*, detail. Undated. Handscroll, watercolor on paper. 34.3 x 1117.2 cm. Cleveland Museum Of Art. 1948.140. (Bottom) Xu Yang, *Southern Inspection Tour*, detail.

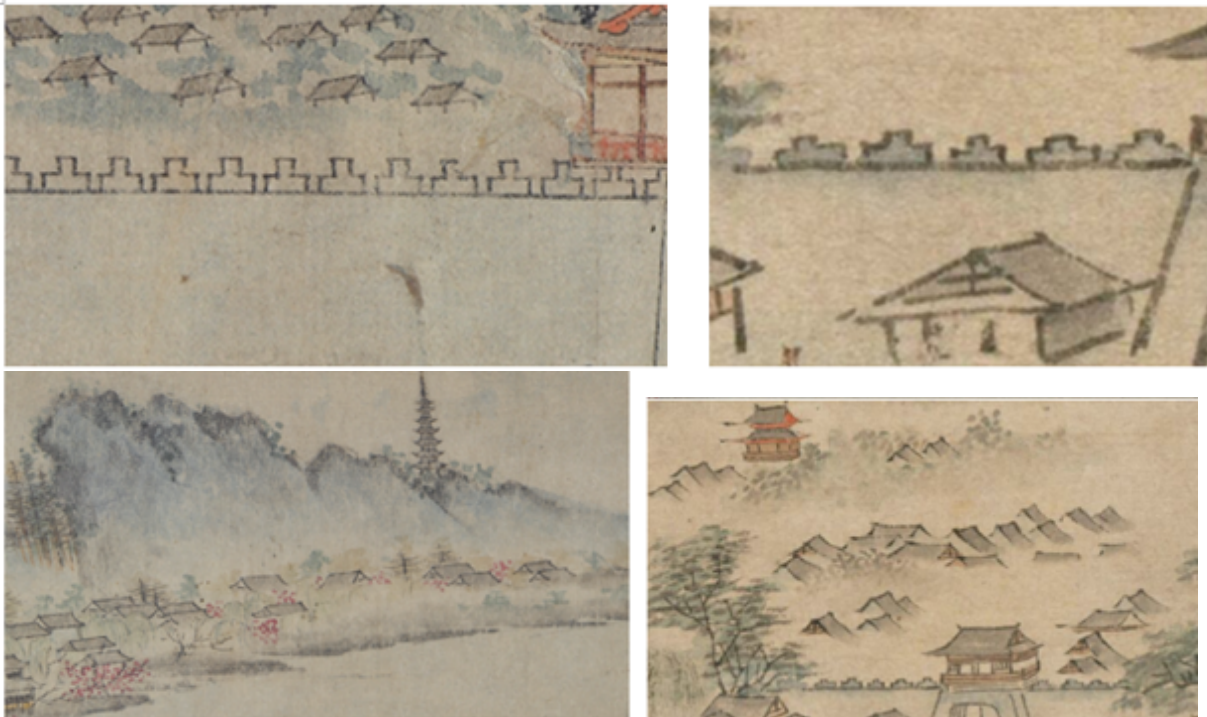


Plate 8.10. (Left) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, details.
 (Right) (Attributed to) Dai Jin. *Ten Thousand Li of Yangzi*, details.



Plate 8.11. (Left) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail. (Right) Anonymous, *Going Upriver on the Qingming Festival*, detail. Approx. 18th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 29.2 x 645.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1911. 11.170.

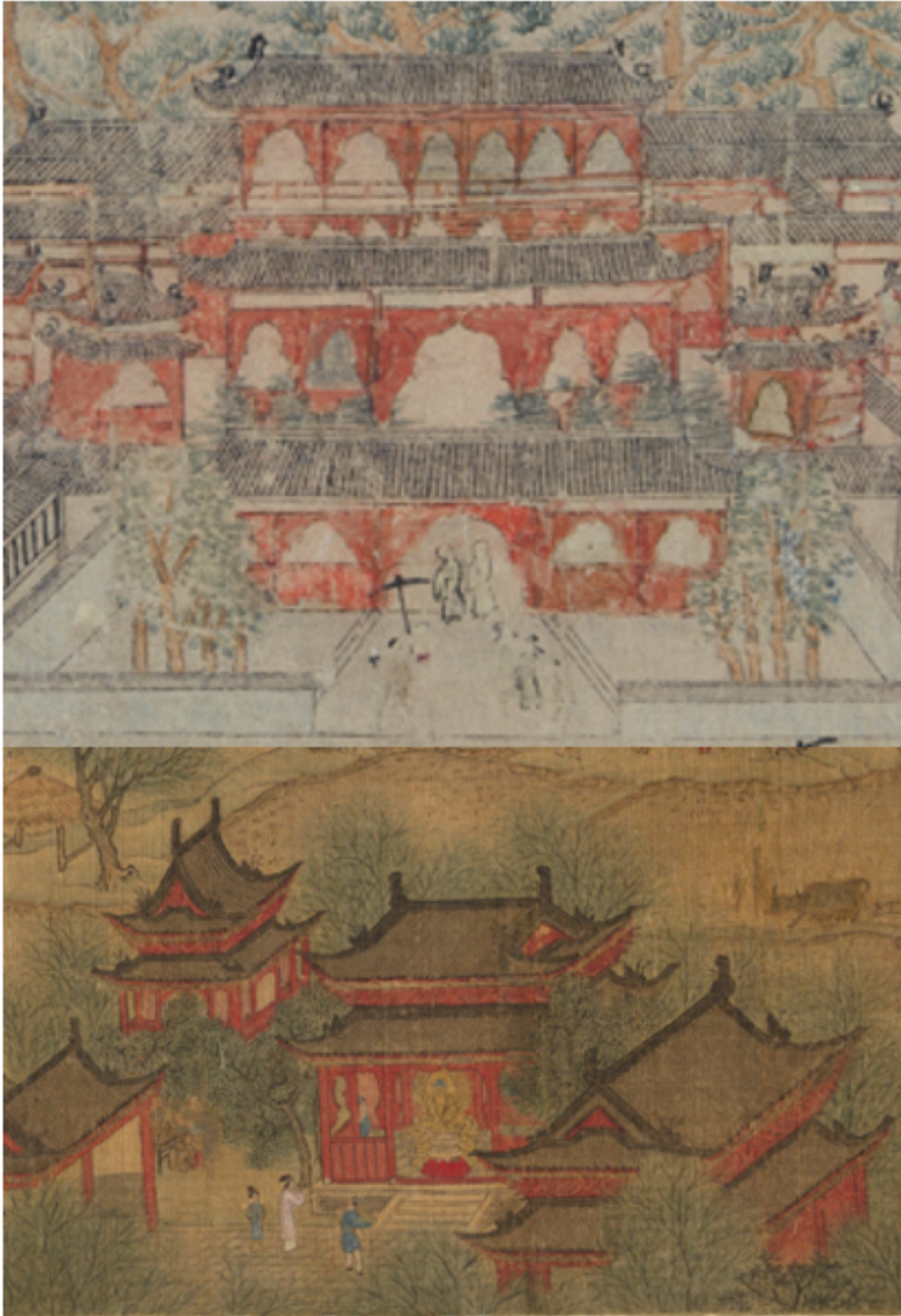


Plate 8.12. (Top) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail. (Bottom) Anonymous, *Spring Festival on the River*. Approx. 18th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 29.8 x 1004.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From the Collection of A. W. Bahr, Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1947. 47.18.1.

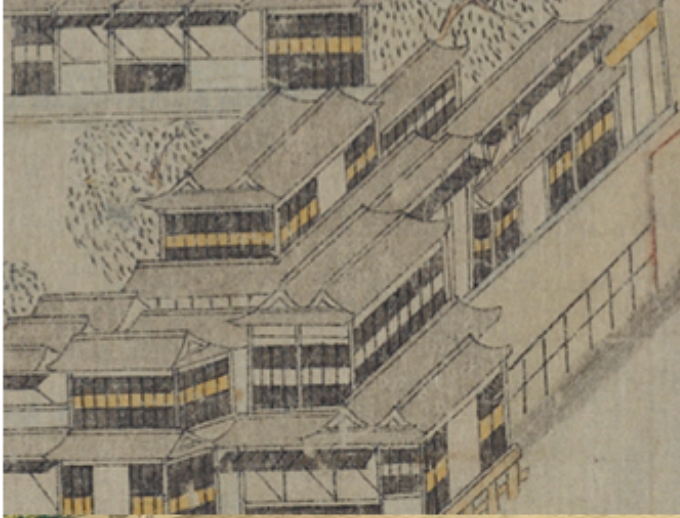


Plate 8.13. (Top) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, detail. (Mid) (Bottom) Xu Yang. *Burgeoning Life in a Resplendent Age*, details. 1759. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 35.8 x 1225 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum.

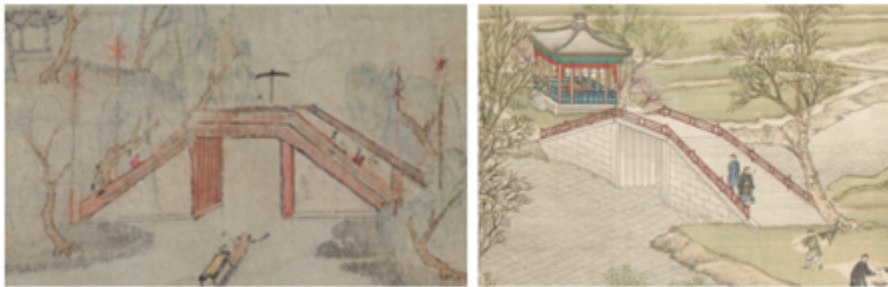


Plate 8.14. (Left) Anonymous. *Scenic Attractions of West Lake*, details. (Right) Xu Yang, “Staying in Gusu”, from *Southern Inspection Tour*, details.

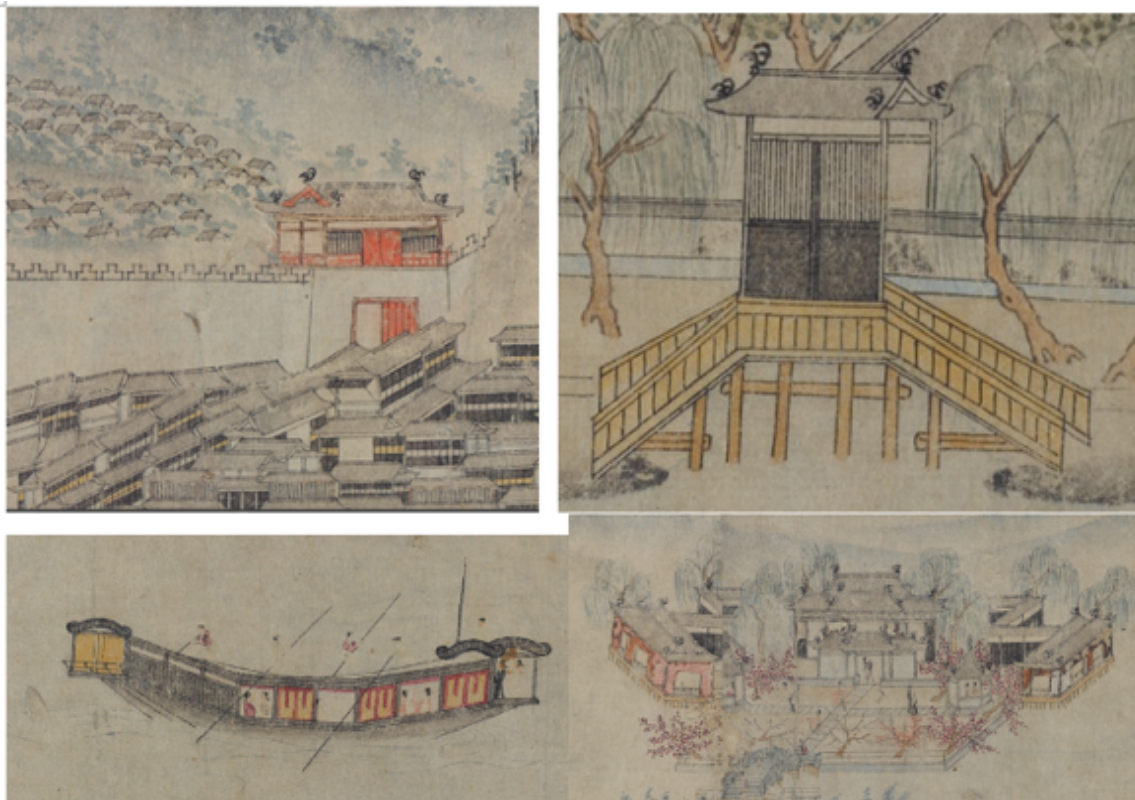


Plate 8.15. Details of *Scenic Attractions of West Lake* showing inconsistencies in the treatment of space.