

---

---

# **Landscape Improvement and Scenic Sites in Pre-Modern China: a critical review**

---

---

by

**KAIRAN LI**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Landscape

University of Sheffield

United Kingdom

August 2009

## **Contents**

<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND DIAGRAMS.....</b>	<b>VI</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>XIII</b>
<b>FOREWORD .....</b>	<b>XIV</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....</b>	<b>XV</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
 <i>Historic landscape improvement: scenic sites.....</i>	<i>4</i>
 <i>Framework.....</i>	<i>8</i>
 <i>Historic sources.....</i>	<i>12</i>
 <i>Translating, interpreting and keyword search .....</i>	<i>16</i>
 <i>Terms of reference .....</i>	<i>17</i>
 <i>Nature .....</i>	<i>17</i>
 <i>Scenery and landscape .....</i>	<i>18</i>
 <i>Place .....</i>	<i>20</i>

Recreation and leisure .....	22
<b>CHAPTER 2. PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT .....</b>	<b>25</b>
Dynasties, territory and research area .....	25
Physical background and character of agricultural civilization .....	31
Economic Context.....	35
The common land policy .....	36
Philosophical context.....	40
<b>CHAPTER 3. SCENIC SITES AS A COMMON CONCERN .....</b>	<b>45</b>
A. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SCENIC SITES:THE IMPORTANCE OF BAJING AND THE STATISTICS .....	45
<i>Bajing: a widespread phenomenon .....</i>	48
<i>Eight Scenes of real landscape versus Eight Views of painting .....</i>	53
<i>Etymology of Bajing and the number eight .....</i>	58
<i>Typical examples of Bajing .....</i>	65
<i>Types and use of scenic places recorded in Bajing .....</i>	67
<i>Current development .....</i>	71
<i>Conclusions from the analysis.....</i>	73
B. LITERARY REPRESENTATION OF NATURE AND SCENIC SITES.....	75
<i>Roots of Bajing in the custom of literary expression of landscape appreciation .....</i>	76
<i>Nature and scenic sites represented in Chinese literary works .....</i>	83
C. HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF SCENIC SITES: THE EXAMPLE OF JIAXING.....	91

<i>Eight Scenes of Jiaxing .....</i>	91
<i>The history of landscape adaptation of the Southern Lake.....</i>	97
<b>D. SCENIC SITES AS THE IDEAL RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT AND SOURCE OF GARDEN DESIGN.....</b>	<b>111</b>
<i>Ideal residential environment: living in a scenic site as a hermit.....</i>	114
<i>The imitation of natural landscape in an inner-city residential environment: 'a hermit's life' as a garden design theme .....</i>	117
<i>Scenic sites as a basis for understanding classic garden design .....</i>	118
<b>CHAPTER 4. CONFUCIANISM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN LANDSCAPE IMPROVEMENT .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>A. CIVIL SERVICE RECRUITMENT: THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM BASED ON CONFUCIAN EDUCATION.....</b>	<b>126</b>
<i>Development of civil service recruitment.....</i>	127
<i>Influence of Confucian education and the literati.....</i>	131
<b>B. VIEWS OF NATURE IN CONFUCIANISM .....</b>	<b>136</b>
<i>The significance of Nature in Confucianism.....</i>	136
<i>Location of traditional Confucian schools in scenic sites .....</i>	143
<i>and the influence of this on literati and scholar officials .....</i>	143
<b>C. LANDSCAPE IMPROVEMENT INFLUENCED BY CONFUCIANISM .....</b>	<b>149</b>
<i>Landscape practice of the Confucian scholar-official.....</i>	150
<i>The collaboration of individual scholar officials, Buddhist and Daoist monks for scenic improvement and maintenance.....</i>	157
<b>CHAPTER 5. CULTURAL VALUES IN RESPECT OF NATURE .....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>A. VIEWS OF NATURE IN MYTHOLOGY AND DAOISM WITH THEIR INFLUENCE ON SCENIC SITES.....</b>	<b>165</b>

<i>Mythology of shen-xian, mainly inherited in later Daoism .....</i>	166
<i>The view of Nature in Daoism.....</i>	169
<i>Daoist orders in scenic sites and their contribution to landscape.....</i>	175
<i>Cave-world thought and the system of scenic landscape in Daoism .....</i>	180
<i>The image of wonderland in mythology and Daoism as the influence of the island-style paradigm in scenic improvement .....</i>	184
<b>B. VIEWS OF NATURE IN BUDDHISM AND CHAN, AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION .....</b>	<b>191</b>
<i>Chan Buddhist thought: the sudden full comprehension of life through metaphors on natural landscape.....</i>	193
<i>Location of Buddhist monastery and temples.....</i>	197
<i>Contribution to scenic improvement by Buddhist orders .....</i>	201
<b>C. VIEWS AND VISIONS OF NATURE IN FOLK TRADITION.....</b>	<b>205</b>
<i>Nature worship and ideas of comparability between the human body and the natural landscape .....</i>	205
<i>Site selection practices described as Fengshui: Nature as a symbolic system for indicating fortune .....</i>	210
<i>Festivals with vestiges of ancient Nature worship and outdoor customs of these festivals .....</i>	217
<i>Scenic improvements influenced by outdoor leisure customs.....</i>	221
<i>The integration of 'pilgrim' and 'sightseeing' .....</i>	233
<b>CHAPTER 6. THE CONSUMPTION OF SCENIC SITES AND CHANGING LEISURE PATTERNS .....</b>	<b>236</b>
<b>A. COMMERCIAL FACILITIES IN SCENIC SITES AND THE EARLY APPEARANCE OF TOURISM.....</b>	<b>239</b>

B. LEISURE TIME AND FESTIVAL HOLIDAYS .....	244
C. CHANGES OF RECREATIONAL BEHAVIOUR ALONG WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCENIC SITES.....	247
<i>The social context of changing leisure patterns.....</i>	247
<i>Games change from intense and competitive to cooperative and entertaining.....</i>	249
Ball Games as example .....	250
Polo as example.....	255
<i>People change from active participation to passively watching.....</i>	258
Jiaoli, wrestling and martial arts as exmaple .....	259
D. CHANGED RECREATIONAL BEHAVIOUR INTEGRATES WELL WITH SCENIC SITES .....	262
<i>The popularity of uncompetitive games and passive leisure .....</i>	263
<i>The popularity of watching and enjoying .....</i>	264
CONCLUSION .....	267
<b>CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>268</b>

## **Table of illustrations and diagrams**

Figure 2.1 Territory of China in the Qin dynasty(in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	28
Figure 2.2 Territory of China in the Western Han dynasty(in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	28
Figure 2.3 Territory of China in the Tang dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	29
Figure 2.4 Territory of China in the Northern Song dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	29
Figure 2.5 Territory of China in the Southern Song dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	29
Figure 2.6 Territory of China in the Yuan dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	29
Figure 2.7 Territory of China in the Ming dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	29
Figure 2.8 Territory of China in the Qing dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line) .....	29
Figure 3.1 Bajing of Yangcheng, including titles, illustrations, and poems for each scene (source: Gazette of Yangcheng in Qing dynasty) .....	46
Figure 3.2 This scroll of Xiaoxiang Eight Views painted by Zhangyuan, c. 1660 was inspired by the Eight Scene genre landscape painting, which had gained popularity since the eleventh century. The first famous artist of this genre painting was Song-Di, a Song government official, noted to be especially gifted in landscape painting and renowned for his “Eight Scenes of Xiaoxiang”. The titles of Eight Scenes in this scroll	

are the same as the ones first used by Song-Di. (Source: Shanghai Museum; scenes depicted in the order as seen on the scroll from right to left, dimensions: 19cm x 519cm, ink on silk) ..... 46-48

Figure 3.3 Woodblock prints made by Japanese artist Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) and other similar 'Eight Scenes' show the influence of Bajing in the Far East and indicate the popularity of the genre (Source: Eight Scenes After Snow in the East Capital, Japan 东都雪见八景; private collection) ..... 49-50

Figure 3.4 The distribution of the collected examples of Bajing in China (one map shows in number and one in dots) ..... 52

Figure 3.5 Territory of China during the Northern Song Dynasty (in red) compared with the present territory of China. ..... 52

Figure 3.6 Three of the Ten Views from a Thatched Hall by Lu Hong (early eighth century), imitated by Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), (Album leaves, ink and colour on paper. Source: Collection of Beijing Old Palace Museum, Beijing, China). ..... 55

Figure 3.7 The Eight Diagrams of Yi (易): Each diagram is a symbolic sign representing of a certain colour, direction, animal, season, geographical physiognomy, number, etc. (Source: Wei Shi 施维, Zhouyi bagua tujie [Pictures and Explanation of Yi] 周易八卦图解 (Chengdu 成都: Bashu Press 巴蜀出版社, 2003) ..... 61

Figure 3.8 'Bajingtai' rebuilt in Ganzhou, Jiangxi Province; this platform was originally constructed on the city wall of Ganzhou in eleventh century. It was named 'the platform with Eight Scenes', but since the associated poetry described ten scenes the discrepancy between this and the number in its title was explained by Su Shi. This now provides a helpful understanding to the historic use of the number eight in Bajing. (Source: Tourism Bureau of Ganzhou) ..... 63

Figure 3.9 Diagram of subjects depicted on 100 random selected 'Eight Scenes' providing a total of 812 scenes ..... 69

Figure 3.10 part of the painting Chibi tu 赤壁图, by Wu Yuanzhi 金 武元直, 12<sup>th</sup> century, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Taipei.....84

Figure 3.11 scroll of Luyin qinghua tu (literally means Talking under the Green Shade) 绿阴清话图, by Wen Zhengming, Ming dynasty 明 文徵明, ink on paper 轴 纸本墨笔, size 131.8cmX32cm, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing.....84

Figure 3.12 Public leisure places in Jiahe of the Qing Dynasty (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries) were celebrated in landscape drawings and in poetry, which in this instance were inscribed onto slates. The scenes shown differ somewhat from those on the long scroll (Fig.13), since both landscape and the taste changed over time. Jiahe Eight Scenes and poems calligraphy from the Qing Dynasty. 嘉禾八景 砖刻图碑 (Source: slates engraved by Xu-Yaoguang, from sketches by Li-Minshu, located in the Centre Island of Nanhu Lake in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province). ..... 92-93

Figure 3.13 Public leisure places in Jiahe of the Yuan Dynasty (thirteenth to fourteenth century) were celebrated in landscape drawings and in poetry and prose, which were integrated into a long scroll , each scene with a descriptive poem; read from right to left, the whole scroll was painted with the four character title ‘Jia-he Ba-jing’ first, then the painter’s name, date, a preface, the main body of all scenes, followed by more prose about the scenery. Scroll painting of Jiahe Eight Scenes by Wu Zhen (1280-1354), Yuan Dynasty, dimensions: 37.5x 566cm. (Source: collection of Taipei Old Palace Museum)..... 94

Figure 3.14 Bird-eye view of the central island in the Southern lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau).....100

Figure 3.15 The central island in the Southern lake, Jiaxing, viewed from the lake bank (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)..... 100

Figure 3.16 The designed scenery and the pond in the peninsular of the Southern Lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)..... 104

Figure 3.17 The scenery viewed from the central island, Southern Lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau).....	110
Figure 3.18 The new built memorial building for the Communist Party on bank of the Southern Lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau).....	110
Figure 3.19 Little Golden Hill in the Royal gardens of the imperial summer villa in Chengde, Hebei Province (source: Chengde Tourist Bureau).....	124
Figure 3.20 the real famous scenic place of Golden Hill by the Yangzi River in Zhenjiang Province (source: Zhenjiang Tourist Bureau).....	124
Figure 4.1 the engraved stele showing location of the Bailudong Shuyuan, with stream and hill nearby (photo by Yunwu).....	145
Figure 4.2 the scenery of the stream near the Bailudong Shuyuan (photo by Yunwu).....	145
Figure 4.3 the mountain landscape nearby.....	145
Figure 4.4 the kiosk built in the scenery outside the Bailudong Shuyuan (photo by Yunwu).....	145
Figure 4.5 Drawing of Yunlong Shuyuan in Qing dynasty, showing its location on the Yunlong Hill, outskirt of Xuzhou, in present Jiangsu Province (source: Gazette of Xuzhou Prefecture in the Qing dynasty).....	146
Figure 5.1 The Northern Sea royal garden from the 13th century, Beijing, has an island representing Penglai (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau).....	186
Figure 5.2 The Shuiyunxie Pavilion in Middle Sea royal garden from the 13th century, Beijing, representing Penglai (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau).....	186
Figure 5.3 the bird eye view of Kunming Lake, Beijing (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau).....	186

Figure 5.4 view of the island in centre of Kunming Lake, Beijing (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau).....	186
Figure 5.5 the artificial island Little Yingzhou in the West Lake 西湖小瀛洲, Hangzhou, Zhejiang province (source: Hangzhou Tourist Bureau).....	186
Figure 5.6 one of the Eight Landscape Scenes of Yanjing, painting in 15th century, by Wang Ba, illustrating a kiosk in water centre, collection of the Museum of the Capital, Beijing.....	186
Figure 5.7 kiosk in water centre, West Garden, Suzhou, Jiangsu province 苏州西园湖心亭 (source: Suzhou Tourist Bureau).....	187
Figure 5.8 painting of Yulou chunsi tu 玉楼春思图, c. 12th century, ink and colour on silk 宋佚名纨扇绢本, size 24.4cmX25.7cm, collection of the Museum of Liaoning province .....	189
Figure 5.9 landscape painting of Jiangge yuantiao tu 江阁远眺图, 明 王谔 绢本淡设色 by Wang Er in around 16th century, Ming dynasty, size 143.2cmX229cm, ink and colour on silk, collection of the Old Palace Museum , Beijing.....	189
Figure 5.10 the Mohua Pond and kiosk in Youjun Shrine, Shaoxing, restored in 20th century (photo by the author).....	189
Figure 5.11 water court with kiosk in centre, Wanzhu Garden, Jinan, 16-19th century (source: Jinan Tourist Bureau).....	189
Figure 5.12 the kiosk in water centre used as an opera stage, Heyuan Garden, Yangzhou, 19th century (photo by the author).....	189
Figure 5.13 Furong Kiosk in pond of Furong Village, Yongjia County, 16th century (photo by the author).....	189
Figure 5.14 village school, Cangpo, Yongjia, Zhejiang province, first built in 16th - 19th century 永嘉苍坡村书院. The building is surrounded by artificial river. (photo	

by the author).....	190
Figure 5.15 detail of the ‘island’ and ‘water’ in dry sea (photo by the author)....	190
Figure 5.16 Woodblock print, from Huancuitang Yuanjingtu, illustrating the garden of Wang Tingna, where people sit around a specially designed table playing ‘the drinking game of drifting goblet’, c.1610. Gest Oriental Library, Princeton.....	227
Figure 5.17 part of the painting of Lanting yaji tu 兰亭雅集图, by Wen Zhengming, Ming Dynasty, illustrating people playing goblet drifting game at waterside, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing.....	227
Figure 5.18 the channel in the Kiosk of Qishang in Ningshou Palace Garden 宁寿宮花园禊赏亭内流杯渠.....	227
Figure 5.19 the relics of channel for drifting goblet in Yuanming Garden 圆明园..	227
Figure 5.20 kiosk for goblet drifting game, Beijing.....	228
Figure 5.21 The relics of channel for drifting goblet game in a courtyard in 13th century, Wangxie’s House 南京王谢故居, Nanjing, Jiangsu province (source: Nanjing Tourist Bureau).....	228
Figure 5.22 the restored channel in the courtyard of Laiyan Hall 来燕堂, Wangxie’s House, Nanjing, 13th century (source: Nanjing Tourist Bureau). ....	228
Figure 5.23 wood print illustration of Qiantang River with people on bank watching the tide, and the scenic sites of Hangzhou showed at the right hand of the painting(source: Haineiqiguan 海内奇观, published 1609).....	228
Figure 5.24 the scroll of Watching Tide 观潮图轴, by Yuan Jiang 袁江, Qing dynasty, ink and colour on silk 绢本设色, size 97cmX131cm, illustrating the best location of watching the tide, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing.....	229
Figure 5.25 painting of Tide at Night 夜潮图 by Li Song 李嵩, 13th century,	

illustrating people watching the tide at night in a building at water side (source: collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing).....	229
Figure 5.26 the river tide seen from the riverside tower by the Qiantang River, Zhejiang province (source: Hangzhou Tourist Bureau).....	230
Figure 5.27 a typical ancient kiosk on the waterside, Taizhou, Zhejiang province....	233
Figure 5.28 Kiosk of Admiring the Current 观澜亭 (15th century), by the Baotu Spring, in Jinan, Shandong province (source: the Jinan Tourist Bureau).....	233
Figure 6.1 Back of the bronze mirror, showing a woman (the one at the lower right hand) playing football with men in a garden. Bronze mirror dated to the Sourthern Song dynasty (12 <sup>th</sup> century), collection of Hunan Musuem, in Changsha, Hunan Province, China.....	253
Figure 6.2 drawing based on part of the painting Qingming shanghe tu (the whole scroll is 528cmX24.8cm of size, by Zhang Zeduan), Song dynasty, illustrating the audience of a performer on street, with the open style building.....	265
Figure 6.3 part of a painting of the Song dynasty, illustrating the entertainers in an open style building and the audience around (source: www.fotoe.com).....	265
Figure 6.4 part of the painting Gusu fanhuatu, by Xu Yang (the whole scroll is 1225cmX35.8cm) 姑苏繁华图局部 清代 徐扬, painted in 1759, Qing dynasty, illustrating people watching entertainment performed in a pavilion on the outskirts of Suzhou.....	265
Table 1. Dynasties of China.....	26
Table 2. Table of subjects depicted on 100 random selected 'Eight Scenes' providing a total of 812 scenes.....	69
Table 3. The five categories.....	213
Table 4. Traditional festivals and their associated celebration activities.....	217

## **Abstract**

In China there has been a long tradition of valuing scenic sites which have been represented as Bajing (Eight Scenes). The large quantity of surviving Bajing records are helpful in revealing perceptions of landscape, public leisure preferences and the characteristics of scenic sites in the pre-modern period.

Confucianism regarded the appreciation of scenery as an important source of edification, so educated people who achieved positions of importance through the national examination system always practised it. Nature has been valued differently by Daosim, Buddhism, and other vernacular philosophies. The religious orders played an important role by collaborating with scholar officials on landscape adaptation and maintenance for public leisure. Another aspect of this evolution saw general leisure behaviour changing as scenic sites flourished in the time of the Tang-Song dynasties: competitive games and sports gradually evolved into uncompetitive games along history, and meanwhile the public gradually moved from active participation in intense games to become a ‘watching and enjoying’ audience. After the 11<sup>th</sup> century professional performers emerged in various entertaining areas. These changing leisure patterns are consequence of the flourishing of scenic sites, and also affected the outskirts of the city and nearby scenic places at the same time.

This thesis explores how Nature was valued in pre-modern China, and the development of scenic sites through history. The subject is of particular importance as it shows the significance of intangible landscape heritage, and will benefit the understanding and appreciation of Chinese landscape culture while aiding conservation.

## **Foreword**

During years of research in Chinese traditional landscape architecture and practice in reconstruction projects and scenic site planning, I became more and more interested in the diversity and complexity of the historically improved scenic sites. The beauty of the landscape as described in the historic records, and the numerous recreational activities which took place there were impressive. My curiosity grew whilst I was involved in the practical work of landscape conservation, but when I searched for a general history of Chinese landscape, or information about how these places were valued historically, particularly with respect to scenic sites, it became clear that this was still uncharted territory, despite the fact that much work had been undertaken already, for example in the fields of the history of urban development, architectural history, garden history, and social history. The lack of sources on landscape (other than garden) history encouraged me to explore this field of research.

Another reason for doing this research lies in the loss of tradition in contemporary China. In the last hundred years, much heritage has been destroyed in war or has been vandalized for political and economic reasons. The new generation is being influenced by Western culture and modern technologies, which are far removed from traditional values and lifestyle. Some of the historic landscape conservation and restoration projects taking place in contemporary China focus primarily on physical aspects, that is on rebuilding identical features according to historical instructions, but they often ignore other intangible aspects necessary to restoration such as culture and religion, particularly with respect to attitudes toward Nature, conventional styles of landscape perception and representation such as Eight Scenes, and the traditionally preferred leisure pattern. All these make this study even more necessary.

## Acknowledgments

The investigation and completion of this research and thesis was made possible by aid and guidance from many individuals. My supervisor Dr. Jan Woudstra has been very supporting. Thanks are due to him for his perceptive critique of the initial research proposal, and for his subsequent encouragement and advice. Recently, we have co-authored and successfully published three papers in this topic of research, and several new papers are coming soon. The writer is indebted to Dr. Colin Roth for his careful evaluation of the manuscript and editing of it. In addition, the writer wishes to thank Dr. Alison Hardie, Prof. Peter Bol, Prof. Peter Blundell Jones, and Miss Crista Ermiya for reading and providing pertinent commentary on parts of the manuscript and providing advice.

The writer wishes to express her gratitude for support of her research by the numerous local authorities, historic archives and libraries for allowing access to their non-public databases and well-preserved historic archives. Acknowledgments are also due to the many people (most of them, anonymous) who have helped in supplying the information of their local historic Bajing and scenic sites.

Finally, a lasting debt is due to my husband, who, as a fellow researcher and colleague with expertise in Chinese architectural history, attained his PhD degree at Sheffield in 2005. While I completed this research, from 2002 to 2009, he has remained fully supportive. This research has been very joyful and fruitful, but it has also been an unforgettable long journey, which was also hard and which, without the support of my family and friends, would not have been completed.

## Chapter 1. Introduction

Although Philip Kuhn has recognized that ‘we must free ourselves from the old picture of a cyclically changing China’ in order to understand its culture truly,<sup>1</sup> many scholars, like Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig, considered China as a seemingly stable society, and Chinese culture as ‘somnolent’, or insist on substituting some less pejorative modifying phrase like ‘slow-motion’ or ‘stable’;<sup>2</sup> they worked within a framework that virtually compels them to lay particular stress on the more stable and abiding features of Chinese culture.<sup>3</sup> A widely used text that takes essentially the same approach is Immanuel C.Y. Hsu’s statement: ‘China’s political system, social structure, economic institutions, and intellectual atmosphere remained substantially what they had been during the previous 2000 years.’<sup>4</sup> Also, Karl A. Wittfogel, who traces his intellectual lineage to Marx and Engels and to the classical economists, argues that hydraulic society, of which China is a prime example, is the outstanding case of societal stagnation.<sup>5</sup> Joseph Levenson also shared this perspective. He implied that there was a ‘normal way’ in which Chinese society operated and that the pivotal presence in this normal way was a highly stable entity called Confucianism.<sup>6</sup>

Not only the Western scholars held this opinion, many Chinese researchers shared the perspective also: Jin Guantao, a senior research fellow of the Institute of Chinese

---

1 Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1970) pp.1-2, 5-6

2 Paul A. Cohen, *China Unbound: evolving perspectives on the Chinese past*, (London: Routledge, 2003) p.56

3 John K. Fairbank, ‘Introductory Chapter’, in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol.10, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978),pp.6-8

4 Immanuel C.Y.Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), P.6

5 Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957) p.420

6 Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964 ) p.14

Studies and the Director of the Research Centre for Contemporary Chinese Culture at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, published an influential article in 1980 entitled 'Traditional Society in China: An Ultra-stable Structure', in which he applied cybernetics and system theory to historical studies and argued that, in feudal China, the peasant economy, bureaucratic polity and Confucian ideology were closely integrated into an ultra-stable structure. Because of this, traditional society in China was stable, stagnant and long-lasting. The article was later expanded into a book, *The Cycle of Growth and Decline--- On the Ultra-stable Structure of Chinese Society*.<sup>7</sup>

However, the question is, was the structure of Chinese society really stable and stagnant? Joseph Levenson's discussion, and Max Weber's inquiry about Confucianism, Chinese society and culture, are parochial to some extent, since they are based on the assumption that the only kind of 'development' that is important—and therefore worth looking for in the Chinese past—is development leading toward 'modernity', as defined by the Western historical experience. But when modern values, rationality, and intellectual issues were all defined in terms of the Western cultural framework, Chinese culture would inevitably be underestimated and its understanding astray. The lack of neutrality and open-endedness forced everything being addressed through Western eyes, thus would end in the making over of Chinese culture in the Western image.

Ralph Schroeder's analysis of Max Weber and the sociology of culture yields a coherent conception of the interplay between culture and social life that can be found throughout Weber's comparative studies of the world's religions and his work on modern society.<sup>8</sup> This theory of the interplay between culture and social life also applies to the Chinese case. In China, the literati have been the decisive exponents of unity of culture,<sup>9</sup> with many of them qualified as government officials, known to

<sup>7</sup> Edward Lawrence Davis, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture* (London: Routledge, 2005 ) p.419

<sup>8</sup> Ralph Schroeder, *Max Weber and the sociology of culture* (New York: SAGE Publications, 1992)

<sup>9</sup> Max Weber, Hans Heinrich Gerth, *The religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Washington, DC : Free Press, 1968) p. 107

historians as scholar officials. They played a significant role in leading and administering society. Their qualification was determined by education and especially by national examinations, which were based on the values and contents of Confucianism, which has therefore been a very important topic in discussing Chinese history and cultural issues.

However, in dealing with Confucianism, especially Confucianism in its role as the basis of the conduct of officials in the classical Chinese bureaucracy, Weber was reduced to something that looked suspiciously like name-calling with a series of references to non-rationality. Weber says:

There was no rational science, no rational practice of art, no rational theology, jurisprudence, medicine, natural science or technology; there was neither divine nor human authority which could contest the bureaucracy. Only an ethic congruent with bureaucracy could be created and this was limited solely by consideration of the forces of tradition in the sibs and by the belief in spirits. Unlike Western civilization, there were no other specifically modern elements of rationalism standing either in competition or in support of bureaucracy.<sup>10</sup>

Weber's characterization of the Confucian bureaucratic ideology remains essentially a list of negatives and paradoxes. It was difficult to locate the system of Confucianism within his standard understanding of forms of culture. His solution was 'to find charismatic elements in it', but this reasoning extended the notion of charisma in problematic ways.<sup>11</sup>

It is clearly wrong to assume a lack of rationality and to arbitrarily apply notions of charisma to Chinese culture or Confucianism. It is also wrong to assume that Chinese society was stable and stagnant, with few changes. Supported by abundant evidence, this thesis sets out to analyse the appreciation and improvement of landscape to demonstrate that pre-modern Chinese society, under the strong influence of Confucianism and with cultural roots set in a variety of philosophies and religious

---

10 Max Weber, *The religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Washington, DC : Free Press, 1951) pp.151-2

11 David Chalcraft, Fanon Howell, Marisol Lopez Menendez, Hector Vera, *Max Weber Matters: Interweaving Past and Present* (Surrey : Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008 ) p. 123

beliefs, was a time and place with unique and integrated views, visions, values, and practices. It should not be attached to the Western cultural framework and should be appreciated in its own right, neutrally and open-mindedly. Once a detailed account of its change has been thoroughly investigated and its cultural context fully addressed and understood, Chinese culture can be appreciated properly. In this case, the particular subject is landscape improvement under the influence of Confucianism.

### **Historic landscape improvement: scenic sites**

For more than one thousand years, which is at least since the Tang Dynasty (618-907), selected mountains, river edges and lakesides have been valued as scenic sites, improved and used as public leisure places. Many of these places have at some time been recorded locally as Bajing (Eight Scenes). This forms part of a tradition which can be traced from the eighth century, but with a heyday during the Ming-Qing dynasties (14<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> centuries). These so-called scenic sites formed an integral part of pre-modern culture; they created a setting for contemplation, some of it related to religious and philosophical beliefs, for various leisure activities and a venue for social relationships and outdoor activities. Together such activities in the open were presented as 'revelling in Nature'. Over time, these sites acquired new functions, at the same time increasing in appreciation in the public consciousness. The admiration is clear from the Bajing records, landscape painting, poetry and other art works. Yet despite their historic significance, they were neglected during the Mao Zedong era (1949-1976), deserted and damaged especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), as they were associated with the 'old' ideology and social system, which was to be overturned. They have only seen a reassessment in recent years when they have been appreciated once again. Despite this resurgence of interest they are now presented and managed in a 'new' way, and there is a lack of historic continuity. There is little awareness amongst the general public that what are now referred to as 'tourist districts' relates to an ancient tradition.

The role of such historic scenic sites as places for public leisure or tourist destinations

are nowadays often taken for granted; the sites serve the tourist industry and they are exploited for profit. The ancient customs and their historic origins are often neglected or ignored, with traditions and therefore activities being lost. These places therefore lose their original meanings and acquire new ones which are often very different to those of old.

There is also a lack of publications and scholarship about this topic. Although scenic sites have historically been adapted for public leisure, and surviving historic scenic sites have been valued as tourist resources, there is as yet no literature, either in Chinese or a Western language, providing a critical review or a historical context for them. Scholarly interest in Bajing primarily concentrates on it as an artistic movement, as expressed in painting and poetry. But these sites were important places for public leisure, being used for centuries for specific uses and acquiring new ones over time. They were subjected to gradual improvements in their scenic and visitor qualities by successive generations.

The lack of academic research on Bajing is possibly due to the fact that the gradual adaptation of scenic sites and the tradition of Bajing have been so popular throughout history that they have simply been taken for granted. As a result, there have been no studies analysing the social and cultural context. Only with such context will the uniqueness of Bajing become clear.

The focus of this research is on how Nature was valued, how and why landscapes were improved, how scenic sites were adapted and used as public leisure places, and how these changes in turn affected leisure behaviour.

Since Bajing was a popular tradition, frequently applied to local scenic sites, the analysis of a large number of such examples potentially provides valuable information that help with the understanding, reconstruction and the development of scenic sites. This analysis addresses the types of places appreciated, how they came into being and the kind of leisure activities that took place there. Answers to these questions raise

issues that are explored here.

First of all, how were Nature and natural sites valued and how did this affect their adaptation and design? The scholar officials, educated in Confucianism, played an important role in improving landscape and leading the process of change. How was Nature valued in Confucianism and how did this affect the appreciation and treatment of landscape? The profound cultural roots of the appreciation of naturalistic scenery in religions and philosophies like Daoism and Buddhism, along with the roles of government and the religious orders in scenic improvements, have all affected the adaptation of landscapes for public leisure and the maintenance of these sites. An inspection of these aspects mentioned above is therefore essential in order to be able to understand the scenic sites and the phenomena associated with it.

The kind of leisure activities that took place in scenic sites, and their evolution as they were gradually incorporated in scenic sites have been investigated. Since the cultural element or human activity should not be omitted, the lack of which usually isolated the places from context, progress, intangible attachments, and so on, thus degraded a ‘place’—where people participate, to a physical ‘space’ merely. The analysis of this information aimed to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the development of scenic sites, providing a more profound appreciation of both tangible and intangible parts of a central issue in China’s landscape heritage. This provides a helpful background not only to conservation, but also may help to inform sustainability issues.

Since leisure and ideas of Nature developed and evolved gradually over a long period of time, in order to get a comprehensive understanding of the various issues relating to scenic sites, it was considered essential to investigate changes over an extensive period, including developments over some two thousand years. Such a long time span enables analysis of the most important aspects of the relationship with Nature. A comparison with the most recent changes reveals that pre-modern China was a place with different values. It was a world and era in which our modern assumptions do not

apply, requiring us to form an understanding of the cultural context.

Landscape scenery as an academic subject has previously been approached in various ways: architectural and garden history, literary research on landscape narratives, while Sinologists have particularly concentrated on Chinese culture and important art works. The existing studies on Chinese architectural and garden history form one part of the foundation for this research. Classical gardens and building styles of different dynasties have been thoroughly studied in previous research, while the historic scenic sites and the outdoor places for public leisure have not yet been investigated properly. Literary studies on historic landscape poetry and narrations relating to Nature, which has prospered in China, also form one part of the knowledge base for this research. Historic travel notes are also helpful to this research. Sinology has concentrated primarily on literature based studies, with Sinologists having laboured at the translation of novels and literary works, pursuing artistic production and method into its minute detail, and seeking to unravel every circumstance in the lives of poets and philosophers, monks and missionaries. Although their theses are outside our field, for example, on biography of an artist, or interpretation of a philosophical statement, they are helpful in providing a context for this research.

Literary sources, the classic books of religions and philosophies in pre-modern China, have also been referred to, such as *Lunyu*, *Daodejing*, *Zhuangzi*, and so on, study of which is necessary to understand the cultural roots of Beijing and scenic sites. It has been widely accepted that not only Confucius was interested in Nature; adherents of many other schools of Chinese thought were keen 'naturalists' as well.<sup>12</sup> The classic books of these religions and philosophies have recently become available in electronic form, supporting features like key word search, which enables much easier access. However, the hard work lies in the comprehension and translation of the ancient language. There is detailed discussion of historic sources in a later section.

---

12 John Berthrong, 'Confucian views of nature', in *Nature across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-western Cultures*, ed. by Helaine Selin, Arne Kalland (New York: Springer, 2003) pp.374-392

That the Chinese had a huge concern for the study of the natural world is revealed in the study of their technology and early science.<sup>13</sup> This thesis reveals the cultural context, provides a new perspective which involves the historical and physical dimensions and social context, aesthetic issues, human perception as well as cultural perspectives, and charts how landscape and the environment were affected by cultural values, and how scenic sites were improved and adapted to related leisure use. By presenting a reading of the past, the aim is to increase the general comprehension of Beijing, the custom of 'revelling in Nature', and the historically improved scenic sites, their popularity and inspirational details, so that there may be more sympathetic attitudes to historic values and more appreciation of both tangible and intangible heritage, thus benefiting the conservation of landscape heritage as well as landscape planning and design in favour of vernacular historic values.

## Framework

Landscape is something more than a juxtaposition of picturesque details: human presence, concerns and behaviour in particular environments are important components which bond physical details and cultural elements together, so that the environment can be perceived as a place; landscapes, therefore, take on the very character of human existence.<sup>14</sup> The framework of this thesis is based on these issues: presence, concerns and behaviour, that is, the statistics of scenic sites, example and the analysis (chapter 3) showing the 'presence'; the investigation into Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism and other thoughts (chapters 4,5) demonstrating the 'concerns'; and the synthesis on the consumption of scenic sites and changes in leisure behaviour (chapter 6) examining 'behaviour'. These three strands are bound closely with physical details and cultural analysis to present a profound understanding of Chinese historic landscape practices and beyond this, of Chinese society and culture. In

13 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.1(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.44

14 Edward Relph, 'Geographical Experiences and Being-in-the-world: The Phenomenological Origins of Geography.' in *Dwelling, Place, and Environment: Toward a Phenomenology of Person and World*, ed. by David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985) p. 15-31.

particular, the thesis sets out to reveal the inter-relation between culture and landscape practices, trying to explain how and why scenic sites were valued, adapted and used as public leisure places, and how this changed throughout history. The three sections of discussion in the thesis lead to its conclusions step by step: first the evidence to demonstrate that scenic sites were a common concern in Chinese history, how popular and important they have been in public life, and an analysis of the characteristics of scenic sites followed by an investigation into historic cultural values to reveal those views and visions of Nature which have served as a basis, and provided the roots for, scenic sites. This is supported and further demonstrated by the last section, which examines leisure behaviour in scenic sites. These discussions refine the subject of the research into three aspects with short titles: scenic sites as a common concern; why they have been popular; and how people enjoy themselves there.

The relative context of pre-modern China, such as the economic context, the common land policy and so on, has been explained in the second chapter. The social context of the leisure culture, such as the various classes, the flexibility of social status, civil service recruitment through the national examination system and the educated people who, as rulers and gentry, were deeply influenced by Confucianism, promoted the enjoyment of scenic sites as a method of edifying people, are also necessary part of understanding the background.

Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 constitute the main body of the thesis, with chapters 4 and 5 together as one section, and the other two as separate sections. The first section of the main body, chapter 3, 'Scenic Sites as a Common Concern', begins with the analysis of Bajing, a popular tradition for representing local scenic sites. It analyses a large number of Bajing examples, not only to show that scenic sites were a common concern, popularly appreciated, which were represented in various art works and used as outdoor places for public leisure, but also to establish the essential characteristics of scenic sites and what elements of them have been preferred. More than 200 sets of Bajing have been assembled, of which a randomly selected 100 sets have been

analysed. This includes more than 800 individual scenes, representing the same number of scenic sites. The statistics of Bajing and many typical examples provide a convincing indication of the types of scenery and places for recreation preferred, as well as the interesting characteristics of scenic sites, such as the popular involvement of the historic dedication of local scholar officials and religious orders in the adaptation and maintenance of scenic sites.

This is followed by a detailed case study of Jiaxing, tracing the historic development of scenic sites and analysing various versions of Bajing in different dynasties there. The adaptation and regeneration of landscape in Jiaxing, which was led by the local scholar officials in collaboration with the religious orders, who were appointed to maintain the place, is considered typical and representative for the large number of cases of scenic sites recognized by this research. In fact, many examples of scenic sites shown in historic travel writings discussed in later chapters also reveal historic development processes similar to that revealed in Jiaxing, supporting the selection of Jiaxing as a representative example for detailed examination. The fact that scenic sites served as the inspiration and source of garden design shows the importance of scenic sites. Through discussion of the three aspects mentioned above, it can be demonstrated that scenic sites have formed an integral part of Chinese culture through history and have been very popular.

It is therefore important to understand why scenic sites were so popular. This has been investigated in the next section, chapters 4 and 5, which explore how Nature and scenic sites were valued in Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism and other cultural systems, how views and visions of it influenced landscape improvement and scenic appreciation. Thus the deeper cultural roots of scenic sites are revealed.

Confucianism has been the dominant ideology of the civil recruitment system since the Han dynasty, while the national examination system started from the Sui and Tang dynasties, was based on Confucianism. This social institutional system allowed flexibility of social status, and educated people were able to practise their Confucian

principles, including promoting scenic sites as public leisure places in which people might seek edification. The view of Nature in Confucianism and the influential words of Confucius are significant, explaining why scholar officials were keen on the enjoyment of scenery and scenic improvement, and why they promoted public leisure use of scenic sites. These were the prerequisites for the forming of scenic sites.

The influence of the mythology of shenxian (fairies and immortals) and the Daoist view of Nature, and Chan Buddhism (known as Zen in its Japanese form), were also important cultural roots for the development of scenic sites, and helped to establish a close relationship between religious practice and scenery. The philosophy's emphasis on observation of Nature as a means of experiencing universal truth inspired people to enjoy scenery in a meaningful and spiritual way. Other popular ideas, such as hermits respecting, ancient Nature worship and fengshui, also had their effect on landscape improvement. An understanding of cultural attitudes to Nature provides an important means through which we can seek to understand practices of landscape improvement and maintenance.

Then the next section, chapter 6, examines the consumption of scenic sites, showing what leisure activities took place there and how leisure activities evolved in general to suit scenic sites more and more. Leisure patterns evolved along with the growing popularity of scenic sites, which developed after the Tang dynasty. By presenting representative samples, the chapter argues that games changed from intense and competitive to cooperative and entertaining, while people changed from active participation to passively viewing, showing that alongside the forming of scenic sites on a large scale, leisure patterns evolved to suit.

This thesis provides an analysis of scenic sites in pre-modern China, especially focusing on intangible landscape heritage, exploring its institutional system, its cultural values, human behaviour and artistic representation. Together these help to constitute a deeper comprehension of historic scenic sites and landscape practices.

## Historic sources

Historic literature, as well as literary depictions, visual sources such as landscape paintings, and broader aspects of literature, including both objective records on the landscape environment with activities taking place there and subjective expressions of landscape perception, are an important resource in this study.

Recreation and leisure in Nature have not usually been regarded as subjects for inclusion in formal records since they were not considered ‘productive’, that is, they did not generate agricultural produce or industrial products. This has resulted in limited literary sources, found scattered in travel notes, letters, prose and poetry. However, since they were such a popular aspect of life, they have been mentioned nevertheless in official Gazettes (*fangzhi* 方志)<sup>15</sup>, as well as in other diaries and notes. Some of the official records and biographies reveal aspects of scenic improvement and the use of scenic sites for public leisure. Landscape paintings can also be considered more than art alone. Among the various resources, the records of Bajing (local Eight Landscape Scenes) and travel notes are most useful in investigating the features and characteristics of specific landscapes. The research of Bajing—was important since few survive today. A great deal of historic information about Bajing (Eight Scenes) has been extracted from Gazettes or other historic records, many of which have recently been published on local government websites as part of a revival of interest in local history, greatly enhancing opportunities for comparison between them. These form an important resource for research, and allow an analysis based on many examples. Bajing are valuable in revealing the artistic perception of scenic sites, as well as the traditional style, taste and fashion of scenic appreciation.

---

<sup>15</sup> These are known as *fangzhi* (literally translated as ‘Gazette’), which refers to local records compiled by officials, or literati authorised by local governments. These , usually included volumes of ‘Local Geography and Topography’, ‘Population and Custom’, ‘Special Local Product’, ‘Local Celebrities’, ‘Records of Big Events’, ‘Local Art and Culture’, ‘Local Temples and Shrines’, ‘Local Festivals’, etc. For one specific town, there were various versions compiled at different times, for example, the Ming and Qing Version, discerned by the different dynasties. When there are more than one versions from the same dynasty, they were discerned by different periods marked by the ‘Emperor’s Year Title (in Ming and Qing Dynasty, each Emperor only uses one Year Title)’ such as Ming Wanli (万历) version, or Ming Chenghua (成化) version. The original copies of Gazette literature are kept by local authorities of Cultural Bureau or Heritage Bureau, and National Archive Library or Provincial Ancient Books Library; some can be found in private collections and abroad libraries, such as Cambridge University Library. A small amount of them have been published in recent years. Some of them can partly be accessed on line.

In addition to this, a broad range of secondary literature has been reviewed, such as published studies on historic sports and traditional outdoor leisure, folk customs and activities in traditional festivals, and the official holidays during festivals, for instance, Wu Yugui, *History of Chinese Custom* (2001), and Yang Liansheng, *Holidays in Ancient times*(2006).<sup>16</sup>

Generally speaking, along with the collection of historic materials and reviewing of literature, there were three main steps in this research. First, a collection of material relating to historic recreation and leisure was compiled and analysed. A wide range of historic records deriving mainly from published historical sources and contemporary research on historic games and sports was explored. These sources give an overview of leisure patterns and behaviour, explaining why scenic sites were so popular as public leisure places. This helps to confirm that throughout history in China, natural landscape has continuously been enhanced and adapted, usually presented as ‘scenic sites’ in historic material and the most popular place for public leisure. Second, through a collection of historic material related to travel notes and Bajing (Eight Scenes), including hundreds of examples of scenic sites, some with poetic titles and poetry and illustrations which reveal the detailed process of landscape improvement in scenic sites, and the landscape perceptions and preferences of their times, have been analysed. Historic fashions and details are extracted in two respects: intangible and tangible. Then, through an investigation with critical analysis in aspects of related economic, social and cultural background, the cultural values of Nature and scenic sites have been addressed. This involved the exploration of Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, folk beliefs and literary works related to the expression of scenic appreciation.

It was traditional in China to compile historic records of each dynasty, with several

16 Liansheng Yang 杨联陞, 'Gudai Jiari' [Holidays in Ancient times]古代假日, in *Qinghua Weekly Journal 清华周刊*, Jan forth 2006<<http://www.law.tsinghua.edu.cn/lawtsinghua/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=28529>> [accessed 29 Apr2008]; Yugui Wu 吴玉贵, *Zhongguo Fengsu Tongshi: Sutang Wudai* [History of Chinese Custom: Sui Tang Wudai Period] 中国风俗通史·隋唐五代卷, 第10章‘节日风俗’(Shanghai: Wenyi Chubanseh 上海文艺出版社,2001)

significant instances produced during the Ming and Qing dynasties, when publishing technology had advanced. Today the majority of primary sources derive from amalgamated series. The best known series of sources are *Sikuquanshu* [*the Complete Library in Four Branches*] 四库全书 and *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* [*the Encyclopaedia Collection of All Books*] 古今图书集成. These sources have recently been published in a digital format, which greatly simplifies historical research. The written texts and records compiled in these series include travel notes, miscellanea, poetry, prose and diaries. These all provide information particularly helpful in the study of perceptions of places in the natural landscape.

The *Sikuquanshu* [*the Complete Library in Four Branches*] 四库全书 was compiled during the early years of the Qing Dynasty, completed in 1782 and hand copied in seven sets by the government. Only the copy of Wenyuange survived completely, and the present digital version was based on this copy. It was compiled from 3503 contemporary sources, with a total of nearly 800 million words.

The *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* [*the Encyclopaedia Collection of All Books*] 古今图书集成, edited by Chen Menglei in the Qing Dynasty, includes 144 million words as well as many maps, illustrations and diagrams, which supply vivid images and are valuable for understanding the features in recreational places. It includes a separate sub-heading on mountains and waters, which provides selected travel notes, and poetry related to natural landscape. Unfortunately, ‘recreation’ and ‘leisure’ were not listed under a separate heading; information on these topics was therefore extracted by means of keyword search of the digital versions.

Besides the above sources there were Gazettes kept by the culture bureaux of local government, and a sizable collection is contained in the Central Library and Archives in Beijing. The fourth century saw the first of what later developed into a vast genre of writings, the so-called ‘Gazettes’, which gathered local records and topography. The first one was *Huayang guozhi*, written in 347. For centuries, local records were compiled, sometimes as a labour of love by a retired scholar of the district, sometimes

by official order to provide information about local government.<sup>17</sup> More than 6500 of these books are known, but most are later than the Tang. Larger geographical works were also written then, such as Li Daoyuan's famous *Shuijingzhu* (Commentary on the Waterways) in about 510. During the Ming & Qing dynasties, local governments recorded important local events, celebrities, geography, cultural information and maps which were compiled and published on a small scale at intervals of several decades or even longer. These Gazettes, called Fangzhi (方志) collectively, include information on Eight Landscape Scenes.

Additionally, paintings, drawings, and engravings have been used as sources. Engraved slates, some of which have been excavated from Han Dynasty tombs in recent centuries, depict scenes of outdoor recreation, feasting, and highlight local beauty spots in the outskirts of towns.

Landscape paintings are also an important source, although these do not aim to provide a necessarily objective picture. It has been shown that landscape paintings inspired by specific places have a long history in China. In the middle to late sixteenth century in Ming China, some artists, influenced by a dramatically increased interest in travel writing and geographical information, redirected the focus of travel painting from nostalgic commemoration of subjective experience to communication of objective information.<sup>18</sup> Thus landscape paintings provide an important resource for historic information.

Recreation and scenic site also occurs in novels, prose or poetry, such material reveals abundant evidence, providing vivid scenes and information on the use of spaces and the appreciation of the scenery. Although examples of travel writing are rare for the first two-thirds of Chinese literary history, in the later dynasties it seems that just about every writer of note tried his hand on travel writing or diaries, including literary

---

17 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.119-126

18 K. S. Ganza, *The Artist as Traveler: The Origin and Development of Travel as a Theme in Chinese Landscape Painting of the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1990)

pieces characterized by lyrical or autobiographical contents, and also documentary pieces written as objective records of places or events.<sup>19</sup>

## Translating, interpreting and keyword search

The use of a keyword search made it necessary to define the keywords properly. The ancient Chinese words are different from the simplified present Chinese, both in font style and in meaning. For example the character 國 (meaning country) was written as 國, and the character 學 (meaning study) was written as a very different 壤. The character 亭 (the font style has not changed), means kiosk now, while in ancient times, it may have meant an administerial district, a kind of mountain pear, an inn set up by government or something like a kiosk, such as a military facility gazebo. It is also used as a name for a place. For example, the word xinting (新亭) was a place name in Jin Dynasty, but has been mistaken by some scholars as 'landscape architecture', since literally the word also means 'new kiosk'.

The ability to read and understand traditional Chinese characters is a necessity for this type of research. *The Origin of Chinese Words* (辞源) (the most recent edition of 2001), *The Collection of Words* (辞海) (the most recent edition of 1999), and the *Concise Ancient Chinese Language Dictionary* (简明古汉语词典)(1985), are used here as the authoritative reference sources for translation and interpretation of ancient words into modern Chinese.

For the leisure place topic, the following are used as keywords for the initial search: *xi* (戏, means play, drama, games), *wan* (玩, means play), *yu* (娱, means play), *le* (乐, means music, play music, happy), *wu* (舞, means dance and play), *you* (游, means travel, tour), *guan-shang* (观/赏, means view and admire), *yuan* 園 (means garden and landscape), *shan-shui* (山/水, refers to natural landscape, literally meaning mountain

---

<sup>19</sup> Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.xix

and water body), shan-lin (山/林, refers to natural landscape, literally meaning mountain and woods), lin-quan (林/泉, refers to natural landscape, literally meaning woods and spring or stream) and so on. This enables the location of a good linked description and the related paragraphs are read to find whether it is relevant to 'recreational behaviour or place'. Since the various meanings and uses for every keyword vary in different contexts, the real relevant texts are only a small part of the entire linked paragraphs.

## **Terms of reference**

In order to provide a common basis of understanding, it is important to agree a number of definitions for this thesis of both Chinese and English words, particularly with respect to commonly used terms such as scenery, landscape, place, leisure and recreation.

### **Nature**

'Nature' has different meanings in modern and ancient Chinese which need to be explained. In modern Chinese, the term is translated and written as ziran 自然, referring to all the animals and plants in the world and all the features, forces, and processes that exist or happen independently of people, such as the weather, the sea, mountains, reproduction, and growth, as for example in the phrases, 'Nature is at its best in spring', or 'they loved hiking and being close to Nature'. However, in ancient Chinese the word 'ziran' was not used to refer to Nature. It should be formed from two separate characters, zi (self) and ran (being), which when used together usually meant 'without being touched or changed'. In ancient Chinese there was no single word used to refer to Nature collectively: cosmos, mountains, rivers, climatic phenomena were referred to separately.

There is a dilemma in using the word Nature, since nothing is 100 percent ‘self being’ or ‘without touch of human’, when human beings have existed on earth for such a long time and civilization has extended so widely. In this thesis ‘Nature’ is only used as a collective term to refer to original natural places like mountains and rivers. Plants, animals, and climatic aspects may have been touched and changed by humans.

## Scenery and landscape

In Chinese, the word for ‘scenery’ is *fengjing* 风景, in which the first character *feng* 风 basically means ‘wind’, while the second character *jing* 景 literally means ‘sunlight’ or ‘landscape’<sup>20</sup>. The most frequent term for scenic site is *jingdian*, while more formal expressions used are *fengjingqu* and *mingshengqu* (scenic area). *Fengjing* has been used to mean ‘scenery’ since the Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.E.), while *mingsheng*, a contraction of *mingshang shengdi* (famous mountains and excellent places), has been used to refer to a place with beautiful scenery since the Northern Qi dynasty (550-577 C.E.).<sup>21</sup> The term *fengguang* 风光 has also acquired a synonym *asfengjing*, which literally means ‘wind and sunlight’.<sup>22</sup> The character *feng* 风 is a complicated word, which also means ‘custom’ as a noun. When used as a verb, it can be interpreted as ‘having fun’ or ‘enjoying oneself in leisurely way’. In some rare ancient cases, it means ‘conduct and discipline’. These implications of the words correlate closely with the human behaviour we associate with scenery making.

Locally, scenic sites had been assembled into sets of *jing* with captions, some of which were circulated as woodblock prints, such as the ‘Twenty Jing of Jinling’ in Gu

<sup>20</sup> Advanced Dictionary of Chinese (高级汉语大词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2005), the entry of ‘风景’, ‘风’, and ‘景’.

<sup>21</sup> Pál Nyíri, *Scenic spots: Chinese tourism, the state, and cultural authority* (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 2006) p.8

<sup>22</sup> For example, as used in poem in the 12th century by Yang Wanli(1127-1206) 杨万里 in ‘Xiaochu jingcisi song Linzifang’ [Morning Scene out of Jingci Temple when seeing Linzifang off] 晓出净慈寺送林子方, original words as 毕竟西湖六月中,风光不与四时同。

Qiyuan's (1565-1628) *On Refined Travel* (*Yan you pian*).<sup>23</sup> Brook translates *jing* as prospect, as 'an established and well-defined view onto a known landscape, not a view that the artist selects and defines himself'.<sup>24</sup> In a number of cases, artists produced sets of views relying on established schemata without having visited the site.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, *jing* is not only a prospect or a view; it refers to a scenario or a scene which people participate in, along with the appropriate circumstances of viewing, which could include season, time of the day, weather, and the spectators' moods, as well as the poetic or historical references it should evoke.<sup>26</sup> Sets of *jing* and associated poems were produced both for promotional purposes, to surround a city with a cultural aura and set up an itinerary for visits, and as souvenirs sold at street stalls.<sup>27</sup> This will be addressed in detail in Part A of Chapter 3.

Since landscape painting was called shanshui painting in history, the ancient Chinese word for 'landscape' is *shanshui* 山水. It literally means mountains and water landscape, including river, lake, spring, waterfall, and so on. In modern Chinese, landscape is rendered as *jingguan* 景观; as a synonym of scenery or good views, it prescriptively gives the word a hint of aesthetic value in a positive way, and is not a neutral word like the word 'landscape' in English. Mountains and watersides were the two main categories of scenery locations, and thus scenic sites were so called, since plains were used as farmland rather than as places for public leisure and thus not perceived as 'scenery'.

23 Pál Nyíri, *Scenic spots: Chinese tourism, the state, and cultural authority* (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 2006) p.8-9

24 Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: commerce and culture in Ming China* (London : University of California Press, 1998) p.59

25 James Cahill, *New Dimensions in Chinese Ink Painting: Works from the Collection of John and Alice Z. Berninghausen* (Washington D.C.: Univ of Washington Press, 1992), p.281

26 Pál Nyíri, *Scenic spots: Chinese tourism, the state, and cultural authority* (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 2006) p.8-9

27 James Cahill, *New Dimensions in Chinese Ink Painting: Works from the Collection of John and Alice Z. Berninghausen* (Washington D.C.: Univ of Washington Press, 1992), p.255-6

## Place

'Place' is widely used and refers to 'location'. But when mentioned in modern studies, it means not only physical location, but also something with social, psychological, or cultural suggestions.<sup>28</sup> Landscape refers only to the physical form of a place.<sup>29</sup> Just like the meaning of 'oneself' is more than 'one's body', the meaning of 'place' is usually more than 'physical landscape' in a similar way.

There was no counterpart word in the ancient Chinese language for 'place', but in modern Chinese it is translated as *chang-suo* (场所), which is made up of two characters: *chang* (场) and *suo* (所). In the *Advanced Dictionary of Chinese*, the word '*chang-suo*' is explained as 'the site where people gather to participate in certain activity, or where some event happens',<sup>30</sup> which emphasizes on the relationship of human beings to the place, taking people's activity to define the word. This suggests an inevitably important aspect of concept of place: people's presence or involvement. There are three characters having similar meanings to place: *chang*, *suo*, and *chu* (处).

*Chang* (场), traditionally written as 場 or 場, originally meant 'open space with flat surface', especially refers to 'ground beside an altar'. It also refers to country fairs which take place at certain intervals, and is still used in this meaning in some dialects. In written sources more than 2000 years old, it has been taken to mean 'kitchen gardens' and 'roads in cities', but these meanings were rarely used in later history.<sup>31</sup> The character also means 'stage', 'show', and 'a section of a drama'. This meaning is still in use today.<sup>32</sup> These various meanings all suggest that 'place' is closely associated with people's various daily life activities and it was the activity that defines

28 Jennifer E. Cross, 'What is 'Sense of Place'?', in *Archives of the Twelfth Headwaters Conference*, (Gunnison, Colorado: Western State College, 2001) <[http://www.western.edu/headwaters/archives/headwaters12\\_papers/cross\\_paper.html](http://www.western.edu/headwaters/archives/headwaters12_papers/cross_paper.html)> [accessed 19 Nov 2006]

29 Edward Relph, *Place and placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976) p.30

30 *Advanced Dictionary of Chinese* (高级汉语大词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2005), the entry of '场所'

31 *Concise Ancient Chinese Language Dictionary* (简明古汉语词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1985), the entry of '场'

32 *Advanced Dictionary of Chinese* (高级汉语大词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2005), the entry of '场'

an area as a place.

The character suo (所) originally meant ‘the sound of cutting a tree’, and this meaning has been extended to refer to ‘a place’.<sup>33</sup> The connection between these two meanings probably lies in the fact that in the very beginning, people made timber to build their residences, and cleared woodland to create the surrounding open space.

The character chu (处) originally meant ‘to stop’ or ‘be there’, and also means ‘dwell’ and ‘location’.<sup>34</sup> When it is used as an adjective in an ancient Chinese context, it also means ‘steady’ and ‘constant’.<sup>35</sup> Hence, place may be perceived as somewhere for people to stop or be, to dwell. Such a dwelling is perceived as tranquil, steady, and constant, without any fear of threats.

In the *Oxford Dictionary of Geography*<sup>36</sup>, the entry for ‘place’ is: ‘A particular point on the earth’s surface; an identifiable location for a situation imbued with human values.’ Place is thus not just a location, but a particular one. What makes it particular and how is it ‘imbued with human values’ is a discussion focus for places.

In ordinary language ‘place’ has a wider meaning. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the noun ‘place’ in four respects, and gives 19 definitions.<sup>37</sup> Apart from the meaning given above, these include different meanings related to one’s position in a society or other kinds of circumstances. Thus ‘place’ is not used only to refer to spatial locations, but also to people at the location, people’s senses relating to space or location, and their position at a certain scale, order, or within a series. It is possible that ‘position in society’ is the primary meaning of ‘place’ since it is less abstract than

---

<sup>33</sup> Concise Ancient Chinese Language Dictionary (简明古汉语词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1985), the entry of ‘所’

<sup>34</sup> Advanced Dictionary of Chinese (高级汉语大词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2005), the entry of ‘处’

<sup>35</sup> Concise Ancient Chinese Language Dictionary (简明古汉语词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1985), the entry of ‘处’

<sup>36</sup> Susan Mayhew, *Oxford dictionary of geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) p.327

<sup>37</sup> Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) entry of ‘place’

'location in space'.<sup>38</sup> The two meanings have intermingled with each other over time and it is not easy to separate them. One point is clear, that place is a location which involves people, their behaviour and perceptions.

## Recreation and leisure

The term 'recreation' is nowadays so widely used in different contexts that it is difficult to define in a few words, and it is necessary to consider its etymology in order to create an understanding.

The Chinese word for recreation indicates that it is the opposite of work, busy, or occupied. It is inspiring to find that both characters of the Chinese counterpart word for recreation, *xiu* (休) and *xian* (闲), have original meanings connected with trees, which may stand for Nature, and also involves human, human activities and buildings. The entire word *xiu xian* (休闲) also means 'lie fallow',<sup>39</sup> indicating that peasants are resting and the land is not being cultivated. These pictographic characters enable the original meaning to be traced. The ancient character *xiu* (休) depicts a man leaning against a tree; it also refers to the shadow of a tree.<sup>40</sup> In contemporary Chinese, it means 'to have a rest', 'have a break' or 'cease working'. And the pictographic character *xian* (闲) originally depicts a tree inside a gate, which suggests a fenced garden being looked at from the outside. In ancient times, the word meant 'fencing, restrict, or guard against', and it also means 'unoccupied, vacant, hollow, leisurely and carefree'.<sup>41</sup> This word nowadays means 'spare time, idle, or something not in use'.<sup>42</sup>

The word *xiu xian* (休闲) also has synonyms, such as *yu le* (written as 娱乐, means

38 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and place: humanistic perspective* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1977) p.223

39 *The Collection of Words* (辞海) (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1999), entry of '休闲'

40 *The Origin of Chinese Words* (辞源) (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2001), entry of '休'

41 *Concise Ancient Chinese Language Dictionary* (简明古汉语词典) (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1985), entry of '闲'

42 *Modern Chinese Language Dictionary* (现代汉语词典) (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2002), entry of '闲'

amusement, having fun, joy and entertainment), *xiao qian* (written as 消遣, means pastime), *xian xia* (written as 闲暇, means leisure), *wan shua* (written as 玩耍, means disport, game and play). These are all notions of having fun and relaxing.

In English, there are many synonyms of ‘recreation’ and words in the same field, such as play, leisure, sport, and so on. Recreation, play and fun are not only the preserve of humans and nearly all creatures indulge in this to some extent: play is essential for the development of skills. Sports are activities that have formal rules, require physical effort and skills, and are sometimes competitive and organized within institutional structures. They are derived from play but there may be rules and specific skills required.<sup>43</sup> Sports can be recreational with the emphasis on fun or involve performance within a competition inside a league or event structure. There was no synonym for sport in the traditional Chinese language. The various sports that historically occurred in China were named by their specific, rather than generic names. In modern times, ‘sport’ is written as *tiyu* (体育), a newly created word, literally meaning ‘physical education’.

Recreation is the use of time in a non-profitable way, in many ways also therapeutic refreshment of one's body or mind. While leisure is more likely a form of entertainment or rest, recreation is active for the participant but in a refreshing and diverting manner.<sup>44</sup> Leisure is a bit more complex but tends to be in the broadest definition, related to fun. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, ‘leisure’ was once famously defined as ‘non-productive consumption of time’,<sup>45</sup> while in Chinese, it was defined as ‘without business, without working’,<sup>46</sup> which is similar. The *Oxford English Dictionary* states that leisure is, ‘the state of having time at one's own disposal, time which one can spend as one pleases; free or unoccupied time.’ And recreation is ‘the action of recreating (oneself or another), or the fact of being recreated, by some pleasant

43 *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) Entry of ‘sport’

44 *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) Entry of ‘recreation’

45 Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (London : Allen & Unwin, 1899 repr. 1957)

46 *The Collection of Words* (辞海) (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1999), entry of ‘闲暇’

occupation, pastime or amusement.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, ‘recreation’ is rooted in the Latin *recreatio*, which refers to restoration or recovery; it implies the re-creation of energy or the restoration of ability to function.<sup>48</sup>

In this thesis, the subtle differences between these words will not be emphasised. The words ‘recreation’ and ‘leisure’ are being used here as collective terms to represent all related activities, which are for fun, non-serious, non-productive, including both active recreational behaviour (such as playing games or sports) and non-active recreational behaviour (such as watching entertainment, watching a performance or exhibition, and scenic views, sight seeing, meditation or strolling).

Hence, to conclude, the term ‘recreation’ or ‘leisure’ is meant as the refreshment of body or mind through activities, or a planned inactivity, undertaken because one wants to do it, or is accustomed to it, without any moral, economical, social or other direct pressure.

---

47 *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) entry of ‘recreation’ and ‘leisure’

48 J. R. Kelly, *Leisure* (London: Englewood Cliffs N.J. Prentice Hall, 1990)

## **Chapter 2. Physical and cultural context**

A broader consideration of historical context, physical environment and relative social background is necessary to provide a more comprehensive context and understanding of the various dynasties, the territory of Chinese culture, and environmental factors of geography, hydrology, climate, as well as the common land policy, and the major architectural styles which played an important role in supplying shelters for outdoor activities.

### **Dynasties, territory and research area**

Some geographical and climatic background is essential as this generally affected pattern of leisure, and some basic information about historical dynasties through which Chinese culture evolved is also necessary. The character of Chinese agricultural civilization should be especially mentioned, since this served as the foundation of the social and economic system.

The method of periodization often used by Western and Japanese historians is to apply the conventional categories of European history: ancient, medieval, and modern. The Southern and Northern Dynasties are usually taken to mark the transition to medieval, and the Song, the transition to Modern. The disadvantage of this is that it may suggest false connotations for those in the West who are familiar with the European context. A simplification is to lump the pre-Qin unification as the formative age, from the Qin to the Song as the early empire, and from the Yuan to the Qing as the later empire, thus creating massive slices of one thousand years each. Currently in China political criteria are applied: ancient history covers antiquity to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century; early modern history is from 1840 to 1919; modern history is from 1919 to 1949 when the

People's Republic of China was constructed.<sup>49</sup> In this thesis, the pre-modern time span is set roughly before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before China started being forced by Western power to be a semi-colonial society, and the consistency of its culture was substantially interrupted by the Western intrusion.

Table 1. Dynasties of China

(Source: Encyclopidia of Chinese history, Beijing: International Cultural Publishing House of China, 2000)

DYNASTIES	TIME	LENGTH (YEARS)
Xia dynasty 夏	c. 21 cent. B.C.-c.16 cent. B.C.	500
Shang 商	c. 16 cent. B.C.-c.11 cent. B.C.	500
Zhou 周	1027 B.C.-256 B.C.	771
Spring and Autumn period 春秋	770B.C.-476 B.C.	
Warring States period 战国	475 B.C.-221 B.C.	
Qin 秦	221 B.C- 207 B.C.	14
Han 汉	206B.C.-A.D.220	426
Western Han 西汉	206 B.C.-A.D.8	
Xin 新	A.D.9-A.D.23	
Eastern Han 东汉	A.D.23-A.D.220	
Three Kingdoms period 三国	220-265	45
Wei 魏		

49 Endymion Porter Wilkinson, *Chinese history: a manual* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000)

Shu 蜀		
Wu 吴		
Jin 晋	265-420	155
Western Jin 西晋	265-316	
Eastern Jin 东晋	317-420	
Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝	420-589	169
Northern Dynasties 北朝		
Southern Dynasties 南朝		
Sui 隋	581-618	37
Tang 唐	618-907	289
Five Dynasties 五代	907-960	53
Song 宋	960-1279	167
Northern Song 北宋	960-1127	
Southern Song 南宋	1127-1279	152
Yuan 元 (Mongols)	1271-1368	97
Ming 明	1368-1644	276
Qing 清 (Manchus)	1644-1911	267

Remote antiquity, the pre-Qin, that is, before the Qin unification, is a period that covers in all about 1800 years, the late part of it usually divided into the Western and Eastern Zhou dynasty, the period in which Confucius and the philosophical founders of Daoism lived; the Eastern Zhou is subdivided into the Spring and Autumn, and the Warring States periods. Thereafter, the following 2200 years is often called ‘imperial

China', which is divided into six or seven main dynastic periods, alternating between a united empire and periods of war and disunity.

It is also necessary to point out the periods of unification (as marked in the table in light blue) and disunity in the two thousand years imperial history since Qin dynasty: the first unification lasted for 440 years, from Qin to Han; after that, China was in a state of division and confusion for 330 years, with the exception of the short period of unification under Western Jin; then the unification under Sui, Tang, and Northern Song dynasties for 546 years, with the exception of short periods of turbulence; the following Southern Song suffered through many wars with its northern neighbours and retreated to the southern part of China for 152 years; at last the unification of Yuan (reigned by Mogols) came, continued with Ming and Qing (reigned by Manchu) for a total period of 640 years. The transition between each dynasty was always marked by wars, upheaval and turbulence. In periods of peace, agricultural productivity stabilized, the economy flourished, and leisure was thus boosted. The level of prosperity of leisure activities was clearly synchronous with the economic situation of the country, as manifest in the scale of surviving historic records.



Figure 2.1 Territory of China in the Qin dynasty(in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)



Figure 2.2 Territory of China in the Western Han dynasty(in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)

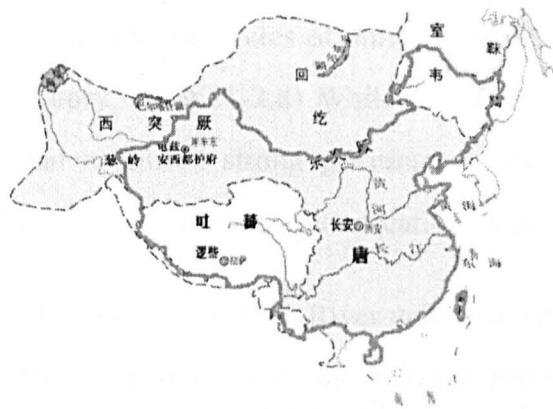


Figure 2.3 Territory of China in the Tang dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)



Figure 2.4 Territory of China in the Northern Song dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)



Figure 2.5 Territory of China in the Southern Song dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)

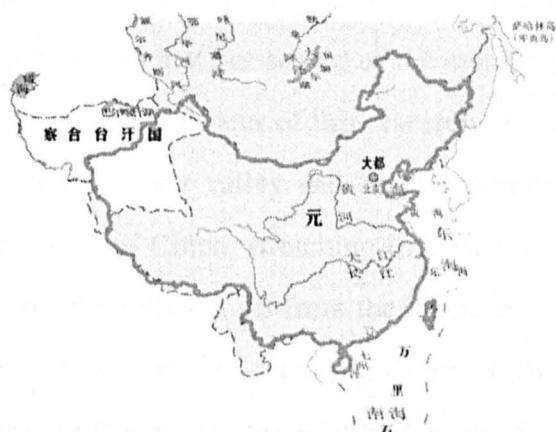


Figure 2.6 Territory of China in the Yuan dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)

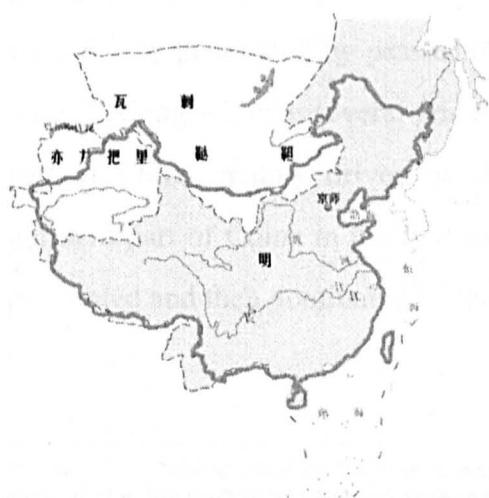


Figure 2.7 Territory of China in the Ming dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)



Figure 2.8 Territory of China in the Qing dynasty (in shadow) compared with the present territory (in red line)

Alongside the cycles of unification and disunity, the territory of China changed over history.<sup>50</sup> (Fig2.1-2.8) While the central part of China had established a civilization and a unified strong government, the areas surrounding it were still in stage of comparatively barbarous situation, with people on a tribal level.<sup>51</sup>

The region of Yellow River valley saw the earliest Chinese civilisation, the rise of the feudal state of Qin, and the successive glories of the Han and Tang capitals at Chang'an. Although Qin first united China and set up imperial China, its territory was no more than half the area of modern China. It only consists of the south-eastern part of present China, though it also exercised rather loose control of the south-eastern arc shaped area along the coast. It is mainly this area that has served as the major stage of Chinese culture in the last 2000 years, and forms the focus of this research. As for this region, besides the central regions of Yellow River valley and Yangzi River valley, there is the south-eastern and southern coast of China, stretching in a vast arc from Hangzhou to the Indo-Chinese border, and severely cut off from the inland provinces. Four valleys open like amphitheatres on the sea, first the Qiantang River which forms the Hangzhou estuary in Zhejiang, then, further south, the Minjiang river in Fujian, which leads down to Fuzhou; thirdly, the Hanjiang with Shantou at its mouth; and lastly, the river-system of Guangzhou which is the most considerable of the four. The greater part of the coastline was cut off from the interior by mountain ranges which were poorly penetrated by passes, canals and other transportation arteries until a late time.<sup>52</sup> Along with the several grand immigrations of the Han people from the central part of China, mainly driven by the wars and turbulence which occurred in the northern part of China in the first half of imperial history, this coastline arc area was penetrated and then dominated by the Han Chinese civilisation.

---

<sup>50</sup> The present China is consisted of 56 peoples, each has its own history and culture. Most of the minorities scattered in the marginal areas, like northern west part, and southern west. Here, the Chinese culture refers to the culture mainly based on the Han people.

<sup>51</sup> Stuart Kirby, *Introduction to the Economic History of China* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2006) p.66

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.44

After Qin, the Han and Tang dynasties were strong and rather aggressive, extending their territory nearly three times, although most regions in the new territory were under loose control, making annual tribute to the central government but in many instances remaining autonomous. Chinese culture and custom penetrated to these regions, but never on a large scale, so these regions have never been considered as having an entirely orthodox Chinese culture.

During the Tang dynasty, the area of lower Yangzi River valley was well developed, and began to function as the economic centre of the whole country.<sup>53</sup>

In the Northern Song dynasty, the territory shrank to a region smaller than Qin China and even excluded Beijing, the present day capital, while in the Southern Song dynasty, it shrank even further, to only half its former size over a period of 150 years. Then the continent was conquered by the Mongols for nearly one century, before the Ming dynasty was set up in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Two hundred and seventy years later, the Manchu invaded from the north-east of the continent and occupied China for two and half centuries, as the last dynasty of imperial China.

Although the territory changed through time, the territory of the Qin or Northern Song dynasties is now seen as typical Chinese civilisation, as concentrated in the two river valleys, the Yangzi and Yellow River valleys, which have been occupied by Chinese culture continuously for two thousand years. This is the reason for concentrating this thesis on this area.

### **Physical background and character of agricultural civilization**

As for the general geographic background of China, from east to west, there are a series of gigantic steps leading up to the high Tibetan massif, with two main features: (a) generally, the northern part is higher than the southern, and the western part is higher than the eastern; (b) four important east-west mountain ranges divide the

---

<sup>53</sup> Stuart Kirby, *Introduction to the Economic History of China* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2006)p.66

country into several latitudinal segments, especially the western half. It is clear that the structure of China is distinguished from that of most other regions by having a complex network of high mountain ranges separating a number of flatter areas.<sup>54</sup> There are also mountain ranges parallel to the south east coast line which cut off the arc coast area. There are abundant mountains and rivers, and China prides itself for having the greatest topographical variety in the world.<sup>55</sup>

Whereas this dramatic topography made communication difficult and might have led to the region being split up, the reliance of the economy on agriculture served to promote unity, since the irrigation system had to be administered by a central power. The written language greatly assisted unification of Chinese culture in face of the physical barriers which dissected the whole country. Chinese is the only language which has remained faithful to ideographic characters, as opposed to alphabetic. The earliest elements of Chinese writing were generally pictographs, that is, drawings reduced to the essentials, conventionalised, and in time highly stylised.<sup>56</sup>

The official dynastic histories up to 1911 report that in 2117 years of recorded history, there were no fewer than 1621 floods and 1392 droughts, thus on average more than one disaster in each year.<sup>57</sup> More detailed contemporary research shows that from the Qin dynasty to the end of the Qing dynasty, there were 3759 climatic disasters, including floods, droughts and hail.<sup>58</sup> Agriculture depended greatly for its prosperity on the climate, with communities flourishing in stable weather, their leisure activities being participated in by everyone, while in poor conditions, this became impossible. A typical example is recorded by Zhang Dai, and his description of Dragon Hill in

---

<sup>56</sup> The geologist Li Siguang has given us the first comprehensive book on the structure of the Chinese subcontinent: *The geology of China*, (T. Murby & co., 1939)

<sup>57</sup> Li Siguang, *The geology of China*, (London: T. Murby & co., 1939)

<sup>58</sup> Karlgren, quoted by Joseph Needham, in *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954), p.27

<sup>57</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 7 part II, ed. by Kenneth G. Robinson (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2004) P.45

<sup>58</sup> Deng Yunte, *History of Weather Disaster and Rescue in China*, (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937). 邓云特,《中国救荒史》统计,自秦汉至清末,共有各类气候灾害3759次。年均约有气候灾害1.76次,水旱灾害0.95次。

Hangzhou during the Lantern Festival reveals a picture of a leisured atmosphere in which the whole of society took part:

An annual four-day celebration was held there in the middle of the first month. On those days, people had lanterns made and displayed them along the path between the Chenghuang Shrine and Penglai Ridge. Each lantern owner sat out on mats spread beneath his lantern with kinsmen and friends, singing and drinking. In the crush of the merrymakers, it was impossible to do anything but let oneself be borne along with the crowd.<sup>59</sup>

But several years later, when Hangzhou was struck by drought and then famine in 1640, 'the rural poor cooked and ate their silkworm cocoons to stave off starvation'.<sup>60</sup> The disaster dragged on for two years, by Zhang Dai's report 'leaving half the people of the region dead. Emaciated corpses lay where they fell in the city streets'.<sup>61</sup> The disastrous weather was fatal to the agriculturally based society. When the economic situation got worse, society could not support its leisure customs.

Once iron farming tools were first used in the period of pre-Qin, productivity reached levels that could not be greatly improved during the next 2000 years. It appears, for example, that the productivity of Qin (early imperial China) is similar to the productivity of Qing (late imperial China). This suggests that the agriculturally based society of 2000 years ago was not 'primitive', but rather that the economic basis for leisure customs was similar to that of the later period. In fact, the historic records reveal that the scale and intensity of leisure activities remained fairly stable over time, depending on the stability and prosperity of the social and economic situation. During periods of wars and in times of climatical disasters, leisure customs paused or were reduced.

One of the benefits of a unified territory of significant size is that people could survive disasters through mutual help from those in areas where these had not occurred. The

59 Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming Chin*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) p.236

60 *Gazette of Hangzhou* of 1922, quoting the 1687 source (*Gazette of Renhe County*, which does not survive now).

61 Zhang Dai 张岱(1597-1679), 'Fairs of the West Lake [Xihu xiangshi 西湖香市]', in *The Memory of Tao'an* [Tao'an mengyi 陶庵梦忆]:

construction of large scale irrigation systems necessary for agriculture also demanded a powerful central government to administer manpower to build and maintain them. It has been accepted since the Han dynasty that in order to carry through the largest public works projects, a competent and learned civil service was essential, and that recruitment to it could have nothing to do with birth.<sup>62</sup> It is possibly for the same reason that inherited social position has long depended on the mobility of social status driven by competitions which were open to the public, based on a system of education, qualification and national examination. This is addressed in more detail in Chapter 4, since mobility of social status and the national examination system for civil service recruitment were the most important stimuli for leisure culture, due to the significant roles played by the officials who had gone through this system. They were greatly involved in leading landscape improvement for public leisure, administering and promoting outdoor leisure places.

The total extent of the irrigation system and the engineering works related to it confirms the close contact between the Chinese and their physical environment. The greater number of China's estimated 320,000 km of canals are in the Yangzi Plain. The canals provide transportation and irrigation, and the mud dredged periodically from their bottoms was traditionally used as fertiliser. There was already a network of canals in the pre-Qin period (before the third century B.C.) and the early imperial dynasties. The important Jurong 句容 canal in Jiangsu, as well as the artificial lake at Mt. Chishan for irrigation near Danyang 丹阳, were completed by the third century (by the Wu Kingdom in the period of Three-kingdoms). At the same time, the Wei Kingdom constructed three large reservoirs and two trunk canals in the Huai river valley, and six important canals in provinces of Shandong, Henan, Hebei, Shanxi and Shanxi.<sup>63</sup> Then for example in the seventh century (Sui dynasty) the Grand Canal linking the capital and the southern area of the Yangzi River valley was dug. In short,

62 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) P.117

63 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) P.117

the Chinese had an intensive relationship with their natural setting, having been involved in altering their landscape environment since ancient times; they saw Nature as something that could be perfected or bettered for human habitation and had attained the ability to support their opinions. The purpose of listing these examples of canals and artificial lakes is to demonstrate that as an agricultural civilization, the Chinese culture has long been familiar with the need for human adaptation to the landscape environment. Chinese had developed the custom of close observation of Nature, while the close relationship between man and Nature has been manifest in their thoughts, philosophies and religions.

### Economic Context

During the Tang and Song dynasties, scenic sites adapted for public leisure first appeared on a large scale. At this period, two momentous and closely interrelated changes transformed society and the Chinese economy. The first was the gradual disappearance of privileged families (the new 'aristocracy'), who were replaced by a bureaucracy recruited on the basis of proven ability, drawn from a much wider section of society. The second major development was the growth and diversification of commercial activities which began in the second half of the Tang dynasty with the gradual transition to a money economy and the dissolution of the state-controlled marketing system.<sup>64</sup> This process was much accelerated in the Song dynasty. The economy developed from the time of the Tang dynasty, flourishing especially in the Song.<sup>65</sup> Continued reclamation and drainage work plus improved agricultural techniques and seed varieties produced high yields and large food surpluses. These, and better transportation by water permitted the growth of economy, towns and cities. In 1021, the revenue of the Song government equalled around 750,000kg gold, a considerable sum even today.<sup>66</sup> Trade and production were also boosted, and in 1077

64 Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.7

65 Ray Huang, *Broad Historic View won't Wither* 大历史不会萎缩 (Hongkong: Lianjing Publish House 聯經, 2004) p331

66 Ray Huang 黃仁宇, *Macro Views on Chinese History* 中國大歷史, (Hongkong: Lianjing Publish House 聯經, 1993), p.181

the tax revenue from commerce was 70%, more than two times than that from agriculture.<sup>67</sup>

The Ming and Qing dynasties were a period of relative peace and stable government, with prosperity and a rapidly rising population. It is clear that the diverse commercial activity that had flourished in the Song continued and increased enormously throughout the following centuries.<sup>68</sup>

### **The common land policy**

In pre-modern times, China was primarily a settled agricultural country with many thousands of villages and towns scattered over its vast territories.<sup>69</sup> Although the state ownership of land had been abandoned since the Qin dynasty and private ownership permitted,<sup>70</sup> this only applied to the arable lands. The flat land has been gradually taken into cultivation by peasants. During the Tang and Song dynasties, the population of the Yangzi valley and southeast was still not particularly dense, but the area of arable lands kept on increasing until the Ming dynasty.<sup>71</sup> Over 85% of China's vast territory is not suitable for agricultural purposes,<sup>72</sup> but consists of mountain ranges, forest belts and great lakes. Non-arable land such as mountains and wetlands have always (with very rare exceptions in short periods) remained under central government control and been administered by local governments, practically serving as common land accessible to the public. Distribution of rights to non-arable land was not profitable, therefore not important to early peasant societies. In feudal times, non-arable land was officially restricted for the private use of the nobility. However, this

67 Ray Huang 黄仁宇, *Macro Views on Chinese History* 中国大历史, quoting the Official Song History(13th century) 《宋史·食货志》会计部分,熙宁 10 年 (1077) 为例, 北宋税赋总收入为 7070 万贯, 其中农业两税 2162 万贯, 占 30%; 工商税 4911 万贯, 占 70%.

68 Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.9-10

69 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) p.2

70 Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.3

71 Peng Yuxin, *Arable land reclaiming history in Qing dynasty*, (Beijing: Agricultural Press, 1990) 彭雨新: 清代土地开垦史, 农业出版社 1990 年

72 Arable land is only 12.5% of the whole territory of China, according to the government information of 1996.

policy was not very strict and historic records showed that even the royal garden of the King Zhouwenwang (11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) was open to the public for hunting and collecting.<sup>73</sup> From the Han dynasty, these lands were open for public use. In order to maintain some control over migration, the authorities set up toll gates at passes and other entrances to the restricted preserves. Keepers at the toll gates made it a practice to collect a portion of people's take, whether it was a hunted fox or wood.<sup>74</sup> The preservation of non-arable land as common land and its accessibility for the public since very early times are very important for scenic sites adapted as public leisure places in later history.

The typical open building style of pre-modern China has been a significant influence on outdoor leisure culture: the timber-frame construction has load-bearing pillars and non-load-bearing walls, which allow the easy removal of walls and make the inner space integrate freely with the outer space. Even in the most sealed quadrangle house, with a yard in the centre and four buildings along four edges and few openings to the outside, each side building has a full facade opening to the central yard, that is, they are open but inverted, with their outdoor leisure space right at hand but facing inwards to the courtyard. The inner facade adjacent to the central yard was often made of wooden doors; with these doors open, the building is totally open, inner space and outer space dissolving together. The timber-frame construction with load-bearing pillars made the space more flexible and open compared with the load-bearing walls construction system. It allowed the flexible design of open verandas, kiosks, gazebos, pavilions and all kinds of open buildings suitable for outdoor leisure in terms of supplying rest and shielding their occupants from bad weather.

It is hard to say whether the character of the climate or the popularity of outdoor leisure calls for a certain kind of building, or whether the load-bearing pillars system

73 Mengzi 孟子(372 B.C.-289B.C.), 'Dialogue with King Lianghui' 《孟子 梁惠王下》, in *Wenyaoge Siku Quanshu* 文渊閣四庫全書經部十三經, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) 「文王之囿,方七十里,刍蕘者往焉,雉兔者往焉,與民同之。」

74 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) p.19-20

of construction explains the environment and custom, or makes its character manifest. However, it is apparent that the outdoor leisure custom, the open architectural style, is appropriate to climatic conditions. It is believed that the climate was warmer and milder two thousand years ago, and that the average annual temperature then was 2°C above what it is at present.<sup>75</sup> This affected flora and fauna, which included tropical species: 2000 years ago, there were elephants living in the northern part of China, including the grand Yellow River valley where the Chinese civilization developed. Some 1000 years later, the northern latitudinal range of elephants moved down to the Huai River valley. Gradually, it moved south further to the Yangzi River, and now, only the extreme southern provinces like Yunnan and Guangdong are suitable for wild elephants.<sup>76</sup> The climatic changes were visible in the extent of frost periods, the distribution of flora habitats and harvest times; for example, in the early Tang dynasty, the lowest temperature in the capital Chang'an was above zero with no snow or ice, with oranges and plums planted, while today, these plants can not survive since the present lowest temperature is usually below -14°C.<sup>77</sup>

There have been four warm periods and four colder ones. The length of the four warm periods was 2000, 800, 600, and 140 years. Each chilly period was much shorter. The chilly period is also getting colder since the recorded southern line of frost area during the chilly period moved south from the Han River, to Huai River, then Tai Lake and Dongting Lake, southern to the Yangzi River.<sup>78</sup> The chilly period was on average 1-2°C cooler per year than nowadays. Interestingly enough, the chilly periods were at roughly the same times as the periods of war and disunity, when China was invaded

75 Qin Dahe, *the Historic Change of Climate and Environment in China*, (Beijing: Science Press, 2005) 秦大河.中国气候与环境演变.北京:科学出版社, 2005

76 Zhu Kezhen, 'The Primary Report on the Climatic Change of the last Five Thousand Years'. *Archeology Journal*, 1972(1). 竹可桢.中国近五千年来气候变迁的初步研究[J].考古学报, 1972, (1). 在第一个温暖期, 我国黄河流域等北方地区发现有较多的象群分布; 在第二个温暖期, 象群栖息北界就移到淮河流域及其以南; 在第三个温暖期, 象群就只能在长江以南的闽浙、湘西、岭南等地生存; 至第四个温暖期, 能适应象群栖息的环境只有广东、云南等地。

77 Zhang Quanming, Wang Yude, *Research on Ecological Environment and Regional Culture*, (Wuhan: Chongwen shuju, 2005) p.190 张全民, 王玉德, 生态环境与区域文化史研究[M].(武汉: 崇文书局) 2005. P.190 唐初长安的冬天皆暖和无冰雪。当时皇宫和南郊曲江池都种有梅树和柑桔。

78 Zhu Kezhen, 'The Primary Report on the Climatic Change of the last Five Thousand Years'. *Archeology Journal*, 1972(1). 竹可桢.中国近五千年来气候变迁的初步研究[J].考古学报, 1972, (1).

by the northern nomad people.

The first long warm period was the stable period in which the basis for national architecture was established. Another warm period saw generation of the improvements of scenic sites for outdoor leisure during Tang and Song dynasties. Although there was a long colder period after the Song dynasty, the custom of outdoor leisure in scenic sites continued since it was by then an inherent part of culture, and also partly because most of the scenic sites had already been set up during the Tang and Song period, so that most leisure facilities were ready-made.

In the Ming dynasty, the first emperor Hongwu instituted a system of public pavilions in residential areas, where local officials or their deputies could post statements about local matters.<sup>79</sup> These pavilions were also used as resting places for travellers and meeting places for local people. At the Pavilion for Declaring Goodness (jingshan ting 敬善亭) were listed and recited the names of local individuals who had displayed exemplary moral conduct. The lists were to be regularly updated at ceremonies at which those selected as model citizens were honoured in person. There were also Pavilions for Extending Clarity (shenming ting 申明亭). Such pavilions were also the venues where minor neighbourhood disputes were resolved. It was up to the local magistrate to keep these pavilions in use and maintained. This kind of pavilion was an official continuation of the tradition of building public kiosks which had already been popular before the Ming dynasty. The convention of local people congregating in a nearby public pavilion has continued in some traditional remote villages till today and has not been interrupted by modern planning and development.

In short, all the physical background, including the geographic environment, historic climatic environment, common land policy and the openness of the architectural style as discussed above, have been extremely important in the development of China's outdoor leisure culture.

---

<sup>79</sup> Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) P.58

## **Philosophical context**

It is the social system, ideology, beliefs and the popular notion in history, which may cast the most important influences on the forms and patterns of Chinese traditional architecture;<sup>80</sup> the same theory applies to landscape as well. The appreciation of scenic sites based on the views of Nature in the many widely spread religions, systematic thoughts and philosophies. The cultural values of scenic sites in respect of Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, Folk beliefs, and literary output should be explored.

The sixth century B.C. saw the greatest period of intellectual flowering in ancient China. The growth of the population, increasing conflicts between traditional rites and newly developed customs, and the technological revolution caused by the manufacture of iron, all led to a situation in which a demand for philosophy and systematic thought rose in a search to give explanations and advice about life,<sup>81</sup> with the 'hundred schools' of philosophers reaching a peak between 500B.C. and 250B.C. There developed a tradition for scriptures recording philosophies and systematic thoughts, most of which have survived, either in copies of the original books or in books that reviewed them.<sup>82</sup> These philosophies and systematic thoughts have greatly influenced Chinese culture. As early as the second century B.C., the classical Confucian and Daoist valuations had become the dominant culture for the vast population of peasant farmers.<sup>83</sup> Scriptures and other literature of this period of time contained explanations of natural phenomena, geographical details and natural sources. Nature was keenly observed and appreciated and scholars were expected to have a detailed knowledge of these classical scriptures.<sup>84</sup>

---

80 H. S. Guo, 'The Pattern of Chinese Ancient Architecture 中国古代建筑的格局', *Culture and History Knowledge*, 2 (1987), 13-19 (p.17).

81 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.1(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) P.95

82 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.1(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.74

83 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.1(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.119

84 John Berthrong, 'Confucian views of nature', in *Nature Across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-western Cultures*, ed. by Helaine Selin, Arne Kalland, (Berlin: Springer, 2003) pp.374-392, p.374

Confucianism was but one of the many philosophical systems that spread over China before it was designated by the Emperor Han-Wu (156B.C-87B.C.) as the only official ideology supported by the government in the late second century B.C.<sup>85</sup> Since then it has been continuously supported by the imperial court and government in different dynasties for more than two thousand years. It has determined the nature and contents of the National Examination for electing officials until the early twentieth century, when Western ideas flooded in and the so called ‘new culture’ emerged. It is apparent that Confucianism is the key to understand the cultural context, including those of scenic improvement and the promotion for public leisure.

Six paradigmatic historical transformations in the Confucian tradition can be distinguished<sup>86</sup>:

- the rise of the classical tradition in Shang and Zhou China (ca. 1700-221 BCE);
- the commentary synthesis of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220);
- the defence of the Confucian way: the challenge of Neo-Daoism and Buddhism, from the Wei-Jin to the Tang (220-907);
- Neo-Confucianism, the renaissance of the Song and the following of the Ming dynasties (960-1644) and Confucianism’s spread to Korea and Japan;
- the evidential research of Confucianism in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911);
- New Confucianism in the modern world: variations on an East Asian theme (1911-now).

An important period of Confucianism is Neo-Confucianism, the phase after the challenges by Daoism and Buddhism. During this period it is obvious that there was clear borrowing of texts and ideas from Daoist and Buddhist sources; sometimes obvious stimulation,<sup>87</sup> but the level and intensity of the borrowing is unclear. However, in terms of the advocacy of a close relationship with Nature, there is no remarkable difference between classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism, and the subtle

<sup>85</sup> Zhen Rong 荣真, *Hanwudi[Emperor of Hanwu]* 汉武帝 (Taibei: Zhishufang, 1992) p.46 ('罢黜百家，独尊儒术')

<sup>86</sup> John Berthrong, 'Confucian views of nature', in *Nature Across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-western Cultures*, ed. by Helaine Selin, Arne Kalland, (Berlin: Springer, 2003) pp.374-392

<sup>87</sup> John Berthrong, 'Confucian views of nature', in *Nature Across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-western Cultures*, ed. by Helaine Selin, Arne Kalland, (Berlin: Springer, 2003) pp.374-392, p.382

difference between various schools and phases of Confucianism are academic rather than noticeable in the physical expression of landscape values.

In the third century, Daoism united the doctrines of the Daoist schools of ancient philosophers with the mass of magic-scientific accretions into an organised religion.<sup>88</sup> The conception of man as a part of Nature on equal terms with animals and plants, rather than as something unique in Nature, contrasting with and struggling against Nature, has been general in Asian thought. Daoism carried this conception to the point of suspicion of humanism and rationality itself;<sup>89</sup> but one of its effects was to inspire a unique feeling for wild Nature, which should not be simply taken as 'pleasure', or the awareness of 'beauty' in Nature, or simply termed as 'religious'. Actually, it 'provides a special insight into life and "reality", an inspiration for comprehension of the cosmos'.<sup>90</sup> Keeping this in mind, it is easier to understand that in Chinese literature and painting there is a constantly recurring image of one lonely person, 'surrounded by wild Nature, for example amongst immense precipices, torrents and mists'.<sup>91</sup> Such an image is a symbol showing the essence of the Daoist or Chanist view of Nature, which is that the ideal is combined with the recession into Nature, being encoded in the scenic views, rising above the ambitions and desires of the mundane world and freed from the rapacity and intrigues of the daily world. In this sense, scenery is considered as 'heaven' or 'haven'.

Buddhism appeared in China for the first time in A.D.65, and a century later the first sutras were translated into Chinese at Luoyang.<sup>92</sup> Buddhism started to become popular. Buddhism, originally imported from India, has influenced Daoism and Confucianism greatly, and of course, along its spread in China and the translation of

---

88 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.117

89 Van Doan Tran, *Reason, rationality, and reasonableness* (Washington, D.C., The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2001) p.113

90 Hans-Georg Moeller, *Daoism explained: from the dream of the butterfly to the fishnet allegory* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 2004) p.54

91 Michael Sullivan, *Symbols of eternity: the art of landscape painting in China* (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 1979) p.26-27

92 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.112

the sutras into Chinese language, it has itself also adapted to Chinese vernacular culture.<sup>93</sup> In respect of viewing Nature as an important source of religious practice, both Buddhism and Daoism are compatible with the existing values handed down from ancient times, especially after the eighth century when Chan, the adaptation of Buddhism with Chinese culture, was widely spread.

Chinese philosophers, including thinkers of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, did not, in the main, believe in a single God directing the cosmos, but thought rather in terms of an impersonal force (Tian 天), better translated as ‘the cosmic order’; the Dao 道 (or Tian-Dao) was the ‘order of Nature’.<sup>94</sup> Man was thought of as the highest of the forms of life, but was not to dominate. His role was to assist in the transforming and nourishing processes of heaven and earth, and this was why it was so often said that humanity forms a triad with heaven and earth. It was neither for man to question the way of Tian, nor to compete with it, but rather to fall in with it while satisfying his basic needs.<sup>95</sup>

Nature was favoured in Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, being taken as a valuable source for the inspiration of life and essential for their religious practice. While Confucians considered Nature as the source of abstract moral lessons, insisting that scenery was helpful in edifying people so as to make a better and happier society, Buddhists took Nature as the outward embodiment of universal truth, and believed that meditation can help to inspire people to recognize the truth at last. Daoists were carefree to some extent compared with Confucians and Buddhists, inheriting much ancient mythology; they were particularly good at imagining a wonderland which ran in parallel to the real world, sharing the same landscape with the mundane people, so that scenic sites were taken as the settings of their ideals, and were thus appreciated

---

93 Hans-Georg Moeller,  *(Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 2004) p.149*

94 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.7 part II, ed. by Kenneth G. Robinson(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.91

95 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.7 part II, ed. by Kenneth G. Robinson(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.91

and admired.

These various religions, philosophies and native systems of thought contributed to the appreciation of Nature, and supported the purposes of scenic sites and provided a rationale for them being adapted for public leisure.

## **Chapter 3. Scenic sites as a common concern**

In order to demonstrate that scenic sites have been a common concern throughout Chinese history, four aspects are discussed in this chapter: the statistics and analysis of Bajing to reveal the characteristics of scenic sites; the literary representation of Nature and scenery; a typical example of Bajing and the historic development of a specific scenic site is illustrated with Jiaxing; and finally the importance of scenic sites as the basis of classic garden design is highlighted.

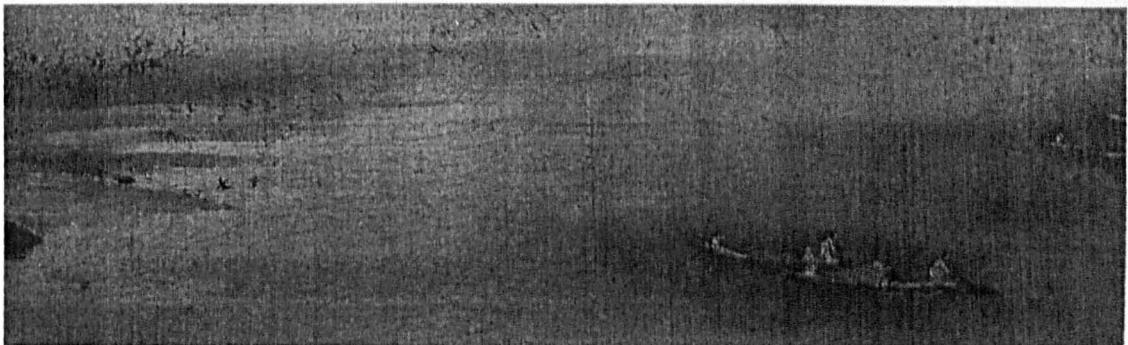
### **a. The characteristics of scenic sites:**

#### **the importance of Bajing and the statistics**

Bajing were series of landscapes selected and celebrated by a provincial or local government and promoted as places for outdoor leisure activities. They were important recorded sources of scenic sites and reveal traditions in landscape appreciation and public preference, and show how various artistic expressions related to each other in the representation of scenic sites (Fig3.1). Bajing has often been translated from Chinese as Eight Views, the name being taken from a genre of landscape painting inspired by the Xiao Xiang Eight Views which was painted by Song Di in the eleventh century (Fig3.2). It has also been translated as ‘prospects’ and as ‘views’. Bajing was, however, a much wider concept which distinguished between ‘real’ and imagined or painted landscapes, so a distinctive term, Eight Scenes, has been used here in order to distinguish them from each other.



Figure 3.1 Bajing of Yangcheng, including titles, illustrations, and poems for each scene (source: Gazette of Yangcheng in Qing dynasty)



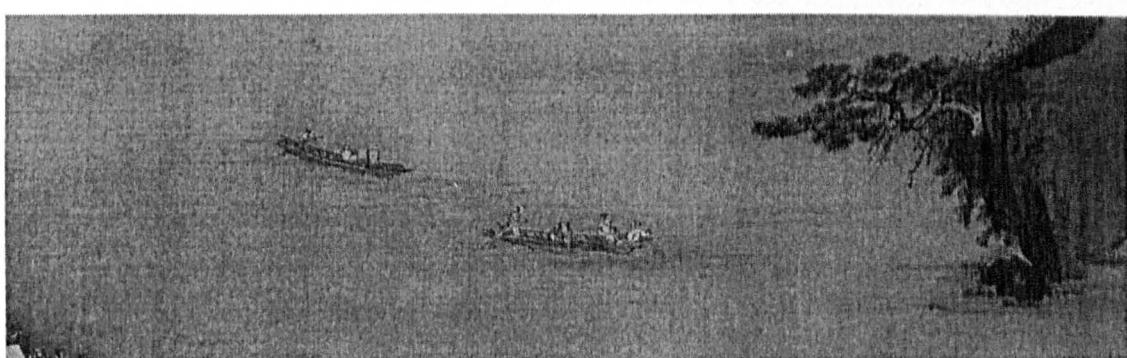


Figure 10. A series of four photographs showing a typical landscape in North America. The first three photographs show the terrain and vegetation, while the fourth photograph shows a body of water with boats and a prominent tree.

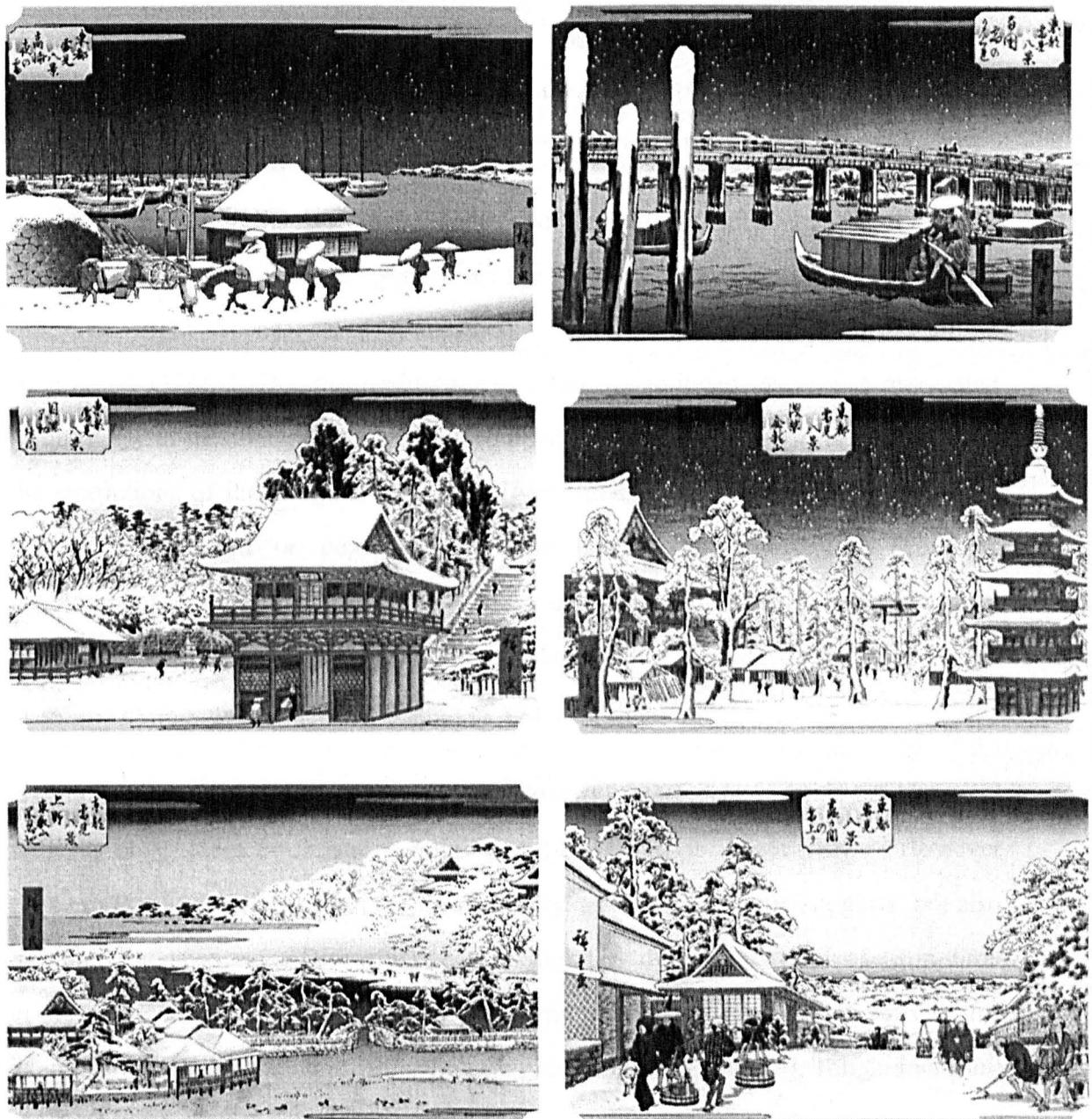


Figure 3.2 This scroll of Xiaoxiang Eight Views painted by Zhangyuan, c. 1660 was inspired by the Eight Scene genre landscape painting, which had gained popularity since the eleventh century. The first famous artist of this genre painting was Song-Di, a Song government official, noted to be especially gifted in landscape painting and renowned for his "Eight Scenes of Xiaoxiang". The titles of Eight Scenes in this scroll are the same as the ones first used by Song-Di. (Source: Shanghai Museum; scenes depicted in the order as seen on the scroll from right to left, dimensions: 19cm x 519cm, ink on silk)

## Bajing: a widespread phenomenon

Bajing was a cultural phenomenon which meant that every self respecting municipality would promote their best landscape scenes and most popular resorts as places for outdoor recreation and leisure activities. This was generally done by local literati who were invited, or at their own initiative selected a series of places within its boundaries that they felt were characteristic for the area. These places would then be celebrated in landscape drawings or more commonly in poetry, with both genres of representation developing into significant forms of art. While the earliest evidence for Bajing poems dates from the eighth century, and evidence of Bajing paintings dates

from the tenth century, it became a popular art form from the eleventh century, and a popular tradition in real landscape during the Ming and Qing Dynasty (fourteenth to nineteenth centuries). The practice was exported elsewhere in East Asia, including Japan and Korea (Fig 3.3).<sup>96</sup> From surviving evidence it is likely that there may have been at least 2000 sets of Bajing in China alone.



<sup>96</sup> Yi Ran 冉毅, 'Xiao Xiang Eight Scenes in Japan' 潇湘八景在日本, *Education Newspaper of Hunan* 湖南教育报, 9 May 1992

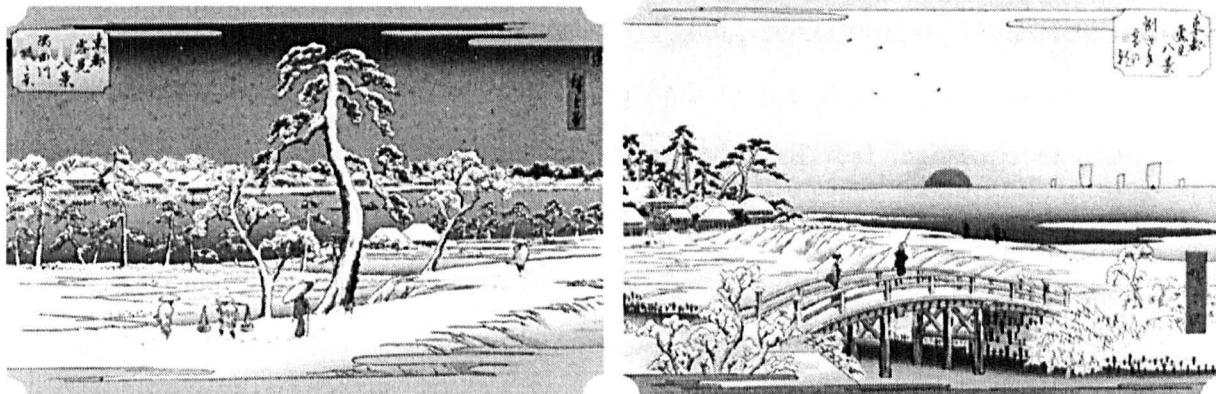


Figure 3.3 Woodblock prints made by Japanese artist Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) and other similar 'Eight Scenes' show the influence of Bajing in the Far East and indicate the popularity of the genre (Source: Eight Scenes After Snow in the East Capital, Japan 东都雪见八景; private collection)

As with any fashion that becomes popular and generally accepted, treatment tends to become formulaic, becoming a generic art form in the eighteenth century, and it is for this that Eight Scenes have sometimes been criticised.<sup>97</sup> During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the tradition was totally abandoned, as it was associated primarily with the literary classes and regarded as an old elite art form. By the time the restrictions of the Cultural Revolution were finally relaxed in 1979, the tradition had been forgotten or neglected to some extent. The subsequent economic development, particularly from the 1990s onwards has unfortunately meant that most of the historic places included in Eight Scenes have been destroyed, due to the ceaseless exploitation of natural resources and urbanisation.

Bajing is a familiar concept in oriental art history, referred to in most art historical treatises on Chinese or Japanese painting and translated as 'Eight Views'. However the term Bajing refers not only to visual scenery, as the word 'view' suggests, but also to scenes and scenarios of specific events taking place during a particular season, time or weather conditions. Some of the scenes demonstrably involve human activity, for example, one of the Bajing of Zhuozhou (in present Hebei Province), Tonghuidengshi,

<sup>97</sup> For example, a famous historian like Dai Zhen 戴震(1723-1777) has advocated not to record Eight Scenes in Fangzhi (official local Gazette literature) since he reckoned such records were not accurate or objective, and were usually exaggerated (in the preface of the official Gazette literature of Fenzhou edited by him<乾隆汾州府志例言>); and literate like Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) have criticised this tradition as a disease that every county has got (in his prose 'My Further Argument on the Collapse of Leifeng Tower '<再论雷锋塔的倒掉> ).

entitled 通会灯市, meaning ‘Lantern fair of Tonghui’, suggests that this depicted a ‘scene’ during the Lantern Festival, referring both to the physical setting and the activity. Yet despite this clear distinction, this Bajing of real landscape is often confused with the ‘Eight Views’ theme in painting like the famous Xiao Xiang Eight Views in present-day Hunan Province painted by Song Di (1015-1080) in the eleventh century and later imitated by many other artists (This painting no longer survives, but its reputation is legendary). For this reason the term ‘Eight Scenes’ is used in this thesis to translate ‘Bajing’ of real landscape instead of ‘Eight Views’, since ‘views’ are often associated with pictorial representation, while ‘scene’ refers to an area of a particular activity, event, or action.

Research in the Eight Views tradition mainly concentrates on issues relating to the style of painting, usually focusing on the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang as the origin of such tradition. The various accounts concentrate on painterly and literary aspects and do not fully or adequately address the historic context or contemporary customs, or discuss the hidden meanings concealed in the Eight Views genre. They do not investigate why, how and when this Eight Scene tradition arose, how it developed, and how, recently, it has been revived in a modern guise. In fact this research suggests that these paintings are revelatory for the various ways in which landscape was perceived. There is therefore a need for a more contextual approach that investigates Bajing from its eleventh century development and its even earlier origins, to the phenomenon of Eight Scenes of real landscape in later history. The earliest roots of landscape appreciation and representation are to be found in poetry rather than painting, and an insight into this tradition in literature provides a basis for understanding Bajing. Yet this insight has to be enriched by a wider understanding of the meaning of Bajing in Daoism as this may have determined the development of the word. This chapter looks at these issues and then analyses data by means of a survey of known Eight Scenes to provide a better understanding as to what features and activities were preferred. As this chapter aims to elevate the discussion of Bajing beyond the usual art historical treatment of the subject to that of the actual landscapes

concerned, a slightly more comprehensive contextualisation may be necessary than would otherwise be required.

The survey, which draws on a hundred randomly selected examples of Eight Scenes, makes extensive use of information from the local history databases compiled by various local authorities, including detailed descriptions of scenes, their associated histories and information on their present condition. The information in these databases originates from the local Gazettes (方志) and clan records (家譜)<sup>98</sup>, and in most cases original Bajing poetry or short historic references are quoted directly. The examples selected are scattered throughout China (Fig 3.4) but they are mainly located within the boundaries of the region of Han people.<sup>99</sup> (Fig 3.5) This suggests that Bajing was a widespread phenomenon especially associated with Han culture.

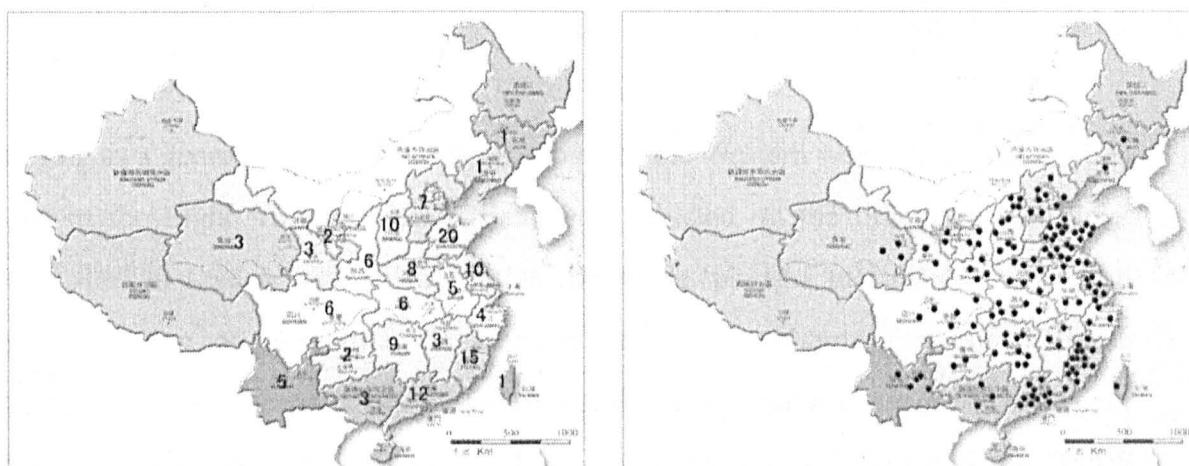
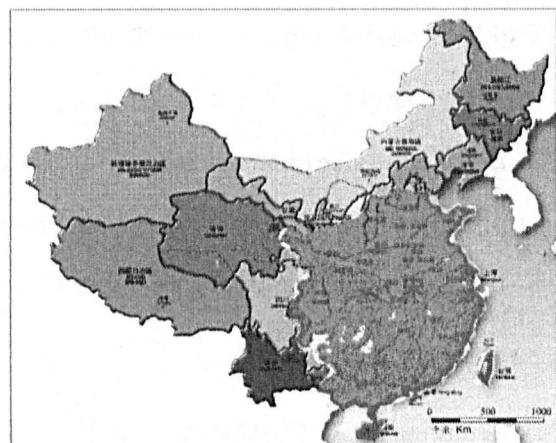


Figure 3.4 The distribution of the collected examples of Bajing in China (one map shows in number and one in dots)

Figure 3.5 Territory of China during the Northern Song Dynasty (in red) compared with the present territory of China.



<sup>98</sup> Tingyin Zhang, 'The Cultural Significance of Eight Scenes Recorded in Traditional Clan Records' 传统家譜中八景的文化意义, *Academic Journal of Guangzhou University* 广州大学学报, vol.3 no.4 (2004) pp.40-45 (p.40-41)

<sup>99</sup> There are 56 nations united in present-day China, of which Han was the dominant one. China now covers a similar area to that during the Song Dynasty

## Eight Scenes of real landscape versus Eight Views of painting

While there is a significant difference between Eight Scenes of real landscape and the Eight Views of painting, both share the same roots in poetic landscape appreciation. However they sometimes developed separately, though often in parallel with each other. This means that the real landscape was the source of inspiration for Eight Views paintings. In painting 'Xiao Xiang Bajing' refers to an artistic genre rather than a real place<sup>100</sup>, and is of intent on evoking a 'melancholic mood'<sup>101</sup> abstracted from natural scenery. In contrast, paintings and poetry of the Bajing of a real place represent not just artistic values, but topographical and landscape features as well as buildings at a specific time, as conveyed by a season or festival, and they often even reflect contemporary recreational habits.

Bajing as a genre of painting has been known to the Western world since 1639, when one of the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang was depicted on the title page of a book published in Leiden with an inscription that reads 'pingsha luoyan' (scene of wild geese landing on a mudflat on a water's edge), a common theme in Chinese painting.<sup>102</sup> It was however not till the twentieth century that this genre became better known; the 1910-12 Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese art works in the British Museum included one of a set of the Eight Views by the Japanese artist Sesson, and a set by Kano Toun as well as two Chinese Bajing pictures of the Ming Dynasty. By noting that these pictures 'form a traditional series of landscape subjects, the Eight Famous Views or Scenes originally associated with the scenery of Lake Tung-Ting in China, and afterward transferred to the scenery of Lake Biwa in Japan and to that of

100 Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The subtle art of dissent* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), p.71

101 Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The power of illusion in Chinese painting*, ( Boston: BRILL, 1999) p.64-95

102 Donald Frederick Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe: A century of advance. Book 2, South Asia* ( Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) p.314

other localities,<sup>103</sup> the cultural context and the evolution of the genre were slightly oversimplified.

It has been in the West and in Japan, rather than in China itself, where research into Eight Views has flourished since. There is an eleventh century Chinese manual written by Guo Ruoxu, which commented on the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang, believing it to be the archetype of the genre, and mentioned an earlier genre that employed multiple scenes and provides the forerunner of Eight Views, namely the Four Seasons paintings.<sup>104</sup> These paintings were normally produced in series wherein each view was isolated on its own support and yet connected visually to the other scrolls. The sequential format of the Eight Views was drawn from the Four Seasons genre, which had been well established in the Song painting academy,<sup>105</sup> yet evolved slightly over time. By the thirteenth century, Eight Views of Xiao Xiang were the most popular subjects of landscape painting.<sup>106</sup> There are records of earlier artists painting Eight Views, including Huang Quan (903-968) and Song Di's teacher Li Cheng, and also many earlier artists painting Xiao Xiang landscapes, but these paintings unfortunately do not appear to survive.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to these, there are various examples of eleventh century serial views in landscape painting, including 'Dwelling in Mt. Lungmian' (*Lungmian shanzhuang tu*) by Li Gonglin (1049-1106) that survives in Taipei Old Palace Museum. This fashion for serial views can also be traced to the Tang Dynasty, several hundred years earlier; examples include 'Ten Views from a Thatched Hall' (*Caotang shizhi tu*) by Lu Hong (early eighth century) and the associated ten texts (Fig 3.6).

---

103 Zhaoming Qian, *Orientalism and Modernism: The legacy of China*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995)

104 Alexander Coburn Soper, *Experiences in Painting: An eleventh century history of Chinese painting* (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951)

105 Richard Barnhart, 1991, p.223-246, cited by Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, in *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The power of illusion in Chinese painting*, (Boston: BRILL, 1999) p.93

106 Hugo Munsterberg, *The Landscape Painting of China and Japan*, (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle, 1955) p.7

107 Guo Ruoxu noted an extant set of Eight Views paintings by Huang Quan; Li Cheng is attributed a series of paintings of Eight Views by Mi Fu.

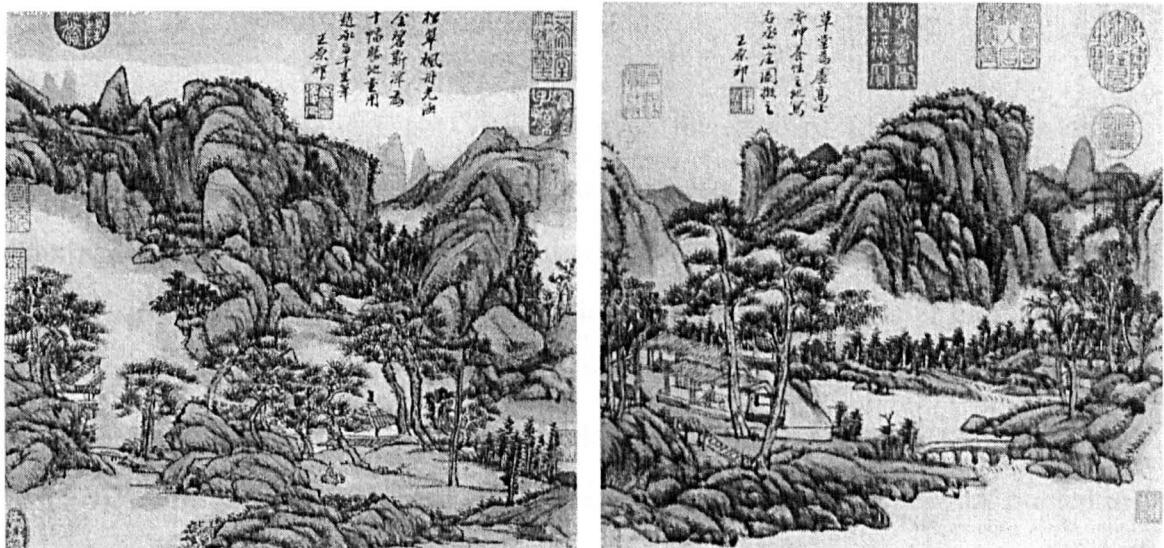


Figure 3.6 Three of the Ten Views from a Thatched Hall by Lu Hong (early eighth century), imitated by Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), (Album leaves, ink and colour on paper. Source: Collection of Beijing Old Palace Museum, Beijing, China).



There is further evidence that this is an older tradition; a ‘Platform of Eight Views’ was built in Ganzhou during 1056-1063,<sup>108</sup> slightly earlier than Song Di, whose reference to his visit to Yongzhou, where he painted the ‘Xiao Xiang Bajing’, dates from Spring 1063.<sup>109</sup> This is slightly different to a recent revision which confirms that they were painted in the early 1060’s but suggests that a one-line poem for each view

<sup>108</sup> During 1056-1063AD, the head officer of Qianzhou (The name of the city has been changed to ‘Ganzhou’ after 1130AD and has been used till now) built a stone building with platform on the rampart, at the north east corner of the city wall, after he repaired the rampart and the associated buildings . The platform was named ‘Eight Scenes Platform’(the Chinese word used here was jing 境 other than jing 景, which are synonyms in this context). The officer also painted ‘Eight Scenes of Qianzhou’ which unfortunately no longer survive.

<sup>109</sup> Guoqiang Liu 刘国强, ‘About the Cultural Heritage of Traditional Bajing in Hunan Province’湖南旧八景文化遗产刍议, *Chinese Local Gazette 中国地方志*, 2003 (04)

was written in 1074.<sup>110</sup>

The origin of Xiao Xiang Eight Views or even the style of Eight Views is often attributed to Song Di, but the above evidence suggests that the Eight Views style of painting, or at any rate the multiple views style of painting, was already a wide spread fashion before Song Di. The main contribution of Song Di is that, after him, the titles of Xiao Xiang Eight Views all imitate those he composed, while prior to him the titles for each view would not have been specifically identified. Song Di's titles for his Eight Views of Xiao Xiang included the above mentioned 'pingsha luoyan' quoted in the seventeenth century European source, and it was these titles that made them famous as they became widely used as titles for other paintings. These titles have since been used consistently; either quoted directly or with variations as a basis for Eight Views paintings in China, Japan<sup>111</sup> and Korea. There is a consensus that Song Di's paintings were attractive for their poetic and multi-sensorial quality, and for their titles which contained imagery, mood, and structure typical of the art of regulated verse.<sup>112</sup>

By the late twelfth century, the archetype of a series of eight views with an integrated four line poem developed. These were generally presented as a hand scroll, hanging scrolls or an album. This format of a series of poems linked with landscape paintings and complementary to each other, inspired painters to isolate and thus emphasise the most important or memorable aspects of an admired landscape, thereby directing the viewers' attention to the most significant foci of contemplation.<sup>113</sup> Xia Gui (c.1180-1230) pursued this tradition not in eight but Twelve Views (four of which are in existence today), and Ye Xiaoyan's Ten Views of West Lake (c.1253-58), preserved in

---

110 Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape*, p.64

111 Yoshiro Yonezawa, Chū Yoshizawa, Betty Iverson Monroe, *Japanese Painting in the Literati Style* (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1974) The book shows many Japanese examples of Eight Views painting, and recognizes it as a classical Chinese genre.

112 Alfred Murck, *The Meaning of the Eight Views of Hsiao-Hsiang: Poetry and painting in Song China*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1995) p.121-124

113 Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape*, p.95

an album in Taibei.

The tradition of adding poetry to certain paintings in the form of annotation and comment, even written on the paintings themselves, is similarly ancient, with early famous examples including those by Tang poets Du Fu (712- 770) and Wang Wei (701- 761). It has been suggested that this ‘combination of narrative and pictures’ did not originate in the upper class tradition of the hand scroll, but in the popular use of scrolls in picture-storytelling. These were used for oral performances where the reciter indicated the pictures to support the narrative.<sup>114</sup> This kind of picture-storytelling is revealed in murals in Dunhuang (Gansu Province) dating from the fifth to eighth centuries, which survive today.

More than a century after the Xiao Xiang views were prepared, Zhao Xigu (f.1195-c.1242) suggested in his Record of Pure Happiness from a Hermit’s Cave (Dongtian qinglu ji) that ‘when Song Di painted the eight views of Xiao Xiang, he did not impose titles on them beforehand.’ This therefore suggests that poetry and poetic titles were coined afterwards,<sup>115</sup> and reveals that paintings of landscape scenery were valued in a similar way to the landscape itself. Both paintings and actual landscapes were viewed, appreciated and praised in poetry, and then poetry was inscribed on stone in actual landscapes, or written onto the painting. In the latter circumstance, painting and poetry no longer represented the actual landscape on which it was based, but the poetry represented the painted landscape. With this the landscape painting was no longer representative of an actual place but rather an imagined scene for a dream journey based on ink strokes. The actual landscape appeared irrelevant. It thus suggests that the Eight Views became a motif, or genre in landscape painting, with the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang becoming its archetype. It is generally believed that scholars preferred painted landscapes over actual ones to evoke certain moods. These

---

114 Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997) p.36

115 Zhao Xihu 赵希鹄, *Dongtian Qingluji* 洞天清录集, cited by Xingpei Yuan, Zhongyi Hou, in *Zhongguo Wenyanxiaoshuo Shumu* [Catalogue of Novels in Classical Chinese] (Beijing: Beijing University, 1981) p.181

served as a basis for the art of poetry, in which new lines were constantly being created.<sup>116</sup> Ultimately however the increased popularity of the Eight Views genre as a form of artistic representation meant that it began to be seen as a separate form of art, which developed a separate set of rules which pursued an ideal form. As a result there are two different categories, those reflecting real landscapes and those focused instead on a set ideal form. The latter are particularly formulaic and frequently have a more generic poetry.

There is no evidence indicating that the selection and poetic naming of local famous views or scenes followed the fashion of painting. Rather it appears to have had its own independent roots in the custom of landscape appreciation and traditional literary expression, dating from centuries before the establishment of the Eight Views painting genre. Alternatively it may have developed in parallel alongside the genre of painting style, merging occasionally and being mutually influential. These early landscape paintings and the associated literature furthered the Chinese perception and cultural transformation of Nature.<sup>117</sup>

## **Etymology of Bajing and the number eight**

Though eight is referred to in the term of Bajing and eight is the usual number of sequential scenes, other numbers also occur, as for example twelve or twenty. The Ming series of landscape paintings also involve groups of four, ten, or twelve views in addition to eight. However, in history after Song Dynasty, 'eight scenes' became the most popular number, which in Chinese is referred to as 'Bajing'.

There are many examples of words losing their original Chinese meaning and then

---

116 Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape*, p.98

117 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.33

acquiring new ones, or of the same word referring to various meanings. Like many other idioms, the word Bajing may originate from a Daoist term. Since Daoism was widespread in ancient China, popular Daoist terms were commonly adopted and used while having lost most, or all of their original Daoist connotations, though there are often associations between the original Daoist religious concepts and the modern terms. For example, a commonly used word hushuo bادao (meaning ‘non sense’, literally ‘random talks about Eight Dao’), is from the Daoist concept bادao, that originally meant Eight Dao, the eight necessary phases of practicing Daoism and becoming immortal.<sup>118</sup> Another word, bian-gua (meaning ‘change mind’, literally ‘changing diagrams’), is from the Daoist term gua-bian, which originally meant the complex diagrams of Yi, the symbol of life.<sup>119</sup>

The Daoist term Bajing was popularly used as a name for Daoist buildings in scenic areas before the eleventh century. Moreover, the Daoist concept Bajing is also linked with eight specific dates equally distributed over a year according to Daoist scriptures.<sup>120</sup> This is similar to the titles of local Bajing which usually consist of two parts: the name of the place and the particular season or time. This can be seen as an evidence of the link. According to the basic canon Huangtingjing, the human body is made up of three sections; top-middle-bottom, with each section having eight spirits to guard it. These are jointly referred to as Bajing.<sup>121</sup> They each are identified by separate names and are connected with particular dates on the calendar. This religious conception of Bajing has not been defined, but as the most basic Daoist term, it was used in various different contexts, including the description of gods, the names of

118 According to Daoist theory, there are eight phases step by step before becoming immortal, known as Eight Dao: ru Dao, xue Dao, fang Dao, xiu Dao, de Dao, chuan Dao, liao Dao, cheng Dao.

119 Chunsheng He 何春生, ‘Idioms Influenced by Daoism’与道教有关的几则成语, *Maoshan Daoyuan* 茅山道院, 22 Feb 2007

120 As recorded in Daoist canon *Shangqing Jinzhenyuguang Bajing Feijing* 《上清金真玉光八景飞经》(compiled in third - forth century, first published in 1554, repr. Shanghai: Hanfenlou 涵芬楼 1926, as part of *Zhengtong Daocang 正统道藏* vol.1042); the spirits are Yuan-jing, Shi-jing, Xuan-jing, Xu-jing, Zhen-jing, Ming-jing, Dong-jing, Qing-jing; respectively the dates connected with each are Beginning of Spring, Spring Equinox, Beginning of Summer, Summer Solstice, Beginning of Autumn, Autumn Equinox, Beginning of Winter, Winter Solstice; it is said that the spirit got Tao on that date.

121 Wei Huacun 魏华存 (?265-?317), *Huangtingjing* 黄庭经, ed. by Zong Du and Chaozhong Zhang 杜琼, 张超中注译 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue Chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社, 1996) p.1-3 (keyword 三部八景二十四真)

places where Daoist gods lived and important buildings in Daoist temple sites, and so on. This is helpful in understanding the popularity of the word, and its common usage at the time when Daoism was popular. For instance, many Daoist canons mention God travelling on a flying carriage called Bajing; sometimes God wears the golden light of Bajing around his neck.<sup>122</sup> The word Bajing is regarded as the most divine godliness without its exact meaning ever being explained. Moreover, the place where Taishanglaojun, the founder of Daoism and a high ranking god in the Daoist godly world, lives, is referred to as ‘Bajing Palace’.<sup>123</sup> This name was popularly used for Daoist temples, with some still in existence today, as for example, the Bajing Palace in the Mt. Nan Daoist Temple in Yantai (Shandong Province 烟台南山道院), and the Bajing Palace in Mt. Hua (Shanxi Province). Moreover terrace and altar in Daoist temples, the central place for Daoist religious activities in the temple, were also usually referred to as Bajing Sacred Terrace and Bajing Altar.<sup>124</sup> The use of this word in these examples can be dated back at least till the third century<sup>125</sup>. This reveals that the word Bajing was already familiar well before the Song Dynasty, when it became popularly used to describe the Eight Scenes concept.

Following their religious thoughts, beliefs and principles in following a close relationship with Nature and thus the Dao (the extreme truth in Daoist belief), Daoists usually built their temples in areas of good scenery. The (Bajing) terraces, altars, and buildings in these temples, having the most prominent positions, were also likely to

122 For example, Dong Gao 董皓(19th century), ‘Tiantan Wangwushan Shengjiji’ [The Appearance of Shenxian in Mt. Wangwu of Tiantan] 天坛王屋山圣迹记, in *Quantangwen* [Whole Collection of Prose of the Tang Dynasty] 全唐文, (Yangzhou: Guanben 扬州官本, 1819 嘉庆二十四年; repr. Beijing: Zhongguashuju 中华书局, 1985) online resource of Chinese historic material database <[http://guji.artx.cn/Article/9863\\_10805.html](http://guji.artx.cn/Article/9863_10805.html)> [accessed 10 June 2008] (original text such as 八景飞舆, 项负八景圆光, 八景天书)

123 The term Bajing is frequently used together with God Taishanglaojun in various Daoist canons such as *Shangqingjing* 上清经, *Laojunqijing* 老君道经, etc. shown in ‘Table of contents’ of *Zhonghuaduocang* [Collection of Chinese Daoist Canon] 中华道藏, ed. by Chinese Daoist Association 中国道教协会 (Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe, 2004; the Ba-Jing Palace as his residence is frequently mentioned in the novel *Fengshenbang* 封神榜 in late 16th century, and other novels and folk stories since.

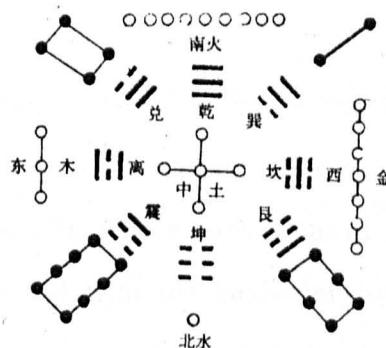
124 For example, the local records *Jiangxitongzhi* [History of Jiangxi] in the early eighteenth century and late nineteenth century about relics of a temple which has been prosperous in seventh to fifteenth centuries, mention the Bajing Altar foundation as the only main remains. 雍正《江西通志》卷 111: ‘今所存者惟八景坛基, 有碑记及诗.’ 光绪《江西通志》卷 122: ‘今所存者为八景坛基。’

125 It was used in *Huangtingjing* 黄庭经, a book written by a female Daoist Wei Huacun 魏华存 (?265-?317) in the third century. source from *Huangtingjing* 黄庭经, annotated by Zong Du and Chaozhong Zhang 杜琼, 张超中注译 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue Chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社, 1996) p.1-3 (keyword 三部八景二十四真)

provide the best views of those places where the gods and immortals lived. In this manner it is likely that the association of Bajing with good landscape scenery came about and ultimately extended its meaning to ‘Eight Scenes’. This gradual evolution over a long period is hard to prove from documentary sources, but the importance of scenery in Daoist thought as evidenced in their centuries long association in the enhancement and maintenance of landscapes in ancient China, appear to confirm this hypothesis.

The reason for selecting ‘Eight’ Scenes for a series probably lies in the symbolic significance of the number eight in Daoism. Eight is known as a special number which could be symbolic (fig 3.7), as it was used in *Yi, The Book of Change*, to refer to an unlimited universe and explained various phenomena.<sup>126</sup>

Figure 3.7 The Eight Diagrams of Yi (易):  
Each diagram is a symbolic sign representing of a certain colour, direction, animal, season, geographical physiognomy, number, etc.  
(Source: Wei Shi 施维, Zhouyi bagua tujie [Pictures and Explanation of Yi] 周易八卦图解 (Chengdu 成都 : Bashu Press 巴蜀出版社, 2003)



In the Chinese language eight could refer to all directions<sup>127</sup>. This implies another meaning as ‘fully’ or ‘wholly’ or ‘all around’ and ‘panorama’. And today, ‘eight’ is specially appreciated because of its similar pronunciation to the word ‘fortunate’(发).

126 *Yi* 易 (*The book of Change*), also known as *Yijing* 易经 or *Zhouyi* 周易, which was written at least 3000 years ago. ‘the Eight Diagrams’ 八卦 was taken as the symbol of the universe; everything can be symbolized in these diagrams or group of diagrams. ‘Xici’ 系辞(下), in *Zhouyi/The Book of Change* 周易, in Jingbu Yilei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/易类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<[http://guji.artx.cn/Article/695\\_699.html#](http://guji.artx.cn/Article/695_699.html#)> [accessed 27 Apr2008] (original text 古者包牺氏之王天下也，仰则观象于天，俯则观法于地，观鸟兽之文与地之宜，近取诸身，远取诸物，于是始作八卦。)

127 A large number of idioms in Chinese indicate this, such as ‘four sides and eight directions’ 四面八方 refers to ‘all the directions around’; ‘be good in eight facets’ 八面玲珑 means ‘be perfect in every aspect’; ‘eight music instruments’ 八乐 is used as the general name for all kinds of music instruments; ‘the relationship of eight obeisance’ 八拜之交 means ‘sworn brothers (sisters)’ or very intimate friendship. There are much more other examples in ancient Chinese language which are hard to explain in modern words, such as: 古代天子祭祀用‘八簋’, 用车称‘八轂’, 取臣用‘八柄’, 统率万民用‘八统’, 治理国家用‘八政’, etc.

As a result eight has been the most favoured number.

To some degree, Eight Scenes provided a range of 'best' landscapes, which were considered as the perfect environment, normally at an appointed time and under specific weather conditions. But what is 'best' is ill defined. Daoism emphasises the significance of natural phenomena, its central belief being that the entire natural world is reflected in the human body and human activities, with everything interconnected. Since they were interconnected, the relationships between them were taken as important, thus the 'best' is always the most suitable, not the biggest. As a result scenes in gales or storms and scenes of arid land, without vegetation, are never selected. The colours, directions, animals, seasons, topography, numbers and stars, and so on. are all related, and could be condensed into or be referred to as eight basic elements, each represented by a symbolic sign. The sign is formed by three lines, which is either a continuous line (—) or a broken line(- -). For example, the sign with three continuous lines (☰) represents sky, northwest, six, male, while the sign with first line broken and the other two continuous represents marsh, west, seven. The basic idea is that everything is connected, especially the seasons, time of the day, weather, and light conditions. These are connected with the landscape to offer a distinct Qi, the natural invisible spirit. In the right conditions, related to location, time, light, weather, and so on, landscape offers a decent Qi, which creates a sense of well-being, and vice versa. As a result the perception of the landscape may have been influenced by this ancient Chinese belief. It has therefore never been objective, but has invariably been complicated by a fusion of physical considerations and subjective mental reflections. This was reflected in the notion of 'Eight Scenes', which usually highlight the most suitable season, time and weather for experiencing the landscape in the titles for the different scenes, suggesting visits to the landscape in a particular season.

The above explains the significance of the number eight in the Scenes. And eight was indeed the usual number; this may partly be because of the form of poem, since

regulated verse, the most common poem form, was in eight lines with five or seven characters in each line.

In 1078 Su Shi suggested that the number eight was not a strict number in referring to ‘Eight Scenes’. When he composed a group of eight poems for the scenes seen from Bajingtai (Fig 3.8), a platform constructed on top of the city wall in Ganzhou, he named it as ‘the platform with eight scenes’.<sup>128</sup> However, according to these poems, there were ten scenes.<sup>129</sup> The discrepancy between the number in the title and the reality was explained by Su Shi, which is helpful in understanding the use of number eight:

There is one continuous landscape here. Then why was it titled as ‘eight’? That is because different people viewing it in different conditions will feel it variously. Have you observed the sun, which looks like a plate in morning, looks like a pearl at noon and a broken bi [ancient round flat jewellery made of jade with a hole through the middle] at sunset? Who will say there are three suns? The conditions are different depending on the object in different seasons, time of the day, the weather, the phases of the moon, and depend on the viewer’s posture, position, mood and taste. The landscape scenes are perceived by my eyes and sensed by my heart, which could differ in a thousand ways. So how can I limit it to a certain number?<sup>130</sup>

Figure 3.8 ‘Bajingtai’ rebuilt in Ganzhou, Jiangxi Province: this platform was originally constructed on the city wall of Ganzhou in eleventh century. It was named ‘the platform with Eight Scenes’, but since the associated poetry described ten scenes the discrepancy between this and the number in its title was explained by Su Shi. This now provides a helpful understanding to the historic use of the number eight in Ba-jing. (Source: Tourism Bureau of Ganzhou)



128 During 1056-1063AD, the head officer of Qianzhou (The name of the city has been changed to ‘Ganzhou’ after 1130AD and has been used till now) built a stone building with platform on the rampart, at the north east corner of the city wall, after he repaired the rampart and the associated buildings . The platform was named ‘Eight Landscape Scenes Platform’(the Chinese word used here was jing 境 other than jing 景, which are synonyms in this context). The officer also painted ‘Eight Landscape Scenes of Qianzhou’ which unfortunately no longer survive.

129 Jin Xu 徐进, *Jiangxi Mingsheng Shixuan* [Poems about Famous Scenic Resorts in Jiangxi]江西名胜诗选 (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe 江西人民出版社,1986) p.186

130 Su Shi (1037-1101), *Su Shi Corpus* 苏轼文集, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Bureau 中华书局, 1982) vol 16, p.791. (original text 此南康之一境也，何从而八乎？所自观之者异也。且予不见夫日乎，其旦如盘，其中如珠，其夕如破璧，此岂三日也哉。苟知夫境之为八也，则凡寒暑、朝夕、雨旸、晦冥之异，坐作、行立、哀乐、喜怒之变，接于吾目而感于吾心者，有不可胜数者矣，岂特八乎。)

It is clear that the number ‘eight’ was used as a symbolic number for multiple scenes instead of referring to the exact number. To Su Shi himself, the ‘scenes’ were only one way of representing what he had seen and experienced in a specific environment, not a way to subdivide the landscape into separate scenes. The landscape was conceived in five dimensions; the usual three dimensions determining space, height, width and depth, but also time, and the viewer’s own feelings. He asserted that a landscape was ‘unlimited’ in the number of scenes, while the ability to represent landscapes was infinite, so that the ‘landscape scenes’ were only a compromise in representation and a reminder of the multiple dimensions of landscape.

Thus the number of scenes appears to have mattered little and served to make people realize that there were various dimensions to a landscape that might be perceived in different ways. In the garden of Fuzhenggong (富郑公, located in Luoyang, in present Henan Province), the main building was named ‘Four Landscape Scenes Hall’, which refers to the fact that there were scenes in four directions from the building.<sup>131</sup> In a similar tradition in the garden of Huanxi (环溪, located in Luoyang, in present Henan Province), the central tower was named as ‘Multiple Scenes’ building.<sup>132</sup> The main building in another garden, Huyuan (湖园, located in Luoyang, in present Henan Province), was as ‘Four Together Hall’, named after the words from an ancient poet Xie Lingyun: ‘There are four elements important for appreciating scenery: the right season and weather, a beautiful landscape, the mind willing to sense it, and a joyful situation. It is difficult to get all these four together.’<sup>133</sup> The name ‘Four Together’ reveals the criteria of the garden owner’s perception of an ideal landscape experience.

131 Weiquan Zhou 周维权, *Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlinshi [Chinese Classic Garden History]* 中国古典园林史(Beijing: Qinghua University, 1990) p.138

132 Li Gefei 李格非(1045-1106), Luoyang Mingyuan Ji [Famous Gardens in Luoyang] 洛阳名园记, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Shibu Dililei* 文渊阁四库全书/史部/地理类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0301/0000/018.htm>>[accessed 10 June 2008]

133 Xie Lingyun 谢灵运(385-433), Ni Weitaizi Yezhongjishi Xu [Foreword of the Yezhong Group Poems Written by Wei Prince] 《拟魏太子<邺中集>诗》序, online resource of Chinese historic material database <[http://www.ziyexing.com/files-2/xielingyun/xielingyun\\_02.htm](http://www.ziyexing.com/files-2/xielingyun/xielingyun_02.htm)> [accessed 10 June 2008] (original text 天下良辰、美景、赏心、乐事，四者难并。)

## Typical examples of Bajing

While the majority of Eight Scenes appear to date from the Middle Ming Dynasty (1522-1620) and Early Qing Dynasty (1736-1795)<sup>134</sup> the origin of a set of Eight Scenes could be long before its officially recorded date. At Fenzhou (汾州八景) for example, its set of Eight Scenes was first recorded in the Wanli Local Official Gazette (1609).<sup>135</sup> However this source was based on the Jiajing Local Official Gazette (compiled between 1522-1566) and the Fenzhou Atlas (《汾州图经》 compiled during the Song Dynasty), neither of which survive. The 1609 source recorded poems including one about a scenic site ('Poem of Mapaoshenquan' by Tian-Zhao, 进士田肇, 《咏马跑神泉》) dating from the Tang Dynasty (618-907) that was one of the Eight Scenes during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). It also included a Song Dynasty poem entitled 'The praise of Fenzhou Eight Scenes' written by Zhao-Zhan (1019-1090), a local magistrate, during 1064-1067. 进士赵瞻, 《咏汾州八景》. It is notable that at least one of the Eight Scenes recorded in 1609 had been referred to with the same four-character poetic word since the Tang Dynasty. While it is possible that this may have been a single 'scene', which suggests that the Eight Scenes of Fenzhou probably dated from the Tang Dynasty, it may be that a complete set had been established by the eleventh century, during the Song Dynasty. On the other hand it is possible that there was an established tradition of selecting certain scenes before they were formalized in Eight Scenes.

The title for each scene was sometimes conserved or edited by a local magistrate, who in good Chinese tradition was always one of the literati, or by other locally famous literati, before being recorded formally in the official Gazette. In these cases, the local

134 As in the period of 1522-1620AD 明代嘉靖、万历年间 and 1736-1795AD 清代乾隆年间. This does not definitely mean this period is the heyday of Eight Scenes, since the Ming and Qing Dynasty is also a period with the prosperity of local Gazette literature, when more than 7000 literature date from then in the altogether 8200 existing local Gazette literature(《中国地方志联合目录》).

135 Yingjie Li 李应杰, *Fenzhou canggang [History of Fenzhou]* 汾州沧桑, ed. by Kairen Wang and Ruixiang Liu 王恺仁、刘瑞祥(Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe 北岳文艺出版社, 1998) p.428

magistrate played an important role not only in composing poems for Eight Scenes, but also by inviting local famous literati to contribute to the themed poems and organising the process of nominating, recording, and promoting places. For example, the four-word poetic titles of Xianyang (咸阳) Eight Scenes were provided by Zhao-Lian (赵琏), the local magistrate, and other local literati in 1439 (明弘治六年), who also composed relevant poems. In 1591 (明万历十九年) the then magistrate, Li-Caifan (李采繁) added his praise and interpretation to each poem, recorded in the Xianyang Local Official Gazette (1591).<sup>136</sup>

In a Confucian context that emphasised the importance of Nature, it can easily be seen that the enhancement of local scenic sites for public enjoyment was often considered. It was an obvious way by which officers might achieve promotion and explains why magistrates and literati were keen to enhance scenic sites for recreation for the general public. This was particularly so during the Song and Ming Dynasties, when local governments took the initiative to enhance scenic areas as resorts for the public. The government, or the magistrate himself, if no government funds were available, not only provided the initial funding for the improvements, but also arranged informal management and maintenance afterwards. Often this was done in association with religious groups of Daoism and Buddhism, where buildings served as shrines and these and their setting were maintained by them.<sup>137</sup>

---

136 Zhang Yingzhao 张应昭(Ming Dynasty, n. d.), *Xianyangxian Xinzhi* [New Records of Xianyang County] 咸阳县新志 (n.pub.: 1591 明万历 19 年)

also in *Xianyangxian Zhi* 《咸阳县志》version of 'K29-51 4 地 170.57' 版本, (n.pub.: 1751 清乾隆 16 年; repr. Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju 学生书局, 1967 刊本影印)

137 Various examples of detailed accounts have been identified, which includes cases such as 'a local magistrate donated salary and called for volunteer works for the enhancement of a hill nearby the town for public leisure', source from 'Dongfengtingji' [Prose for the Kiosk on Eastern Hill] 东峰亭记, by Feng Su (Tang Dynasty 唐) 冯宿, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Chengde Zhang, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) pp.811-813; case such as 'a Daoist monk being designated by a local head officer to take care of the scenery in Mt. Weiyu, who managed to attract more visitors and enhance the place as both a popular scenic resort and a famous monastery site', source from 'Weiyushanguan ji' [Notes of the Monastery of Mt. Weiyu] 委羽山观记, by Xie Ji 谢伋 (Song Dynasty 宋), in *the royal designated collection of ancient and present books, Shanchuodian* [Collection of Mountains and Waters], vol.120, Mt. Weiyu, yiwen[Art and Literature], 1; etc.

## Types and use of scenic places recorded in Beijing

Natural beauty and man's relationship with Nature have been predominant topics in Chinese tradition, philosophies and religious ideas including Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Fengshui and Wuxing, and so on. The custom of going to scenic resorts in good weather for picnics, walking, or carnival celebration at the time of festivals was common even two thousand years ago. It was especially popular from the eighth to the twelfth century, when scenic resorts were enhanced as a result of a prosperous economy, judging by the considerable quantity of historic records remaining of such events during this period. Scenic resorts were recorded as being crowded with people; a poem from the eighth century vividly described a popular scenic area on a riverside that suggested that 'it is more crowded than the market or the roads in the city centre; the acquaintances you couldn't find for years are all encountered here'<sup>138</sup>. During the sixteenth century, Gaoliangqiao, a scenic resort near the capital, Beijing, was reported with tens of thousands of people on a single peak day.<sup>139</sup>

Since the various sets of Eight Scenes recorded favourite places in each locality, they may therefore be interpreted not only as revealing of taste in landscape, but also as indicative of the range of outdoor activities. A comprehensive analysis of a random selection of one hundred Eight Scenes from the Ming and Qing Dynasties<sup>140</sup> with a total of 812 scenes provides an indication of the range of preferred features. By paring down each scene into basic characteristics, for example whether they present

138 Liu Jia 刘駢(eighth century), Shangsiri[Day of Shangsi Festival]上巳日, in *Tangshi Fenlei Dacidian [Encyclopaedia of Poetry in Tang Dynasty in Categories]* 唐诗分类大辞典, ed. by Dongtian Ma 马东田, (Chengdu: Sichuan Cishu Chubanshe 四川辞书出版社, 1992) P.364 (original text 上巳曲江滨, 喧于市朝路. 相寻不见者, 此地皆相逢。)

139 Liu Tong 刘侗, Yu Yizheng 于奕正(Ming Dynasty), *Dijing Jingwu Lue-Chunchang [Scenery in the Capital · Place of Spring]* 帝京景物略 春场 (Jinling 金陵: Hongdaotang 弘道堂刻本, 1639 明崇祯十二年; repr. Shanghai: Gujichubanshe, 2001) (original text 三月清明日...是日簪柳, 游高梁桥, 曰踏青。...岁清明日, 都人踏青, 輿者、骑者、步者, 游人以万计。)

140 In recent several years, thank to the popular use of the internet, most local governments built up their world wide websites with information of local history and culture. Eight Scenes as part of the local history, are sometimes published on the websites, and in many cases, with the contribution of the anonymous local historic researchers, giving detailed description for the site, the related legends, and the present condition of the scene (most were destroyed or covered by urban sprawl). Circa 200 sets of Eight Scenes have been collected as part of this research, with 100 subjected to the analysis.

spectacular topography or ancient monuments, or whether they were renowned through some tale or legend, provide indicators of what attracted people. Some nine main characteristics have been identified, with frequently more than one characteristic occurring at each site.

The analysis highlights six types of favourite locations. It is revealing that a total of 93% of the recorded scenes were within naturalistic settings, or had their main view over naturalistic sites:

- Spectacular naturalistic views (60.5% of scenes; and identified as Category 1 in the table below) including mountains, valleys, caves, rivers, and lakes, and so on, and naturalistic views improved by built features, such as bridges or shelters for public use, for example kiosks (24.8% of scenes; see category 4).
- Religious sites (51.1% of scenes; see category 2): this category includes Buddhist temples, Daoist temples, and shrines. Religious orders (Daoists and Buddhists) located in scenic areas usually took responsibility for the upkeep and maintenance of places, since care for the environment was one part of religious practice, so the task was taken as a matter of course. Religious sites often served as venues for celebrating festivals. These provided an additional attraction for the scenic area they were located in. Also the religious temples with gardens and courtyards were considered beautiful; and as they were freely accessible to the public they acted as favoured destinations for excursions.
- Historic sites: this includes both tangible monuments (30.5% of scenes; see category 3) as well as intangible heritage in the form of tales and legends (23.8% of scenes; see category 5).
- Elevated locations, such as tall buildings, or a terrace on the top of a mountain, which enable good distant views (14.2% of scenes; see

category 6).

- Attractive work settings, including farm land during harvest, small industrial workings, such as blacksmiths, and similar; (9.7% of scenes; see category 7).
- Sites with attractive public buildings or communal open spaces in easy access from the town or city (6.7% of scenes; see category 8) or shopping streets (6.4% of scenes; see category 9). These provide opportunities for new experiences, shopping and sight-seeing. The focus of attraction might be on, for example, drum-and-bell buildings in town centres, city wall gates, Polaris Buildings, wells, bridges, and kiosks. Also, commercial streets which offered shopping opportunities, overnight accommodation and entertainment, were sometimes included within Eight Scenes. These busy city sites were frequently set within spectacular or dramatic contexts such as along a river, nearby a harbour, or at foot of a scenic hill. It is possible therefore that, towns developed gradually at original scenic sites and that the new-found development continued to be appreciated by later generations.

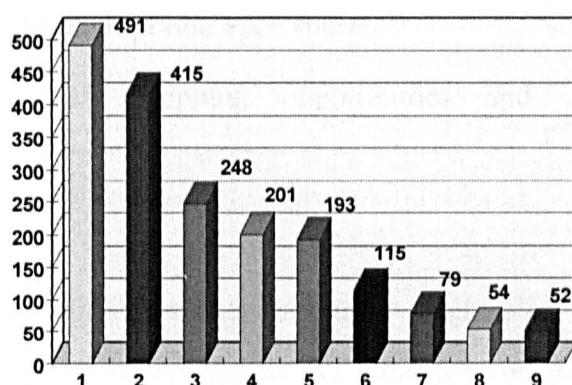


Fig 3.9 Diagram of subjects depicted on 100 random selected 'Eight Scenes' providing a total of 812 scenes: this shows the natural landscapes were most highly appreciated.

Category	Characteristic feature	Number	Relative percentage
1	Location with spectacular natural landform, such as spring, cascade, cave, cliff, animal-shaped hill; or with unique microclimatic condition or natural phenomenon, such as cloud sea, fogbow.	491/812	60.5%
2	Location developed by religious order, such as Buddhist and Daoist	415/812	51.1%
3	Location with ancient monuments, including ancient trees.	248/812	30.5%
4	Naturalistic location improved by built feature, such as a bridge, kiosk or tower	201/812	24.8%
5	Location renowned for a legend, fairytale or heroic story.	193/812	23.8%
6	Location on an elevated site that provides a good view	115/812	14.2%
7	Attractive work setting, such as agricultural fields, fishing village, industrial workplace, etc.	79/812	9.7%
8	Easily accessible location near town centre, with public building or public open space	54/812	6.7%
9	Location with shopping opportunities and entertainment	52/812	6.4%

Events, special natural conditions and seasonality might also be considerations for enhancement of scenes. These are not always indicated and may be pared down to four categories:

- Festivals, such as Day of She, and Lantern Festival, which suggest celebrations and relevant customs.
- Seasons, such as late Spring, Autumn.

- Special weather conditions, such as snow, rain.
- Special light conditions, such as sunset, sunrise, dusk, moonlight, and similar.

These conditions added a dimension to the scene and usually implied associated activities, such as drinking on Day of She, lighting lanterns during Lantern Festival, or for example admiring the sunset or moonlight from within a beautiful landscape. These helped to create a mental picture of the scenic resort and increased the attraction.

The above statistics show overwhelmingly that naturalistic landscape provided the favourite scenes, and confirms a preference for leisure activity in such sites. Over time such scenic sites were therefore embellished with a variety of features, such as religious buildings, hermitages, pavilions, towers, bridges, kiosks, and inscriptions on rocks. These various interventions were seen as process of enhancing the site and increasing their attractiveness as leisure destinations.

The Buddhists and Daoists orders which always played an important role in the enhancement and administration of scenic areas also provided accommodation for travelers and sometimes guidance to tourists.

## **Current development**

The ancient category of 'famous mountains and great rivers'<sup>141</sup>, which has been treasured for more than two thousand years and praised by generations of literate in their treatises, appears to have been favoured in the selection of present day National and Provincial Parks (scenic parks designated at a provincial rather than national level). Out of the first batch of the 44 National Parks designated in 1982, forty

---

141 Written as mingshandachuan 名山大川 is literally interpreted as 'national natural scenery resources' in modern terms.

originate in one or more sites included in various Eight Scenes. For example, the Badaling National Park originates in Yanjing (present Beijing) Eight Landscape Scenes: juyongdiecui 居庸叠翠; the Xihu National Park in Xihu scenic resort, which is present in most of the local Eight Scenes since the eleventh century, and has had its own full set of Ten Scenes since the twelfth century.

After the first batch designated in 1982, five more sets of national scenic parks have been designated, making a total of 187 today. Besides scenic parks at national level, there are 480 scenic parks in provincial lists, as well as numerous municipal and county scenic parks. The official criteria for scenic districts in the Scenic District Provisional Ordinance (1985) suggest that: ‘any area with visual, cultural or scientific value, intensive natural or cultural landscape, and considerable geographic scale and boundary, which provides opportunities for travel, recreation, scientific and cultural activities, should be designated as scenic district.’<sup>142</sup> Together these form the present Scenic District System, which also includes some memorial sites to the communist revolution and newly discovered scenic district, besides those historic scenic sites originated in local Eight Scenes. These cover a total area of 108,900 square kilometres or 1.13 percent of the country.<sup>143</sup>

The Scenic District System resorts under the Chinese Protected Area System which comprises Natural Reserves, Forest Parks, Scenic Districts, and National Geological Parks. In total these cover some 893,000 square kilometres and occupy 9.3 percent of the country.<sup>144</sup> Although they have been designated with the titles, the exact boundaries of many of the Scenic Districts and Protected Area have not been defined, and despite a provisional ordinance there is no state legislation, which leaves these areas vulnerable to development and erratic tourist provisions.

---

142 Ministry of Construction of P.R. China, *Scenic District Provisional Ordinance* (Beijing: State Council of P.R.China, 1985)

143 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of P.R.China, *the Report on General Achievement of Scenic District for 25 anniversary, 2007* <[http://www.cin.gov.cn/hybd/fjms25cjz/zhxx/200709/l20070903\\_122186.htm](http://www.cin.gov.cn/hybd/fjms25cjz/zhxx/200709/l20070903_122186.htm)> [accessed 2 Jun 2008]

144 Weizheng Wang 王维正, *National Park* (Beijing: Chinese Forestry Press, 2000) p.3

## **Conclusions from the analysis**

The above shows without doubt that Bajing, Eight Scenes of real landscape, are important records and evidence of Chinese landscape culture and worthy of research in their own right. They have an ancient history with the first evidence for Eight Scenes dating from the eleventh century, with further evidence to suggest that these are based on an earlier tradition dating back to the eighth century. Various links have been established, like the Eight Views of painting Eight Scenes are rooted in the traditional literary expression of landscape appreciation.

An analysis of the scenes of real landscapes depicted provides an interesting indication as to the type of preferred scenery and place for recreation. It concludes that most selected scenic sites in Eight Scenes were in naturalistic settings, with more than half of them connected with religious orders (Daoists and Buddhists). These religious orders located in scenic areas usually took responsibility for the upkeep and maintenance of places, even worked as guides for visitors and tourists. Care for such environments was part of religious practice, thus the task was taken as a matter of course and ensured the protection of these places, maintenance of facilities for the public benefit, and enhanced the reputation of the local religious order.

The etymology of the term establishes links with Daoism, which in its search after the extreme truth, the Dao, sought a close relationship with Nature. Having their temples and monasteries in areas of good scenery the symbolic number of eight was the obvious number of scenes to symbolise an unlimited universe and choice. It also explains why any self-respecting municipality would select its eight favourite scenes, and make these the subject of artistic representation in poetry and sometimes in painting. Such landscapes became the subject of local and national tourism, and were improved to enhance their qualities. Though this highlights how the tradition

developed, the artistic representation sometime took a life of its own and developed into a separate art form with its own sets of rules. These may be distinguished from those of the tradition of painting as follows: there was a greater variety of scenes depicted, which are more inclusive of various leisure activities depicted; they have poetry added that is generally less formulaic and always includes place names; poetry on real landscapes might also occur on its own without drawn illustrations, emphasising the fact that this was to evoke the imagination in a journey evoking the full range of dimensions.

The Bajing tradition reveals the intangible heritage of ancient Chinese landscape culture, the analysis of records of which shows in general the public leisure use of scenic sites and the evolution process of the scenic sites, and that there have been numerous examples of scenic sites adapted for public leisure. A total of 93% of the recorded scenes were within natural settings, or had their main view over natural sites, while 60.5% boasted spectacular natural views. More than half were associated with religious orders. A quarter of the scenes acquired their fame because of the features built within them, either to improve the scenery or for public leisure use, including for example bridges, terraces or shelters for public use, like kiosks and pavilions. It thus indicates that the favourite place for public leisure was in naturalistic settings, and that the social system and cultural values must have played a significant role in the formation of scenic sites and the Bajing tradition. A further exploration into the social institutional system and the cultural values in the next chapters will reveal how Nature was valued in culture as well as how and why scenic sites adapted.

## b. Literary representation of Nature and scenic sites

The viewing of scenery certainly was an activity combining emotional inspiration with spiritual refreshment, as it was concluded in the sixth century that ‘the sight of the scenery makes the mind actively involved in the landscape; good mood comes as if answering to the views’<sup>145</sup>. Thus, many traditional literary theories suggest that ‘scenery is inspiring and makes the soul ready for good poetry’<sup>146</sup>, or that ‘mountains, rivers and historic places, can touch the mind deeply, as a consequence, poetic thoughts will automatically occur’.<sup>147</sup>

Meanwhile, the fashion of edifying people through scenery, and the notion that there was a relationship between morals and natural landscape, meant that scenic districts were also viewed as a source of rationality and philosophy of life according to many poems and prose.<sup>148</sup> The inscriptions of steles and stones in scenic districts supply numerous examples showing the popular edifying topics such as life encouragement and promptings for rethinking real life values: for instance, the inscription of ‘Never stop on half way’ 勿息中途 located halfway up the mountain of Gushan 鼓山 in Fujian Province, presents this as a metaphor to encourage people to go on with their life journey actively and overcome their present fatigue; life is like climbing a

145 Liu-Qie 刘勰(?) 532), ‘Wuse’, in *Wenxindiaolong*, vol.10 《文心雕龙·物色》, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Shiwenpinglei* 文渊阁四库全书 / 集部 / 诗文评类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/js010.htm>> [accessed 8 Apr 2008] (‘山沓水匝，树杂云合。目既往还，心亦吐纳。春日迟迟，秋风飒飒。情往似赠，兴来如答。’)

146 Wu-Leifa 吴雷发(17<sup>th</sup> C.), *Remarks on Poetry* 《说诗苴蒯》, cited in *Chinese Ancient Literary Collection* 中国古典文学丛编, by Jingzhi Hu 胡经之, (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2001) p.245 见《清诗话》。故欲治其诗，先治其心。心最难于不俗，无已，则于山水间求之。’

147 Jiao-Xun 焦循(1763-1820), ‘Reply for Luo-Yangzhai’ 《答罗养斋书》, cited in *Chinese Literary Theory History* 中国文学理论史 4, edit. by Baozhen Huang 黄保真, etc. (Beijing: Beijing Press, 1987) p.755 (‘山川旧迹与客怀相摩荡，心神血气颇为之动，动则诗思自然溢出。’)

148 such as in Lu-You 陆游(1125-1210), ‘Xishang’ [Over the stream] 《溪上》 and Wang-Bo 王勃(649-676), ‘Preface for Prose of Tengwangge Pavilion’ 《滕王阁序》. (‘看云舒卷了穷达，见月盈亏知死生。’ (陆游:《溪上》) ‘天高地迥，觉宇宙之无穷；兴尽悲来，识盈虚之有数。’ (王勃:《滕王阁序》))

mountain: the view over the top of the peak is promised, but the journey to it is always hard. The inscription for a kiosk in a stream scenic district Lanxi, Zhejiang Province, offers edification in another way: it writes ‘Fame? Or Money? The busy work aiming for these is not worthy; Come? Or go? The tranquil Mountain and stream here is the best to stay.’<sup>149</sup> Scenic sites have been taken as the best place for outdoor leisure and recreation by both literati and common people, and have been improved and maintained continuously through history.

Scenic sites have been adapted in a way that connected closely with the literary representation of cultural values in Nature. Besides literary representation, Nature and scenic sites have also been imitated and represented in garden art. These various artistic representations reveal the perception of Nature and scenic sites, a significant part of comprehending historic scenic sites through the viewpoint of traditional Chinese taste and fashion.

## **Roots of Bajing in the custom of literary expression of landscape appreciation**

The literary roots of Bajing can be traced back to the eighth century in series of landscape poetry and paintings. The literary expression of landscape appreciation represented in Bajing was important in revealing the significance of the scenic sites and the related landscape perception.

Most Eight Scenes in the Ming and Qing dynasties were described by poets in their ‘Eight Scenes poetry series’ or a single poem for all Eight Landscape Scenes. In dedicating Eight Scenes a poet would ascribe each scene with a four word poetic title,

---

<sup>149</sup> Composed by Li-Yu 李渔(1611-1680) in the Qing Dynasty. 浙江兰溪且停亭李渔所写的对联：名乎利乎，道路奔波休碌碌；来者往者，溪山清静且停亭。

and then compose a poem describing each scene. These would be concise, usually consisting of only eight lines of seven words. Occasionally there would be only one poem of eight lines summarising the various scenes, with each line describing one scene. The poems would highlight the most valued characteristics and spirit of each place. The four character title of each scene was usually condensed from the seven characters of the poetic line depicting the scene. Occasionally the lines were not abbreviated with the whole line of seven words used to describe a scene, such as in 'The poem of Eight Scenes of Linzi' (in present-day Shandong Province 临淄八景),<sup>150</sup> composed by a Ming Dynasty poet. This described newly established scenic resorts nearby the city, and in this case it must have been felt that the abbreviated version of four words would not have provided a full reflection of the original meaning.

The four word structure used to title landscape scenes relates to traditional Chinese idioms. It was considered as the ultimate form in which to concisely compose poetry. The most significant features were highlighted and the most suitable way for admiring each scene. For example, one of Quanjiao Eight Scenes (in present Anhui Province 全椒八景)<sup>151</sup>, 'The cascade which looks like a hanging curtain made of flying jade beads (水帘飞玉)', shows an extraordinary cascade; another one from the same set depicts 'The spring tide in the ravine with a reddish brown rock cliff (赭涧春潮)', and reveals geological Nature and the best season for enjoying this particular scene. One scene title from Jiangzhou Ten Scenes (in present Jiangxi Province 江州十景), 'Look into the distance from an elevated place on Qiyun Mountain in the dusk' (齐云晚眺)<sup>152</sup>, indicates the most desirable way of enjoying the scene. A scene from Pengze Eight Scenes (in present Jiangxi Province 彭泽八景) shows, 'Rod fishing the moon reflected in water at the small rocky island Renji (仁矶钓月)', suggesting that the best

150 Zibo Committee of Shandong General Press 山东省出版总社淄博办事处, *Zibo Fengwuzhi [Local History of Zibo]* 淄博风物志 (Jinan: Shandong Renmin Chubanshe 山东人民出版社, 1985) p.41

151 Scenes recorded in *Quanjiao local official Gazette literature* 全椒县志. 1920 民国九年, information gained from the Quanjiao Government Website <<http://www.quanjiao.gov.cn>>

152 The mountain's name Qiyun literally means 'the same height as clouds', which gives a vivid hint for the view from top of the mountain..

way to appreciate the scene is to be patient and remain by the waterside to enjoy the tranquility and the pleasure of waiting for the moon in the early evening. Here the poetic title is a metaphor, which compares the feeling of a fisherman waiting to catch fish with the experience of someone who in the early night views the whole process of changing scenes when the moon gradually rises and is at last high enough to be reflected in the water. Unlike fishing with nets, which was for the purpose of gathering staple food, fishing with a rod was always seen as a pastime. The poem of Linzi Eight Scenes includes two historic sites; one was the ancient tomb of Yanshu, a prime minister during the fifth century B.C.; the other was the relics of a terrace built by King Qihuangong during the seventh century B.C. (古冢遗迹怀晏相, 荒台故址吊桓公). Another scene in the same set describes the experience of 'standing on top of a high building in the Western Temple, listening to the bell tolling in early morning (西寺楼头听晓钟)'. This provides a vivid image of the location, the viewpoint, sounds in the environment, time and the main activity. The poetry thus is valuable in conveying physical information about the scenes and in providing evidence as to what ancient observers considered significant.

The titles of the Eight Scenes therefore suggest that they are not only scenes, but also scenarios, perceived by all senses, visually, acoustically, tangible and aromatically. They are associated with a particular seasons, weather, festivals, events, and serve to evoke certain memories and the imagination. Since landscape experience is 'received in moments, glances, and accidental detours, kinaesthetically unfolding through rambling and habitual encounters over time'<sup>153</sup>, the factor of certain seasons, time or weather was considered an essential part of these Eight Scenes and their naming. For instance, the title of the sixth scene of Zhuozhou (in present Hebei Province) Bajing, Dukangqiufeng (督亢秋风, 'Autumn wind in Dukang') uses the word 'autumn wind' to suggest the harvest season (Dukang was famous for its fertile farm land of which ownership was disputed during various wars); the title of the seventh scene

<sup>153</sup> Simon R. Swaffield, *Theory in Landscape Architecture: A reader* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002) p.149

Lousangchunshe (楼桑春社, ‘Spring She in Lousang’) provides the Spring She Festival as an indication of time. Other titles emphasize the weather as a factor: the title of the fourth scene of Zhuozhou, Huliangxiaoyue (胡良晓月, ‘Moon at dawn in Huliang’), focuses on the ‘moon at dawn’, and the title of the eighth scene Panpojixue (盘坡积雪, ‘Piled snow in Panpo’) emphasizes snowy weather conditions. The particular season or weather conditions emphasized in the title of scenes forms an important indication, and provides a key to when they should be experienced to be fully appreciated.

Sounds are emphasized in other sets of scenes: the title of a scene Guchajingsheng (古刹经声, ‘Sound of singing scriptures in ancient monastery’) of Foshan city (in present Guangdong Province) in the Ming Dynasty reveals that the murmur of monks singing canons accompanied by musical instruments (usually muyu) is essential to the experience of being able to fully appreciate this scene; the title of another scene in the same set Shiyunwanchang (石云晚唱, ‘Late singing in Shiyun’) pinpoints ‘antiphonal style singing’ of the congregating fishermen on a river at dusk, as characterising the spirit of the scene. Another example from Chaozhou city (in present Guangdong Province) in Ming Dynasty emphasizes scent: ‘The wind of plum flower scent over Western Lake (西湖梅风)’, reveals the special scent experienced in this landscape. The sound and scent integrated with the scene mentioned in the titles indicates that ancient observers appreciated the sensory experience at many levels.

Sometimes titles exaggerate or provide metaphors such as in one recorded scene of Foshan city, dating from the Ming Dynasty, ‘A Daoist temple with swarming birds chirping as if they are singing Buddhist songs (庙前鹤歌)’. A title for a scene at Chaozhou city in Ming Dynasty implies that ‘The tolling of a bell in the city centre tower sounds like being able to calm down the sea waves (镇海钟声)’. By using exaggeration it vividly conveys the image of the place. Exaggeration was a commonly used rhetorical method in ancient Chinese; in this case, the term of ‘calming down sea waves’ also refers to the name of the bell tower.

It is clear that the poetic title of each scene provides important and indispensable evidence of the spirit of the place, as related to the human experience. It reveals a great deal of information in few words: not only the physical aspects of the landscape, the location, environment, season, weather, sound, and scent and so on, but also the way ancient observers perceived the landscape, the sensory experiences, the preference for viewpoints, the process of enjoying scenery, the focus of pleasure, imagination and mental activities. In short, they provide clear evidence of contemporary values with respect to the environment and the appreciation of Nature.

Painting and travel writing became highly valued forms of art during the Tang dynasty. Wang Wei (701-761)<sup>154</sup> has been considered as the first artist to effectively combine abilities in painting and travel writing. His earliest recorded poems on landscape scenes are Wangchuanji (literally meaning ‘group of poems of Wangchuan’). Wang Wei and Pei Di, another poet, travelled through the Wangchuan region (in present Lantian, Shanxi Province) where Wang Wei’s villa was located. They each composed poems for twenty scenic locations, which included hills, a lake, a spring, vegetable gardens, a rocky beach, riverbanks covered with dogwood laden with red berries, willow woods, a bamboo thicket with a central building and lakeside kiosk, and so on. The titles of the poems identify the scenes and views; for example, ‘Liulang’ (waves of willow trees) depicts the scenery of the willow woods, and ‘Linhuting’ (kiosk by the lake) depicts a scenic view as well as activities of drinking and sailing. The structure and characteristics of the poems are similar to those included in the ‘Eight Landscape Scenes’; they provide a mental picture of scenes, depict recreational activities, highlight an experience or a detail particularly appreciated by the poet and viewer, and provide a personal impression of that landscape.

Wang Wei painted the scenery of Wangchuan on the walls of a monastery<sup>155</sup> along with

154 *New Tang History*, vol. 128, entry 23 《新唐书》卷 128\_23 《王维传》载：‘别墅在辋川，地奇胜，有华子冈、欹湖、竹里馆、柳浪、茱萸沋、辛夷坞，与裴迪游其中，赋诗相酬为乐。’

155 Guo Ruoxu 郭若虚(11<sup>th</sup> century), *Tuhua Jianwenzhi* [Notes and Stories about Paintings in 841-1074] 《图画见闻志》(Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 人民美术出版社, 1963) Vol.4, Entry of Wang Wei 王维条 <[http://guji.artx.cn/Article/20171\\_20177.html](http://guji.artx.cn/Article/20171_20177.html)> [accessed 3Jun2008] (original text 嘉於清源寺壁畫《辋川圖》，巖岫盤鬱，雲

the set of twenty poems for each scene.<sup>156</sup> The fresco no longer exists, but was highly thought of for centuries afterwards. Two hundred years later, in the middle tenth century, a nun cook was recorded as having represented the Wangchuan landscape painting in twenty dishes.<sup>157</sup> Her delicate cooking skill represented the landscape scenes in fish, meat, sauce, vegetable and fruit of various colours. With each dish representing a single scene, the twenty dishes on a table together formed a miniature of the original Wangchuan set of landscape paintings. This act can be seen as evidence of continued popularity of the painting and poems composed by Wang Wei. It also provides evidence of the popularity of this genre of paintings of separate scenes integrated with individual poems. The 'twelve poems of Mt. Sheng' (in present Kaixian, Sichuan Province), by Wei Chuhou (c.780-840), were composed in a similar manner, giving a full account of twelve scenic sites in the vicinity of a mountain favoured by the poet. Each poem was dedicated to a specific scene, each including the name as a title. The subjects incorporated popular recreational places in a scenic setting, such as Liubeiqu, an artificial canal for game of floating goblets; Suyunting, kiosk where clouds linger; Pipatai, an artificial terrace in the shape of a pipa (an ancient Chinese musical instrument); and Huluzhao, an artificial pond in the shape of a hulu (a fruit with two bulbs resembling a figure-8).<sup>158</sup> The poems indicate that these sites were already celebrated for their particular features and were popular as recreational places for the general public. So, similarly as was the case for the later

---

水飛動。)

156 The poetry recorded in *Wangchuanji* (辋川集 literally means 'series of poems for the place Wangchuan'). Two poets each composed twenty poems for the twenty scenic locations. Some of the poems vividly described a landscape scene, providing a mental picture of the physical landscape which are valuable in tracing the original landscape, while most poems only address on the metaphor image or philosophical thinking intrigued by the scene. Source from 'Liezhuan' [Biographies]列传卷 127 艺文中, in *Xintagnshu* [New Tang Dynasty History] 新唐书, ed. By Ouyang Xiu (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.sinology.cn/book/3/02-lib/01-zg/03-guoxue/史部/25 史/新唐书/215.htm>>[accessed 3Jun2008] (original text 别墅在辋川, 地奇胜, 有华子冈、欹湖、竹里馆、柳浪、茱萸沋、辛夷坞, 与裴迪游其中, 赋诗相酬为乐。)

157 Tao Gu 陶谷(tenth century), 'Zhuanxiumen'[About Dish and Cookery]馔馐门, in *Qingyilu* [Random Notes of Qingyilu] 情异录 (Beijing: Chinese Business Press, 1985) <[http://www6.xiaoshuo.com/readbook/0011023282\\_5048\\_1.html](http://www6.xiaoshuo.com/readbook/0011023282_5048_1.html)> [accessed 3Jun2008]

158 Wei Chuhou (about780-840), 'Twelve Poems of Mt. Sheng', in *Whole Collection of the Tang Poetry*, vol. 479, entry 8 , original text: 全唐诗卷 479\_8 【盛山十二诗】韦处厚 (about780-840) 十二景为: 隐月岫, 流杯渠, 竹岩, 绣衣石榻, 宿云亭, 梅谿, 桃坞, 胡芦沼, 茶岭, 盘石磴, 琵琶台, 上士瓶泉。《流杯渠》:激曲萦飞箭, 浮沟泛满卮。将来山太守, 早向习家池。《琵琶台》:褊地堆层土, 因压遂削成。浅深岚嶂色, 尽向此中呈。《宿云亭》雨合飞危砌, 天开卷晓窗。齐平联郭柳, 带绕抱城江。《胡芦沼》:疏凿徒为巧, 圆崖自可澄。倒花纷错绣, 镜月静涵冰。

examples of the Bajing tradition, these poems helped to define the most desirable scenes of a locality.

From then on, the selecting of landscapes for distinctive scenes and recording them in series of poems became a traditional pastime for Chinese literati and formed the basis for ‘Eight Scenes’, thereby promoting the popularity of certain places. The poetry associated with the visual representation of some of these became popular for its own sake, but while poems evoked a mental picture and paintings encompassed natural beauty these encouraged further artistic representations. It led to one influencing the other and at the same time it determined the appreciation of landscape scenery, and the type and character of scenes. Thus, besides generating new art forms, these ultimately inspired tourism as well. It is normally suggested that these paintings evolved through a form of artistic representation known as ‘the integration of landscape painting and poetry’, developed from the Tang Dynasty<sup>159</sup> and which thrived during the Song Dynasty<sup>160</sup>. However it is more likely that the scenic place and the form of pictorial representation evolved in conjunction with each other, with one supporting the other and assuring a long lasting popularity.

In the Song Dynasty the poet and artist Su Shi (1037-1101) proposed that ‘a painting serves as a poem, and a poem serves as a painting’ as a criteria for poetry and paintings associated with landscape, which means a good poem should produce a picturesque image, while a good painting should offer poetic concepts to further comprehend the landscape. This theory has influenced the composition of poetry and the art of painting ever since.<sup>161</sup> Well-educated people were encouraged to read the poem and painting in order to fully appreciate the landscape and then experience it in

<sup>159</sup> The earliest example of this was in Tang Dynasty, composed by Wang Wei, recorded in Guo Ruoxu 郭若虚(11<sup>th</sup> century), *Tuhua Jianwenzhi* [Notes and Stories about Paintings in 841-1074] 图画见闻志 (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 人民美术出版社, 1963) Vol.4

<sup>160</sup> Committee of Chinese Language Dictionary, entry of ‘八景’, in *Grand Dictionary of Chinese Language* 汉语大词典 (Beijing: Publishing Company of Grand Dictionary of Chinese Language, 1994)

<sup>161</sup> Susan Bush, *The Chinese literati* on painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Chichang (1555-1636) (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1971) also see Shaohua Wang 王韶华, ‘Poetry and Painting Theory by Su Shi’ 苏轼‘诗画一律’的内涵, *Wenyi Lilun Yanjiu* [Research on Literature and Art Theory] 文艺理论研究, 1 (2001), 77-83 (pp.77-78)

its own terms. This reason also accounts as one of the main reasons for the popularity in pre-modern China of inscriptions of poems on rocks of scenic places. It is common for every set of Bajing to have its series of poems, or at least poetic titles. However, examples of Bajing with illustrations are rarer, implying that they survive primarily as poetry. This possibly was because of the function of landscape poems as mental pictures, which when efficiently achieved, would make the need for a real painting redundant.

## Nature and scenic sites represented in Chinese literary works

It seems that in Chinese literary history no poet has ever exempted himself from writing landscape poetry. Most famous poets are not only renowned for their prose or poem of scenery description but also pronounced themselves as 'born scenery lovers', for example Tao-Yuanming (365-427) declared that 'I love mountains deep in my disposition',<sup>162</sup>, and Li-Bai (701-762), who 'took wherever with good scenery as home'<sup>163</sup> and boasted that 'the misty scenery in spring appeals to me and deliver excellent poetry directly into my mind'.<sup>164</sup> As observed and concluded by a Tang poet Bai Juyi (772-846), 'when a talented person was not well positioned in a high post, or when he was suppressed in his career, landscape poetry writing was always the only best way for applying his intelligence to put to good use'.<sup>165</sup> There has been the constantly recurring figure in Chinese literature and painting, that one or two persons,

162 Tao Yuanming 陶渊明, 'Return to the rural residence' 归田园居, in *Collection of Poetry in Period of Han, Wei and Liuchao 漢魏六朝詩選*, ed. Yu Guanying 余冠英 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue 人民文学出版社, 1978) p.183 「性本爱丘山」

163 Li Bai Research Institute of Ma'anshan 马鞍山李白研究所, *Collection of Research Theses on Li Bai in the 20th century 20世纪李白研究论文精选集*: 纪念李白诞辰 1300 周年, (Hefei: Taibai wenyi chubanshe 太白文艺出版社出版, 2000) 「一斗百篇逸兴豪, 到处山水皆故宅」一生好入名山游的李白

164 Li Bai, 'Preface of the Poem about the Feast in Taoli Garden in Spring Night', in *Full Translation of 'Guwen guanzhi' 古文观止全译*, ed. Jinding Yang, etc. (Hefei: Anhui Education Press 1984), p.632 李白《春夜宴桃李园序》「阳春召我以烟景, 大块假我以文章。」

165 Ye Qingbing 葉慶炳, *History of Chinese Literature* (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1987) p.17 白居易《读谢灵运诗》云:「谢公才廓落,与世不相遇。壮士郁不用,须有所泄处,泄为山水诗,逸韵谐奇趣。」

in a thatched hut surrounded by the wild scenery, on one side of the torrents or immense lake or mists of the mountain landscape, seeming like an image of a kind of utopian ideal, freed from the mundane realities and the daily chores (Fig 3.10, 3.11). A painting theorist Guo Xi (1023-1085) has expressed his opinion for the reason why landscape painting was favoured more than other kinds of painting such as figural ones. He said: ‘Enjoying scenic forests and streams, with companions of mist and colourful clouds, are dreams of everyone. When such scenery can be painted vividly on a piece of paper, which makes it possible for a person to enjoy Nature without necessary of long journey out of his house, this is the best attraction which has captured my mind, which is also the reason why landscape painting has been highly valued by people’.<sup>166</sup>

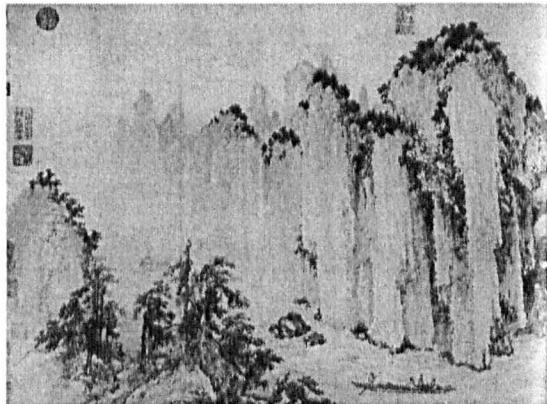


Figure 3.10 part of the painting *Chibi tu* 赤壁图, by Wu Yuanzhi 金 武元直, 12 century, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Taibei



Figure 3.11 scroll of *Luyin qinghua tu* (literally means Talking under the Green Shade) 绿阴清话图, by Wen Zhengming, Ming dynasty 明 文徵明, ink on paper 轴 纸本墨笔, size 131.8cmX32cm, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing 北京故宫博物院藏

166 Guo Xi 郭熙(1023-1085), ‘Shanshui Xun’ [Theory on Landscape Painting] 山水训, in *Linquan Gaozhi* 林泉高致, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Yishulei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/艺术类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <http://www.xgb.ecnu.edu.cn/jszj/%E5%AD%90%E9%83%A8-%E9%AD%8F%E6%99%8B%E4%BB%A5%E4%B8%8B/%E6%9E%97%E6%B3%89%E9%AB%98%E8%87%B4.htm>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words ‘……林泉之志，烟霞之侣；梦寐在焉，耳目断绝。今得妙手，郁然出之，不下堂筵，坐穷泉壑，猿声鸟啼，依约在耳，山光水色，荡漾夺目，此岂不快人意，实获我心哉，此世之所以贵夫画山水之本意也。）

The conception of man as a part of Nature, on equal terms with the animals and the plants, rather than as something unique in Nature, contrasting with and struggling against Nature, has been general in Asian thought, in contrast with that of Europe.<sup>167</sup> The beauty of Nature has been noticed and described with passion in poetic words since more than twenty five hundred years ago. Fifth century B.C. poetry not only depicted high mountains, rocky scenery, natural plants, seasonal views of lakes and plants, but also the natural environment of various working places such as wood cutting areas by a river, the scenic site and the conditions of the footpath there.<sup>168</sup> Scenes of people crowded into scenic sites were also recorded in early literature.<sup>169</sup> Poetry in the first century B.C. reveals that there were many terms used especially in describing various water-bodies and plants at that time. These words are not used any more nowadays. Seeking pleasure in the natural landscape and through leisure activities has been popularly recorded as early as the fifth century B.C. In one example from a poem, the excursion in Nature was taken as a diversion and in order to relax. Boating for pleasure was recorded as one activity in the excursion. The poem also mentions that the boat was made of pine wood while the oars were made of Chinese juniper wood.<sup>170</sup>

Natural landscape and objects were personified in poetry, perceived as persons with willingness and fondness as if they were human beings. People were described enjoying the Nature as if enjoying the company of a friend: the mountain and the man look at each other without tiredness in the poem *Sit alone in Jingting Mountain*<sup>171</sup>; the moon is unwilling to set while the man is reluctant to go to sleep in the poem *The*

167 Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning 1500BC-AD1911* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003) p.111

168 For examples, the many poems in *Shijing* and *Chuci*. ‘崧高维岳，峻极于天。维岳降神，生甫及申’(《诗经 大雅 嵩高》)‘泰山岩岩，鲁邦所瞻’‘桃之夭夭，灼灼其华’(《桃夭》《诗经》)；《楚辞》中：‘袅袅兮秋风，洞庭波兮木叶下’；‘坎坎伐檀兮，置之河之干兮，河水清且涟漪’《诗经》；《楚辞》中：‘皋兰被径兮斯路渐，湛湛江水兮上有枫’。

169 Laozi, *Daodejing* 道德经(二十章), in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.renlong.com.cn/?action=viewnews-itemid-889>> [accessed 28 Mar 2008] 众人熙熙，如登春台

170 For example, two poems in *Shijing*, Weifeng-Bamboo, and Beifeng-Stream. Original text: ‘淇水悠悠，松柏松舟。驾言出游，以写我忧’《诗经·卫风·竹竿》‘驾言出游，以写我忧’。《诗经·邶风·泉水》

171 For example, the poem ‘Sitting Alone on the Hill Jingting’ by Li Bai(701-762). Original text: ‘相看两不厌，只有敬亭山’(李白:《独坐敬亭山》)

*moon scene at night of 14<sup>th</sup> August*<sup>172</sup>; the bamboo and rocks love the poet the same as the poet loves them in the poem *Short comments on a scroll*<sup>173</sup>; the snowflakes pretend to be falling flowers in the courtyard in the poem *Snow in spring*<sup>174</sup>; the blossoms fly to see the guests out, while the birds mumble to persuade guests stay in the poem *departure to Tanzhou*<sup>175</sup>. Natural objects and landscape has got certain personality in this way. In this sense, the scenery viewed over a multi-storied building was described as ‘the wild geese fly in sky leading my sadness away; the mountain holds the moon in its mouth coming to my eyes’<sup>176</sup>; the torrential scenery of a big river was described as ‘all the legends and heroic stories in history have been washed away by the river’s torrents’<sup>177</sup>; the delightful scenery of a lake in a sunny day or rainy weather were drawn in parallel as a beauty dressed up or in casual clothes.<sup>178</sup> It is even concluded in landscape painting theory that ‘if taking a mountain as a body, rocks and stones are the bones, woods and forest are clothes, grass is hair, rivers and streams are blood vessels, mist and clouds are vigour, while temples, villages and bridges are ornaments.’<sup>179</sup> There was a deep and persistent feeling for wild Nature, which was expressed over and over again in poetry and painting. This feeling seems deeper than ‘pleasure’, and also more than the awareness of ‘beauty’ in Nature; it was rather an insight into reality through the unique way that taking Nature as an alive thing which has feelings the same as oneself.

172 For example, the poem ‘Watching Moon on 14<sup>th</sup> the Eighth Lunar Month’ by Lu You(1125-1210). Original text: ‘盈盈耿耿意无尽，月不忍落人忘眠’（陆游：《八月十四夜对月》）

173 For example, the poem ‘Inscription on a Painting’, by Zheng Yin (1693-1765). Original text: ‘非唯我爱竹石，即竹石亦爱我也。’（郑板桥：《题画》）

174 For example, the poem ‘Snow in Spring’ by Han Yu (768-824). Original text: ‘白雪却嫌春色晚，故穿庭树作飞花。’（韩愈《春雪》）

175 For example, the poem ‘Departure from Tanzhou’ by Du Fu(712-770). Original text: ‘岸花飞送客，樯燕语留人’（杜甫《发潭州》）

176 For example, the poem ‘Visiting Yueyang Building with Mr. Xia’, by Li Bai(701-762). Original text: ‘雁引愁心去，山衔好月来’（李白《与夏十二登岳阳楼》）

177 For example, the poem ‘Historic Memory of Chibi’, by Su Shi (1037-1101). Original text: ‘大江东去，浪淘尽，千古风流人物’。（苏轼《念奴娇·赤壁怀古》）

178 For example, the poem ‘Drinking on the Lake While the Weather Changing From Sunny to Raining’, by Su Shi (1037-1101). Original text: ‘水光潋滟晴方好，山色空濛雨亦奇。欲把西湖比西子，淡妆浓抹总相宜’（苏轼《饮湖上初晴后雨》）

179 Tang Dai 唐岱(1673-1752), Details about Painting 《绘事发微》，Original text: ‘山之体，石为骨，林木为衣，草为毛发，水为血脉，云烟为神彩，岚霭为气象，寺观村落桥梁为装饰也’。

In poetry, natural landscape was often rendered to reveal the environment and atmosphere of events, as well as to express the sensations, such as in poem *Jianjia*, the scenery of the extensive reed field with white frost was depicted to render the image of a lonely beauty standing on the other bank of the river,<sup>180</sup> and in poem *Caiwei*, ‘when I left, there were willows reluctant to part, while now I’m back, there are only cold rains and snow drizzling’,<sup>181</sup> the landscape environment was to depict the disappointed feelings when nostalgic enthusiasm meets reality. Poetry speaks in images, Heidegger says, the Nature of the image is to let something be seen, the genuine intention of poetry is to let the invisible be seen.<sup>182</sup> The sensation and the metaphor behind a physical landscape was exactly the invisible but the focused subject of poetry as observed by Zhu Xi(1130-1202): ‘The depiction of objects is in order to express the subjects’;<sup>183</sup> they are in parallel, in sets of metaphor and analogical meaning. For example, in poem *Pusaman* by Li Bai, the gloomy mood was rendered through the depiction of the cold, misty, dim views: ‘the mists of the vast and quiet woods looked as though they were woven together, the belt of remote cold mountain range had the colour of broken-heart-green; tints of dusk entered the high building, where a person sits in a gloomy mood.’<sup>184</sup> Scenery description in literature was not purely for recording the scenery itself but to draw a parallel with the event or sensation to be expressed. In this way, scenery became sensory.

A certain kind of scenery was combined with a certain emotion. There were patterns of these. The withering of a tree represents the wretched circumstances of a man’s life<sup>185</sup>; a late bird looking for a perch reminds people of their own lonely helpless

180 Original text: ‘蒹葭苍苍，白露为霜。所谓伊人，在水一方’ (《蒹葭》) ‘关关雎鸠，在河之洲。窈窕淑女，君子好逑’

181 Original text: ‘昔我往矣，杨柳依依；今我来思，雨雪霏霏’ (《采薇》)

182 Hubert L. Dreyfus, Mark A. Wrathall, *Truth, Realism, and the History of Being*, in series of *Heidegger Reexamined: Art, poetry, and technology, Volume 3*, (Oxford : Taylor & Francis, 2002), p.49

183 Xia Chuancai 夏傳才, *Basic Theory of Chinese Poetry* 诗词入门, (Taipei: Zhushufang 知書房出版集團, 2004) p.63 朱熹所说，是‘先言他物以引起所咏之辞’

184 Original text: 李白菩萨蛮：平林漠漠烟如织，寒山一带伤心碧，暝色入高楼，有人楼上愁

185 such as the poem ‘Withered Tree’, by Yu Xin(513-581). Original text: 昔年种柳，依依汉南；今逢摇落，凄沧江潭；树犹如此，人何以堪？ (庾信《枯树赋》)

feeling<sup>186</sup>; the wandering clouds being blown by the wind represent a person in a mindless journey, while the slowly setting sun usually represents nostalgia.<sup>187</sup> Thus natural scenery was perceived in an emotional way. A mountain may be desperate, and a river may be evil, while a ‘good’ prospect in a sunny weather will of course trigger a kind of self confidence and pride. For example, in the twelfth century, the views of different weather from a landscape pavilion by the same lake was described as affecting the feelings of viewers in a passage of prose: when the weather was rainy and grey for a long time, the viewers on the pavilion were filled with sadness since the gloomy scene reminded them of nostalgia and loneliness; while in sunny spring days, the viewers looked so happy with wine in their hand enjoying the breeze, since the delightful view always let people temporarily forget their own troubles and vexations<sup>188</sup>. Another example in the third century described the connection between scenes of different seasons and the feelings of observers: feel grieved when they see the fallen leaves in autumn, and feel pleased when they see the tender shoots in spring.<sup>189</sup>

Along with such emotional perceptions, analogy was applied to some of the natural landscape and objects, so that they were taken as metaphors for good or bad characters and for people’s ethics. For example, a fragrant plant was a metaphor of a man with integrity and honesty<sup>190</sup>; lotus often symbolizes the character of not being influenced by negative environment<sup>191</sup>. Also influenced by Confucianism, water

186 such as the poem ‘Duangexing’ by Cao Cao(155-220). Original text: ‘月明星低 乌鹊南飞。绕树三匝，何枝可依?’ (曹操:《短歌行》)

187 For example, the poem ‘Farewell, My Friend’, by Li Bai (701-762). Original text: ‘浮云游子意，落日故人情。’ (李白:《送友人》)

188 Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) 范仲淹, *Prose of Yueyang Building* 《岳阳楼记》. Original text: ‘若夫霪雨霏霏，连月不开……登斯楼也，则有去国怀乡，忧谗畏讥，满目萧然，感极而悲者矣。’至若春和景明，波澜不惊……登斯楼也，则有心旷神怡，宠辱偕忘，把酒临风，其喜洋洋者矣’

189 Lu Ji (261-303), *Wenfu*. Original text: ‘悲落叶于劲秋，喜柔条于芳春。心慷慨以怀霜，志眇眇而临云。’ (陆机《文赋》)

190 Wangyi(?89-158)王逸, *Reviews on Chu Ci*. Original text: 《楚辞章句·离骚序》中说: ‘《离骚》之文，依诗取兴，引类譬喻，故善鸟香草，以配忠贞；恶禽臭物，以比谗佞；灵修美人，以媲于君；宓妃佚女，以譬贤臣；虬龙鸾凤，以托君子；飘风云霓，以为小人。’

191 Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐(1017-1073), *Loving Lotus*. Original text: 《爱莲说》出淤泥而不染，濯清涟而不妖

landscape was always praised as a metaphor for human morals. Various plants, such as pine tree, willow, orchid, plum, bamboo and chrysanthemum, were all fixed with certain cultural meaning. Natural landscape was thus perceived meaningfully. To ancient Chinese, the scenery was neither objective nor neutral, but subjective, fixed in certain cultural patterns. The viewing of scenery certainly was an activity combined with emotional inspiration and spiritual refreshing, as it was concluded in the sixth century that ‘the sight of the scenery makes the mind actively involved in the landscape; good mood comes as if answering to the views’<sup>192</sup>. Thus, many traditional theories of how to compose poems suggested that ‘scenery was good for inspiring good poetry’<sup>193</sup>, or that ‘natural landscape and historic places could make people be moved and with poetic words automatically’<sup>194</sup>. Scenery was also viewed as the source of rationality and philosophy of life according to many poems and prose<sup>195</sup>. This view of Nature has also influenced the landscape painting theory, in which it has been popularly believed that landscape painting should be focused not only on its physical composition and form, but also the inspiration of Nature and its ethics.<sup>196</sup> Landscape painting was also taken as emotional expression, for example, a painter wrote on his painting that ‘I painted this view of ranges of mountains in order to express my yearning for home country which has been occupied by the Manchu invaders. The detailed strokes of the painting are all my tears’.<sup>197</sup> Since the landscape environment has been taken as the thing to project sensation and feelings onto, and as

192 Liu Xie 刘勰(246-2532), *Wenxin diaolong*. Original text: 《文心雕龙·物色》。‘山沓水匝，树杂云合。目既往还，心亦吐纳。春日迟迟，秋风飒飒。情往似赠，兴来如答。’

193 Wu Leifa 吴雷发(Qing dynasty), *My Views on Poetry* 《说诗晬牋》. Original text: 故欲治其诗，先治其心。心最难于不俗，无已，则于山水间求之。’

194 Jiao Xun 焦循(1765-1814), The Letter Reply to Luo Yangzhai 《答罗养斋书》Original text: ‘山川旧迹与客怀相摩荡，心神血气颇为之动，动则诗思自然溢出。’ quoted from Liang Yiru 梁一儒, *The View on Nature in Ancient Chinese Literature, Academic Journal of Literary Aesthetics* (2), The Centre for Literary Theory and Aesthetics of Shandong University 山东大学文艺美学研究中心。

195 such as Lu You(1125-1210), the poem ‘On the Stream’. and Wang Bo, *Tengwangge xu*. Original text: ‘看云舒卷了穷达，见月盈亏知死生。’(陆游:《溪上》) ‘天高地迥，觉宇宙之无穷；兴尽悲来，识盈虚之有数。’(王勃:《滕王阁序》)

196 Zong Bing (375-443), Preface of Landscape Painting. Original text: 圣人含道映物，贤者澄怀味象，至于山水，质而趋灵.... 夫圣人以神法道，而贤者通；山水以形媚道，而仁者乐。(宗炳<画山水序>)

197 恽南田 (1633-1690), inscription on landscape painting. 题画 Original text: ‘写此云山绵邈，代致相思，笔端思纷，皆清泪也。’Quoted from Xue Yang 薛扬, ‘The Landscape Spirit with LandscapePainting and Human Dignity’论融会山水画与人格美的山水精神, *Art Masters* 《艺术百家》, 2006(4) < <http://www.wenhuacn.com/article.asp?classid=50&articleid=5671> > [accessed 30 Apr 2009]

the source from which to draw ethics and philosophical thoughts, it has also been the eternal bearer of pleasure, nostalgia, sadness and all kinds of emotions.

In conclusion, natural landscape was presented in Chinese literature popularly, sometimes in order to render the environment atmosphere, sometimes to express subjective feelings and sensations, sometimes in a personified way as if Nature was a friend who could respond and react; viewing scenery was not only regarded as the best pleasure that one would like to indulge in, but also as the inspiring source of people's ethics and philosophical thoughts. The activity of enjoying oneself in Nature was favoured especially by educated people; the natural scene was taken as the best way to relax and to be inspired and refreshed.

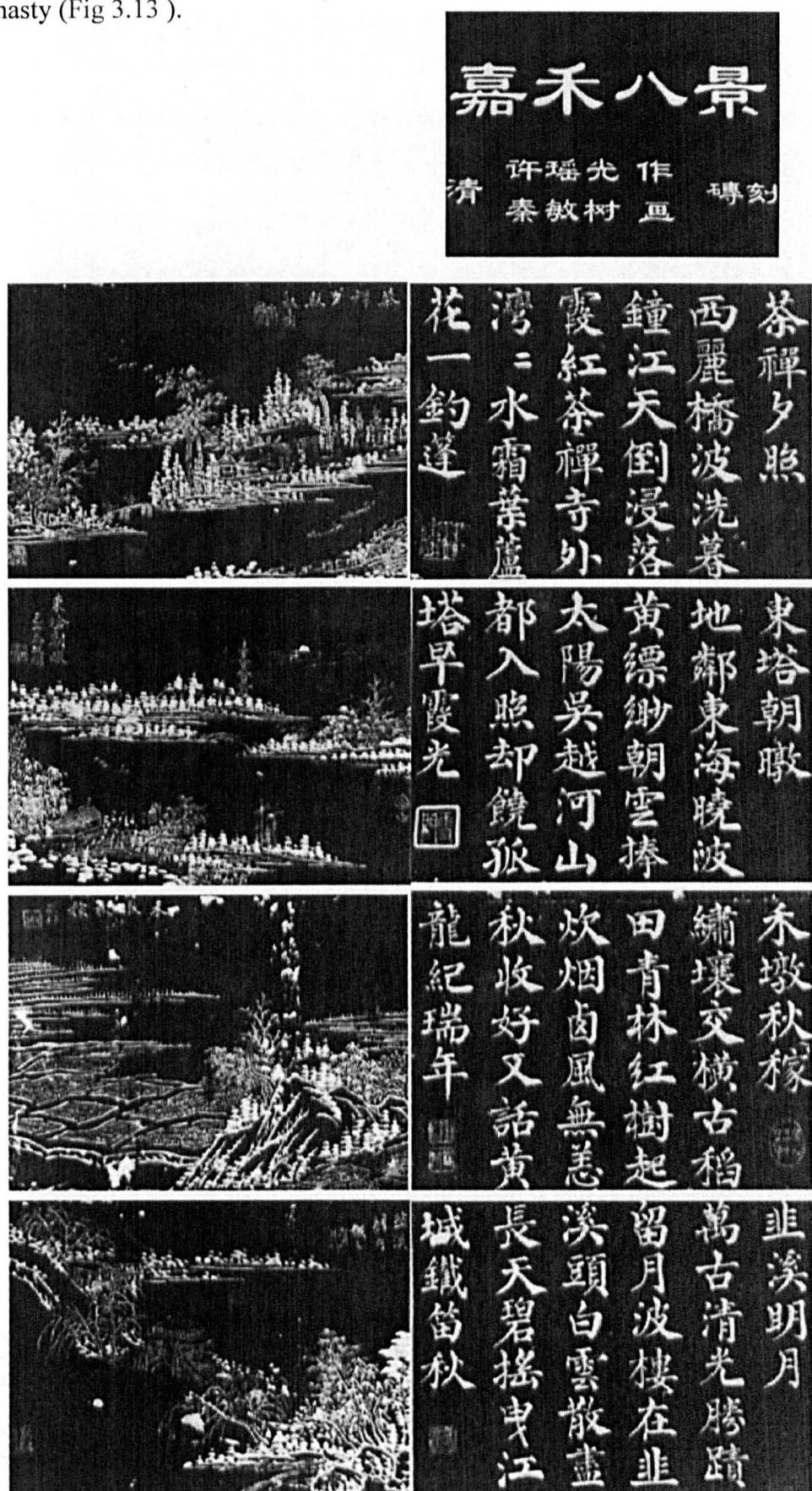
### **c. Historic development of scenic sites: the example of Jiaxing**

The enthusiasm with which the adaptation of scenic sites as leisure places has been undertaken over time has been recorded in poetry, travel notes, prose, and Gazettes, and it has also been depicted in paintings and drawings. The example of Jiaxing provides a good illustration of what happened, what was done to the landscape and what kind of leisure activities took place. Located in the lower Yangzi River valley, between longitude 120 and 110, Jiaxing lies in a relatively flat country intersected by ranges of small hills. During the Tang dynasty, the area of lower Yangzi River valley became the economic centre of the whole country. Within this area, Jiaxing is a small city north in Zhejiang province, adjacent to many famous cities, with Shanghai to east, Suzhou to north, and Hangzhou to south. Compared with these exceptional neighbours, Jiaxing is a more typical town with respect to its development and continuation of tradition.

#### **Eight Scenes of Jiaxing**

Typically on the outskirts of Jiaxing there are various scenic areas that have historically been used as public leisure places and have been continually improved over time. These scenic sites have been recognized as the local 'Eight Scenes' and represented in poetry and paintings. Besides the nineteenth century version of Eight Scenes composed by the magistrate Xu Yaoguang which is inscribed on stele and located on an island in the Southern Lake (Fig 3.12), there is also a painting of the fourteenth century which depicts the version of 'Eight Scenes' at the time of the Yuan

dynasty (Fig 3.13 ).



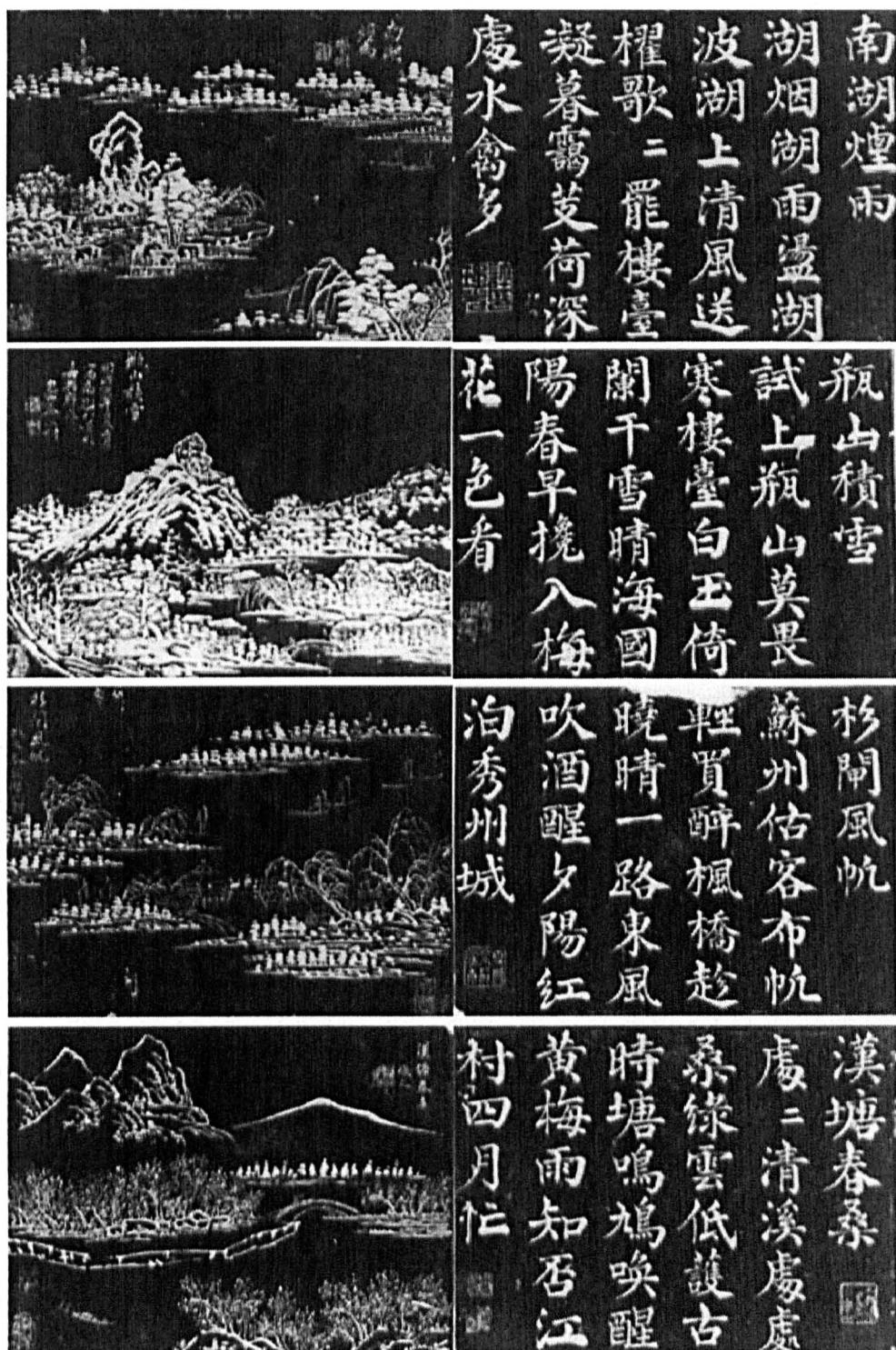


Figure 3.12 Public leisure places in Jiahe of the Qing Dynasty (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries) were celebrated in landscape drawings and in poetry, which in this instance were inscribed onto slates. The scenes shown differ somewhat from those on the long scroll (Fig.13), since both landscape and the taste changed over time. Jiahe Eight Scenes and poems calligraphy from the Qing Dynasty. 嘉禾八景 砖刻图碑 (Source: slates engraved by Xu-Yaoguang, from sketches by Li-Minshu, located in the Centre Island of Nanhу Lake in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province)

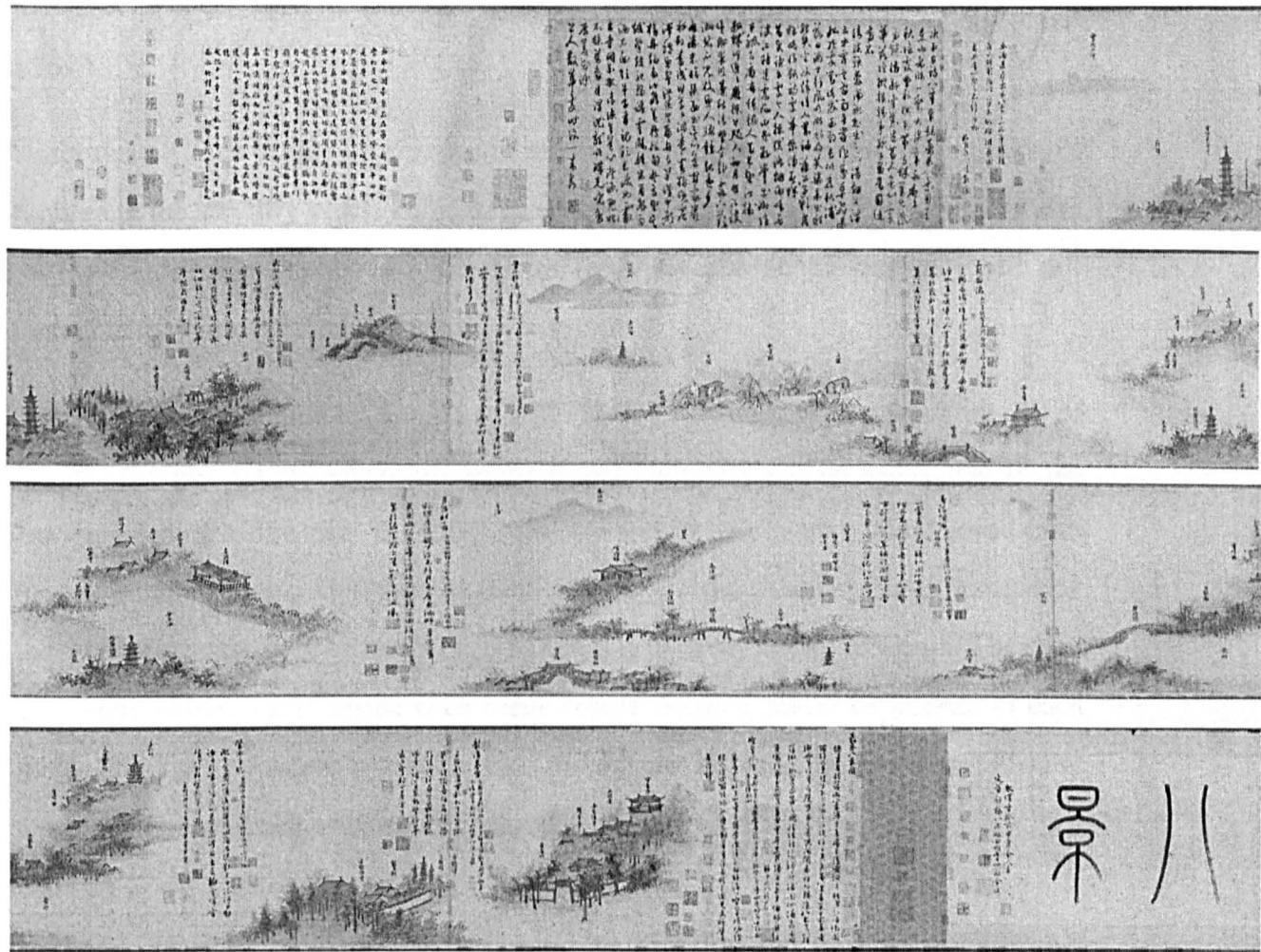


Figure 3.13 Public leisure places in Jiahe of the Yuan Dynasty (thirteenth to fourteenth century) were celebrated in landscape drawings and in poetry and prose, which were integrated into a long scroll, each scene with a descriptive poem; read from right to left, the whole scroll was painted with the four character title 'Jia-he Ba-jing' first, then the painter's name, date, a preface, the main body of all scenes, followed by more prose about the scenery. Scroll painting of Jiahe Eight Scenes by Wu Zhen (1280-1354), Yuan Dynasty, dimensions: 37.5x 566cm. (Source: collection of Taipei Old Palace Museum)

The 'Eight Scenes' named by the magistrate Xu Yaoguang in the nineteenth century were: 1) misty rain of the Southern Lake 南湖烟雨; 2) the sunrise view from the pagoda outside the eastern gate of the city wall 东塔朝暾; 3) the sunset view of the Chachan temple with three towers on waterside 茶禅夕照; 4) the sails of the bustling port of Shanting on the Grand Canal 杉闸风帆; 5) the view of the antique bank when rowing a boat in the Long Pond in spring (the banks were heritage from thousand years ago, metres higher than the water level, with mulberry trees planted along the bank) 汉塘春桑; 6) the view of the broad flat farm land in autumn 禾墩秋稼; 7) the

moon scene of the stream Jiuxi 韭溪明月; 8) the snowy scene of the hill Pingshan 瓶山积雪。

Unfortunately, due to the big changes in the landscape as result of the urbanisation of the area in the last fifty years, six of these scenes have disappeared. Only two, the lake (as represented in the first scene) and the hill (as represented in the last scene), are still there, but the famous 'views' can not be recognized.

The *Jiahe Bajing* painted by Wu Zhen 吴镇 (1280-1354) showed an earlier version of the set of eight, six of which are different and only two are the same, that is, the 'spring morning of the lake' 鷺湖春曉, and 'the lake of spring misty rain viewed from the tall building on bank' 春波煙雨, both referring to the Southern Lake, located on the outskirts to the south of the town. The scroll is over six metres in length. The short comments written on it beside each scene record detailed places of interest in each scenic site, such as names of kiosks, hills, rivers, ponds, wells, bridge, stone, historic tomb, and house of historic celebrity, pagodas, and monasteries.<sup>198</sup>

198 Wu Zhen (1280-1354), Scroll of Eight Scenes of Jiahe, 1344, collected in Taipei Old Palace Museum. Size 6.4 metre by 0.69 metre. Ink on paper. 吳鎮 (1280-1354)《嘉禾八景圖》卷, 1344 (元至正四年甲申)作。紙本, 水墨。寬 69.1 厘米, 長 641.8 厘米。現存台北故宮博物院, 畫上吳鎮題詞全文如下。The original text on the scroll is as follow:

勝景者，獨‘瀟湘八景’。得其名，廣其傳，唯洞庭秋月、瀟湘夜雨，余六景皆出於瀟湘之接境，信乎其實為八景者矣？嘉禾，吾鄉也，豈獨無可攬之景與？閑閑圓經，得勝景八，亦足以梯瀟湘之趣。策而成之圖，拾俚語倚錢塘潘闡仙酒泉子曲子寓題雲。至正四年歲甲申冬十一月陽生日，書于橡林舊隱，梅花道人鎮頓首。

空翠風煙，在縣西二十七裏，檣李亭後三過堂之北。空翠亭四圍竹可十餘畝，本覺僧刹也。萬壽山前，屹立一亭名檣李。堂陰數畝竹涓涓，空翠鎖風煙。騷人隱士留題詠，紅塵不到蒼苔徑。予瞻三過見文師，壁上有題詩。空翠亭 三過堂 本覺禪寺 檣李亭 萬壽山

龍潭暮雲，在縣西通越門外三裏，三塔寺前，龍王祠下。水急而深，遇旱則祈于此，時有風濤可畏。三塔龍潭，古龍祠下千年跡。幾番殘毀喜猶存，靜勝獨歸僧。陰森一徑松杉夜，樓閣層層耀金碧。祈豐禱旱最通靈，祠下暮雲生。白龍潭 三塔灣 龍王祠 景德禪寺

鷺湖春曉，在縣西南三裏，真如寺北，城南澄海門外。湖合鷺鷺，一道長虹橫跨水，涵波塔影見中流，終日射漁舟。彩雲依傍真如墓，長水塔前有奇樹，雪峰古岱冷於秋，策杖幾經遊。長水法師塔前有仁杏，葉長生果實。真如塔 長水法師塔 彩雲墓 雪峰井 五龍廟 鶯湖 雙湖橋 鶯湖 金明寺 春波煙雨，在嘉禾東春波門外，舊日高氏園中煙雨樓。一掌春波，轟轟醉帆鬧如市。昔年煙雨最高樓，幾度暮雲收。三賢古跡通歧路，社會活動寧堵玲瓏插罟。荷花嫋嫋間菰蒲，依約小西湖。三賢者陸宣公、陳賢良、朱賈臣 濂罟、三賢堂、放生橋、梓擅祠、馬場湖、鹽倉、煙雨樓、宜公橋、泰駐、乍浦

月波秋霽，在縣西城堞上，下嵌金魚池，昔李氏廢圃也。粉堞危樓，欄下波光搖月色，金魚池畔草蒙茸，荒圃瞰樓東。亭亭遙峙梁朝檜，屈曲槎牙接蒼翠，獨憐天際欠青山，卻喜水回環。月波樓 金魚池 水西寺 爽溪 祥符寺 仁壽寺 天福寺 梁朝檜 樞嚴塔院 九品觀 三間奔湍，在嘉禾北望吳門外，端平橋之北杉青閣。三間奔湍，一塘遠接吳淞水，兩行垂柳綠如雲，今古送行人。賈姜恥樵藏羞墓，秋茂郵亭遞齋處，路逢樵子莫呼名，驚起墓中靈。華光樓 端平橋 施侯祠 上閣 杉青閣 下閣秋茂鋪 吳江塔 震澤 洞庭山

胥山松濤，在縣東南十八裏德化鄉。山約百畝餘，荷錦翁墓其下。子胥古跡也。百畝胥峰，道是子胥磨劍處，嶙峋響白石幾番童，時有兔狐蹤。山前萬個長身樹，下有高人琴劍墓，周回蒼蔚四時青，終日戰濤聲。石田 子胥試劍石

The set of eight scenes was a concentration of the scenic sites on the outskirts close to the town, as for the whole area of the prefecture, there was a set of twelve scenes, but the authority that did the selection and naming, as well as the date of it is not clear. In this set for the broader area, the view of misty rain of the lake is also listed. The other scenes include the hills of Zhapu by a sea bay, the view of tide in Qianjiang river mouth, the residence of a famous educated man, an ancient garden, a small lake with a kiosk in centre, one site of hills and lake in Haiyan, one site of hills and sea beach in Pinghu, a temple by river and a monastery with heritage about a historic artist of the fourteenth century. Some of these sites have their own set of 'eight scenes', for example the hills of Zhapu, and hills of Haiyan.<sup>199</sup> It was a complex system of scenic sites recorded in local Gazette in forms of poetry series or poetic titles. Thanks to these historic sets of 'Eight Scenes', modern people know something about the scenic landscape and the appreciation of people at that time, although most of these landscapes have been totally changed, with scenic sites destroyed or built over.

---

荷錘亭 脊山 存吾堂 白石祠 石龕 聽雲亭

武水幽瀾，在縣東三十六裏武水北，景德教寺西廊。幽瀾井泉品第七也。一甃幽瀾，景德廊西苔蘚合，茶經第七品其泉，清冽有靈源。亭間梁棟書題滿，翠竹蕭森映池館，門前一水接華亭，魏武兩其名。武水 幽瀾泉 景德教寺  
吉祥大聖寺 魏塘 雲間 九峰

199 Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. Original text of Twelve Scenes of Jiaxing Prefecture in Qing dynasty:南湖烟雨（嘉兴）乍浦雄风（平湖）钱江涌潮（海宁）子城流霞（嘉兴）曝书竹影（嘉兴）绮园春晓（海盐）妆台凌波（嘉兴）安澜庙宫（海宁）九峰听涛（平湖）文宗故里（嘉兴）日月并升（海盐）梅花古庵（嘉善）‘嘉兴十二景’涵盖嘉兴府所辖的周边较大范围。The detail of each scene is as follow:

乍浦雄风（平湖）平湖市乍浦古城，杭州湾出口处，南临大海，北连平原，山海有致，旧时曾有‘乍浦八景’、‘雅山十景’、‘陈山八景’之说，今被国家林业部列为国家级森林公园。

钱江涌潮（海宁）钱江潮位于海宁盐官镇。素称‘天下奇观’，农历八月十八所见者为最著，狂潮疾涌、怒涛叠壁，呈排山倒海、万马奔腾之势。占鳌塔、中山亭、天风海涛亭均为观潮最佳处。

妆台凌波（嘉兴）西施妆台位于嘉兴城范蠡湖畔。清光绪年间，重建范蠡祠并建水阁，称‘西施妆台’。原建在湖中，清初即废，现称湖边水阁为西施妆台。相传西施每天在此梳妆，倾脂粉于湖中，螺食而成五彩，名曰五彩螺。宋张尧同《南湖百咏》诗曰：‘少伯曾居此，螺纹吐彩丝。一奁秋镜好，犹可照西施’。

九峰听涛（平湖）平湖九龙山，被誉为‘江南北戴河’，兼有山海风光，视野宽阔，气候凉爽，是天然的避暑胜地，其黄山西麓有东西沙爿两处，宽阔平坦、沙质坚净，为天然海滨浴场。九龙山俗称九峰，濒海而立，绵延逶迤，山上松林翠郁、泉壑优美。

曝书竹影（嘉兴）文宗故里（嘉兴）文宗是指清代文豪朱彝尊。乾隆时翰林院编修。曝书亭乃朱彝尊晚年从京返还故里后建造。朱氏一生酷爱藏书，收藏各类图书达8万余册，著作甚丰。

日月并升（海盐）南北湖位于海盐澉浦镇西南。三面环山，一面靠海，湖光、山色、海景融为一体，世所罕见，湖周围景点众多，宋代便有‘小西湖’之美称，高阳山鹰窠顶为主峰，可看大海。主要景点有澉浦秋月、云岫合壁、鹰窠晴雪、巫门渔笛、孟泉瀑布等八景，还有云岫庵、茶摩山明摩崖石刻、清藏书楼‘西洞草堂’等古迹。

梅花古庵（嘉善）梅花庵位于嘉善县魏塘镇花园弄。系元代杰出画家吴镇墓葬所在地，吴镇爱梅，自题塘碑为‘梅花和尚之塔’，明万历时在此建梅花庵，遂以之吴镇墓园代称，庵中吴镇墓保存完好，周围梅花傲霜、青竹苍翠，院内有梅花亭、梅花井等景观并置有东西碑廊。

## The history of landscape adaptation of the Southern Lake

The scene of ‘misty rain of the Southern Lake’ has been recorded in all three versions of Bajing, and still survives today. The history of landscape adaptation and regeneration of it reveals the typical evolution process of scenic sites in Chinese history.

The lakes in the southeast part of the town’s outskirts, called the Southern Lakes, were also known as Lake of Mandarin Ducks, possibly because of the presence of such birds there. The area of the lake is about 42 hectares, with the water depth between 2 and 5 metres. The surrounding area is flat and full of rivers. The lakes have been popular for scenic views through history. There is an artificial island in centre of the lake with a high platform and a two-storey building on top of it for good views over the lake. Verandas were designed adjacent to the building to offer the best place for enjoying the views. There are ginkgo trees which are hundreds of years old planted on the high terrace. On the side of the terrace, there is stele of ancient calligraphy. Rockery, flowers, trees, kiosks and pavilions are decorative features on the island, with plenty of steles and tablets of paintings by historic artists, embedded in walls or erected in kiosks.

The beautiful scenery of the lakes has been depicted in poetry as early as the eleventh century; the area of flourishing lotus in the lake has been described as ‘looking like colourful brocade spreading.’<sup>200</sup> Another poem during the late twelfth century depicted the scenery of the lake of ‘the bank with bamboos and trees’, ‘kiosks and buildings on the east bank’, ‘pagoda and its reflection in the red sunset view’, ‘boats

200 Su Shi (1037-1101) 苏轼, has travelled to Jiaxing for several times, when he also composed some poems, information gained from Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library.苏轼三过嘉兴，留下了‘闻道南湖曲，芙蓉似锦张’诗句。

with fisherman singing songs', and 'the waiting in misty rain with goblet of wine'.<sup>201</sup>

A thirteenth century poem described the view from a tall building by the lake as 'the extraordinary prospects in either sunny light or in rain during the four seasons', 'pagoda in low clouds at the remote side of the lake', and 'the little boats rowed through supple branches of willows'.<sup>202</sup> The views of Jiaxing, especially around the lakes have been depicted in poetry with great enthusiasm by plenty of local poets since, some of whom even dedicated series of one hundred poems.<sup>203</sup>

The improved scenic spots around the lake banks have been in place for public leisure since at least the thirteenth century. The *Series of One Hundred poems of Jiahe* (the old name of Jiaxing) by Zhang Yaotong (1270) 张尧同《嘉禾百咏》 in the Song dynasty, recorded that 'the lake is adjacent to the town rampart; on the bank of it there is Haogu Pagoda; there are three kiosks on the southern bank, the names are: Kiosk of Enjoying Outskirt, Kiosk in Middle of Lake, and Kiosk like Range of Mountains'.<sup>204</sup> Revealed by the names of the kiosks, the purposes of constructing them and the location or the look of them are manifest. The last kiosk might be a building with many pitches of different height, looking like a range of mountain with many peaks. But these kiosks did not survive after the Song dynasty, since the later literature has never mentioned these kiosks again. A painting of the early fourteenth century and the

201 Ye Longli(12th century), 叶隆礼, 'The Poem of Misty Rain Building with the same rhyme as Zhu Nanjie's poem', information gained from Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 《烟雨楼和朱南杰韵》'傍家亭馆占湖东, 寂寞为邻只陆公。竹树一堤如有碍, 乾坤万象自无穷。棹歌远入秋波绿, 塔影中分晚照红。尊酒待游烟雨候, 画图著我笠蓑翁'。叶隆礼(生卒年具体不详), 南宋理宗淳祐七年(1191)进士。

202 Tang Tianlin (13th century) 唐天麟, 'The Poem of Misty Rain Building', information gained from Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 《烟雨楼》: '百尺楼高足赏心, 我来犹记旧登临。四时天色有晴雨, 一片湖光无古今。远塔连阴知寺隐, 小舟穿柳觉春深。凭阑多少斜阳景, 分付渔歌替晚吟'。唐天麟(生卒年具体不详), 宝祐四年(1256)进士。

203 For example, The Series of One Hundred poems of Jiahe(the old name of Jiaxing) by Zhang Yaotong in Song dynasty 《嘉禾百咏》宋张尧同(嘉兴), The Series of One Hundred poems of Xiuzhou(the old name of Jiaxing) by Xu Xunru in Ming dynasty 《秀州百咏》明许恂如(嘉兴), the Series of eighty eight poems of Wutang ( a place in Jiaxing) by Sun Dongxi in Ming dynasty 《武塘揽胜》八十八首明孙东溪(嘉善), The Series of One Hundred poems of the Lake 《鸳鸯湖棹歌》百首清朱彝尊(秀水), etc. 《鸳鸯湖棹歌》八十八首清谭吉璁(嘉兴)续和《鸳鸯湖棹歌》三十首清谭吉璁(嘉兴)《南湖百咏》清吴萃思(嘉兴)《嘉禾百咏》清濮启元(桐乡)

204 Zhang Yaotong( Song dynasty), The Series of One Hundred poems of Jiahe(the old name of Jiaxing), information gained from Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. Original text:宋张尧同《嘉禾百咏》: '四境田相接, 烟澜自渺弥。客来吟此景, 无或比瀛池。'附考说: '湖在郡城东南二里, 春波门外, 一名马场湖。宋志云: 阔五百丈, 深三丈。北邻城壕; 东列市廛, 其西侧鸳湖也, 亦名南湖。滨有濠股塔, 湖南有乐郊、水心、列岫三亭。'东列市廛即现在的高家湾一带。濠股塔在隍池边上, 建造年代无法查考, 大概是五代或北宋的遗迹。其他三个亭子在宋末元初时已倾圮无存, 遗址也无从查考了。

poems written on it depicted many other scenic sites and views around the lake such as pagodas, bridges, and deserted ancient gardens.

The scattered early records mentioned the private uses of the lake, such as making gardens around it, and such private improvement has benefited the views of the lake. For example, in the tenth century, a prince of Wuyue Kingdom had a platform built by the lake to supply good views for his guests.<sup>205</sup> It had been destroyed in the war of 1130, and then a garden for a Song officer in the thirteenth century was built over the remains.<sup>206</sup> The newly built platform and building on top of it was for prospects over the lake from the bank; it was also viewed from boats inside the lake, having been taken as a scenic spot suitable for the ‘immense misty rain over the lake’ and an ideal dream living space.<sup>207</sup> According to the short comments on the scroll, the deserted gardens were taken as scenic spots in the fourteenth century.

In the Gazette of the Ming dynasty, showing scenic sites around the lakes, the leisure activities inside and the views from there, it is recorded that ‘there is a pagoda to the west of the lake with shining lights during night, a rainbow-like bridge to the north of the lake; the city wall and many folk houses adjacent to the lake are in sight with willow trees on the bank, lotus and reeds in shallow water. All the lights and shadows are in green tint with rippling sound. This is the best scenic site of Jiaxing, which is always full of decorated leisure boats and music. It is also a summer resort.’<sup>208</sup>

Most of the scenic spots have few records surviving about their early history. The

205 *Gazette of Xiushui County*, 16th century. 明万历《秀水县志》说：‘元璫筑台湖之畔，以馆宾客。’后晋天福年间(936-945)，吴越王第四子中吴节度史、广陵郡王钱元璫，在湖滨筑宾舍楼台以为‘登眺之所’。

206 Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. Originally recorded in Drawings and Notes of Jiaxing and Song History edited in 13th century. 《嘉兴图记》载：‘嘉定间，吏部尚书王希吕致政归，因旧址建楼。’据《宋史·王希吕传》：王希吕‘居官清廉，至无屋可庐。由绍兴归，有终焉之意，然犹寓僧寺。上闻之，赐钱造第。’

207 *Gazette of Jiahe County*, compiled in period of Zhiyuan(1264-1294). Original text: 《至元嘉禾志》载，南宋吴潜（1196-1262）《水调歌头·题烟雨楼》词。全词曰：有客抱幽独，高立万人头。东湖千顷烟雨，占断几春秋。自有茂林修竹，不用买花沽酒，此乐若为酬。秋到天空阔，浩气与云浮。叹吾曹，缘五斗，尚迟留。练江亭下长忆闲了钓鱼舟。矧更飘摇身世，又更奔腾岁月，辛苦复何求。咫尺桃源隔，他日拟重游。

208 *Gazette of Jiaxing County*, Ming dynasty 明汤氏《嘉兴县志》记载：‘澹湖西则灯会窄堵，北则虹饮濠梁，倚水千家，背城百雉；蒹葭杨柳，菱叶荷花，绿浸波光，碧开天影；雕舷笙瑟，靡间凉燠，此一方最胜处也。’灯会窄堵，是指城南的真如塔。虹饮濠梁，指的是濠股东面的放生桥，此桥是旧时从城东进入澹湖的必由之水道。

central island of the lake was artificially made in the sixteenth century, and detailed records survive, illustrating the landscape improvement process. The process of shaping the central island (Fig 3.14, 3.15), the subsequent maintenance of the landscape and its use for leisure by the public, forms a typical example of Chinese landscape culture.



Figure 3.14 Bird-eye view of the central island in the Southern lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)

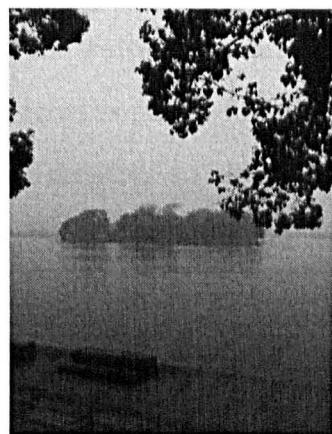


Figure 3.15 The central island in the Southern lake, Jiaxing, viewed from the lake bank (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)

It was in 1547 when the local magistrate Zhao Ying had the rivers around the city dredged in order to benefit the irrigation and shipping. The dredged soil was piled up in centre of the lake, forming an island of around 60 metres in diameter, with the tallest point 15 metres above the water. The dredging project was finished in one year. The magistrate Zhao Ying appreciated the island and planned to improve it by planting flowers and trees, as well as constructing shelters to make it a place for public leisure. In 1549, after Zhao's plan was approved by his colleagues and some senior citizens, the project of constructing a tall platform and the double-storey pavilion on top of it was started, and finished in two months. The building was named after an old building, and was also a quotation from an ancient poem, 'Building of Misty Rain', which was a depiction of the characteristic view from it. Contemporary literati composed an essay about the building process and had it inscribed on stele

which was erected behind the building.<sup>209</sup>

In this early period, there are no people assigned to the island to take care of the Building of Misty Rain and its setting. In 1560s, the island was occupied by some people who performed sorcery and witchcraft. They held various celebrations and parties everyday which enchanted more people into coming. The crowded scene was recorded as such: ‘it’s noisy even through all night, and the traffic was blocked since so many people coming’. Witchcraft was usually considered negative for social life, and the noisy scene was not considered suitable for scenery, so the magistrate punished and drove away the witches.<sup>210</sup> Possibly since then, Buddhist monks have been assigned to the island to take care of it. In 1583, a Buddhist building was constructed; monks were assigned to maintain the landscape of the island. It is revealed in later literature that the monks not only maintain the landscape, but also accommodate visitors and provide them with vegetarian feasts.<sup>211</sup> The monks stayed in the island until 1910s, when they were driven away by the newly elected local authority of the Republic of China.

In 1571, a provincial officer Shen Kui repaired the main building on the island during his inspection in Jiaxing, and had a new multi-terraced viewing platform built. He wrote an essay praising the scenery of the island and briefed his work. The project was completed within one month.<sup>212</sup>

In 1582-83, the new magistrate Gong Mian presided over the repair and extension of

209 Fan Yan, ‘Notes of Rebuilding the Pavilion of Misty Rain’, inscribed on stele, located in backyard of the Pavilion of Misty Rain. 烟雨楼落成后，范言作了《重建烟雨楼记》，刊碑石立在大楼后面。

210 *Gazette of Jiaxing County*, Ming dynasty, original text: 何志《嘉兴县志》载: ‘何源字仲深, 号心泉, 江西会昌人, 嘉靖己未进士。为嘉兴令, 有女神祠烟雨楼, 赛会无虚日。源立仆而笞之, 妖遂息。’ and also see Fan Yan, The Political Merits of the Official Mr.He, Ming dynasty, original text: 范言《何侯政略记》书中也说及此事: ‘俗有鬼祠, 以一总管者, 旌旗鼓吹, 喧夜塞途, 牲醴舟楫, 往来辐辏。虽缙绅章缝之土, 辍相附和。大夫曰: 此圣世之弊俗也。竟毁其像, 召师祝杖而遣之。’

211 Shen Fu (1763-1825), *Six Essays about My Life*, vol.4. 清乾隆年间, 沈复在他的名作《浮生六记》‘浪游记快’中写到: ‘烟雨楼在镜湖之中, 四岸皆绿杨, 借无多竹, 有平台可远眺。渔舟星列, 漠漠平波, 似宜月夜。衲子备素斋甚佳。’

212 Shen Kui, ‘Prose of Misty Rain Pavilion’, 1572, Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 隆庆五年(1571)浙江兵备道沈奎来嘉兴视察, 为之重行修建, 并在大楼南面筑了一座石台。沈奎在重修烟雨楼后, 写了一篇《烟雨楼赋》, 在‘赋’中略述了扩建烟雨楼园林的经过, ‘复辟旧垣筑层台于其上’, ‘极目纵游, 浩然远适’, ‘乃弥月而垂成’。

the buildings on the island. The fund for the restoration was raised from the public. He composed an essay of this project after finishing it.<sup>213</sup> The platform was rebuilt taller, and named as ‘Stone in Water for Angling Turtle’. It was said that there was a sculpture of a turtle in the royal palace, and only the person who came first in the national examination was allowed to stand on it, so ‘angling turtle’ has been taken in the language as good wish for luck in examination. The name was inscribed on a stele, embedded on a side wall of the platform. Local literati also wrote an essay about the platform.<sup>214</sup> Coincidentally, one year later, a Jiaxing student got the first place in the national examination, which made the magistrate feel proud and inspired him to improve one part of the island named as ‘Excellent Scenery of Yingzhou’. Yingzhou is the name of a fairy island in the Eastern Sea, famous for its scenery.<sup>215</sup> The improved landscape was named after the fairy island to show how wonderful the scenery was. The poems composed by Gong Mian about the scenery of the island mentioned plants such as plums and peaches, a well, the new built Buddhist pavilion, Chan rooms, and two new kiosks, one named ‘Congelation of Green’, another ‘Floating Jade’, to represent the scenery of the island. The scenery of the lake with newly improved island has been recorded in travel notes and poetry. ‘The lake was full of decorated leisure boats, with singers and dancers entertaining people’; ‘feast and wine was supplied in boats, while people stayed on lake even through night’.<sup>216</sup> ‘The tall building on the island was the best site to have a view’; ‘when the mist lingering over the lake, the remote kiosks on bank flickering, the sound of boats

<sup>213</sup> Gong Mian, ‘Notes of Rebuilbing the Pavilion of Misty Rain’, 1583. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 龚勉于万历九年(1581)出任嘉兴知府，在下一年集资修葺。落成后，他写了《重修烟雨楼记》。龚勉的这次重修烟雨楼，工程规模比沈奎略大，他在记中说‘楼仍其朴而易其材，务令可久’。龚勉在《烟雨楼杂咏》中提到‘大士阁’，凝碧、浮玉两亭和梵地清净的禅定、观空两室。

<sup>214</sup> Peng Ke, Notes of Diaobaoji, information gained from Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library 当时嘉禾名士彭格写了一篇《钓鳌矶记》。

<sup>215</sup> Sima Qian (?145B.C.-?90B.C.), ‘Biology of Qin Shihuang’, *Shiji*. 《史记·秦始皇本纪》纪载：‘海中有三神山，名曰蓬莱、方丈、瀛洲，仙人居之。’

<sup>216</sup> Gao Panlong, *Travel Notes of Wulin*, 1590. 高攀龙《武林游记》(1590)云：‘至嘉兴，在烟雨楼之前，临湖下复有石台，颜曰钓鳌矶。观湖更旷，湖中是菱芡。右环民居星列，左环绿树参差，亦见小致。’

Also see the two poems about the Southern Lake by Li Pei, the magistrate of Xiushui Conuty at that time. Original text of the poems: 李培是秀水县县令，他有二首《南湖咏兴》诗，描述鸳湖风光：鸳鸯湖上春光艳，烟雨楼台夜月明。到处管弦留客醉，几船渔火傍人行。/兰桡画舸纷如绮，舞女歌儿任所之。夹岸芙蓉飞紫燕，绕堤杨柳弄黄鹂。

rowing could be heard but could not be found', the scenery was most appreciated.<sup>217</sup>

In 1600, the island was improved again by the local magistrate Liu Yingke 刘应鈞.

The island was not only used as a public leisure place for viewing scenery, but also as a space for certain cultural events. For example in 1602, a drama written by Tu Long, an educated man who used to be the magistrate of a nearby prefecture, Qingpu, was performed in the main building on island. It was recorded that Tu Long stayed on the island for one year to compose his drama and rehearse it. The magistrate Che Daren composed poems after watching the drama.<sup>218</sup>

Unfortunately, in 1640s, Manchu invaders destroyed all this. The buildings on the island were destroyed in war, the landscape was poorly maintained and the island became overgrown with grass.<sup>219</sup> In 1657, the magistrate Xu Huan decided to rebuild the pavilion on the island and regenerate the landscape. The preparatory work was done in 1660 and the major work was about to start when Xu Huan was dismissed from his post by his superior for appropriating government funds for the improvement works. It is possibly because of the unfamiliarity of Chinese landscape tradition in the early period of Manchu rule, as expressed by a contemporary poet for the unfairness of this political affair that 'rebuilding old pavilions and kiosks in scenic sites is a normal thing that magistrates usually do'.<sup>220</sup> In 1677, the magistrate Lu Chongxing had the rivers dredged again and had the soil piled in the central island of the lake.<sup>221</sup> He wrote an announcement to inform people that he was going to rebuild the

217 Wang Shixing(1547-1598), *Draft of Travel Notes in Wu area*. 明王士性《吴游草》云：‘环嘉禾城皆水也，其高阜而面城起者，拓架其上为烟雨楼。楼之胜，琐窗飞阁，四面临湖水，如坐镜中。春花秋月，无不宜者。若其轻烟拂渚，山雨欲来，夹岸亭台，乍明乍灭。渔船声舸，茫茫然遥载白云第，闻橹声咿轧，昧晦而不得，其处则视霁色为尤胜。’

218 Che Daren, 'Two Extempore Poems after Watching the Opera Performed in the Misty Rain Building'. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 嘉兴知府车大任应邀赴宴观剧后，作有《九日约同冯女田、傅海蔻、黄贞南赴屠伟真召登烟雨楼看演彩毫，为伟真制曲，即席赋诗二律》诗，有‘烧残蜡炬留欢久，水月空明待去舟’之句。

219 Xu Huan, *Preface of Poems for Pavilion of Misty Rain*, 1657. 许煥(1657)任嘉兴知府。他在《烟雨楼诗序》中说湖心岛‘触目寒烟，伤心蔓草’。

220 Yu Riyu, Poem for the Unfair Event of the Magistrate Xu Huan. 许煥被上司以动用国库建造烟雨楼弹劾撤去知府之职。这件事在当时引起了很大反响，许多人对此都感到忿愤不平。余日昱有诗曰：‘古迹重新事本常’之句。

221 Lu Chongxing, *Diary during the Period of My Post in Jiahe*, 1677. 卢崇兴《守禾日志》中说：‘开城河，……逐节挑浚。搬运瓦砾淤泥，东南两门卸烟雨楼空处’。

buildings on island after the dredging project.<sup>222</sup> But the next year, he was transferred to another post, and the project was cancelled. However, the dredged soil had also been piled on northern bank of the lake forming a peninsular. This peninsular was first used as place for fishermen to spread and dry their fishing nets, but gradually became a scenic spot, and was called ‘Little Yingzhou’ (little fairy land). The landscape of the peninsular(Fig3.16) has been improved variously since: a pond in the centre with various trees planted around, decorated stones on the banks, and a memorial building was located on the peninsular for the ancient sage Cangjie 仓颉, who was said to have invented the Chinese characters.



Figure 3.16 The designed scenery and the pond in the peninsular of the Southern Lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)

In 1681, the local officer Ji Shunyou 季舜有 presided over the restoration of the island landscape and buildings. Some new functions and new buildings were added. The local Confucian school was built on the island; the school used to be in a scenic site in the outskirts to the west of the city before it was destroyed during the Manchu invasion. A poem commented that the rebuilding of the school on the island increased the attraction of the island and lake.<sup>223</sup> Another new building is the memorial pavilion for Gong Mian, the magistrate who improved the island in the 1580s. Since he did a lot of beneficial things for the local people during his posting, when he left Jiaxing

222 Lu Chongxing, *Notice to Citizens about the Restoration of the Pavilion of Misty Rain*, 1677. 卢崇兴写了《重建烟雨楼疏》以告合城乡居民将重建烟雨楼，‘用告属城民吏，协力思襄，发筑残基，光复故宇’。

223 Tu Tingji, *Poems of Events about the BiaoLake*, Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 屠廷楫《滻湖即事》诗云：‘仁文书院旧阁西，多土文光照壁奎。移向滻湖添好景，春深但听鶴鸽啼。’诗注：‘院为明郡邑课士之署，旧址在三塔寺左，毁于兵，今令君移建烟雨楼，具文而已。’仁文书院原在西门外，明末被清兵烧毁。

they transformed a kiosk on the island as a memorial to him. As part of this rebuilding, a new memorial pavilion was built.<sup>224</sup> With the new buildings and functions, the island became a complex place with all kinds of public uses, involving not only leisure purposes such as scenery viewing, but also cultural and social uses similar to a modern museum.

In 1730, the buildings on the island were repaired once more by a provincial officer Li Wei when he inspected Jiaxing. The work lasted three months, and the landscape of the island was restored to what it was in the 1580s.<sup>225</sup> After the work, Li Wei wrote an essay about the scenery there and his work.<sup>226</sup>

During 1751-1784, the emperor Qianlong inspected the southern part of China many times and visited the lake and island in Jiaxing eight times. The number of these imperial visits shows the attraction of the scenery. The emperor composed many poems about the views from the top of the main building on the island, taking it as a metaphor for the wonderland Penglai, which was located in the sea and famous for its scenery in a well known ancient legend. He not only painted the view of the island when he was in a boat on the lake, but also had the buildings and island surveyed so that it could be copied in his royal summer resort. The visit of the emperor and his poems dedicated to the scenery of the lake boosted the fame of the island, but it also brought the negative result that certain parts of the island and the main building were shut off from public access. This lasted for nearly one hundred years, even though after 1784 no emperor inspected southern China again. The double-storey building had been used for better views over the lake, so when it was shut, enjoyment of this

---

224 Sheng Feng, Notes about the Memorial Shrine of Mr. Gong, inscribed on stele. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 盛枫,《龚公祠祭田碑记》,详细记载了龚公祠重建始末。明龚勉任嘉兴知府去任以后,当时有人将烟雨楼荷花池畔的一座亭子改作了龚公祠,用来纪念他为嘉兴人民所作的功绩。清顺治二年(1645),抗清战役中,龚公祠与烟雨楼同时毁掉。祠中原有祠产水田若干亩,此项收入由祠内和尚掌管,用来支付春秋二季祭祀。祠毁后,田亩被地方上有势力者强行霸占。康熙二十年(1681)季舜有在重建烟雨楼的同时,于钓鳌矶东南重建了龚公祠,并查考收回被占的田产。

225 Gazette of Jiaxing, Qing dynasty. 伊汤安《嘉兴府志》载:雍正八年(1730)总督李卫到嘉兴视察,游览南湖烟雨楼后说:‘睹此倾颓殷然,以整修为己任。’化了三个多月时间,‘披图按志,补苴亦略备矣’,‘楼旁更创亭轩杰阁,以复旧游。’基本上恢复了明代万历年间龚勉所创建的瀛洲胜境。

226 Li Wei(1686-1738), Prose of the Pavilion of Misty Rain. 李卫《烟雨楼记》

scenery was diminished although the island was still open to the public. This situation was variously described in poetry.<sup>227</sup> Possibly because the main building on the island was locked during this period, a tall building of a wine house on bank of the lake was used instead as a place for prospects over the lake. It, too, was referred to in poetry.<sup>228</sup>

There were plenty of leisure activities on the lake, especially during festivals. There were several kinds of leisure boats such as net-boats, screen-boats and side-deck-boats, from small ones for two or three people to huge ones for twenty. The net-boat was the same style as the ones usually used by fishermen for net fishing, which is only large enough for two or three people.<sup>229</sup> A screen-boat is much bigger, with a cabin in the middle, and usually a bed and a table inside the cabin. It was usually used as a ferry or hired by families for pleasure journeys.<sup>230</sup> A side-deck-boat was even bigger, with a cabin in the middle, and a passageway to one side or both. It was big enough to hold two tables of food for feasts, which meant that there could be at least sixteen persons on board excluding the crew, waiters and entertainers. It was actually a small floating restaurant, usually hired for feasts on the lake.<sup>231</sup> There was also a kind of floating-hotel-boat, which supplied all the comfort one could expect in a hotel.<sup>232</sup>

227 Jiang Yuanlong, Poem of Boating on the Southern Lake and Visiting the Pavilion of Misty Rain, 1763. 乾隆二十八年(1763)蒋元龙《同敬堂泛南湖登烟雨楼》诗：'强移一棹置湖隈，略遣愁怀得暂开。芳草不知春已去，绿荫如待客初来。屏人阁自严官锁，仙地花仍仗佛裁。多谢老僧相厚意，茗瓯尽日与徘徊。'

Sun Rong, Poem of Misty Rain Pavilion, 1843. 道光二十三年(1843), 孙融《烟雨楼诗》：'笙歌付与隔墙听，墙内名园一半局。满地落花僧不扫，夕阳红上御碑亭。'

228 Cao Yanchun, Poem about the Pending Willows, 1797. 嘉庆二年(1797), 嘉兴词人曹言纯的《垂杨》词注云：'忆幼时与家兄绳其，于盐仓桥酒楼看南湖落絮。'

229 Tao Yuanyong, *Concise History of the Yuanyang Lake*, 1935. 陶元镛《鸳鸯湖小志》载：'湖族本以捕鱼为生.....彼族壮年男女，以时出外捕鱼。老弱妇女则驾瓜皮小艇，在湖浜兜载游客。网船又称摆渡船，船身很小，一个人可以一手摇橹，一手撑篙。'

230 Wu Shoufu (late 19<sup>th</sup> century), *Supplements of the Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 吴受福《古禾杂识补》中说：'挡板船舱内，左右玻璃窗，中横一榻，可坐可卧。前设小桌，饮啖亦宜。外船可装头棚，遇看会观剧之用。'

231 Wu Shoufu (late 19<sup>th</sup> century), *Supplements of the Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 吴受福《古禾杂识补》中说：'丝网船来自无锡，其船既大，制愈轩爽，船户伺候周到，能治肴馔。夏日客每唤渡南湖，借乘凉为名，维舟菱牵竹上，尽半日之长，饮博极欢，间有妓女。'陶元镛《鸳鸯湖小志》载：'丝网船常泊北门外荷花堤，客在东门，可托旅馆或绍酒肆介绍，招船主来面洽。菜随客点，通例船菜并计，自二十元至三十元。烟酒自办，或并属代办均可。最好先与讲完价目，菜用何色，船泊何地，一一与之接洽妥善。届日可乘早班车，船至鼓棹入湖。夏天可择当风地点，抛锚停泊中流。船菜以虾蟹二味为最佳，饭家无此隽味。客在湖心如须登岸，渡船一呼而集。'丝网船大而精美，可以设筵两席，能容一二十人，有双夹弄和单夹弄之分。

232 Zhang Dai (1597-1679), *Dreams and Memory of Tao'an*. Original Text: 张岱在《陶庵梦忆》中说：'湖多精舫，美人航之。载书画茶酒，与客期于烟雨楼，客至则载之去。舣舟于烟波缥渺，态度幽闲，茗炉相对，意之所安，经旬不返。'

During festivals in spring, summer and autumn, the lake was full of boats, while the island and the banks were crowded with people. In spring, the Chachan Temple was famous for viewing peach flowers, the Biguang Monastery for rape flowers while the island in lake was famous for peonies; and the lake was full of boats.<sup>233</sup> On the day of the Qingming festival every four years, there was a grand boat parade on the lake, dedicated to Shiwang, the god in charge of the silk harvest, with tens of decorated big boats joined together, music and acrobatics on board, sometimes with dragon boat racing and all kinds of performances. The boats of audience as well as the banks and island were all crowded.<sup>234</sup> This custom lasted until the 1920s.

In early summer, there used to be boat racing for the Duanwu festival (on the fifth day of the fifth month), and duck races. In summer, the lotus field in the southern part of the lake became the attraction; lotus roots and seeds were, and remain, very popular food in China. Especially on the Birthday of Lotus (also known as festival of Watching Lotus), and on Qixi (Seventh day of the seventh month), people gathered here to celebrate and enjoy the scenery; in the evening, hundreds of lanterns were launched.<sup>235</sup> Described in travel notes of the time, the lotus field became the local summer resort, similar to the Lotus Pond in Suzhou, which was a very famous one.<sup>236</sup> On summer festival evenings opera fans gathered around the island to practise singing

---

舟中有所需，则道出宣公桥、角里街，果瓜蔬鲜，法膳琼苏，咄嗟立办。旋即归航，柳湾桃坞，痴迷伫想，若遇仙缘，洒然而别，不落姓氏。

233 Xiang Yingwei (1730-1789), *Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. 项映徵（乾隆年间）《古禾杂识》：‘三月间春光醉人，百花妖艳。倾城士女皆争觅胜地，茶禅寺看碧桃，碧光庵看菜花，烟雨楼看牡丹，处处游人蚁附。河中画船，箫鼓十番样景，衔接不断。赶集人沿路结棚，泥孩儿、不倒翁、卧美女、象生花摆列精致，小肆香烛，招客者几乎牵袂。’

234 Zhang Yu, Poem about Watching the Parade on Yuanyang Lake during Qingming festival, 1873. 同治十二年(1873)张预有《清明驾湖观水嬉诗》，描述了南湖水上赛会时‘忽喧金鼓拂春雷，乍转艨艟卷波雪’的动人场面。清明节南湖水上迎神庙会，彩船和龙船都来自南堰、东栅及近乡高桥等地。所迎的神叫‘施府君’，俗呼‘施王’。祈求施王保佑蚕花茂盛，蚕茧丰收。每逢农历子、午、卯、酉年，在清明节的一天举行。水上庙会非常隆重热闹，彩船数十艘首尾衔接，儿童扮演戏剧，鼓乐喧天。更有龙舟竞渡，前导‘鱼龙曼衍，百戏杂陈’。湖中舟舫相连，岸上观众拥挤不堪。

235 Xiang Yingwei (1730-1789), *Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. 项映徵（乾隆年间）《古禾杂识》：‘荷花各处陂池有之，唯南湖庄曹圩最盛，碧云连顷，游人携都篮茗具，舣舟断岸，晓露未晞，清香沁骨。居人大半渔户，即以卖莲蓬菱藕为业。虽无凉亭水槛，而柳荫深处，桔槔争响，沙鸥扑鹿，柔橹呕哑，此景真令人忘暑。’庄曹圩在烟雨楼的南面，盛产荷花菱藕，风景十分幽美。荷诞是农历六月二十四日，俗称荷花生日，即古时的观莲节。这一天烟雨楼非常热闹，湖中舟舫停泊，一到晚上，在船中放出荷花灯，浮在水面上如点点繁星。

236 Zhu Jinqiong, *Travel Notes of Misty Rain Pavilion in Zhongyuan Festival*, 1830. 清道光十年(1830)朱锦琼《中元游烟雨楼记》：‘游人宴赏，皆集于此楼，下多莲塘也。故夏曰观莲节，则比之苏州荷花荡。’

and perform operas. This custom can be traced back to the Tang dynasty, when people sang opera for enjoyment in the Mid-autumn nights (Mid-autumn night is not the autumn equinox, but the full moon night nearest to it) in the palace.<sup>237</sup> The custom of opera singing has been recorded in many historic literary sources, including details about the types of operas sung.<sup>238</sup> Many travel notes describe the typical activities of enjoying views and having feasts on boats, visiting the island, and listening to operas performed by entertainers on a music boat during a festival night.<sup>239</sup>

In 1845, the magistrate Xu Jing 徐敬 had the main building on the island repaired again. But in 1860, it was once more destroyed in war. After the war, in the spring of 1865, the magistrate Xu Yaoguang 许瑶光 decided to regenerate the landscape of the island; he had flowers and trees such as poplar, willow, plum and peach planted along the island bank and had the main building rebuilt. Later in 1872 he constructed several verandas at the waterside, to improve the view seen from the lake, as well as to provide more sheltered places for people to enjoy the scenery on island. The name of one waterside veranda, ‘the Open Building over Water to Enjoy the Fragrance of Water-chestnut Blooms 莲香水榭,’ is evidence of the scenic environment and the purpose of the building. Before and after the project, he had composed many poems

237 Wu Shoufu (late 19<sup>th</sup> century), *Supplements of the Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 吴受福在《古禾杂识补》里说：‘中秋玩月，曲奏霓裳，起自唐宫，事极雅曲。禾中此风，近早闻然。然昆曲嗜者甚多，入夏即招同志开局演唱，少年弟子艳之，皆醵资入局肄习。每逢荷花生日、乞巧日，两度放舟烟雨楼，彼此竹肉竞奏，彩船箫鼓，游履如云，一昼夜必唱数十折，蝉联不断。始尚清曲，后咸改用锣鼓说白，若戏场然。技愈精而事愈俗矣。’

238 Xiang Yingwei (1730-1789), *Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. 项映徵（乾隆年间）《古禾杂识》‘中秋载酒南湖，好事者以锣鼓相竞，有雨隔雪、滚绣球、划龙船、花蝴蝶、大歇拍、小歇拍等名，过夜半始散。’

Wang Shou, *Supplements of the Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. 1839. 王寿在《古禾杂识补》中说：‘中秋烟雨楼有唱曲船，甚绮丽。’

Li Feng, Preface of Jinlv Songs, 1806. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 嘉庆十一年(1806)李丰《金缕曲词序》说：‘中秋夜，闻烟雨楼灯舫连檣，笙歌竟夕，亦胜叙也。’光绪后，仍‘金樽檀板，日以继夜’，但不过日期已由中秋改在荷诞和七夕了。

239 For example, Zhu Jinqiong, *Travel Notes of Misty Rain Pavilion in Zhongyuan Festival*, 1830. Originaltext: 朱锦琼《中元游烟雨楼记》：‘道光十年(1830)夏，余借居嘉兴之濠股街。门临南湖，烟雨楼日在望中。邑外鲜山林之胜，游人宴赏，皆集于此。以楼下多莲塘也，故夏日观莲节，则比之苏州荷花荡。以楼高先得月也，故中秋夜宴，则比之武昌庾公楼。顾其妙在雕窗统阁，四面临湖。湖之周围百二十顷，水气成烟，虽晴若雨，与楼中树荫遇合。人倚高楼，恍置身于空蒙翠色间，则斯楼所独也。中元节，有友买画舫，设盛筵，纤胜引并及于余。时微雨乍兴，联袂登楼，苔藓满地，桂花齐落。磊石为山，仿迁倪皴法，今则石级凌乱，失其本来。若亭、若轩、若廊，则金碧昏暗，梁极欹斜，惟树木愈苍古可爱耳。客有感且惜者，余曰：不独此也。以余所见，保定之赵北口、扬州之平山堂、杭州之西湖，凡有行宫，半皆倾圯，岂皆无经费作岁修故也。返而登舟，觞豆已陈。邻舟则弦管迭奏，歌喉是竞。然浮云深处，吹之不开。酒半雨又作，天尚未黑，听彼低唱，消此浅斟。待至一更竟无月，余为解嘲曰：今夜来游，于时殊不合宜，于楼则仍本色也。故棹而归，回望南湖，但见疏灯倏向，如秋萤之出没于烟雨云。’

about his improvement work.<sup>240</sup> One of his poems revealed his motives for undertaking the work: 'it was not for fame that he was improving the local landscape', all he aimed was 'to follow the sage Confucius who set the enjoyment of natural scenery as his dream', and 'to fulfil the people's desire to admire the scenic site which even appealed to the emperor'. He also mentioned details about his work, for example that 'replanting lotus is to invite egret, poplar and willow trees are for orioles'.<sup>241</sup> The local people appreciated the magistrate Xu Yaoguang since he had done much to improve the landscape to the benefit of the local people; when he finished his posting in 1872, the local literati raised funds and built a kiosk on the island to show their appreciation to Xu, and as a memorial place for him. An essay about the purpose and the building process of the kiosk was inscribed on a stele, located in the kiosk. A farewell feast was held in the kiosk for Xu, and nearly one hundred people composed poems for him.<sup>242</sup>

Besides the regeneration of the landscape, another significant merit of Xu Yaoguang was that in 1869 he had named the 'Eight Landscape Scenes' of the Southern Lake, composed series of poems for each scene, had an artist paint for each scene, then had the paintings and poems inscribed on a stele, located in a purposely built new kiosk on island.

The central island in the Southern Lake was repaired again in 1918, when the main building was repaired. It has been a very popular public leisure place. In 1921, the Chinese Communist Party was set up in a boat here. Around ten members of the Party pretended to be leisure seekers to hide themselves from the authorities; they hired a

240 Xu Yaoguang, Poems about Exploring the Relics of the Misty Rain Pavilion and Planting Trees of Peach and Plum on Bank of the Lake, and the Preface and Poem Inscribed on wall of Misty Rain Pavilion after Constructing Building of Yifanghu. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 许瑶光《寻烟雨楼旧址并栽桃李于湖堤》四首中说，‘欲复钱王迹，踌躇土木频’。在烟雨楼遗址的东北，建造了三间平屋，取名‘亦方壶’，并写了《构亦方壶于烟雨楼侧题壁诗并序》。

241 Xu Yaoguang, 'The Answering Poems and Annotations'. Information gained from the compiled historic material about the Pavilion of Misty Rain by Jiaxing Historic Archive and Library. 知府许瑶光诗：‘润色湖山岂为名，春风沂水杏坛情。况邀翠辇巡游地，宜遂苍黎仰慕诚。补种荷花延白鹭，预栽杨柳待黄莺。较他卧阁偷闲吏，似觉经营日有成。’自注说：‘余修葺南湖亭阁，有人题句云太守何庸博雅名，作此解嘲。’

242 Wu Yangxian, 'Notes of Laixu Kiosk', inscribed on stele, located in the kiosk on island. 吴仰贤撰有《来许亭记》并刻成碑石，放在亭内。

boat just as common tourists would usually do. When the Communist Party succeeded in setting up a government in 1949, the lake was turned into a memorial place for the party; a huge memorial hall in a modern style was built on the lake bank, which seems unsuitable for the existing scenery (Fig 3.17, 3.18). In order to make space for the new memorial building, an old waterside veranda style building was demolished.



Figure 3.17 The scenery viewed from the central island, Southern Lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)



Figure 3.18 The new built memorial building for the Communist Party on bank of the Southern Lake, Jiaxing (source: Jiaxing Tourist Bureau)

The history of the island and lake in Jiaxing, and its continuous improvement, together with the regeneration of its landscape for public leisure, was by no means unique in pre-modern China. Actually it is quite typical and representative. The scenic sites of many other towns evolved similarly, and local Bajing or other scenic sites similarly popularly enjoyed. It is evident to say that this has been as a widespread custom which everyone took part in, not only the administrators, the literati and the citizens, but also peasants and the religious orders.

## d. Scenic sites as the ideal residential environment and source of garden design

Confucius showed great respect to hermits (who live as recluses in the natural settings). His words, for example, ‘in order to retain the original aspiration, it’s better to be in natural landscape’,<sup>243</sup> reveal that he took the reclusive hermit’s life as a way of resisting hedonism and corruption; and that, ‘if my theory is not accepted, I’ll quit all my work and sail in the sea’<sup>244</sup> reveals that he likes the natural landscape and respects reclusive life in it. These words have been frequently cited in the two thousand years since Confucius’ time and have been recognised as key lines in Confucius’ thought, so hermits have been highly respected, especially those who resigned from high posts in the government and took a hermit’s life as a way to retain their good morals and aspirations. For this reason, when their political views were not accepted, or when they did not agree with the bureaucracy, some scholar officers chose reclusion as a way out. It has been popularly accepted since at least the fourth century that a hermit’s life dignifies the individual, who, by retaining his own original aspirations, avoids assimilation by current social evils<sup>245</sup>. Thus, respecting hermits and their reclusive lifestyle have been a kind of fashion, demonstrating ‘having original aspirations’.

243 ‘Jishi’季氏, in *Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, vol.16, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/16-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 隐居以求其志)

244 ‘Gongyechang’公冶长, in *Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, vol.5, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/05-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 道不行, 乘桴浮于海)

245 Biography of Lizhong 李重傳, in *Jinshu/History of Jin* 晋書, vol.46, topic16 of Liezhuan 列傳第十六, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p.1312 古之属行高尚之士, 或棲身巖穴, 或隱跡丘園

Besides the influence of Confucius' words, Daoist thought and legends of hermits transforming into immortal beings also helped to build up the respect for hermits and the desire for a life of reclusion in Nature. Most Daoist monks selected good scenery as places for practicing their religion. The hermit's life always seems to be connected with good scenery, a sense of timeless longevity and imaginary fairyland. A travel note written in the ninth century records some details of the residence belonging to a hermit in Mt. Tiantai who had resigned from a high ranking government position. As an officer, he must have been educated in Confucianism. The residence was named 'zixiao' (which literally means purple sky) 紫霄, a term which frequently appeared in Daoist canons, revealing that the owner must have been deeply influenced by Daoism. The garden was designed as an imaginary fairyland: it contained various green trees and heavenly flowers, meandering ponds, a marsh and streams.<sup>246</sup>

To live in the natural landscape was an ideal for people who were influenced by Confucianism or Daoism. Hermits are recorded having lived at most scenic sites. For example, the area of Kuaiji, which is located in southeast China in the modern Zhejiang Province, was famous for its landscape scenery and the number of hermits who have lived there<sup>247</sup>.

A travel note in the eleventh century recorded a case which may give some hint about why place names were chosen, and chiselled on stone surfaces: the place was called 'Cliff of Lilac Flowers', which would suggest that the landscape was covered with lilac flowers when it was named. It is located in the Mt. Beishan of Jinhua. The place was famous not only for its scenery, but also for its history. In the sixth century, Liu Xiaobiao, a high ranking scholar officer resigned from his post and lived here as a hermit. Many people were attracted there to learn from him since he was a famous

246 Xu Lingfu 徐灵府(ninth century), 'Tiantaishan Ji' [Travel notes to Tiantai Mountain] 天台山记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan* [A collection of Travel notes of Zhejiang Province] 中国游记散文大系浙江卷, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002). Pp.730-732 (original words 观东一百五十步, 先有故柳使君宅, 号曰紫霄山居, .....宅中多植灵葩翠树, 曲池泽沼。柳君, 宪宗十三年(819)辞刺史于此隐仙。)

247 'Biography of Wanghongzhi' 王弘之传, in *Songshu* [History of Song] 宋书, vol.93, in *Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) (original words 会稽既丰山水是以江左佳通并多居之)

scholar at that time. They took the nearby natural grand cave as their teaching hall. Several hundred years later, in 955, a temple was built at the foot of the cliff by King Wuyue, the hermit's residence being conserved and integrated as a part of the complex. The well known history of the hermit and his reclusive teaching life made the scenic site more meaningful. In 1046, a local head officer asked a famous calligrapher to write the place name in huge characters and had it chiselled on the cliff.<sup>248</sup> The inscription of the place name was a proud reminder of the story of the hermit, indicating that the cultural landscape was complementary to the scenery and should also be attended to.

A travel note written in the sixteenth century mentions a stele written by Emperor Tang-Gaozong (628-683), which recorded that in the sixth century, a hermit had lived in the Mt. Sheshan and donated his own residence to be a monastery; the emperor appreciated this, and wrote his story, having it inscribed on stele for erection in the mountain to honour him.<sup>249</sup>

In the process of adapting the landscape, the harmony between the human and the natural worlds and the close relationship between Nature and architecture is manifested. In hermitages, often situated in remote and inhospitable locations, the principles of harmony with Nature were evident in 'the careful siting of the buildings and in the creation of miniature rock gardens in the hermitage courtyard'.<sup>250</sup> Hermits have been frequently mentioned in historic literature and popularly admired and respected; some of the hermits' residence or relics have even been taken as beauty spots of the scenic sites in later history.

248 Chen Liang 陈亮(Song Dynasty), 'Travel Note of Beishan Mountain and Puji Temple' 北山普济院记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe, 2002) p.814 (original text 梁刘孝标弃官居金华北山, 今其故居, 是为清修院, .....结庐紫薇岩, 吴会人士多从之学。岩有石室, 因以为讲书之堂。周显德二年 (955), 吴越王始建寺于岩麓。庆历六年 (1046), 郡守命许归书'紫薇岩'三巨字, 刻于石)

249 Wang Shizhen 王世贞(1526-1590), 'Travel Notes of Sheshan Mountain and Xixia Temple' 游摄山栖霞寺记, in *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华, ed. by He Kui 贺葵(Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe, 1998), pp.321-328 (p.321). (original text 右方有穹碑, 唐高宗所撰, 以传明隐君僧绍者 (南朝齐隐士)。隐君故栖此山, 已舍宅为寺, 人主贤而志之。碑阴'栖霞'二大字, 雄丽飞动, 疑即唐人笔也。稍东, 摄级而上曰山门, 江总持 (南朝陈时人) 一碑卧于地, 拂而读之。)

250 John James Clarke, *The Tao of the West: Western Transformations of Daoist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2000) p.157

## Ideal residential environment: living in a scenic site as a hermit

As a substitute for real seclusion, it has been fashionable for rich people to build holiday houses 别业 in the outskirts of towns, or on plots near scenic areas, or even in public scenic areas when possible. Most mountain areas were common land, open to the public; during the third to fifth centuries, the upper-class had plots in mountains, but after then, with very few exceptions, individuals were not allowed to occupy land in the mountains. Only comparatively small plots were officially allocated to religious orders which practiced there. In the old literature many scholars and poets are recorded with simple residences in a scenic site; for example, Bai Juyi had a thatched building in Mt. Lu for which he composed a prose text.<sup>251</sup> Some of the scholar officers lived as hermits in the mountains before they passed the National Exams to become government officers, for example, Li Bo and his brother lived in the Bailu Cave of Mt. Lu as hermits for many years while educating themselves for the National Exams; when Li Bo became the provincial head officer, he improved the scenic site where he had lived as a hermit by building kiosks and adapting the landscape for public visits, making the site a popular beauty spot afterwards.<sup>252</sup>

The sites for holiday houses were deliberately chosen to make the most of the scenery. A location near hills and a river is a typical preference, judging by the many descriptions. Usually a number of different views could be enjoyed from the house. ‘Spring flowers, summer clouds, autumn moon and winter snow’ were often taken as the seasonal interest for the views<sup>253</sup>. A holiday house in the fifth century was

251 Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), ‘Lushan Caotang Ji’ [Prose of Thatched Building in Lu Mountain] 庐山草堂记, <[http://www.guxiang.com/shici/guwen/guwen/gw\\_50.htm](http://www.guxiang.com/shici/guwen/guwen/gw_50.htm)>[accessed 21 Apr 2008]

252 Zhou Luanshu 周銮书, *History of Mt. Lu* 庐山史话 (Nanchang: Jiangxi People 江西人民出版社, 1996) p.63

253 Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), ‘Lushan Caotang Ji’ [Prose of Thatched Building in Lu Mountain] 庐山草堂记, <[http://www.guxiang.com/shici/guwen/guwen/gw\\_50.htm](http://www.guxiang.com/shici/guwen/guwen/gw_50.htm)>[accessed 21 Apr 2008]

recorded, ‘with the big river to the right hand side, ranges of mountains to the left; located on flat terrain with a long path and mirror-like limpid lake; the pavilion was built on the bend of the river, surrounded by paulownia and catalpa trees’<sup>254</sup>. Another holiday house was recorded, ‘with the long dike as the background, the clear canal located in front, with woods of nearly ten thousand various trees nearby; the building is surrounded by winding streams’<sup>255</sup>.

People who lived in the natural landscape improved their residential environment to suit their livelihood and according to their leisure desires. Someone in the tenth century recorded in his biography, described his ideal house, ‘with hills to the back and stream to the front, canals and ponds around, bamboo and trees all over the place, in the front there should be a paved terrace and kitchen garden, at the back there is an orchard’; thus, he could enjoy both the artificial environment and the natural landscape, ‘lingering in the garden, walking in the woods, playing water in the stream, enjoying the windy weather, angle fishing or shooting wild goose’<sup>256</sup>.

The buildings in scenic areas were also deliberately designed to integrate with the environment. A biography in the fifth century describes a house built by a hermit, ‘located ten li (five kilometres) outside the town, with ranges of hills and a river to its side’. The courtyards were planted with arrays of flowering trees; the stream was carried to the main hall by a canal, with the water splashing to the eaves; part of the building was designed without walls, which directly open to the flowered yard.<sup>257</sup> The

254 Li Dao yuan 郦道元(?-527), *Shuijing-zhu* [Notes of All Rivers] 水经注/渐水 (台北:世界书局,1980). 浦阳江自山零山东北迳太康湖,车骑将军谢玄田居所在.右滨长江,左傍连山,平陵修道,澄湖远镜.于江曲起楼,楼侧悉是桐梓,森耸可爱,居民号为桐亭楼.

255 Shi Chong 石崇 (249-300), ‘Siguiyin Xu’ [Forward of the Music Siguiyin] 思归引序, <<http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%80%9D%E6%AD%B8%E5%BC%95%E5%BA%8F>>[accessed 21 Apr 2008] 晚节更乐放逸,笃好林薮,遂肥遁於河阳别业.其制宅也却阻长堤,前临清渠,百木几於万株,流水周於舍下.

256 ‘Biography of Zhongchangtong’ 仲長統傳, in *Houhanshu*[History of Later Han] 新校本後漢書/列傳/卷四十九王充王符仲長統列傳第三十九, vol.49 topic39, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊閣四庫全書/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p. 1644 (original words 人生易滅, 優遊偃仰, 可以自娛, 欲卜居清曠, 以樂其志.……背山臨流, 溝池環廻, 竹木周布, 墓築前, 果園樹後.……嘉時吉日, 則躋畦苑, 遊戲平林, 灌清水, 追涼風, 釣游鯉, 式高鴻.)

257 Liu Yiqing 劉義慶(403-444), ‘Xiyi’ [Hermits] 栖逸 topic11, in *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語, in Zibu Xiaoshuojialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊閣四庫全書 / 子部 / 小说家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/18-5.htm>>[accessed 21 Apr 2008] (original words 康僧渊在豫章,去郭数十里,立精舍,旁

designed canals, adapted stream and planted flower trees extended Nature into the centre of the building block.

Landscapes associated with water were preferred as the design theme when improving the environment. As mentioned in respect of the last two cases, canals and ponds were dug, while in other cases, even artificial cascades and watercourses on stilts were built. A holiday house built in the mountains by a poet and officer in the ninth century was recorded in a letter to his friend. It was located in a scenic site, with a natural cascade to the east, a cliff to the north and a valley stream to the south. The building was designed with a stone canal carrying water to it, right up to its front steps, where a natural waterfall came down. Bamboo pipes on stilts were used to channel the water from a spring over the cliff all the way down to the eaves of the house, where the water flowed down freely, making an artificial cascade<sup>258</sup>. The house was surrounded by streams with white stone bridges. A square or rectangular pond was built in front of the house. In addition to these natural and designed water landscapes, there were tall pine trees and thousands of bamboo in front of the house, pomegranate trees with red flowers around the pond, white water lily planted in the pond and green ivy on the wall.

According to the many cases recorded in literature, the views of the surrounding natural scenery were always ‘borrowed’ into inside the residence and special designs were usually executed to improve the immediate environment and integrate the building with natural elements.

---

连岭,带长川,芳林列於轩庭,清流激於堂宇。)

258 Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), ‘Lushan Caotang Ji’ [Prose of Thatched Building in Lu Mountain] 庐山草堂记, <[http://www.guxiang.com/shici/guwen/guwen/gw\\_50.htm](http://www.guxiang.com/shici/guwen/guwen/gw_50.htm)>[accessed 21 Apr 2008] 水悬三尺,泻落阶隅石渠.草堂西面,依北崖右趾用剖竹架空,引崖上泉水,自檐下注,好似飞泉一般. 堂前有平台和方池,环池多山竹野卉稍加润饰,南可抵达夹涧,有天然云水泉石

‘Biography of Baijuyi’ 白居易传, in *Jiu Tangshu*[Old version of History of Tang] 新校本舊唐書/列傳/卷一百六十六列傳第一百一十六, vol.166 topic116, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinsheguan, 1986) p. 4345 (original words 嘗與人言之曰:「予去年秋始遊廬山,到東西二林間香爐峰下,見雲木泉石,勝絕第一.愛不能捨,因立草堂.前有喬松十數株,修竹千餘竿,青蘿為牆援,白石為橋道,流水周於舍下,飛泉落於簷間,紅榴白蓮,羅生池砌.」)

However later, especially after the eighteenth century when the population nearly doubled, hill folk could no longer be idealized as ‘naturally virtuous residents of an unspoiled upland arcadia’.<sup>259</sup> Most were marginal people who had recently been pushed there by commercial agriculture and rising land prices, and there they survived by planting tea, harvesting medicinal plants, gathering fuel and cutting timber.<sup>260</sup>

### The imitation of natural landscape in an inner-city residential environment: ‘a hermit’s life’ as a garden design theme

Since real seclusion or a holiday house in the natural landscape is not easy to achieve, inner-city residential gardens designed with a theme of ‘a hermit’s life’ became the substitute. The theme of a hermit’s life in natural landscape was usually represented by the naming of the garden or the buildings in it. For example, the name of Wangshi Garden in Suzhou, built in the seventeenth century, literally means ‘a fisherman’s garden’, which embodies a suggestion that the owner, who actually was a government officer, took the garden as a place where he could have a reclusive life in the natural landscape as a fisherman<sup>261</sup>. Another garden built around the twelfth century was named ‘Canlangting’, literally meaning ‘Kiosk of Grey Waves’, which was a literary quotation of the name of a stream described in an ancient poem about a hermit fisherman written in the third century B.C.<sup>262</sup>

Besides these literary quotations and metaphors referring to ‘hermits’, there are many gardens directly named with the word ‘yin’ 隐, which means ‘hermit’. Taking the city

259 Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) p.255

260 Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) p.255

261 Zhou Weiquan 周维权, *Chinese Garden History 中國古典園林史*, (Beijing: Qinghua University Press, 1999) p.470

262 Zhou Suning 周苏宁, *Canlang Ting [Kiosk of Canglang]* 沧浪亭, (Suzhou: Guwuxuan 古吴轩出版社, 1998) 沧浪亭取屈原《渔父》‘沧浪之水清兮，可以濯我缨；沧浪之水浊兮，可以濯我足’之意

Suzhou for instance, from the eleventh century there have been many examples, such as Hermit Garden 隐圃, Small Hermit's Place of Taoyuan 桃源小隐, Harmonious Hermit Garden 治隐园, Happy Hermit Garden 乐隐园, Hermit Garden of Dao 道隐园, Pot-like Hermit Garden 壶隐园, Greeting Hermits Hall 招隐堂, Little Garden of Hermit Fishman 渔隐小圃, and so on.

The theme of 'hermit' has also been embodied in the way in which Nature has been brought into the garden: gardens were designed as miniatures of the natural landscape. For example, a real mountain was represented by rockeries or a natural rock and bonsai has been designed as a potted miniature landscape setting, usually with mini bridges, kiosks and sometimes with a hermit fisherman, in some extremely small gardens or even established indoors.

### Scenic sites as a basis for understanding classic garden design

An understanding of the traditional view of Nature through an understanding of scenic sites also provides a basis for appreciating classical Chinese gardens. The imitation of natural landscape as the essence of garden design has been recognised throughout history and also by many contemporary garden research scholars, as it was described as 'learning principles from Nature' (Shifa ziran 师法自然).<sup>263</sup> Garden design has also been influenced by landscape painting which took Nature as a direct source of inspiration.<sup>264</sup> Gardens can be judged as both literally and physically a representation of scenery, as well as the perfect collage made of imitations of the best parts of Nature.<sup>265</sup> In China, classical gardens are supposed to be naturalistic, rather than

263Lou Qingxi 楼庆西, *Chinese Garden 中国园林* (Beijing: Wuzhou Chuanbo Press 五洲传播出版社, 2003) p.136

264 Zhou Weiquan 周维权, *History of Chinese Classical Gardens 中国古典园林史* (Beijing: Qinghua University Press, 1999) p.122

265 *Architects (建筑师)*, (Beijing: Chinese Architectural Press, 1971) issue 7, p.63

formal or artificial.<sup>266</sup> This section shows how gardens can be considered as miniature scenic sites, representing the scenery in Nature through garden art.

The three key steps for designing a Chinese classic garden are all connected with scenic sites or natural scenery: the first key step is site selection and planning. This is clearly stated in a garden design book from the Ming dynasty. A garden should preferably be located in a scenic area with the opportunity of ‘borrowing’ scenery around the site, that is, there should be good prospects from the site.<sup>267</sup> The second step is the design process: usually natural landscape serves as a source of design; however the garden is not simply a copy of Nature but a miniaturization of its disposition and textures, in which the essence of Nature is represented. Thus a garden is able to supply a place of the same quality as a large scenic site. The third step, just as important as the previous two, is ‘literary expression’ and ‘literary decoration’: the connection of scenery and poetry was always an inevitable and necessary stage for expressing the design’s intention, and poetic words were composed to point out the literary image of natural landscape being referenced or indicate the proper use of the place, for example, listening to the wind through the pine woods, or listening to the dribbling sound of rains on withered lotus leaves. The associated poetry was usually inscribed on tablets, steles or stones to decorate the garden. Thus the natural landscape was linked to all these three steps of garden making.

As for the first step of site selecting and planning, an example recorded in a prose text of the twelfth century manifests the ideal model. The text is about the building process of a garden, but it spends more than half a paragraph on depictions of the location of the garden and the views from there. A Mr. Zhang resided on the outskirts of the town, where he created a very nice garden. However, he was not very satisfied with the garden; he was trying to ‘borrow’ in some natural scenery to improve it, since natural landscape was always preferred to artificial works. He walked hundreds of feet away

266 Du Shunbao 杜顺宝, *Gardens in China* 中國的園林 (Beijing: People's Press, 1990) p.174

267 Ji Cheng (1582-1642), *Yuanye* 《園冶》: Original text: ‘園林巧于因借’

from his garden, where he found a place with the best prospects over the river. The site was excellent for viewing and was praised by his friend, who quoted a famous sentence from a prose text of Su Shi: 'the breeze over the river, and the scene of moon rising between mountains, is unlimited resource for pleasure; it is surely the unlimited treasure given by the Creator.'<sup>268</sup> So Mr. Zhang built a big gazebo there and the new building was named, 'The Unlimited Treasure'.<sup>269</sup>

Landscape poetry has been integrated into garden designing in the form of inscriptions on steles, tablets, column scrolls and stones, which served not only as ornaments and signposts, but most importantly as an embodiment of the design's intention, a reminder of its historic references and in order to direct the visitor's imagination and experience. For example, the Pavilion of Remote Fragrance in Zhuozheng Garden in Suzhou was designed for admiring lotus; it has a tablet inscribed with a quotation from an eleventh century prose text<sup>270</sup> which suggests that the integrity and elegance of the lotus is like that of a noble man. Another pavilion similarly designed for admiring lotus is supposed to have a quite different atmosphere and experience: 'the withered lotus leaves should be kept because they are good for appreciating the sound of rain', a quotation from a ninth century poem.<sup>271</sup> In most cases, knowing the original landscape poetry is important in understanding the garden design's intention so that a full understanding of the garden is achievable.

The location of a garden should preferably supply good surrounding scenery that can

268 Su Shi 苏轼 (1037-1101), 'Prose of Chibi' 《前赤壁赋》, <<http://www.hudong.com/wiki/%E3%80%8A%E5%89%8D%E8%B5%A4%E5%A3%81%E8%B5%8B%E3%80%8B>> [accessed 30 Apr 2009]

269 Yang Wanli 杨万里(1127-1206), 'Unlimited Treasure', *Chengzai ji*, vol.72. <诚斋集>卷七十二, <无尽藏记> Original text: 永新县东郊外不十里, 曰横江, 张司里德坚居之, 近无邑喧, 远无林荒, 乃筑山园, 以廓万象。削壤为沚, 实以美蕖。布砾为径, 夹以海棠。为亭为轩, 以憩以临。园成, 与吾友刘景明游焉。德坚若不满意者, 顾曰: '是非不佳, 然人为, 非天造也。' 乃与景明竹杖芒履, 循海棠径北行百余步, 至禾江之溪, 德坚却立曰: '止, 吾得佳处矣!' 盖江水西漾, 渺然若从天而出, 至是分为二, 中跃出一洲, 如横绿琴, 美竹异树, 不艺而蔚。水流乎洲之南北崖, 若裂碧玉钗股, 势若竞蠡, 声若相应, 若将胥命而会于洲之下。览观未尽, 云起乐山, 意欲急雨, 有风东来, 吹而散之, 不见肤寸。义山之背, 忽白光烛天, 若有推挽一玉盘疾驰而上山之巅者, 盖月已出矣。景明贺曰: '唯江上之清风与山间之明月, 耳得之而为声, 目接之而为色, 取之无禁, 用之不竭, 是造物者之无尽藏也。' 德坚乃作堂其处, 而题曰: <无尽藏>云。

270 Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 (1017-1073), *Loving Lotus*. 《爱莲说》(苏州拙政园的远香堂'香远益清')

271 Li Shangyin 李商隐 (812-858), Poem and Letter to Cui Brothers during the Journey when Stayed in Luoshiting 《宿骆氏亭寄怀崔雍崔衮》(留听阁'留得残荷听雨声')

be ‘borrowed’. The principle of borrowing natural scenery was explained in an antithetical couplet written on column scrolls of a garden building in Jiaxing, which says, ‘the walls or fences were not set, in case wind or moon being restrained; the doors and windows are wide open, in order to embrace the rivers and mountains’.<sup>272</sup> An educated man and garden designer points out that: ‘borrowing scenery is the highest aim of designing a window or an opening on the garden wall’.<sup>273</sup> A sixteenth century garden design manual directed that designing a garden should take care of the prospects viewed from the site; the good views should be ‘borrowed’ while the bad ones should be screened off.<sup>274</sup> It also says ‘a garden should be good at borrowing scenery and using the existing topography’.<sup>275</sup> The windows and openings on wall were analogized as a painting frame, in which the scenery was the picture. A well designed window framed the best part of the natural landscape as though it were a painting by the Creator, which could be so attractive and such an object of obsession that people could sit at it all day, unwilling to close the window.<sup>276</sup>

It has been pointed out that gardens located in town were a substitute for the ideal location for an excellent garden.<sup>277</sup> However, people who lived in town felt it necessary to engage with Nature for various reasons, such as seeking pleasure, planting vegetables, or were influenced by their religions; so they built gardens. For example, the Buddhist temples were originally located deep in the mountains or other remote areas; later, perhaps mainly for the convenience of transmitting religion to the public, temples were gradually built in towns. As compensation, gardens in temples

272 Original text: 不设樊篱，恐风月被他拘束；大开户牖，放江山入我襟怀。Located in the building ‘Mountain Morning Pavilion’ in Wangdian Town, outskirt of Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province. 嘉兴郊外王店镇‘山晓阁’对联

273 Li Yu 李渔(1611-1680), *Random Notes of the Pleasure* 《闲情偶寄》中论园林窗户时说:‘开窗莫妙于借景。’

274 Ji Cheng (1582-1642), *Yuanye* 《园冶》: Original text: ‘极目所至，嘉则收之，俗则屏之。’

275 Ji Cheng (1582-1642), *Yuanye* 《园冶》: Original text: ‘园林巧于因借，精在体宜。’

276 Li Yu 李渔(1611-1680), *Random Notes of the Pleasure* 《闲情偶寄》窗栏节提出以窗为框，在‘尺幅窗’中得‘无心画’，‘见其物小而蕴大，有须弥纳于芥子之意，尽日坐观，不忍合牖。’他举在西湖泛舟，游船两侧，开扇面形舷窗，坐于舱内观之，则两岸之湖光山色、寺观浮屠、云烟竹树，以及往来之樵人牧竖、醉翁游女，连人带马，尽入便面(扇子)之中，作我天然图画。

277 Li Yu 李渔(1611-1680), *Random Notes of the Pleasure* 《闲情偶寄》首先提出，在闹市宅院中建造园林，原本是不得已的事。

were especially accented and deliberately designed in order to make a small piece of 'pure land' 净土 (a Buddhist concept which means not being contaminated and usually refers to natural landscape) for the practise of Buddhism. A fifth century temple in Luoyang had a garden to its west with many fruit trees and flowers, where the monks could meditate and practise Buddhism, which was praised 'as if located in a tranquil valley, although it actually sits in centre of a busy noisy town'.<sup>278</sup> An eighth century temple in Xuanzhou had a water garden which is depicted in a poem that 'birds fly around in colours of mountains, while whatever noise of people singing or weeping are all covered in water sounds', to deliver the image of tranquillity with reflection of mountains in pond and the drizzling waterfall.<sup>279</sup> In fifteenth century Beijing, the Tianning Temple was so famous for the chrysanthemums in its garden that 'people came to have a look from all over the city during late autumn when chrysanthemum bloom'.<sup>280</sup>

A compact garden is better than nothing when people could not live in real scenery, thus 'a stone no bigger than a fist was taken as a mountain, and a spoon of water was imagined as pond'; this has been the extreme method of resolving the problem of a lack of nearby scenic sites in dense residential areas.<sup>281</sup> Imagination had to be used in viewing a compact garden, where one peak represented ranges of mountains and one ladle of water was supposed to be imagined as rivers and lakes over thousands of miles.<sup>282</sup> As pointed out in painting theory, 'a remote mountain delivers only its overall shape but not its texture, while a close mountain delivers only its detailed

278 Yang Xuanzhi 杨铉之(fifth -sixth century), *The Temples of Luoyang* 《洛阳伽蓝记 景林寺》Original text: 寺西有园,多饶奇果.春鸟秋蝉,鸣声相续.中有禅房一所,内置只洹精舍,形制虽小,巧构难比.加以禅阁虚静,隐室凝邃,嘉树夹牖,芳杜匝阶,虽云朝市,想同岩谷.静行之僧,绳坐其内,餐风服道,结跏数息.

279 Du Mu (803-852), Poem for the Water Pavilion in Kaiyuan Temple, Xuanzhou. Original text: '鸟去鸟来山色里, 人歌人哭水声中。' (唐杜牧《题宣州开元寺水阁》)

280 Li Jingshan (Qing dynasty) 清李静山, *Zengbu dumen zayong* 《增补都门杂咏》Original text: '天宁寺里好楼台, 每到深秋菊又开. 赢得倾城车马动, 看花齐带玉人来。'

281 Ji Cheng (1582-1642), *Yuanye*. Original text: '幽宅磊石, 原非不得已, 不能致身岩下与木石居, 故以一拳代山、一勺代水, 所谓无聊之极思也。' (计成·园冶),

282 Li Yu 李渔(1611-1680), *Changwuzhi*. Original text: '一勺则江湖万里' '一峰则太华千寻', (李渔·长物志)

texture but not its shape',<sup>283</sup> so stones of mountain-like-shapes were favoured as representing mountains in gardens. Stone has also been admired on its own, since it was believed to be the best calculus of universal vigour, a bearer of thousands of years' universal intelligence and elegance.<sup>284</sup> Emperor Zhao Ji of Song even set up a special bureau to find stones for his garden.<sup>285</sup>

Just as in real landscape, the rockery in gardens was also designed to be an inspirational source which might spark philosophical thinking and poetic living. For example, a prose text in the eleventh century about a rockery reveals that viewing and meditating upon it supported a deeper understanding of life. The rockery was made of driftwood, a natural reshaped material which represented mountains vividly. The author was amazed by the natural process through which a big straight tree trunk became a piece of strange shaped mountain-like driftwood, inspiring his reflections on fate, destiny, the Creator's intention and the dialectic relationship between inevitability and contingency. The shape of the three peaks of the wooden mountain so appealed to the author that he henceforth comprehended that a true noble life should be neither obsequious nor supercilious.<sup>286</sup>

Natural landscape has been imitated in gardens, even compact gardens of very small size which comprised representation of several real scenic sites.<sup>287</sup> Names of many buildings and beauty spots in gardens reveal that the garden design imitated real scenic sites. For example, in the Royal gardens of the imperial summer villa in Chengde, a beauty spot named little Golden Hill (Fig3.19), is named after the real

283 Guoxi(1023-1085), *Theory of Landscape Painting*. 宋山水画家郭熙《山水训》Original text: '真山水之川谷，远望之以取其势，近看之以取其质'.

284 Du Jiyang(Song dynasty), *Yunlin Stones*. 宋人杜季阳<云林石谱>序: Original text: 天地至精之气，结而为石，负土而出，状为奇怪……故虽一拳一石，而能蕴千年之秀。

285 Gong Shuduo, *Song Dynasty with Illustrations* 图说宋, (Taipei: Zhishufang 知书房, 2007) p.106 宋徽宗赵佶在位时，命平江人朱勔专搜集江浙一带奇花异石进贡，号称‘花石纲’，并专门在平江设应奉局狩花石。

286 Su Xun(1009-1066), *Wooden Mountains* 《木假山记》Original text: 予家有三峰。予每思之，则疑其有数存乎其间。且其孽而不殇，拱而夭，任为栋梁而不伐，风拔水漂而不破折不腐，不破折不腐而不为人之所材，以及于斧斤之，出于湍沙之间，而不为樵夫野人之所薪，而后得至乎此，则其理似不偶然也。然予之爱之，则非徒爱其似山，而又有所感焉；非徒爱之而又有所敬焉。予见中峰，魁岸踞肆，意气端重，若有以服其旁之二峰。二峰者，庄栗刻削，凛乎不可犯，虽其势服于中峰，而巌然决无阿附意。吁！其可敬也夫！其可以有所感也夫！

287 Ji Cheng (1582-1642), *Yuanye* . Original text: ‘多方胜境，咫尺山林’ (计成·园冶)

famous scenic place of Golden Hill (Fig3.20) by the Yangzi River in Zhenjiang; the Building of Yellow Crane, is named after a pavilion located at a scenic site by the Yangzi River; and the Building of Misty Rain is named after a building in the southern lake of Jiaxing.

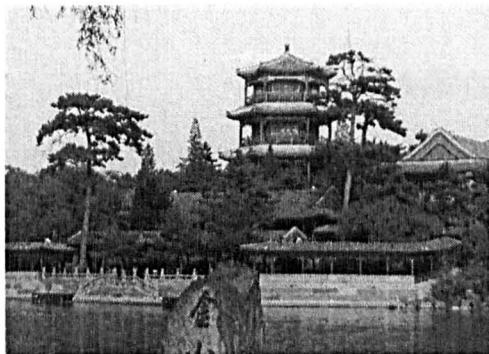


Figure 3.19 Little Golden Hill in the Royal gardens of the imperial summer villa in Chengde, Hebei Province (source: Chengde Tourist Bureau)

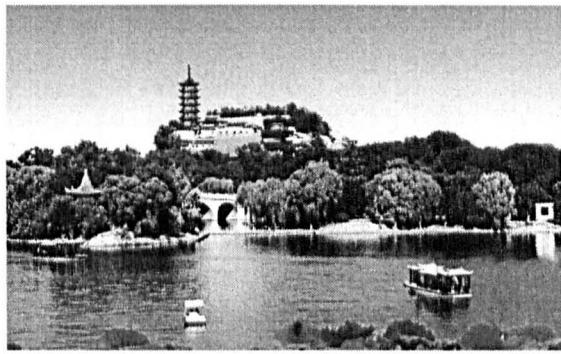


Figure 3.20 the real famous scenic place of Golden Hill by the Yangzi River in Zhenjiang Province (source: Zhenjiang Tourist Bureau)

## **Chapter 4. Confucianism and its significance in landscape improvement**

Confucianism and philosophical Daoism are the two main systems of thought that have been popular in China for more than 2000 years, and both have had a significant impact on traditional culture. Like other contemporary systems of thought, they both take Dao, the universal truth, rather than a god, as the highest position in their belief.<sup>288</sup> Confucius (?551-479BC), the founder of Confucianism, asked for advice from Laozi (?571-480B.C), the founder of philosophical Daoism, on the subject of Dao. Although compared with Daoism, Confucianism is viewed as conservative, paternalist, rational, conformist and is associated with venerating precedent, ceremony and hierarchy, therefore perfectly adapted to become the orthodoxy of a bureaucratic empire<sup>289</sup>, it appreciates Nature and values it as much as Daoism does, but, in a different way.

Naturalistic scenery was favoured especially by the educated, as the best place to relax, reflect, refresh and be inspired. Literati, who were educated in Confucianism, constituted the largest group of government officials. This was due to the national civil service recruitment process, that is, the examination system based on Confucian education which is explored here in more detail and shows how this particular view of Nature was institutionalized and became systematic. Influenced by Confucianism, scholar officials not only took scenic appreciation as their hobby, but also contributed

288 Ban-Gu 班固(32-92A.D.), 'Yiwenzhi', *Hanshu [Han History]* 《汉书 艺文志》, vol.30 in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu/ Shibu/ Official History 文渊阁四库全书 / 史部 / 正史类, ed. by Jiyun (repr. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/041-1.htm>>[ accessed 17 Sep2008] (original text 儒家者流, .....于道最为高。)

289 Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning* (London: A. Tiranti, 1962), p.9

to improving scenic sites, with the intention of moralizing and edifying people. They also collaborated with the religious orders such as Daoists and Buddhists in scenic improvement and maintenance.

### **a. Civil service recruitment: the examination system based on Confucian education**

The civil service recruitment and examination system was important in allowing educated people to be assigned to government posts and to a certain extent it encouraged flexibility of social status. The process empowered the gentry educated in Confucianism, so that they could play a leading role in landscape adaptation for public leisure.

People today, insofar as they are the subject of leisure activities, are usually divided into several classes, each class enjoying different styles of leisure activities due to the differences between them in terms of financial status and social privilege. However, in pre-modern China, things were different, since it was a society with high flexibility of social status: the aristocratic class dissolved 2200 years ago, and the relatively rapid change of social status and the influence of Confucianism promoting scenic leisure style neutralized to some extent the effect of class-conscious behaviour in which leisure styles might be taken as symbols of social identity. All these social characteristics are rooted in the civil service recruitment system, which appeared in the third century B.C. and evolved in several phases, eventually leading to the flexibility of social status, with Confucian scholars as an administering class who principally directed leisure fashions.

## Development of civil service recruitment

With the rise of the Qin Empire (221-207 B.C.), a truly unified government first emerged in Chinese history. As soon as the new unified empire was established, strong measures were taken to displace the old feudalism and to set up that bureaucratic type of government which, first established in the Qin domains, was to characterise the whole of subsequent Chinese history. Regions formerly belonging to a feudal aristocracy were absorbed into an extended empire composed of administrative units controlled by representatives of the central government. In the Han dynasty, all sorts of measures were taken against the holders of feudal estates; for example, a succession system was introduced which tended to divide feudal estates up at each inheritance.<sup>290</sup> No position in the government remained hereditary. The government was increasingly composed of individuals recruited on merit rather than people of noble families.

As the bureaucratic system was established, it followed by systematic attention paid to its recruitment, so state schools and colleges were set up. As mentioned before, the Chinese feudal-bureaucratic society rested on an intensive agriculture requiring irrigation, which needed great manpower and a central leadership. Such a characteristic type of Chinese agriculture and administration means that it is necessary to have scholar gentry to administer it.<sup>291</sup> In the early Han, the emperor started to ask his provincial administrators to recommend persons with excellent reputations and manifest virtue for official positions.

Actually, the education and examination system for civil service recruitment had long been suggested by idealist social thinkers. As early as the last years of the Warring States period (475-221BC), certain utopian thinkers had advocated selection of the

290 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982)

291 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.1(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.114-119

virtuous and able by the objective standard of a written examination as a prerequisite for the appointment of government officials.<sup>292</sup> Private education had a long history before official education was established. The Imperial Academy (Imperial University, Taixue 太学) was established in 124BC, and supplied candidates for government posts. Provincial education had begun spontaneously some time before, around 145BC, as the result of the initiative of a governor of Sichuan, Wenweng 文翁.<sup>293</sup> It is recorded that: 'on taking up his post, he discovered that the district was uncivilised, the culture resembling that of the barbarians, so he tried to educate and improve the people... In Chengdu, he established a department of education (学官), inviting boys of outlying districts to come and study. The best students became candidates for official positions, while those of lesser ability received an honorary title. The students were honoured in various ways. As a result, the people respected them and desired to become scholars themselves, the wealthy even paying for the privilege. The emperor Han Wu later established schools in the provinces, but the system of government education really began with Wenweng. A shrine was erected in his memory.'<sup>294</sup> The recruitment of officials and their qualifications has been regarded as more important than any particular configuration of political institutions.<sup>295</sup>

After its first formal appearance in the early Han dynasty, the civil service recruitment process, along with the examination system and the education system, evolved through several phases.

In the first place, to make knowledge of idealized political classics available to prospective office holders, the early Han Emperor established an Imperial Academy. The system of selecting or recommending official candidates (students) was set up on a geographical basis from the very beginning. Upon graduation, the students at the

292 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) p.48

293 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) P.107

294 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. I (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) P.107

295 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982)

Imperial Academy were classified into two Grades, according to the results of their final examinations. Those in upper Grade became Court Gentlemen to serve in the central government, and the lower Grade would return to their place of birth and become regular officials. The examination at the time of the Han dynasty was in the form of answering questions like supplying opinions for the pragmatic administration of problems. By Han regulation, all local chief administrators should be appointed by the central government; they could not be natives of the county to which they were sent, while their assistants or subordinates should be local people. There was also a regulation of 'district recommendation upon village selection' (乡举里选) for local government units to recommend local officials of ability to the central government. Thus, a rather fair system of recruitment and evaluation was established.<sup>296</sup> The system of recruiting officials developed into a relatively stable system after the reign of Emperor Han Wu (r.141-87B.C.).

Since the early civil recruiting was based on recommendation by local officials, it was not completely objective and easily became corrupt. After a long period of the process operating in this way, many local privileged families were established due to the intrinsic weakness of the recommendation system.

So the Sui and Tang governments opened the door to general civil service recruitment, so that anyone could register with the local authorities in order to participate in the government examinations by submitting his own records. The only limitation on candidates for the competitive examinations was that they could not be merchants, artisans or others who in the perceptions of the day were solely concerned with private profit,<sup>297</sup> (they were conventionally taken as the lowest class), nor, of course, any one with a criminal record. Those who passed were granted the Doctor of Letters (Jinshi 进士) degree which qualified them as candidates for appointment to office.

---

296 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) P.13-16

297 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) P.50

After undergoing another examination concerned with administrative abilities, including an oral examination which stressed appearance, bearing and dress, they would be selected for actual appointment.<sup>298</sup> In fact, it became possible for impecunious students without family connections to be placed in the examinations. One of the best known of such success stories was that of Wang Bo 王播 (759-830), who borrowed books, studied on his own and lived in the Shita Buddhist Temple in Yangzhou (in present Jiangsu Province). Along with the new phase of civil service recruitment, the privileged families began to dissolve and the recruitment became more objective and fair.

Towards the end of the Tang dynasty, the great families declined and most candidates came from families of lesser wealth and political tradition. Village boys, students from humble homes and candidates from remote areas were able to hold degrees.<sup>299</sup>

During the Song dynasty, the regulations of the examinations were made a little stricter: in the Tang, a candidate was permitted to make a name for himself by sending his writings to leading scholar-officials in the capital before taking his examination, so the selection of candidates was partly based on the opinions of eminent men in government and society and not merely on a single examination. However, in the Song, the system became stricter to prevent favouritism and assure anonymity: candidates' names on the examination papers were covered up, and the papers were identified by numbers.<sup>300</sup>

In the Ming dynasty, the system was more complex. The number of persons participating in the examination was much larger and several levels of examination were established. First was the Prefectural County Examination (府县考). Those who passed it were qualified as *Xiucai* (秀才), also known as *shengyuan* (生员) earned the

298 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) P.50-52

299 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, P.78

300 Zhang Xiqing 张希清, 'The definition of Keju and the history'科举制度的定义与起源申论, *Academic Journal of Henan University* 《河南大学学报》(社会科学版), 2007 (5). p.3

status called Novice (Ruxue 入学). Then, the Provincial Examination (乡试) took place in provincial capitals, and those who passed it were qualified as Juren (举人). Finally, Juren were assembled in the imperial capital to take the Metropolitan Examination (会试) and those passed were qualified as a Doctor of Letters (进士), who had to continue his studies in the central government for three years and was then given another examination, then admitted to the Hanlin Academy. Only when someone had achieved this status, could he become a high official. The other degree holders served as lower officials, according to their degree. This system continued through the Qing dynasty until the beginning of the twentieth century.

There were ‘abuses’ and ‘defects’ which grew within the system, and in certain times the system was more or less corrupted. However, generally speaking, this system directly led to the dissolution of aristocracy and the privileged families, thus the high level of social status mobility and most importantly the fusion of values: the respect showed to educated people and the fashion led by them, especially in respect of leisure.

### **Influence of Confucian education and the literati**

One of the principal aims of education was of course the attainment of degrees and office. When examinations passed, public prestige was attained, as not just the person themselves but their whole family was brought into gentility. There was absolutely universal agreement that the most desirable goal for intelligent men was study, for this was the ‘only way for a lineage to become great’, not only for the possibility of becoming officials, but also because of the respect that educated people might obtain and because their social status was raised.<sup>301</sup> Educated people, no matter how poor or rich, have always been regarded as upper class than artisan or merchants; this convention was inherited from ancient times, and was been boosted by the civil

---

301 Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.122-23

recruitment system.

It seems obvious that the requirement of a classical education as a prerequisite to becoming a government officer was advantageous to the wealthy who could afford to provide their children with such an education. But actually, since the prospects of a better standard of living and higher status through education and examination was so alluring that it was a very profitable investment or gamble, so that even people who could not afford an education would wish borrow in order to study. Richer people in the same clan or lineage were always ready to help their poor but promising kinsmen, so that as an intelligent investment, they and the whole clan could be involved in the future benefit. Most lineage rules insisted that private initiative was vital, and that all members should try to provide schooling for any of their younger kinsmen who showed promise. Many went further, and provided aid and incentives for study. In a remarkably large number of cases the first priority for the use of surplus income was not relief for the needy, nor the help with weddings and funerals, but help for poor but ambitious scholars, sometimes even for the expenses of the examinations, including travelling expenses.<sup>302</sup> There are no statistics of how many poor people were supported by their rich relatives to study and who eventually obtained an official post, but this must have been a popular phenomenon, since this has been mentioned repeatedly in many historic novels and folk legends, and there have been many high officials in history who boasted of themselves as having been very poor in their early youth.

The examination system created a pool of eligible candidates for the role of officer that far exceeded the available appointments. It was said that 'there were ten times as many degree-holder literati as there were jobs, and there were also more than ten times as many people who had failed the examinations as who had passed'.<sup>303</sup> Thus, educated people who had the possibility of becoming one of the influential

302 Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.122-23

303 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) P.53

administrators formed the gentry, the number of which is much larger than the so called administration class, thus the percentage of the gentry in China is much bigger than that of the upper class in other countries, as well as being more representative and culturally influential.

As D.C.Twitchett has pointed out, ‘there is a basic linguistic fallacy in the attempt to identify a Western concept like “class” with the Chinese society’.<sup>304</sup> A class is usually defined in economic terms or according to levels of social privilege, which have a certain stability, whereas the Chinese society was different due to the mobility of social status caused by the civil recruitment system and the important role of education. Ho Pingti has done an influential study on social mobility in the Ming and Qing dynasties: By examining the immediate antecedents of Jinshi winners and the fate of the descendants of high officials he is led to conclude that there was a considerable degree of mobility in society as a whole, though this varied at different periods.<sup>305</sup> Owing to the highly competitive nature of the examination system and the successive division of wealth by inheritance it was obviously impossible for any individual family to preserve its place at the very top of the government and educational ladder for very long. In China, the gentry, which was usually termed shishen 士紳, was a group whose prestige and privilege depended in the first instance ‘on formal educational qualifications regardless of individual economic standing’; They should therefore be regarded as a high status group.<sup>306</sup> Qian Mu has remarked that, ‘representative democracy has existed in the governments in Chinese history conducted by intellectuals, who serve as the representatives of the major interests of the country’.<sup>307</sup>

---

304 D.C.Twitchett, ‘A Critique of Some Recent Studies of Modern Chinese Social-economic History’, *the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, 10(1965), 28-41.

305 Pingti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), esp. ch. 2, 6.

306 Hilary J.Beatie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.19

307 Qian Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982) p.125

Traditional Chinese government should be considered government by the literati, for all the essential powers of the government were in the hands of them, who were admitted into various levels of government under the civil service examination policies and system. Only during the Yuan and Qing dynasties, the reins of government were actually held by Mongols and Manchus themselves respectively. The Manchu tribe was placed above the Chinese literati in the government, although a recruitment examination system similar to the one in Ming dynasty continued.

The scholars prepared themselves for government service by a thorough study of the works of sages and by putting Confucian principles into practice. What Confucius had remarked or recommended became the centre of social values. Although his words had been interpreted in different ways at different times, his primary attitude to Nature and its enjoyment had always been understood as very positive. Detailed analysis of the attitudes of Confucius and Confucianism on pleasure in Nature will be expanded particularly in a later section. The gentry were usually seen as a 'leisure class' who had time and economic support to enjoy various leisure activities. Besides the influence of the view of Nature in Confucianism, the regulations of civil service promotion allowed or 'obliged' officials to travel extensively since every few years officials would be evaluated, changed to, or promoted to, a new post in another prefecture, which usually required long travel; the travel-on-assignment was combined with the delight in travel-for-pleasure.<sup>308</sup> The scenery on tour was often described in painterly terms, and the pleasure of travel was sometimes described as a 'craving' or 'obsession'.

One could crave to gaze at perfect landscapes, which were often preformed in sets of eight, ten, or more 'prospects' (*jing*) from which they were considered best viewed. As mentioned in a previous chapter, this tradition can be traced back to the eighth century, while in the Ming and Qing dynasties (the thirteenth to the twentieth

---

<sup>308</sup> Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) P.182

centuries), nearly every prefecture has its own set of jings. The literati gentry played important role in forming and leading such a fashion, and also in continuing it as a cultural tradition, an intangible heritage of Chinese leisure and scenic culture.

The Chinese gentry consisted of the educated people who were influenced by Confucian thoughts, insisting that natural scenery could edify people. The gentry in China were at most around 20 percent of the whole population,<sup>309</sup> however, they have guided the fashion of scenery appreciation by actively improving scenic sites for public outdoor leisure. Because the classes were dissolved due to the high level of social mobility which resulted from the examination system, people followed the fashion led by the scholars without particularly tending to take certain leisure activities as symbols of social status identities, and thus the subjects of leisure activities in Nature are not only the gentry, but people from all of society. The social economy rose to a level in which the leisure atmosphere was so strong that a comparison with the present day is not unreasonable, and by the sixteenth century, tourism was already significant in the Jiangnan area, the richest part of pre-modern China.

---

<sup>309</sup> Opinion of Fei Xiaotong, mentioned in Hilary J. Beattie, *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1979) p.20

## b. Views of Nature in Confucianism

Confucius, whose philosophical teachings were dominant in establishing China's sociopolitical system, believed that the cosmos and humans were united. He maintained that when harmony exists between the social and natural domains, a sense of well-being results.<sup>310</sup> The Confucius recorded in *The Analects* (*Lunyu*) found positive value in limited excursions into Nature to discover scenes of moral symbols that would illuminate the ideal qualities of the Noble Man.<sup>311</sup> The well known and one of the most quoted slogans about natural landscape advocated by Confucius was that 'A man with benevolence must be in love with mountain landscapes; while a man who has wisdom always enjoys water landscapes (知者乐水，仁者乐山)'.<sup>312</sup> This has also been interpreted as, 'a person who is close to mountains is (or will be) kind, one close to watersides is (or will be) wise (近山者智，近水者仁)', which reminds us of the logic in the Chinese idiom 'a person who is close to black ink will get dark (近朱者赤，近墨者黑)'.

## The significance of Nature in Confucianism

Confucius tried all his life to persuade the kings to accept his way of thinking but failed. He was a good teacher who is said to have had some three thousand

310 Dora P. Crouch, June G. Johnson, *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press US, 2001) p.300

311 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.20

312 'Yongye' 雍也, in *Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, vol.6, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Sishulei 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/06-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]

students.<sup>313</sup> Although he was poor, unsuccessful and was at times expelled from one kingdom to another, his thought was followed by his disciples, yet these divided into several schools of thought.<sup>314</sup> He was honoured by later emperors with titles such as ‘Duke’, ‘Father’, ‘Sage’, ‘King’, ‘Most Sacred Teacher’, and so on.<sup>315</sup> The six books that Confucius used for teaching were later known as the Confucian canons.<sup>316</sup> These were however adaptations of existing texts and he was merely responsible for selecting and editing them. Confucius’ canons were highly valued as a basis for political administration.<sup>317</sup>

The main content of Confucius’ thought consists two elements: li 礼,<sup>318</sup> and dezhi 德治,<sup>319</sup> which are significant both in Confucianism and in the way they influence scenic improvement. Li, literally means ‘ritual and order’. Dezhi, means that people should be morally improved rather than punished after committing crimes.<sup>320</sup> Confucius insists that when people are educated and moralized, they take crime as a shame and do not commit it. This is preferable to a situation where un-moralized people fear

313 Committee of Confucius research of Qufu Shifan College, *Research on Confucius’s thought* 孔子思想论文集 (Changsha: Hunan Education, 1985) p.9

314 Tianyu Feng 冯天瑜, *the Development and Change History of Chinese Academic thoughts* 中国学术流变 (Wuhan: Hubei People Press, 1991) p.1 (儒分为八 (《韩非子》))

315 The table of the titles of Confucius in history, in Pingheshuyuan Database <[http://www.pinghesy.com/data/2007/0328/article\\_142.htm](http://www.pinghesy.com/data/2007/0328/article_142.htm)>[accessed 17 sep 2008] (公元1年被封为‘褒成宣尼公’之后又受到历代皇帝十几次加封, 被封为‘至圣先师’1530, ‘文宣王’739, ‘先圣’628, 文圣尼父492)

316 Ban-Gu 班固(32-92A.D.), ‘Yiwenzhi’, *Hanshu [Han History]* 《汉书 艺文志》, vol.30 in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu/ Shibu/ Official History 文渊阁四库全书 / 史部 / 正史类, ed. by Jiyun (repr. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/041-1.htm>> accessed 17 Sep2008] (original text) 儒家者流, 盖出于司徒之官, 助人君顺阴阳明教化者也。游文于六经之中, 留意于仁义之际, 祖述尧、舜, 宪章文、武, 宗师仲尼, 以重其言, 于道为最高。’

317 Zhuagnzi, ‘Yufu’, *Zhuangzi*, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu/ Zibu/ Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/道家类, ed. by Jiyun (repr. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/31>《杂篇·渔父第三十一》.txt>[ accessed 17 Sep2008] (original text 子贡对曰: ‘性服忠信, 身行仁义, 饰礼乐, 选人伦, 以上忠于世主, 下以化于齐民。将以利天下’)

318 ‘Xianjin’ 先进, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.11, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/11-2.htm>>[ accessed 17 Sep2008] ‘为国以礼’ (《论语·先进》)

319 ‘Weizheng’ 为政, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.2, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/02-1.htm>>[ accessed 17 Sep2008] ‘为政以德’ (《论语·为政》)

320 ‘Yaoyue’ 尧曰, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.20, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/20-1.htm>>[ accessed 17 Sep2008] 反对‘不教而杀’ (《论语·尧曰》), 主张‘德主刑辅’。

punishment and therefore dare not commit crime.<sup>321</sup> He argues that education and moralization is of prime importance and therefore dedicated the majority of his talking to these topics. Confucius took natural landscape as one of the positive aids to moralize people.

Confucius used water as a metaphor for human morals: for example, streams generously irrigate the field and support cultivation of plants, which shows kindness. Rivers run from high land to lower places and always follow certain rules, which show persistence. In the sea, water never runs out, which shows unlimitedness which stands for universal truth. Cascades fall down from a height without hesitation, which shows bravery. The surface of still water is always a flat level, which shows justice. Water always fills into every small cavity without neglect, which shows fairness; and so on<sup>322</sup>. Thus, water became associated with nine morals that Confucius considered essential. He reckoned that in order to learn these morals, ‘a man should stop to watch whenever there is a grand water landscape’<sup>323</sup>. With respect to mountains, Confucius suggested that ‘the mountain is steady and high, generously supplying livelihood and materials, such as trees, herbs (used as medicines), and animals. In this sense, it is selfless. Mountains also contain wind and clouds, links the sky and the earth, so that people can enjoy the peace and harvest. These are the virtues of mountains which a

321 ‘Weizheng’为政,in *Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, vol.2, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (repr. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/02-1.htm>>[ accessed 17 Sep2008] ‘道之以政, 齐之以刑, 民免而无耻; 道之以德, 齐之以礼, 有耻且格’(《论语·为政》)

322 Xun Kuang 荀况(313B.C.-218B.C.), ‘Youzuo’宥坐, in *Xunzi* 荀子, vol.28, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Rujialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/028-20.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 孔子观于东流之水。子贡问于孔子曰：‘君子之所以见大水必观焉者，是何？’孔子曰：‘夫水，大通与诸生而无为也，似德；其流也埤下，裾拘必循其理，似义；其洸洸乎不测尽，似道；若有决行之，其应佚若声响，其赴百仞之谷不惧，似勇；主量必平，似法；盈不求概，似正；淖约微达，似察；以出以入以就鲜絜，似善化；其万折也必东，似志。)

Similar remarks in Liu Xiang 刘向(77B.C.-6B.C.), ‘Zayan’[Various Comments]杂言, in *Shuoyuan* 说苑, vol.17, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Rujialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/017-24.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]

Also see Hanying 韩婴(second century B.C.), *Hanshiwaizhuan* 韩诗外传, vol.3, in *Shuoyuan* 说苑, vol.17, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Rujialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/003.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 夫水者，缘理而行，不遗小间，似有智者；动而下之，似有礼者；蹈深不遗，似有量者；障防而清，似知命者；历险致远，卒成不毁，似有德者。)

323 Xun Kuang 荀况(313B.C.-218B.C.), ‘Youzuo’宥坐, in *Xunzi* 荀子, vol.28, in Zibu Rujialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/028-20.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 是故君子见大水必观焉)

benevolent man must appreciate.<sup>324</sup>

The second sage of Confucianism, Mencius (371-289 BCE), was not interested in Nature itself, but he was inclined to use metaphors drawn from the natural world in order to explain his thought. For example, he described a scene on a barren mountain in order to explain that people need to be edified in the same way as Nature needs to be conserved: ‘there was a time when trees were luxuriant on the Ox Mountain, but as it was on the outskirts of a big city, the trees were constantly lopped by axes. With respite, there is certainly no lack of new shoots coming out, but then cattle and sheep come to graze upon the mountain. That is why it is as bald as it is. People, seeing only its baldness, tend to think that it never had any trees. But, can this possibly be the nature of a mountain?’ With this effective rhetorical story drawn from the observation of Nature he emphasized that human beings have only the seeds of goodness, the rest is up to effective education or edification, and just as conservation helps Nature to recover from baldness, edification helps people to recover from degeneration and corruption. The needs for intelligent cultivation of humans are comparable to the needs of conservation of Nature on a mountain.<sup>325</sup>

Dong Zhongshu (179-104B.C.), who played an important role in promoting Confucianism as the only ideology supported by central government during the Han Dynasty, also considers the character of water and its positive effect on human morals: he compares the character of water with labours, judges, inspectors, knowledgeable people, good teachers, brave people, warriors and men of integrity.<sup>326</sup> This saying has

324 Kong Fu 孔鲋(?264B.C.-?208B.C.), ‘Lunshu’论书, in *Kongcongzi* 孔丛子, vol.2, in Zibu Rujialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/孔叢子.htm>> [accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 子張曰：‘仁者何樂于山？’孔子曰：‘夫山者，岿然高。’子張曰：‘高則何樂爾？’孔子曰：‘夫山，草木植焉，鳥兽蕃焉，財用出焉，直而无私焉，四方皆伐焉。直而无私，興吐风云，以通乎天地之間；陰陽和合，雨露之澤，萬物以成，百姓咸饗。此仁者之所以樂乎山也。’)

Also see: Hanying 韩嬰(second century B.C.), *Hanshiwaizhuan* 韩诗外传, vol.3, in *Shuoyuan* 説苑, vol.17, in Jingbu Shilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/诗类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/003.htm>> [accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 夫山者，万人之所瞻仰，草木生焉，万物殖焉，飞鸟禁焉，走兽伏焉。生万物而不私，育万物而不倦，出云导风，天地以成，国家以宁，有似夫仁人志士，此仁者所以乐山也。)

325 John Berthrong, ‘Confucian views of nature’, in *Nature Across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-western Cultures*, ed. by Helaine Selin, Arne Kalland, (Berlin: Springer, 2003) pp.374-392, p.376

326 Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒(179B.C.-104B.C.), ‘Shanchuansong’ [Praise of Mountains and Water]山川颂, in *Chunqiuanshu* 春

also been explained by Zhu Xi slightly differently: a wise person understands the principles of the universe and thus can work his way without a hitch, which looks like water flowing smoothly; a kind person sticks to righteousness and is not moved by temptation, which is compared to a mountain.<sup>327</sup> A person with good morals was even praised that ‘his manner is like high mountains and long rivers’.<sup>328</sup>

The comparation of water or mountains with morals shows the basic philosophy in Confucianism: the characters of natural landscape are taken as a metaphor for human morals; people were urged to abstract such morals from Nature and be inspired by them. This influenced later Confucians greatly, and since Confucian scholars served as civil officials, society was affected also, especially after the seventh century (when the system of National Examination for civil officials was set up). This has been described as ‘parallelism of Nature and human morals (自然比德)’ in the Qing Dynasty by Liu-Baonan 刘宝楠 in his book *Orthodox Explanation of the Analects of Confucius* 《论语正义》.

Confucius was a lover of natural landscape, which he often referred to as a metaphor of his own life. When encountering a fast flowing big river, he complained that it ‘elapses so fast like this’,<sup>329</sup> which was later understood as a description of life being too short to accomplish proper achievements. When he was persecuted and nearly killed, he sighed, ‘How beautiful is the water in a river, so unlimited and free. It is my

---

秋繁譯, vol.16 topic73, in Zibu Rujialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/子部/儒家類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/016-22.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 水則源泉混混沄沄, 昼夜不竭, 既似力者。盈科后行, 既似持平者。循微赴下, 不遺小間, 既似察者。循溪谷不迷, 或奏万里而必至, 既似知者。隨防山而能清淨, 既似知命者。不清而入, 洁清而出, 既似善化者。赴千仞之壑, 入而不疑, 既似勇者。物皆困于火, 而水獨勝之, 既似武者。咸得之而生, 失之而死, 既似有德者。孔子在川上曰: 逝者如斯夫, 不舍昼夜。此之謂也。)

327 Zhu-Xi 朱熹(1130-1200), *Lunyu jizhu[Collected Annotation of Confucian Analects]* 《论语集注》, in Sishu Zhangju Jizhu 四书章句集注, available in Chinese Ancient Literature Database: Chiyeju Digital Library <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/ljingbu.htm>> (original text‘智者达于事理, 而周流无滞; 有似于水, 故乐水。仁者安于义理, 而厚重不迁, 有似于山, 故乐山。’)

328 First used by Fan-Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) in his ‘Prose for Shrine of Yan-Ziling’ 严先生祠堂记, and has been cited frequently since. 范仲淹<严先生祠堂记>歌颂严子陵:「云山苍苍, 江水泱泱, 先生之风, 山高水长。」以山水来形容人的德行。

329 ‘Zihan’子罕, in *Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, vol.9, in Jingbu Sishulei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/09-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 子在川上曰: 逝者如斯夫)

destiny that I am not comparable to it.<sup>330</sup>

*The Analects of Confucius* reveals that Confucius had a very positive attitude towards leisure activities that took place in natural landscape. It was recorded that when Confucius asked his disciples about their ideal for their lives, one of them described his ideal as ‘wearing light clothes in the late spring, going to the riverside outside the city with about five or six friends and several children, having a swim, dancing in the wind and singing songs on the way back’, which Confucius praised intensely and said: ‘My ideal is the same’.<sup>331</sup> Confucius also stated that if his theory was not accepted by the kings, he would retire and enjoy himself boating in the sea.<sup>332</sup> Confucius travelled much during his life and advocated that people should travel much, recommending that they should not stay in the one place for long by stating that ‘a man of noble character should be attached to morals, not like a mean person who is attached to one place’<sup>333</sup> and that ‘a person who is attached to one place is not qualified as a gentleman’<sup>334</sup>, suggesting that travel is essential for moral improvement.

As a consequence, Confucians later proposed that the standard of a good Confucian was to ‘read ten thousand books and travel ten thousand li (each li equals half a kilometre)’.<sup>335</sup> From the seventh century, groups of educated people congregated to

330 Sima Qian 司马迁(135B.C.-90B.C.), ‘Kongzi Shijia’ [Biography of Confucius] 孔子世家, in *Shiji [History]* 史记, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/shiji/sj\\_047.htm](http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/shiji/sj_047.htm)>[accessed 15 Apr2008] (original words 美哉水，洋洋乎！丘之不济此，命也夫！)

331 ‘Xianjin’先进, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.11, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/11-2.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 孔子请弟子们各言其志。子路、冉有、公西华等述毕，最后是曾点道出己志：‘莫春者，春服既成，冠者五六人，童子六七人，浴乎沂，风乎舞雩，咏而归。’孔子击节赞赏曾点的暮春郊游’吾与点也！。)

332 ‘Gongyechang’公冶长, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.5, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类 , ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/05-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008](original words 道不行，乘桴浮于海)

333 ‘Liren’里仁, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.4, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/04-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 君子怀德，小人怀土)

334 ‘Xianwen’宪问, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.14, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/14-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 士而怀居，不足以为士矣)

335 written in Chinese as 读万卷书,行万里路, has been referred to by Liu Yi 刘彝(1017-1086) in *Huazhi [Purpose of Paintings]*

enjoy the natural landscape and compose poetry or prose based on their travelling together, which were known as ‘clubs of landscape and composing’.<sup>336</sup> They were fashionable for those who were well educated, to indulge themselves in scenic sites, feasting or drinking wine there<sup>337</sup>, or composing poems.<sup>338</sup>

In Confucianism, the appreciation of natural landscape is both from ethical and aesthetic perspectives. When a natural scene has a character that can symbolize human morals and virtues, it is praised and admired. Sometimes, a certain character of landscape is apt to be criticized and reproached when considered faulty. Ethics have been generally adopted by Confucians since as applied to natural landscape. A fifth century story represents the typical view. Two friends sit together appreciating the night sky. One person praises the clear sky with luminous moon. The other remarks that it would be better if there were clouds around the moon. The first one mocks him, saying ‘your heart is not clear, that is why you don’t appreciate a clear sky.’<sup>339</sup> This is recorded only as a joke; the ‘parallelism of Nature and human morals’ is used to mock not to criticize, but it shows the popularity of such belief and logic. In terms of the ‘parallelism of Nature and human morals’, every natural object could be attached to certain morals or flaws. Confucius once praised pine trees and cypresses, saying that,

---

画旨: Dufu 杜甫(712-220) in *FengChang Weizuochenghang Ershiyeryun* [Poem to Prime Minister Weiji] 奉赠韦左丞丈二十二韵; Liang Shaoren 梁绍壬(1792-?) in *Liangbanqiyu'an Subi* [Collection of Qiyuzhai] 两般秋雨庵随笔, vol.5; Qian Yong 钱泳(1759-1844) in *Lvyuan Conghua* [Collection of Lvyuan] 蘆園叢話, etc.

336 Biography of Chuliang and Liuxiaosun 楚亮/劉孝孫傳, in *Jiutangshu* [Old Version of Tang History] 新校本舊唐書, vol.72, topic22 of Liezhan, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p. 2583 劉孝孫者，荊州人也。祖貞，周石臺太守。孝孫弱冠知名，與當時畧人虞世南、蔡君和、孔德紹、庾抱、庾自直、劉斌等登臨山水，結為文會。

337 Biography of Luzhan 盧詹傳, in *Jiu Wudaishi Jinshu* [Old Version of History of Jin in Wudai Period] 新校本舊五代史/晉書, vol.93, topic8 of Liezhan 列傳八, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p. 1231 三人俱嗜酒，好遊山水，塔林廟亭花竹之地，無不同往，酣飲為樂。

338 Biography of Yangningshi 楊凝式傳, in *Jiu Wudaishi Zhoushu* [Old Version of History of Zhou in Wudai Period] 新校本舊五代史/周書, vol.128, topic8 of Liezhan 列傳八, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p.1684 多遨遊佛道祠，遇山水勝概，流連賞詠，有垣牆圭缺處，顧視引筆，且吟且書。

339 Liu Yiqing 劉義慶(403-444), ‘Yanyu’ [Dialogue] 言語 topic98, in *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語, in Zibu Xiaoshuojialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/子部/小說家類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/02-13.htm>> [accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 司馬太傅齋中夜坐。于時天月明淨，都無纤翳。太傅叹以為佳。謝景重在坐，答曰：‘意謂乃不如微云点缀。’太傅因戲謝曰：‘卿居心不淨，乃復強欲滓秽太清邪？’)

'in coldest weather even after all plants withered they are still green'.<sup>340</sup> This metaphor praises moral integrity and the virtue of persistence in adversity. A systematic listing of plants that symbolize various morals and virtues was developed, such as the 'four gentlemen in plants' referring to plum, orchid, bamboo and chrysanthemum, which were the most popularly used garden plants. The plant bamboo was especially favoured, since it was straight, firm, and hollow which meant honesty, integrity and modesty. The orchid was praised by Confucius since 'even when there are no people around, it still smells the same,' which suggests that good behaviour should be like fragrance, consistent whether or not there are people watching.<sup>341</sup> Confucius insisted that 'good' objects can edify people by improving their morality, so they should involve themselves in natural landscape, which he thinks of as a good resource for moral edification. With Confucianism supported by central government since the first century B.C., Confucius' view of Nature influenced people and especially those literati and government officers who were educated with the Confucian canons.

## **Location of traditional Confucian schools in scenic sites**

### **and the influence of this on literati and scholar officials**

The close relationship between Nature and Confucianism is best illustrated in the location of traditional Confucian schools in scenic sites. Education was considered an important part of life by Confucius, and various Confucian schools were established when Confucianism became supported by the government, including official school

340 'Zihan' 子罕, in *Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, vol.9, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yingshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/09-1.htm> > [accessed 15 Apr 2008] (original words 岁寒然后知松柏之后凋也)

341 Tongyan Chen 陈彤彦, *The Culture of Chinese Orchid 中国兰文化探源* (Kunming: Yunnan Keji Press, 2004) p.51 (孔子家语云: '芝兰生于幽谷, 不以无人而不香。')

and private schools. Actually, the history of schools can be traced to a time before Confucius; Confucius himself was educated in a populace school and made his living as a teacher. After a period of decline since the end of Han dynasty, Confucianism regained its prominence in government and society from the Sui and Tang dynasties.<sup>342</sup> From this period, Confucian schools spread all over the country.

The first clearly recorded case of a significant Confucian school located in a scenic site was in 940: Bailudong Shuyuan 白鹿洞书院 (Fig4.1-4.4), originally called Lushan Guoxue 庐山国学, was located at the southern slope of the Nanping Hill in Mt. Lu, renowned from the time of the Tang Dynasty, and is now a National Scenic District. The landscape was first improved by Li Bo 李渤 (773-831), head officer of Jiangzhou Prefecture, who built kiosks, terraces, and pavilions, planted flowers, reshaped and dredged streams to make it a public scenic resort. He had lived at the mountain in seclusion for several years before he passed the National Examination and became a government minister.<sup>343</sup> This scenic site was highly praised by contemporaries and scholars, as 'the best and most famous scenery in the Jiangyou area',<sup>344</sup> and also as 'an excellent setting for school; good for teaching, learning and writing, where there were beautiful streams and stones, without any inner city noise.'<sup>345</sup>

There are various other examples of similarly located Confucian schools. The famous ones include Songyang Shuyuan 嵩阳书院, located at the southern side of Mt. Song 嵩山 in Dengfeng, Henan Province, which has a stream in front and mountains at the back and sides, so that the whole town could be viewed from there. There were also a

342 Arthur F. Wright, James Cahill, *The Confucian Persuasion* (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 1960) p.120

343 Caidong Li 李才栋, *History of Bailudong Shuyuan* 白鹿洞书院史略, (Beijing: Education and Science Press 教育科学出版社, 1989) P.113 (江西九江庐山后屏山南麓。李渤就任江州刺史, 旧地重游, 于此修建亭台楼阁, 疏引山泉, 种植花木, 成为一处游览胜地。南唐升元四年, 南唐政权在白鹿洞'建学置田', 开'庐山国学'。一直延续至北宋初年, 才改庐山国学为白鹿洞书院。)

344 Zongci Wu 吴宗慈等, etc., *Chorography of Mt. Lu* 庐山志 (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin 江西人民出版社, 1996) p.531 江右名山以十数, 惟匡庐最胜; 庐山古迹以百数, 惟白鹿洞最胜。——明代彭时

345 Bangguo Li 李邦国, *Zhu-Xi and Bailudong Shuyuan* 朱熹和白鹿洞书院 (Wuhan: Hubei Education 湖北教育出版社, 1989) p.97 (观其四面山水, 清邃环合, 无市井之喧, 有泉石之胜, 真群居讲学、遗迹著书之所。——宋代朱熹。)

series of kiosks and pavilions at nearby scenic spots as shelters for visitors.<sup>346</sup> Other traditional schools include Yuelu Shuyuan 岳麓书院, located at the eastern side of the foothills of Mt. Yuelu 岳麓山 in Changsha, Hunan Province; Shigu Shuyuan 石鼓书院, located at Shigu Hill in Hengyang 衡阳, Hunan Province; Ehu Shuyuan 鹅湖书院, located in the Ehu Hill valley in Qianshan County 铅山县, Jiangxi Province, with ancient woods and meandering streams; and Ziyun Shuyuan 紫云书院, located by a stream in Mt. Ziyun in Xiangcheng County 襄城县, Henan Province. Such schools are usually named after the mountain or the scenic spot where they are located.



Figure 4.1 the engraved stele showing location of the Bailudong Shuyuan, with stream and hill nearby (photo by Yunwu)

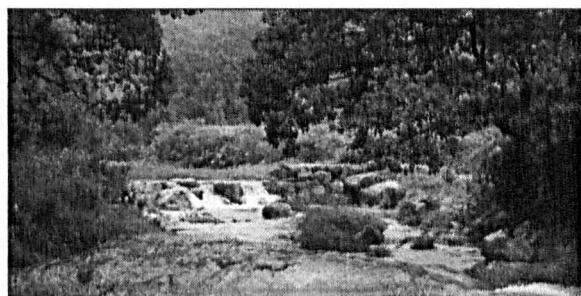


Figure 4.2 the scenery of the stream near the Bailudong Shuyuan (photo by Yunwu)



Figure 4.3 the mountain landscape nearby (photo by Yunwu)



Figure 4.4 the kiosk built in the scenery outside the Bailudong Shuyuan (photo by Yunwu)

Some of the Confucian schools were built on the remains of ancient monasteries. For example, Wansong Shuyuan 万松书院, located on Wansong Hill 万松岭 at Mt. Fenghuang 凤凰山 in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, was originally the Baoen

<sup>346</sup> Youliang Cheng 程有良, *History of Environmental Protection* 郑州环境保护志 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji 中州古籍出版社, 2004) (嵩阳书院位于河南省登封市区北 2.5 公里嵩山南麓, 宋代四大书院之一。嵩阳书院靠山面水, 东西山岭环抱, 逍遙谷溪水缓缓南流, 在嵩阳书院前面汇合。书院南面是开阔的沃田。站在嵩阳书院门口四望, 可仰望嵩岳诸峰, 亦可俯瞰登封城全景。位于嵩阳书院东北逍遙谷叠石溪中的天光云影亭、观澜亭、川上亭和位于太室山虎头峰西麓的嵩阳书院别墅—君子亭; 书院西北玉柱峰下七星岭三公石南的仁智亭等建筑。)

Monastery 报恩寺. Chengnan Shuyuan 城南书院, located at the foot of Miaogao Peak 妙高峰 at Mt.Yuelu in Changsha, Hunan Province, was built in 1820 on the site of a temple. Songyang Shuyuan was also previously a monastery.<sup>347</sup>

The best scenic sites near towns were usually reserved for Confucian schools, and sometimes a scenic site hosted several Confucian schools at the same time. This was the case at Guanshan Hill in Pingding 平定, Shanxi Province, which had Guanshan Shuyuan 冠山书院, Huaiyin Shuyuan 槐音书院, Gaoling Shuyuan 高岭书院 during the Ming Dynasty.

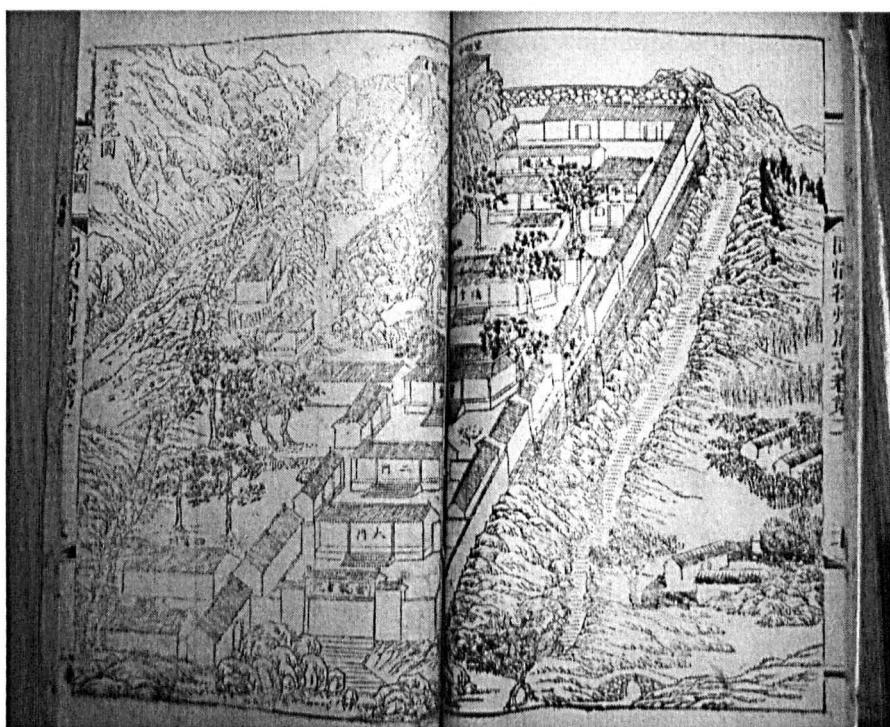


Figure 4.5 Drawing of Yunlong Shuyuan in Qing dynasty, showing its location on the Yunlong Hill, outskirt of Xuzhou, in present Jiangsu Province  
(source: Gazette of Xuzhou Prefecture in the Qing dynasty)

Besides these, there are many other Confucian schools recorded (Fig4.5) on maps, illustrations or in descriptions that reveal the locations of scenic sites. There were seventeen recorded Confucian schools in the Tang dynasty (seventh to tenth centuries); during the Song dynasty (tenth to thirteenth centuries) 397 were recorded, while during the Ming and Qing dynasties (thirteenth to nineteenth centuries), there were

<sup>347</sup> Yingting Yao 姚瀛艇, *Songdai wenhuashi* [Cultural History of Song Dynasty] 宋代文化史 (Taipei: Zhishufang 知书房出版集团, 1995) p.120

several thousands. The total might be as many as 7000, with around 400 surviving or traceable by relics or surviving buildings.<sup>348</sup> However, some of these Confucian schools were located in towns, not in scenic sites, and the percentage of this has not been subject to research.

It is clear that naturalistic scenery was greatly valued by Confucians. This is evident from a quote from *Liji* famous in the first century BC: 'a good education consists four parts: study with devotion, review and exercise, have a rest, and have leisure time'.<sup>349</sup> This quotation has been often repeated since as the motif for making gardens for Confucian schools, or building kiosks and modifying adjacent landscape. Influenced by this, private, pleasurable journeys in scenic areas were considered as self-cultivation. Confucius did not view Nature as an alternative sphere within which a person could transcend the political society; he identified the aesthetic with the morally good. The landscape was thus 'a didactic setting where the noble man prepared himself for his role as a ruler at the centre of the socio-political world'.<sup>350</sup> In order to ensure quality scenery and ample recreation facilities (or self-cultivation facilities) for students, Confucian schools were not only carefully located in scenic sites, but were also well known for their improved scenic spots, gardens, and they sometimes boasted 'Eight Landscape Scenes of Campus'. For example, the Yuelu Shuyuan, located at the eastern foothill of Mt.Yuelu 岳麓山 in Changsha, has a full set of Eight Landscape Scenes, designed and designated during 1782 to 1808, by Luo Dian, the Headmaster. He also had two kiosks built by each with an artificial pond, as well as a kiosk north of the main school complex and a terrace to the south.<sup>351</sup> Judging

348 Yuanhui Chen 陈元晖等, *the Ancient Institute of Shuyuan in China* 中国古代的书院制度 (Shanghai: Jiaoyu 上海教育出版社, 1981) p.30 (书院在唐朝开始产生,《全唐诗》中提到了11所,见于地方志的则有17所;宋代时得到了很大的发展,总计宋代书院共有397所,至明清时则有几千所之多。中国古代的书院遍及全国各地,数量达7000余所。据统计目前至少有400余所书院以学校、图书馆、博物馆等形式留存下来)

349 *Liji*, edited by Dai De and Dai Sheng in 1c.B.C., is a book about early Confucian thoughts mainly recording words of Confucius' direct disciples. Source: Lirui Mao, etc., *Chinese Ancient Education History* 中国古代教育史 (Beijing: People Education Press 人民教育出版社, 1984) p.751(《礼记·学记》: '君子之于学也, 藏焉, 修焉, 息焉, 游焉。' 郑玄注: '游谓闲暇无事之游, 然者游者不迫遽之意, ')

350 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.20

351 Busheng Yang 杨布生, Dingguo Peng 彭定国, *Chinese Shuyuan and Traditional Culture* 中国书院与传统文化 (Changsha: Hunan Education 湖南教育出版社, 1992) p.14 岳麓书院在罗典主院27年(1782—1808年)间,曾在院周隙地創'書院八

from the titles of the Eight Landscape Scenes, there were ornamental fish ponds, decorative plantings of willows, paulownia, bamboo, peach and herbal flowers, and a meandering valley stream.<sup>352</sup>

The teachings of Confucius and the location of Confucian schools made scenery appreciation a hobby of the literati, or well-educated people. When a natural scenic site was not available, these were frequently compensated for by gardens. That the scholar gardens often had adjacent study rooms or library for the garden owner, is evidence. The scholar-patron usually designed the garden layout, then engaged carpenters, horticulturists, and others who were skilled in the arts to carry out his scheme.<sup>353</sup>

---

景'，隨後建風雩亭於飲馬池，吹香亭於賛門池，赫曦臺於大門前，愛晚亭於書院後。」

352 Guo Wang, *Changsha History and Stories* 長沙史話 (Changsha: People Press 湖南人民出版社, 1980) p.76 (花墩坐月、柳塘煙曉、碧沼觀魚、風和晚香、竹林冬翠、曲澗鳴泉、桃塢烘霞、桐蔭別徑。)

353 Dora P. Crouch, June G. Johnson, *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press US, 2001) p.300

### c. Landscape improvement influenced by Confucianism

As mentioned before, Chinese society was neither a caste society nor even one where status was rigidly fixed by birth; a common man could become an upper class person overnight by passing the imperial examination and become a government officer.<sup>354</sup> As a result of systematic education, naturalistic scenery was generally valued by literati. The literati, who were mostly influenced by Confucianism, were often interested in Daoism and Buddhism, which both urged people to enjoy the natural landscape.

Biographies of ministers and officers since the third century AD show how literati and scholar-officials spent their leisure time in Nature, walking, composing poetry, picnicking, sometimes fishing or even hunting. For instance, ‘Yang Gu favoured natural scenery. In good weather, he often climbed the hill near the city and enjoyed drinking and reading there all day.’<sup>355</sup> ‘Ruan Ji often hiked in mountains and along rivers for several days and forgot to go home.’<sup>356</sup> ‘Xie Lingyun (谢灵运), the satrap of Yongjia, was very keen on viewing and admiring natural landscape where he always composed poetry.’<sup>357</sup> ‘Wang Sengda (王僧达), the satrap of Xuancheng, was

354 Xiqing Zhang 张希清(ed.),‘Preface’, in *Literature Collection of History of Chinese Examinations 中国考试史文献集成 宋代卷 卷首语* (Beijing: Higher Education Press 高等教育出版社,2003) p.ii. (有学者统计,宋朝进士约为 43000 人,诸科 17000 人,特科约 50000 人,两宋取士 11 万人。)

Weibang-Zhang 张邦炜, *History of Marriage and Families in Song Dynasty 宋代婚姻家族史论*, (Beijing: People Press 人民出版社,2003) pp.347-8. (若以唐宋相比较,唐朝 289 年间,年均取士 28 人,而两宋 319 年,年均取士 344 人.相当部分的考生来源于普通民众之家,这部分人群通过科举,从平民实现了向官贵阶层的转变,而《宋史》有传的 1953 名士大夫中,出身于非官僚家庭者占 55.12%;若从严考究,至少占 32.53%.在宋宰相中,‘为数更多,更典型的是穷书生因考中进士而骤得富贵’)

355 Fang-Xuanling 房玄龄(579-648)等, ‘Biography of Yang-Gu’, in *Shibu jinshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/史部/新校本晋书*, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol.34, Biographies 4, entry of ‘Yang-Gu’列傳/卷三十四 列傳第四/羊祜 (枯榮山水, 每風景, 必造岘山, 置酒言詠, 終日不倦)

356 Fang-Xuanling 房玄龄(579-648)等, ‘Biography of Ruan-Ji’, in *Shibu jinshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊閣四庫全書/史部/新校本晋书*, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol.49, Biographies 19 列傳/卷四十九 列傳第十九/阮籍 p. 1359 - (阮籍, ……或閉戶視書, 累月不出; 或登臨山水, 經日忘歸)

357 Shen-Yue 沈约(441-513), ‘Biography of Xie-Lingyun’ 谢灵运传, in *Shibu Songshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊閣四庫全書/史部/宋书*, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol. 67 卷六七, source available in

very interested in traveling and hunting. When he had time, he would ride out city, enjoying scenery for days.<sup>358</sup> ‘Xiao Ji (蕭畿), the satrap of Xin-an, who was keen on admiring naturalistic scenery, wrote diaries and records for his every excursion’<sup>359</sup> and so on. Historic prose literature and poems describing natural scenery and leisure activities show that these leisure activities included enjoying the prospect, walking, picnicking, visiting monasteries in the scenic site and admiring historic memorials such as a stele or an ancient building. The phrase, ‘enjoy hiking in mountains or by the waterside, while chatting with friends and having a feast at a beauty spot (登臨山水，以談讌為事)’ can frequently be found in historic records.

The society has been led to a highly literati valued fashion. There are many records showing that the government officials not only enjoyed the scenery themselves but also took delight in improving natural landscape, building kiosks for rest and pavilions for providing good views.

## Landscape practice of the Confucian scholar-official

As like Buddhism, Confucianism similarly cultivated a specific kind of sensibility, a special life attitude: ‘the vows that he will not enter into salvation until he can bring all other beings with him’. When making this ideal ‘practical’, it is very close to the ideal of the scholar-gentry: making the edification of people an individual’s own life aim. This kind of practical sense of responsibility becomes ‘a scarcely concealed imperative for the moral, socially responsible action that has always been identified with Confucianism’.<sup>360</sup> There are many examples in respect of landscape

---

Chinese Ancient Literature Database: Chiyeju Digital Library <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/sonsml.htm>>

358 Shen-Yue 沈約(441-513), ‘Biography of Wang-Sengda’ 王僧達傳, in *Shibu Songshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部宋書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol. 75 卷七五, source available in Chinese Ancient Literature Database: Chiyeju Digital Library <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/sonsml.htm>>

359 Yao-Silian 姚思廉(6-seventh c.), ‘Biography of Xiao-Ji’ 蕭畿傳, in *Shibu Songshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部梁書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol. 41 卷四一, source available in Chinese Ancient Literature Database: Chiyeju Digital Library <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/sonsml.htm>>

360 Kenneth Rexroth, Bradford Morrow, ‘Sung Culture’, in *World Outside the Window: The Selected Essays of Kenneth Rexroth*

improvement to demonstrate this, since the appreciation of natural scenery has always been seen by the scholar-gentry as the best way to edify and thus to benefit people.

The biography of an officer in the Song Era of the South dynasty (r. forth to fifth century) describes how the officer contributed to improving natural landscape on the outskirts of town, building up places for the public to enjoy. He worked on two important projects. One was located north of the town, with a lake and sloping beach where plants flourished. The officer built kiosks there for people to enjoy the breeze, watchtowers for admiring the moon, platforms for playing wind instruments and chambers for playing music for stringed instruments. Various fruit trees, flowers, herbs and bamboos were planted there. Many educated people were invited to give a finishing touch in order to make the place more suitable for public leisure. The finishing touch usually included composing poems for the landscape, naming buildings in poetic words. The poems and poetic names would then be written by calligraphers and chiselled on stele to hang up in the building, before the place was formally put into use. Another project was an adaptation of an old multi-storied building. The officer had it repaired and refurbished in order to supply a proper place for people to have a good view over the mountains south of the town. After improvement, these areas became the most popular leisure places at that time.<sup>361</sup> This record is evidence which demonstrates the officer's political feat and achievements in his post, and shows how he was a profound civil administrator, as well as the possible motivation of the officers and the fashion of their society. No other society had an elite comparable to the scholar-official elite of China. This elite was not military in character, nor was it hereditary or a priestly caste; its stature was 'buttressed by its ideology of duty and service, and by the ostensibly fair and objective ways in which

---

(New York: New Directions Publishing, 1987) (pp.102-112) p.107-8

361 Shen-Yue 沈约(441-513), 'Biography of Xu-Zhanzhi' 徐湛之传, in *Shibu Songshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊閣四庫全書/史部新校本宋書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol. 71 Biography of no.31 卷七十一 列傳第三十一, p.1847 source also available in Chinese Ancient Literature Database: Chiyeju Digital Library <<http://www.philosphyol.com/pub/guji/sonsml.htm>> (善於為政，威惠並行。廣陵城舊有高樓，湛之更加修整，南望鍾山。城北有陂澤，水物豐盛。湛之更起風亭、月觀，吹臺、琴室，果竹繁茂，花藥成行，招集文士，盡遊玩之適，一時之盛也)。

its members gained access to ranks and honours'.<sup>362</sup> Although landscape improvement for public leisure was not set in rules, many biographies of officials indicated that it was always regarded as a merit of the official and in most cases did benefit his reputation. In another example, the aim of moralizing people by making leisure places for them to enjoy naturalistic scenery was directly expressed by an officer himself. The note was made in 1222 about a landscape pavilion rebuilding and extension project. The head officer who presided over the project recorded his motif for building a new multi-storied pavilion, saying 'to moralize people, it is better to let them enjoy the scenery of the lake than to preach them by talking'.<sup>363</sup> The new pavilion was designed to supply the best view of the lake with the mountains in background, so that people could enjoy the breeze coming over the lake.

Some records described the process of regenerating a landscape for recreational use. In such cases, the landscapes were established and improved earlier, but for reasons such as vandalism, neglect, natural wear, local economic depression or the effects of war, the landscape facilities had become damaged or disused. A diary about a regeneration project described the condition of the place before the regeneration:

The kiosk on the inner city rampart highland was built in 1147 by a local head officer, Chang. The kiosk was used as a rest place for people to enjoy the nearby scenic area of woods and bamboo bushes. From the kiosk, people could overlook the scenic view of the mountains surrounding the city. Thirty years later, the building was rotten and corrupt, the originally flourishing woods and bamboo plantations were destroyed while the site was occupied by squatters. The scenic qualities had been gradually degraded as a result. When people come here for leisure, they all sighed and felt sorry.<sup>364</sup>

A new head officer of the city decided to regenerate this place for public use, and he

362 Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Kwang-ching Liu, *Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.161

363 Ye-Shi 叶适(Song Dynasty 宋), 'Prose for Shengshang Pavillion in Huzhou' 《湖州胜赏楼记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.954-5 (Original text: 以道讲民, 见湖可哉)

364 You-Mao 尤袤(Song Dynasty 宋), 'Prose of Yuxiao Kiosk' 《玉霄亭记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.397 (Original text: 旧有小亭在(台州)子城之上, 绍兴年间(1147), 南丰曾使君所创, 更名玉霄。距今三十年, 已残败。其下昔有茂林修竹, 今皆翦伐, 错为民居, 污秽喧嚣, 游者叹息。余乃剪除整治, 四为缭墙, 以限外涂。下建石柱, 上跨飞阁, 檐栋瓴瓦粉漆皆易而新之。可倚可眺, 凭栏四望, 叠嶂环绕……州之宴游, 于是为胜)

wrote in his diary,

So I, the head officer of the city, begin to revive this district. I had a range of dwarf walls set up to separate this district and protect it. The unnecessary buildings and stuff in this district were cleared out and the kiosk was partly rebuilt and renewed, with rock columns under it and an over bridge toward it. People can have a rest and a good view from there. The views to all directions from there are stunning: ranges of mountains can be seen surrounding.

As a consequence of his rebuilding work, the kiosk offered an excellent spot to overlook the whole city and admire the beautiful landscape of distant surrounding mountains. It 'became very famous and the most popular place for people to spend their leisure time, such as having out door feasts and hiking.'<sup>365</sup>

Another example recorded in a eighth century prose text shows the whole process of how a scenic site was found and appreciated then modified and enhanced as a public leisure place by the local head officer who was also the author of the prose text,. The location of the scenic site is very close to the town Daozhou, only 'around a hundred steps outside the west town wall', with a small unnamed stream flowing south converging with a bigger stream, stones of strange shape, big trees and bamboo. When the head officer visited, he was fascinated by the scenery, praising it as, 'a suitable place for people to spend their leisure time', and 'a high quality scenic site for the city which persons who like tranquillity will prefer'. He was curious to know why the site was not popularly appreciated. Then he decided to enhance the landscape for public recreation: the site was cleaned up, the withered bushes and fallen twigs removed, accessible footpaths made, kiosks and sheds built, pines trees, osmanthus and sweet-scented herbs planted. At last, the stream was named by the officer and the prose text was composed, inscribed on a stele and put on the site.<sup>366</sup>

Though Confucianism and Daoism were both based upon the 'universal becoming' to

365 You-Mao 尤袤(Song Dynasty 宋), 'Prose of Yuxiao Kiosk' 《玉霄亭记》, p.397

366 Yuan-Jie 元结(719-772), Youxiji [Prose for the Right Stream]右溪记。 (Original text: 道州城西百余步，有小溪。南流数十步，合营溪。水抵两岸，悉皆怪石，欹嵌盘屈，不可名状。清流触石，洄悬激注；佳木异竹，垂阴相荫。此溪若在山野，则宜逸民退士之所游；处在人间，可为都邑之胜境，静者之林亭。而置州以来，无人赏爱。徘徊溪上，为之怅然。乃疏凿芜秽，俾为亭宇，植松与桂，兼之香草，以裨形胜。为溪在州右，遂命之曰'右溪'。刻铭石上，彰示来者。)

be observed in Nature, their aims differed in that the Confucians were mainly interested in the application of morals drawn from Nature to society, where Daoism continued to emphasize the freedom of the individual and the importance of individual contributions, Confucianism absorbed, preserved and developed these contributions for the good of the community and the nation,<sup>367</sup> under which influence the Confucian gentry and Confucian government was keen to promote such behaviour aimed for ‘common good’, which may be very unbelievable from a Western perspective.

Governments also urged rich people to contribute to the improvement of landscapes for public leisure. There is an early example of how this happened in the capital city of the Tang Dynasty. The lake Qujiang is located on the south-eastern outskirts of the city. The area around the lake was taken as a scenic site for public leisure, though the royal family also often went there. Poems about the scenery of Qujiang composed around 750AD showed that there were many royal villas, office buildings and open buildings such as kiosks around the lake.<sup>368</sup> It declined over the years because of war, and in order to recover the scenery, in 835AD a later emperor commanded his own 1500 royal lifeguards to dredge up Qujiang Lake, rebuild the bank, and also decreed that if any bureau or department or rich officials were financially capable of building kiosks and pavilions in Qujiang area, they should be allocated free land.<sup>369</sup> Later a small pond was filled up to make a new football court and a multi-storeyed building

---

367 Agnes Elizabeth Ernst Meyer, *Out of These Roots* (Manchester: Ayer Publishing, 1980) p.113

368 Liu-Xu 刘昫(tenth c.),etc., ‘Biography of Wenzong in 835’, in *Shibu Jiutangshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊閣四庫全書/史部新校本舊唐書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinsheguan, 1986) vol. 17 本紀/卷十七下本紀第十七下/文宗下/大和九年 Biography of no.17 p.561 (Original text:杜甫曲江行云：「江頭宮殿鎖千門，細柳新蒲為誰綠？」乃知天寶已前，曲江四岸皆有行宮臺殿、百司廨署，思復昇平故事，故為模殿以壯之。)

369 Liu-Xu 刘昫(tenth c.),etc., ‘Biography of Wenzong in 835’, in *Shibu Jiutangshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊閣四庫全書/史部新校本舊唐書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinsheguan, 1986) vol. 17 本紀/卷十七下本紀第十七下/文宗下/大和九年 Biography of no.17 p.557 (發神策軍一千五百人修淘曲江，如諸司有力，要於曲江置亭館者，宜給與閒地)

Ouyang-Xiu(1007-1072), etc., ‘Biography of Zheng-Zhu’, in *Shibu Xintangshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部新校本新唐書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taipei: Shangwu Yinsheguan, 1986) vol. 179, Biography of no. 104, p. 5315 (詔兩神策治曲江、昆明，作紫雲樓、采霞亭，詔公卿得列舍隣上)---新校本新唐書/列傳/卷一百七十九列傳第一百四/鄭注--

for viewing the landscape was built up by the lake.<sup>370</sup> In order to boost the landscape improvement, the emperor honoured the project by making the title inscription of those new buildings himself.<sup>371</sup> This area became a favourite leisure place for both the populace and the upper class. It is recorded that ‘those who had just passed the Imperial Test to be officials also held their celebration party here (曲江會、題名席),’<sup>372</sup>. It is believed that when the emperor or another dignitary went to Qujiang Lake, it would be closed for public access or at least the area near where they stayed; and since the buildings and gardens around the lake belonged to various government departments and rich families, the admission to those parts was restricted. But the buildings and gardens on the bank became a part of the scenic view over the lake, and the populace could enjoy the view when strolling around in the public area or boating. However, how people enjoyed the scenery there or the layout of the area was not described in detail.

Improving and adapting natural landscape for public leisure has not only been a fashion being followed at convenient times, but also an enthusiasm that many officers had. There is a travel note from the eighth century revealing that one head officer had a hill improved by donating his own salary and encouraging local people to do volunteer work. The materials for the kiosk on top of the hill were obtained from around the building site, while all the workers were volunteers. Since some of the volunteers were peasants, the project could only carry on during the fallow season. The reason for the head officer doing these things was recorded: ‘there is a lack of places for climbing, hiking, or sightseeing for people in the town’. The project mainly included constructing a kiosk on top of the hill, building up steps and paths towards the peak, and planting pine trees along the path. The hill must be very steep according

370 Liu-Xu 刘昫(tenth c.),etc., ‘Biography of Wenzong in 835’, p.559 新校本舊唐書/本紀/卷十七下本紀第十七下/文宗下/大和九年(填龍首池為鞠場, 曲江修紫雲樓)

371 Liu-Xu 刘昫(tenth c.),etc., ‘Biography of Zheng-Zhu’, p.4400 (命左右神策軍差人淘曲江、昆明二池, 仍許公卿士大夫之家於江頭立亭館, 以時追賞。時兩軍造紫雲樓、彩霞亭, 內出樓額以賜之)---新校本舊唐書/列傳/卷一百六十九列傳第一百一十九/鄭注

372 Ouyang-Xiu(1007-1072), etc., ‘Election’, in *Shibu Xintangshu of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/新校本/新唐書, vol.44, zhi no.34, p.1169 /志/卷四十四志第三十四選舉上 1169-

to the description such as ‘the kiosk on top of the hill is located over the head of the temple at foot of the hill’ when seen from a distance and ‘the slated path looks like a long strap’. <sup>373</sup>

A case in the early eleventh century is recorded in a slightly later travel note, and shows how the scenery of a lake has been improved intentionally, along with a water conservancy project, by the local head officer. The reason for the dredging works was the silted condition of the lake caused by the continuous dry weather of several years. In 1093, the government dredged the lake, made the bank higher and the lake bed deeper to conserve water. In order to conserve the soil on the bank, trees were also planted all around. The particular trees selected to be planted there were pine trees and willows. The sludge was used to make ten islands in the lake. The scenery making was integrated into the pragmatic project. The project was reviewed in the travel note and highly praised for this combination of scenery improvement and dredging work.<sup>374</sup> The original purpose of the dredging works was not for public leisure use, but as a consequence, the scenery of the lake was improved and thus the lake area became a very popular place. In this project, landscape was not modified in a careless way which only focused on the pragmatic purpose. Apparently, the benefits of the project were much more than water conservancy and irrigation. The author of this travel note realized this, praising this project as a forethoughtful one with benefits for the long run.<sup>375</sup>

Another tourist note in 807 AD revealed the relationship between the heritage buildings in a scenic area as tourist attraction and the contribution of local government

373 Feng-Su (Tang Dynasty 唐) 冯宿, ‘Dongfengtingji’ [Prose for the Kiosk on Eastern Hill] 东峰亭记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.811-3 (城门外半里, 初届佛刹, 剃之上方而亭在焉。松门盖空, 石道如带。……先是, 邑微登攀游观之所, (县守) 洪君曾是契俸钱二万, 经斯营斯。因地于山, 因材于林, 因工于子来, 因时于农隙, 一何易也。)

374 Shu-Tan 舒亶 (Song Dynasty, 宋), ‘Prose of the Moon Lake’ 《月湖记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等, (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.686-7 (元佑八年, 连岁小旱, 乃一切禁止而疏浚之, 增卑培深, 环植松柳。复因其积土, 广为十洲, ……盖四明之景物具焉, 湖遂大治, 然其初意, 不在游观也)

375 Shu-Tan 舒亶 (Song Dynasty, 宋), ‘Prose of the Moon Lake’ 《月湖记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, p.687 (古人干事, 盖不苟作, 惟其利害伏于久远, 难知之中所以)

to it. It was recorded that the author of the travel note had an excursion to a mountain near the town, which had a heritage building. The multi-storied building was originally the residence of a famous calligrapher in the fourth century. The building was then used as an elevated place from which to enjoy distant views over the scenery. The building itself and the artificial pond, also from the fourth century, were both adopted as tourist attractions. According to the travel note, there was an accommodation facility for this scenic site. It was possibly supplied by the nearby Daoist temple. Thinking that the heritage building and the pond looked weary, the author of the travel note reported this to the head officer of the town, and soon after, the local government had the building repaired.<sup>376</sup>

In conclusion, many travel notes recorded how the natural landscape was enhanced for public leisure, show that the scholar-official governments and individual officers contributed a great deal in initiating the improvement and adaptation of scenic sites and that they have played a very important role in leading the Nature-appreciating fashion in Chinese society.

### **The collaboration of individual scholar officials,**

### **Buddhist and Daoist monks for scenic improvement and maintenance**

The facilities built in scenic areas, such as kiosks, bridges and pavilions, were constructed of wooden beams and rafters, which were far less permanent building materials than stone, for example. The ephemeral nature of this building material required regular renewal of buildings and fixtures. While improved scenic areas

376 Pei-Tong 裴通(around 807), 'Travel notes of Jinting Temple, and the Reading-Pavillion with the Ink-Pond survived from Jin Dynasty' 《金庭观晋右军书楼墨池记》, in Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.733-5 (晋代王羲之家于此山。其书楼墨池旧制尤在。……元和二年(807AD)三月, 登书楼临墨池, 但见山水之异也。经再宿而还。以书楼缺坏墨池荒毁话之于邑宰王公。……王公遂理荒补缺)

needed management and maintenance daily, there was no structure to accomplish this. This section therefore tries to identify who took responsibility for the sites' maintenance, where did the funding and manpower come from, and what was the benefit for those who maintained scenic areas, that is, why did they do it? The answers to these questions are provided from various travel notes and diaries.

Records of Weiyu Hill provide a good example that fully reveals the relationship between the local scholar and head officer, a Daoist, and scenic improvement and public use. The travel note shows the original situation of the scenic site: 'There was a natural cave in Weiyu Hill associated with a fairy legend, but for the lack of suitable care, it was full of wild thorny plants and discarded rubbish.' The improvement of the scenic area began between 1131-1162 (can not identify which year, since only the emperor title is mentioned), when the local head officer visited there by chance and selected a Daoist to live there in order to care for this place. The Daoist monk was only given with a little funding to prepare offerings for gods. The Daoist excelled in medical skill<sup>377</sup> which made him popular in the local area; as a result his temple was well endowed. He used the funding to improve the buildings and built a wonderful temple complex so that twenty years later it had become a famous tourist destination.<sup>378</sup> In this case, the Daoist monk was appointed to govern the scenic area by the government officer in order to look after the natural landscape. The fairy legend of the cave landscape and the Daoist monk' skill at curing illness (perceived as a talent given by god) gave a supernatural fame to the landscape and helped to boost donations. The funding was used to improve the landscape and maintain it. The more beautified landscape attracted more people, and the possibility of greater funding increased, so the landscape received more maintenance and improvement, which

377 As a tradition, Daoists usually study on medical skill. Some of the Daoist cannons are medical theories. This tradition can be traced back to the forth century when the famous Daoist theory founder Ge-Hong 葛洪 (283~363) advocated this as a basic practice for Daoists. 主张道士兼修医术。'古之初为道者，莫不兼修医术，以救近祸焉'

378 Xie-Ji 谢伋(Song Dynasty 宋), 'Weiyushanguan ji' [Notes of the Monastery of Mt. Weiyu] 委羽山观记, 欽定古今图书集成方舆彙編山川典第一百二十卷委羽山部-藝文一 (委羽山有洞.....荒芜淳秽。绍兴中，使君暇日，观课农桑，至其处，始择道士主之，稍给香灯瓜华之用。道士善治病，邑人重之，香火繁盛，随后二十年间，堂庙门庑，始变荆榛为胜地)

ultimately benefited everybody. The Daoist monk in this case in fact played his role as a funding manager, landscape designer and also a keeper.

A case mentioned in a travel note in the eleventh century reveals how a small Buddhist temple located in a scenic area benefited from the fame of the scenery around it. As with many other examples, it was the local government head officer who initiated the improvement of the scenic area and allocated a monk to stay there to maintain it. The scenic area was a lake located in the southwest of the city, which was originally not attractive or cared for by people. In between 1056-1063, in order to adapt the lake as a public leisure place, the head officer Qian had the two bridges in a corner of the lake rebuilt. The new bridge was designed particularly for supplying a place for people to enjoy the scenery. There were also verandas, a kiosk, and an artificial island built up near the bridge. Various flowers and trees were planted. The kiosk was named 'Pleasure for the Mass' in order to show the purpose of this project. The monk appointed to look after this scenic area had a temple, built near the kiosk, which was barely a hut at first. When the project was finished, the scenery was so attractive that people crowded here everyday, especially in spring and summer. It soon became a very popular public leisure place. As a side effect of so many people coming here, the monk benefited from the donated funding, and his small residence was soon developed into a big temple.<sup>379</sup> This example shows the financial benefit that the religious group which took responsibility for a scenic area could receive. The financial benefit may have been the main reason religious groups volunteered to maintain scenic areas.

In addition to the assignments mentioned in the last two cases, the scholar officers also administered the monks to use the scenic resource properly, and sometimes helped them to achieve improvements. A case revealed in a tenth century letter written

379 Shu-Tan 舒亶(Song Dynasty) 宋, 'Yuehu Lake Note' 《月湖记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) pp.686-7 (湖在州城之西南隅。……其中有桥二, 然僻在一隅, 初无游观, 人迹往往不至。嘉祐中, 钱公辅, 始新作之。总桥三十丈, 桥之东西有廊, 总二十丈。廊之中有亭, 曰众乐。其深广几十丈, 前后有庑左右有室, 而又环亭以为岛屿, 植花木。于是遂为州人胜赏之地。方春夏时士女相属, 鼓歌无虚日。) (亭之南小洲, 前此有屋, 才数椽, 乃僧定安守桥之所。后浸广, 今为寿圣僧院)

by a scholar officer Xie Jiang to another officer Mei Diancheng, records that when he visited the Ziyun Cave in Shitang Hill, he realized that the Daoist monk living inside had a negative effect on the natural cave, so he commanded the local officer to build a hut nearby to allow the Daoist to move out.<sup>380</sup> As pointed out, by the seventeenth century, ‘all the scenic sites in mountains have already got either Buddhist or Daoist monasteries established there’,<sup>381</sup> and temples and monasteries were usually located at the spots with best views or somewhere nearby popular sightseeing journeys.

Usually the scenic areas and historic places were managed by a religious society authorised (that is, given a licence to run a temple) by the government. All the monks and nuns were registered and licensed by a certain bureau of the government. The traditional religious system in China was very good for heritage conservation and scenic site maintenance. Under this system, the funding for maintenance and improvement was collected by the religious order through donations from the public without burdening the government, while the manpower of daily work of maintenance and management was provided by the order itself. The system worked thus: historic places, natural scenic sites, and newly built facilities in scenic areas were authorised by the government to Daoists or Buddhists to manage and maintain; the fame of the scenery and the recreational features of a site boosted the popularity of the temple or shrine there; the religious group raised funds through donation to support its daily maintenance, and at the same time they also supplied accommodation and guidance for tourists, managed and maintained the place well; when funding allowed, they expanded the building complex and facilities within the scenic area, making more tourist attractions. In such a system, the government, the public, the religious orders all benefited.

---

380 Xie-Jiang 谢绛(994-1039), ‘The letter to Meidiancheng after I visited Mt. Song’ 游嵩山寄梅殿丞书, in *Selection of Historic Travel Notes 《历代游记菁华》*, ed. by HeKui 贺葵编( Wuhan: Hubei People 湖北人民出版社 , 1998) , p.72 (访石堂山紫云洞, 即邢和璞著书之所。山径极险, 扪萝而上者七八里。上有大洞, 荫数亩, 水泉出焉。久为道士所占, 炊烟熏燎, 又涂麋其内, 甚渎灵真之境。已戒邑宰稍营草屋子侧, 徙而出之。)

381 Pan-Lei 潘耒(1646-1708), ‘Travel Note of Mt. Luofu’游罗浮记, pp.96-103 (original text 山佳胜处, 皆寺观踞之)

Besides the practical benefits of this win-win scenario and its mutually beneficial arrangement for scenic improvement, another main reason for the collaboration between scholars and monks in landscape improving relies on a popular phenomenon in Chinese history that the scholar officers were usually interested in Buddhist and Daoist Philosophies and have close friendships with some monks. This fact should be particularly mentioned as a special cultural context of the collaboration on scenic improvement. As revealed in the official biographies of many scholar officers, most of them had close monk friends, with whom they sometimes travelled, perhaps composing poetry together, and had long discussions about philosophy. Buddhist and Daoist canons were also popularly studied and frequently cited by the scholar officers in their compositions. A tourist note in late Tang Dynasty (ninth to the tenth centuries) about Tiantai Mountain mentioned an old hermit residence which had been built near a Daoist monastery in the early ninth century by a resigned high ranking officer who decided to become a hermit.<sup>382</sup> The fact that as a hermit, the officer selected a Daoist monastery as his neighbour, rather than living an absolutely reclusive hermit life, shows a close relationship between them. Similar records are numerous, involving hermit huts, gardens and holiday houses which were deliberately located near a monastery; one person even lived his hermit life directly in a monastery which lay deep in the mountains.

Because of such close relationships and friendships, religious orders sometimes chose to work on building kiosks and other scenic improvements in the scenic area near their monasteries, according to the conceptual ideas of the local head officer.

A case recorded in a note about a kiosk of the late eleventh century concerns a monk who resided in the mountains who freely constructed a kiosk, following the design of the local head officer. The kiosk was located on top of the mountain, the choice of the

382 Xu Lingfu 徐灵府, 'Tiantaishan Ji' [Travel notes to Tiantai Mountain] 天台山记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan* [A collection of Travel notes of Zhejiang Province] 中国游记散文大系浙江卷, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002). Pp.730-732 (original words 先有故柳使君宅, 号曰紫霄山居, .....宅中多植灵葩翠树, 曲池泽沼。柳君, 宪宗十三年 818AD 辞刺史于此隐仙)

head officer because it gave the best view of the whole mountain area. The kiosk supplied a good place for having a rest, drinking and inspecting the view. As a consequence of this project, the place became a popular excursion destination and was enjoyed by local people, especially in spring.<sup>383</sup> In this case, the officer played the role of a planner or designer, while the monk acted as builder and maintainer.

A famous prose text from the eleventh century about a kiosk in Mt. Langye written by Ouyang Xiu, a local scholar officer, reveals that the kiosk located by a stream as the main part of the scenic improvement was built by the monk Zhixian and then named by the officer. He also described the beautiful scenery of the site, and the feast party taking place there. As a popular excursion place, the site was full of visitors, who were continuously on the path.<sup>384</sup>

Another case recorded in the diary of a head officer of a local government in the early eleventh century reveals how he and a religious society cooperated in scenic improvement. The initiation of the improvement was in 1087, and included building steps and paths up to the peak, constructing a kiosk on top of the mountain with a path around it. Hundreds of peach trees were also planted around the kiosk.<sup>385</sup> It was not mentioned who was responsible for these tasks, but from the context it seems that the Buddhist group who resided there was in charge of improving the landscape, and that the government collaborated with them in some way such as designing and naming. The following spring the monks reported to the head officer that the peach trees had bloomed and invited him to name the scenic spot. The process of naming in poetic words was another improvement for the landscape, as a good name can express the

383 Lu-Dian 陆佃 (Song Dynasty) 宋, 'Shinan Kiosk Note' 《适南亭记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) pp.757-75 (熙宁十年 1077, 程公出守是邦。与宾客沿鉴湖, 上蕺山, 以寻将军秘监之迹。未愜公意, 有以梅山胜告公者, 因至其上望之, 曰: 此山之佳处也。……其山之僧, 契公之意, 因高构宇。……暇日与众饮而赏焉。……于是闽州以为观美, 而春时无贵贱皆往)

384 Ouyang-Xiu 欧阳修(1007-1072), 'Zuiweng Kiosk Note' 醉翁亭记, in *Selection of Historic Travel Notes 《历代游记菁华》*, ed. by HeKui 贺葵编 (Wuhan: Hubei People 湖北人民出版社, 1998), p.80 (峰回路转, 有亭翼然临于泉上者, 醉翁亭也。作亭者谁? 山之僧智仙也。名之者谁? 太守自谓也。……负者歌于途, 行者休于树, 前者呼, 后者应, 伛偻提携, 往来而不绝者, 潸人游也。)

385 Zheng-Zhidao 郑志道(Song Dynasty) 宋, 'Liuquan Cave Note' 《刘阮洞记》, in *Travel Notes of Famous Mountains 《天下名山游记》*, ed. by Wu-Qiushi 吴秋士编 (Shanghai: Shudian 上海书店出版, 1982), p.399 (元祐二年 (1087) 春, 乃凿山开道, 立亭于其上。环亭夹道, 植桃数百本。……明年三月, 寺僧报桃盛开, 并以其景物求名焉)。

scenery in a literary way, prompting more exquisite imagination and poetic feelings for the landscape, and inspiring resonant sentiments for visitors. The diary mainly describes the excursion of the head officer to the scenic area and how he named each beauty spot, including natural scenery, beautified spot and historic place. The stream valley was named 'Tolling Jade Valley' (鸣玉洞) to remind visitors that the sound of water there was musical and lucid; the riverside building with peach trees around it was named 'the Lowland in Centre of Peach Flowers' (桃花坞) as a historic reference to a famous hermit story in the late fourth century; the pond where a monk saw a mirage was named 'Golden Bridge Pond' (金桥潭); the three flat rocks in the pond, slightly emerging from the water, were named 'Rocks of Fairies-meeting' (会仙石), which inspired an idea of three fairies sitting on the rocks, playing a drifting goblet game there. Another beauty spot was named 'the Lowland in Centre of a Woods which Fairies were Enamored with' (迷仙坞) to accent the scenery there. The name of each scenic spot was in fact an advertisement slogan, revealing the character of the scene, reminding visitors of relevant stories and suggesting a suitable leisure pattern, praising it in a fictional way, implying an imaginary wonderland picture. While this was good and quite enjoyable, the improvement seemed inadequate in the opinion of the head officer. He then planned a kiosk for playing drinking games near the stream.

Cooperation between local government and religious groups in improving natural landscapes for public leisure use was very common. There are many such cases recorded.

In conclusion, individual scholar officers and religious orders both played very important roles in scenic improvement and the maintenance. Usually, the religious group who resided in a scenic area were very keen to build up their new beauty spot and kiosks. They collaborated closely. The scholar officers, who at the same time were literati, also played their role as planner, designer, administrator, and as literary promoter, composing poetry and prose about the improved scenery and naming the beauty spots. The religious orders served as the builders and managers of scenic areas,

maintainers, sometimes even guides for tourists and hosts to the public. The cooperation benefited and boosted the concept of scenic improvement greatly.

However, such a fashion of adapting landscape for public leisure was never established as an institution, and the practice of scenic improvement mainly depended on the individuals involved. The cases for scenic improvement were recorded in poetry, prose, travel notes and biographies, but no regulations or laws for scenic improvement were ever formally set up. This is a result of Confucian philosophy, since Confucius insists that 'the able person on the spot is significant (other than the regulation or job description), when the right person is in the right place, the whole task will be benefited.<sup>386</sup> Thus, Confucian governments have mainly focused on electing 'right' persons as officials rather than establishing detailed regulations, as a result of which the local head officers have individually played a very important role in local scenic improvement, as such scenic improvements were widely promoted and became a fashionable pastime.

---

386 Dai-Sheng 戴圣(first C. B.C.) (ed.), 'Zhongyong', in *Liji* 礼记 中庸, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu / Jingbu/ Lilei 文渊阁四库全书/经部/礼类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinsheguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/029.htm>> [accessed 8 Apr2008] (哀公问政, 子曰'为政在人'、'其人存则其政举, 其人亡则其政息。' (《礼记·中庸》))

## **Chapter 5. Cultural values in respect of Nature**

The views of Nature in Daoist thought, Buddhism and Chan, reveal the close relationship between religious practice, landscape perception and scenery. These philosophies are based on the observation of Nature, the experience of universal truth, which inspires people to enjoy scenery in a meaningful and spiritual way. That Nature was highly valued in this way strongly affected the perception of landscape, as well as the practices of landscape improvement and upkeep of scenic sites. Other popular systems of thought, such as ancient Nature worship and fengshui, also had their effect on landscape improvement. It is clear that Daoism, Buddhism and other popular beliefs were all supportive of scenic appreciation.

### **a. Views of Nature in mythology and Daoism with their influence on scenic sites**

While Confucianism was concerned with a social system, people existing harmoniously with Nature, the Daoists believed in the total unity of the universe.<sup>387</sup> In contrast to 'travel as a purposeful activity whose ultimate goal was the restoration of moral and political order', Zhuangzi presents travel as 'a liberation from the unnatural constraints of society, a spiritualized venturing forth into the unrestricted realm of authentic being'. If the purpose of a Confucian travel can be summed up in the ideals of self-cultivation, the Daoist travel phrased as 'free and easy wandering' (*xiaoyaoyou*) by Zhuangzi, became the bywords of all who 'sought escape from the strife of the

---

<sup>387</sup> Dora P. Crouch, June G. Johnson, *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press US, 2001) p.300

dynastic scene'.<sup>388</sup>

## Mythology of shen-xian, mainly inherited in later Daoism

Mythology about shen-xian (literally means gods and immortal beings) in ancient China existed long before Daoism, which can be traced to at least 2500 years ago. Literature as early as the fourth century B.C., such as *jiuge* 九歌 by Quyuan (?340-278B.C.) and *zhuangzi* 庄子 by the main founder of philosophical Daosim, Zhuangzi (369-286B.C.), describes various shen-xian who lived in the natural landscape, enjoying their carefree immortal lives, riding clouds, driving dragons or travelling in beautiful scenery. The literary evidence shows that shen-xian had spread widely among the common people. This belief was inherited and developed by Zhuangzi in his philosophy and was elaborated in religious Daoism in later centuries. Religious Daoism combined the ancient belief of shen-xian (shen and xian, two kinds of immortal beings) with the beliefs of philosophical Daoism. It has a system of immortal beings in a hierarchy and also a theory about common people who are transformed into immortal beings. Both shen-xian and Daoism were closely connected with scenic appreciation and improvement in ancient times. The extent of these connections will be the focus of this section.

Understanding the concept of shen-xian, especially xian, is basic and crucial. Shen is similar to gods, who are innately powerful and immortal. But the concept of xian is different. Xianness (immortality) may be obtained by common people, which means that under certain conditions, common people can transform into xian (immortal beings). As a hint, the etymology of the Chinese word 'xian' 仙 (immortal beings) reveals the approach as well as the relationship between human beings, immortal

<sup>388</sup> Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.21

beings and mountains: the word is written as the character ‘mountain’ 山 with the character ‘human’ 人 as a component to its left, which indicates that immortality is obtainable when a man is close to a mountain; According to the book *Explaining Words* written in the third century, the character ‘xian’ 仙 originally meant ‘to move into mountains’,<sup>389</sup> which suggests that the homes of immortal beings are in the mountains. There are three kinds of xian: sky-xian, earth-xian, and posthumous-xian. Earth-xian lives on the earth, not going to heaven or any other world, usually transformed from a common person who has obtained Dao. According to the Daoist canon *Xianjing*, they always live in mountains which are famous for great scenery.<sup>390</sup> The concept of earth-xian had a great influence on views on Nature and relevant leisure activities in ancient China. It was believed that encountering an earth-xian would benefit a person in many ways, such as long life or knowing the future, for example. Since the mountains with great scenery are the only place where earth-xian can be found, people wanted to go there. Legends or literature about people encountering shen-xian in scenic districts are numerous. Meanwhile, the natural landscape beauty spots and the leisure facilities in sites have been commonly named after xian, for example, ‘Bridge of Xian-ren’ 仙人桥 is one of the most popular names, which can be found, for example, in Penglai 蓬莱 in Shandong Province, Xinhuang 新晃 in Hunan Province, Tian’e 天峨 in Guangxi Province and Mt. Tai 泰山 in Shandong Province. On Mt. Tianping near Suzhou, a fissured boulder which recalls the form of a robed figure bears the name ‘Shadow of Xian-ren’ 仙人影, and a big oblong rock on Tiger Hill outside Suzhou is labelled ‘Pillow Stone’ 枕石; names such as ‘Kiosk of Xian Playing Chess’ 仙弈亭 which was constructed on a dangerous steep

389 刘熙(third Century), ‘Shi zhangyou’[Explaining Words for Different Ages] 释长幼, in *Shiming [Explaining Words]* 释名/第十一, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Xiaoxuelei 文渊阁四库全书/经部/小学类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://guji.artx.cn/Article/1058\\_1061.html](http://guji.artx.cn/Article/1058_1061.html)>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 老而不死曰仙; 仙, 迁也; 迁入山也, 故其制字人旁作山也)

390 葛洪(283-363), ‘Lunxian’ [Remarks on Xian] 论仙, in *Baopuzi 抱朴子*, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/02-30.htm>>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 按《仙经》云:上士举形升虚,谓之天仙;中士游于名山,谓之地仙;下士先死后蜕,谓之尸解仙.)

site over stilts,<sup>391</sup> ‘Terrace of Xian-ren’ 仙人台, ‘Peak of Xian-ren’ 仙人峰, ‘Bridge of Waiting for Xian’ 迎仙桥 were also popular and can be found all over the country. A unique and extreme landform or extremely beautiful scenery was always described as places belonging to xian. A flat big stone located in middle of a torrential valley stream was said to be a place where immortal beings played drinking games.<sup>392</sup> In this way, the fantastic and imaginary of the view was accentuated. A travel note in the fifteenth century recorded a terrace on the Peak of Heng Mountain which was named ‘Terrace Where Immortal Beings Congregated’ 聚仙台, which suggested that the location of the terrace and the view from it were both extraordinary. A distance of more than a hundred kilometres could be viewed from there and the panorama of the terrace was recorded in detail which fully showed this.<sup>393</sup>

Daoist canons have many biographies of common people who transformed into xian and legends of people encountering xian in the mountains. Daoism systemized the belief of shen-xian by fabricating a system of shen-xian of various hierarchies and of the places they live in the natural landscape: in the sea there are ten continents and three islands where the herb for long life grows; on the land there are ten grand dongtian 洞天 (literally means ‘a cave as a world’), thirty six small dongtian, and seventy two fudi (blessed places 福地) in the mountains.<sup>394</sup> All these dongtian and fudi are real scenic places; each place has a legend of a particular person transforming into an earth-xian there, and is usually a popular location where Daoist temples were

391 Wu Shi 吴拭(Ming Dynasty), ‘Travel note of Wuyi’ 武夷游记, in *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华, ed. by He Kui 贺葵 (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1998), pp.392-403. (original text 三十步, 径断, 续以栈, 复十步许, 得定心亭。遂由仙弈亭, 上绝顶。)

392 Pan Lei 潘耒(1646-1708), ‘Travel Note of Luofu Mountain’ 游罗浮记, in *Zhongguo Gudian Wenxuezuo Jin Xuandu* 中国古典文学作品选读 古代游记选注, ed. by Liu Caonan 刘操南( Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1984) pp.96-103 (original text 涧中平广处, 有石坪, 可坐数十人。飞湍旋激, 名流杯池也, 云群仙会饮之所也。)

393 Qiao Yu 乔宇(15<sup>th</sup> century), ‘Travel notes of Hengshan Mountain’ 恒山游记, in *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华, ed. by He Kui 贺葵(Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1998), pp.287-292 (p.287). (original text 又数十步许, 为聚仙台。台上有石坪, 于是振衣绝顶而放览焉。东则渔阳、上谷, 西则大同以南奔蜂来趋, 北尽浑源、云中之景, 南目五台隐隐在三百里外, 而翠屏、五峰、登锦、封龙诸山皆俯首伏脊于其下。)

394 Du Guangting 杜光庭(tenth Century), *Dongtian Fudi Yuedumingshan Ji [Dongtian and Blessed Fields in Mountains]* 洞天福地岳渎名山记 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 江苏古籍出版社, 2000) p.1 (八方巨海之中有十洲三岛, 皆人迹所稀绝, 为仙人游息之处, 有不死之仙草。十洲为祖洲、瀛洲、玄洲、炎洲、长洲、元洲、流洲、生洲、凤麟洲、聚窟洲。三岛即昆仑、方丈、蓬丘。在地上的诸名山中, 有仙人及真人统治之十大洞天、三十六小洞天、七十二福地)

set up.

Religious Daoism is the vernacular religion of ancient China, which has deep roots in folk culture and has had a great influence on many aspects of normal life. Lu Xun remarked: ‘All Chinese culture is rooted in Daoism’<sup>395</sup>. Belief in shen-xian was widely accepted by people. The great landscape artist Guo Xi (1023-1085) concluded that the reason why people have been keen to have recreation in Nature is triple fold: the natural landscape and animals are enjoyable; mundane affairs and daily routines are tiring; and the chance to meet immortal beings in scenery is so admirable and precious<sup>396</sup>. The reason why people were always interested in natural landscapes was somehow linked with the widely spread thoughts about seeking immortal beings and fairyland.

## The view of Nature in Daoism

Daoism deserves a special place in Chinese landscape history because of its unique idea of Nature as a spiritual parallel world, full of fairies and eternal power, which had significant influence on the public leisure preference for natural scenery and the related landscape improvement, appreciation and its representation in various forms of art. By taking Nature as an inspiring source for life, enjoyable place and suitable setting for contemplation, Daoism is ‘anarchical, mystical, antirational, experimental and popular, venerating Nature and teaching the contemplation of Nature’.<sup>397</sup>

395 Lu Xun (1881-1936), the letter to Xu Shoushang, 20<sup>th</sup>, Aug. 1918. 鲁迅在1918年8月20日《致许寿裳》的信中说：‘前曾言中国根柢全在道教，此说近颇广行。以此读史，有多种问题可以迎刃而解。’

396 Guo Xi (1023-1085), ‘Shanshui Xun’ [Theory on Landscape Painting]山水训, in *Linguan Gaozhi* 林泉高致, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Yishulei* 文渊阁四库全书/子部/艺术类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.xgb.ecnu.edu.cn/jszj/%E5%AD%90%E9%83%A8-%E9%AD%8F%E6%99%8B%E4%BB%A5%E4%B8%8B/%E6%9E%97%E6%B3%89%E9%AB%98%E8%87%B4.htm>>[accessed 8 Apr 2008] (original words 君子之所以爱夫山水者，其旨安在？丘园养素，所常处也；泉石啸傲，所常乐也；渔樵隐逸，所常适也；猿鹤飞鸣，所常亲也。尘嚣缰锁，此人情所常厌也；烟霞仙圣，此人情所长愿而不得见也。)

397 Andrew Boyd, *Chinese architecture and town planning* (London: A. Tiranti, 1962), p.9

Daoism is the general title for both philosophical Daoism, and religious Daoism. The former was one of the many schools of thought which emerged in the period of Eastern Zhou dynasty, and appeared after the sixth century B.C., while the latter, religious Daoism, was set up as a religion in the early third century A.D, taking philosophical Daoism as its basic idea, but also integrating many other ancient and vernacular Chinese systems of thought. Philosophical Daoism mainly depends on the thought of Laoz 老子(sixth to the fifth century B.C.) and Zhuangzi 庄子 (369-286B.C.), and the schools which followed them. This school of philosophy was first referred to as Daoism by Sima Tan 司马谈 in the early Han Dynasty (around the second century B.C.), who described the six most important schools of thought since the sixth century B.C. and said that Daoism is the best and the most complicated as it ‘has the elitism of Confucianism and Moism 墨家; and the key elements of Mingism 名家 and Faism 法家’, which made Daoism ‘applicable to everything’<sup>398</sup>. Before the second century B.C., Daoism used to be very popular. But after the Huainan King Liu-An 淮南王刘安 (179B.C.-122B.C.), who was a keen supporter of Daoism, plotted a rebellion which failed in 122B.C. and so was killed by Emperor Han-wu 汉武帝 (157B.C.-87B.C.), who ‘treasured Confucianism but rejected all other thoughts’<sup>399</sup>, Daoism lost its position as the mainstream system of thought supported by the central government until the Tang Dynasty, when it was once again served as the national religion. However, in traditional China, Daoism was still the most popular philosophy amongst those who had influence only in non-political areas.

Philosophical Daoism pays much attention to Nature, which was regarded as the origin and source of Dao, the extreme truth of world. Its founder Laozi stated that ‘humans follow the way of earth, the earth follows the way of heaven, heaven follows

398 Sima Tan 司马谈 (?-110B.C.), *Lun Liujia Yaozhi [Comments on the Six Schools]* 论六家要旨, in <<http://mx.nthu.edu.tw/~ptchu/courses/xunzi/012.html>>[accessed 3 Apr 2007] (original key words 道家采儒墨之善, 报名法之要)

399 Li Yujie 李玉潔, *The Character of the Ancient Government in China* 中国早期国家性质, (Taibei: Zhishufang 知書房出版集團出版, 2003) p.8 罢黜百家独尊儒术

the way of Dao, while Dao follows the way of Nature.<sup>400</sup> He also explains that ‘Dao is invisible by itself, but embodied in phenomenon of Nature’,<sup>401</sup> and goes one step further saying that ‘natural lives and phenomenon, are incarnations of Dao’.<sup>402</sup> Zhuangzi even asserts that ‘Dao is in ants; Dao is in weeds; Dao is in tiles and bricks; Dao is also in excrement and urine.’<sup>403</sup> He takes an ant, the smallest animal, weeds, the least valuable of plants, tiles and bricks, the most ordinary building materials as examples to show the range of Dao : ‘the biggest thing does not exhaust it, while the smallest thing has never been excluded from it’.<sup>404</sup> The concept of ‘Dao is in everything, not only with sages’<sup>405</sup> is the basic principle of Daoism, which leads to the cosmic view that all plants, animals, mountains, rivers and so on are all valuable for seeking for Dao, thus the basic method of improving oneself is observing Nature.

Daoism believes that although physical objects are different in their appearance, they actually are the same at a deeper level, and they are all linked with humans in a certain way. Zhuangzi affirms that ‘the heaven and earth are born with me, while all the objects in the world are in oneness with me’.<sup>406</sup> By saying this, he tries to show that the innate characters of mankind can be found in natural objects. Guo Xiang 郭象

400 Heshanggong 河上公 (second Century B.C.), *Laozi Daodejing Heshanggong Zhangju* [Annotate of *Daodejing* by *Heshanggong*] 老子道德經河上公章句. (Taipei: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1993) <<http://www.360doc.com/showWeb/0/0/277662.aspx>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 人法地, 地法天, 天法道, 道法自然)

401 Laozi(sixth -fifth Century B.C.), *Taishanglaojun neiguojing* [Introspection Theory of *Laozi*] 太上老君内观经 <<http://www.Daoist.org.cn/jingdian/zhuoyaqd/neiguojin.htm>> 中国道教协会网[accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 道不可见, 因生以明之)

402 Zhang Daoling 张道陵(34-156), *Laozi Xiang'erzhu* [Annotate of *Laozi*] 老子想尔注, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/index-107.htm>>[accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 生, 道之别体也)

403 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Zhubeiyou’ [Travel to North] 知北游, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.lid.nbcom.net/zhuangzi/031.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 道在蝼蚁、道在稗、道在瓦甓、道在屎溺)

404 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Tiandao’ [Natural Rules] 天道, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.lid.nbcom.net/zhuangzi/018.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 于大不终, 于小不遗, 故万物备)

405 Yinxixi(fifth Century B.C.)尹喜, ‘Laojun Xishengjing’ [Remarks on Tao from Laozi When He Went West] 老君西昇經/皆有章第三十四, in Zhengtong Daocang 《正統道藏》 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng 新文豐版据明版, 1977), vol.19,p.235 <<http://www.tianyabook.com/zongjiao/daojiao/024.htm>>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 道非獨在我, 萬物皆有之)

406 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Qiwulun’ [the Sameness of Everything] 齐物论, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.lid.nbcom.net/zhuangzi/010.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 天地与我并生, 万物与我为一)

(252-312), the author of *Annotate of Zhuangzi* 《庄子注》, the most popular among many explanatory books about *Zhuangzi*, explains Daoism canons, saying that objects are ‘self-born’ and ‘self-being’<sup>407</sup> with Dao inside. *Zhuangzi* believes that the natural disposition of natural objects directly appear as what they should be, while the innate characters of human beings are lost in the secular world; in order to regain them, people have to learn from Nature, that is, obtain Dao through Nature; only in this way can people release themselves and gain eternal freedom.

Dao is not an entity, so it can not be experienced without subjective activities. It must be approached through proper thinking as *Zhuangzi* asserts, ‘never ask for it; never reason it in order to get it’.<sup>408</sup> The only method to get it is to be inspired by Nature, observe it, brood in it.

*Zhuangzi* introduced the methods ‘you’ 游 and ‘xiaoyaoyou’ 逍遙游 (which literally means wander about carefreely) as the way to understand Dao. In his book *Zhuangzi*, the word ‘you’ appears 96 times: it is the most frequently occurring word. The word ‘you’ can be literally interpreted as ‘travel’ or ‘wander about’, which means people should ‘stroll their mind over objects’<sup>409</sup>, that is, look at and think about objects under natural rules in order to be inspired. He advocates that ‘Nature has got grand beauty but never speaks out; the seasons have clear rules but never speak out; objects have fixed principles but never speak out’<sup>410</sup>, thus Dao cannot be articulated in words; Dao is something that exists in Nature, which can only be experienced and understood

407 Yu Kailiang 余开亮, Lun liuchao shiqi ziranshanshui zuowei duli shenmeiduixiang de xingcheng [The Emergence of Natural Landscape as Independent Aesthetic Objects in Liuchao Period] 论六朝时期自然山水作为独立审美对象的形成, *Academic Journal of People's University of China* 中国大学学报, no.4. (2006) (original words ‘物’之‘自生’、‘自造’、‘自得’、‘自然’、‘自尔’、‘自建’，‘道’在‘物’中)

408 *Zhuangzi*(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Qiwulun’ [the Sameness of Everything] 齐物论, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei* 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ld.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/010.htm>>[accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 不喜求, 不缘道)

409 *Zhuangzi*(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Renjianshi’ [Human Life] 人间世, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei* 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ld.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/014.htm>>[accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 乘物以游心)

410 *Zhuangzi*(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Zhibeiyou’ [Travel to North] 知北游, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei* 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ld.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/031.htm>>[accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 天地有大美而不言, 四时有明法而不议, 万物有成理而不说)

directly, but not taught by anyone else who has understood Dao. Because of this, people can only obtain Dao via wandering in Nature themselves.

The method of observing Nature is described by Zhuangzi as, ‘never listen with your ear but with your heart’<sup>411</sup>, and ‘never look only with your eyes but with your mind’<sup>412</sup>. Try to experience Nature in a deeper sense so as to obtain Dao to a standard that ‘a clever man is not a man who can hear outside sound but rather his own inside voice; a clear man is not a man who can see the outside world, but rather himself.’<sup>413</sup>

The philosophical notion ‘you’ actually contributed much to the custom of ‘wandering about in Nature’. People who followed Zhuangzi took it as a principle that strolling in Nature, enjoying scenery, contemplating natural phenomena was the only approach to seek for Dao. By doing so, their minds were satisfied in an aesthetic sense and their bodies were freed from daily routine, which both benefits people themselves in respect of long lives and delightfulness, the secular reflection of having Dao.

Actually Zhuangzi mentions a great number of natural landscapes in his book, such as Mountain of Guyi 姑射之山, Mountain of Kongtong 崤峒之山, Mountain of Shouyang 首阳之山, and so on<sup>414</sup>, as the settings for his parable stories; he also uses terms such as ‘travel joyfully like a happy bird’ 雀跃而游<sup>415</sup> to describe characters in his stories. He takes natural landscape as his favourite place, saying that, ‘forest in mountain, or field by a marshland, are the places which make me elated.’<sup>416</sup>

---

411 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Zhubeiyou’ [Travel to North] 知北游, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ltd.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/031.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 无听之以耳而听之以心)

412 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Yangshengzhu’ [Method in Healthy Life] 养生主, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ltd.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/025.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 以神遇而不以目视)

413 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Pianmu’ [Redundancy] 骈拇, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ltd.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/009.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007] (original words 吾所谓聰者, 非谓其聰彼也, 自聰而已矣。吾所谓明者, 非谓其见彼也, 自见而已矣)

414 Mountains mentioned in *Zhuangzi* also include MountainJuci 具茨之山 and Weilei 畏垒之山, etc.

415 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Zaiyou’ [Selfbeing and Forgive] 在宥, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ltd.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/029.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr2007]

416 Zhuangzi(369B.C.-286B.C.), ‘Zhubeiyou’ [Travel to North] 知北游, in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu

Philosophical Daoism had a revival in the fourth and fifth centuries, when educated people adopted a fashion of experiencing Dao in the natural landscape, which was described as ‘applying metaphysics thinking to mountains and water 以玄对山水’<sup>417</sup>, which means to find metaphysical meaning in natural landscape when inspired by philosophical Daoist canons. For example, after observing Nature, a poem was composed that said, ‘no still tree in a forest; no inactive water in a stream’, which was taken as an excellent description of Nature and a profound understanding of life by other literati, and was reviewed by someone who said they were ‘deeply inspired every time reading it’.<sup>418</sup> At that time the natural landscape was seen as ‘not only to delight people’s emotion, but also make the world feel better’<sup>419</sup>. People were encouraged to take natural landscape as their leisure favourite even in preference to musical entertainment, as a widely known poem from the fourth century says, ‘musical instruments are not necessary, since mountains and water also supply beautiful music’<sup>420</sup>. The natural landscape thus has a very important position as a resource of life philosophy and place for leisure.

A legend about a Daoist master painter shows how a landscape painting is not primarily conceived of as a depiction of Nature, but rather as yet another, and even more perfect Nature itself. In the legend, the painter entered the painting he had created: an observer can actually stroll around the scroll just as he can in an external

---

Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.ld.nbc.com.net/zhuangzi/031.htm>> [accessed 3 Apr 2007] (original words 山林与, 墓壤与, 使我欣欣然而乐与)

417 Fang Xiaoyi 方笑一, Lun Dongjin Yonghe Wenxue [ Views on Literature of Yonghe Period in Eastern Jin Dynasty] 论东晋永和文学, *Academic Journal of Huadongshifan University* 华东师范大学学报, No.1(1999)

418 Liu Yiqing 刘义庆(403-444), ‘Wenxue’ [Stories about Literature and Learning] 文学, in *Shishuo Xinyu* 世说新语, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Xiaoshuojialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/小说家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/04-11.htm>> [accessed 8 Apr 2008] (original words 郭景纯诗云: ‘林无静树, 川无停流。’阮孚云: ‘泓峥萧瑟, 实不可言。每读此文, 辄觉神超形越。’)

419 Liu Yiqing 刘义庆(403-444), ‘Yanyu’ [Dialogue] 言语 topic81, in *Shishuo Xinyu* 世说新语, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Xiaoshuojialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/小说家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/02-13.htm>> [accessed 8 Apr 2008] (original words 王司州至吴兴印渚中看, 叹曰: ‘非唯使人情开涤, 亦觉日月清朗。’)

420 Zuo Si 左思(?250-?305), ‘Zhaoyin’ [Call on Hermits] 招隐, in *Shi* [Whole Collection of Poetry] 诗, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Zongjilei 文渊阁四库全书/集部/总集类/诗(历代诸家)/晋<<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/jp05.htm>> [accessed 8 Apr 2008] (original words 非必丝与竹, 山水有清音。)

landscape.<sup>421</sup>

## Daoist orders in scenic sites and their contribution to landscape

Religious Daoism was set up in the early third century. Daoists inherited the basic principle of philosophical Daoism, taking the natural landscape as the setting in which they should practice their belief. To take care of and observe the natural landscape was taken as one of the practices of Daoism, one of the approaches to Dao. The location of many Daoist temples and monasteries in scenic sites reveals the close relationship of Daoists and the landscape. The earliest religious Daoist society set up twenty four zhisuo 治所, also known as jingshi 静室, which literally means ‘quiet space’, as a place for Daoists to practice, all in the natural landscape with beautiful scenery. Most of the later monasteries of Daoism were also built in natural scenery.

There are many Daoist orders which have been located in scenic sites renowned for beautiful scenery for tens of centuries, such as at Mt. Longhu 龙虎山 in Jiangxi Province, Mt. Wudang 武当山 in Hubei Province, Mt. Qiyun 齐云山 in Anhui Province, Mt. Qingcheng 青城山 in Sichuan Province, and Mt. Wangwu 王屋山 in Henan Province. Most of these scenic districts have been designated as National Parks since 1982. Daoist philosophy was rooted in ancient Chinese rural and agrarian experience, with its awareness of the cycles and events of Nature. Daoism sought to furnish the way for individuals to achieve Nature’s balance and order, that is, the Dao.<sup>422</sup> Daoism does consider the Dao within Nature, nor in another world. For the Daoists, life does not lead to another world or a world after death, but appreciates the carefree freedom of immortal life through enjoying the extraordinary scenery of this

<sup>421</sup> Hans-Georg Moeller, *Daoism Explained: From the Dream of the Butterfly to the Fishnet Allegory* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 2004) p.114-6

<sup>422</sup> Philip Pregill, Nancy Volkman, *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1999) p.308

world, which is the main way in which Daoism is different from other religions. Since advocating the possibility that common people might transform into shen-xian, and have a shen-xian's life in beautiful scenery, natural landscape has been highly admired. Meanwhile, under the influence of popularly accepted shen-xian belief and the Daoist view of Nature, a special view of scenery has come into being in Chinese culture, which takes the scenery as the setting for imaginary immortal beings and fairies, thus scenery is connected with ideas of xian, Dao, long life, carefreeness, fairies, beauty and freedom. So a beautiful scenic site was usually praised as 'a place for xian' 仙境 in historic literature. Such a cultural perception has a big impact on attitudes to scenery and appreciation, which have directly influenced landscape design style, taste and practice, for example in the location of Daoist orders, the island-style landscape design in artificial lakes, dredging projects and reservoirs, as well as in the establishment of the Daoist system of Dongtian (cave-world) and Fudi (blessed places) in scenic sites.

A travel note on Tiantai Mountain written in the fourth century describes the Daoist temple there as the residence of fairies and immortals because of its celestial scenery with buildings located in beautiful natural landscape.<sup>423</sup> The note reveals that the Daoist buildings were not treated as a worship destination but rather as a decoration of the natural scenery, a setting perceived from far away as something to prompt the feeling that the immortals and fairies may reclusively live there. Due to the belief in Daoism, that Nature is the incarnation of Dao and the beauty of natural landscape is the best of all, building Daoist temples in scenic sites has been preferred. The temple buildings applied a sense of place to the natural landscape and thus people were attracted by both the scenery and the imagined existence of the immortals.

Along with religious Daoism spreading and being popular all over the country since the third century, especially during the Tang Dynasty (sixth to the ninth centuries)

423 Sun Chuo 孙绰(314-371), 'You Tiantaishan Fu bing Xu' [Travel note and Prose for Tiantai Mountain] 游天台山赋并序, in *Tiantai Shanbu Yiwen*, ed. by Chen Menglei 陈梦雷, Gujin Tushu Jicheng Fangyu Huibian Shanchuandian 欽定古今圖書集成/方輿彙編/山川典/第 123 卷/ 天台山部--藝文一 (Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934) vol.123

when Daoism was promoted by the central government, scenic sites have been explored and many Daoist temples built there. Some of these scenic sites had already been used by individual Daoists or hermits as their practice place centuries before the Tang Dynasty. These early individual Daoists or hermits were usually referred to as xian or extramundane, and the relics of their residence in scenic sites were taken as valuable heritage. Such scenic sites with temples and cultural relics were popular excursion destinations in the Tang Dynasty. Many travel notes from that time mention this. A travel note in 778 records many details of the scenic site at Tianzhu Mountain and the temple there, which reveals not only the geography of the scenic site and the history of the temple, but also that the temple was designed for a particular location to benefit the scenery: in front of the temple, there was a zigzag footpath through forest and bushes leading to the entry; the rock cliff as background could be seen from the entry; the set of temple buildings were built on a steep slope so that it gave a sense of the otherworldly<sup>424</sup>. The harmony between the human and the natural worlds and the close relationship between Nature and architecture, as in the closely related genre of landscape painting, combined with the spiritual ambience of peaceful contemplation and self-cultivation, point to a Daoist inspiration behind these creations.<sup>425</sup> The temple was treated not as a simple destination for pilgrims but for otherworldly sightseeing, contemplation and inspiration.

A travel note<sup>426</sup> written in the ninth century records several Daoist temples set in different scenic sites on the same mountain; each temple with its scenic site was taken as an excursion destination. The most ancient temple had been there since the third

424 Wu Jun 吴筠(eighth century), *Tianzhushan Tianzhuguan Ji* [The Travel Note of Tianzhu Mountain and Tianzhu Temple]天柱山天柱观记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*[A collection of Travel notes of Zhejiang Province]中国游记散文大系浙江卷, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002). pp. 737-739 (original words 自余杭郭, 溯溪十里, 登陆而南, .....曲径窈窕, 继越千步, 忽岩势却倚, 而清宫辟焉。于是旁讯有识, 稍诸宝录, 乃知昔高士郭文举创隐于兹。暨我唐宏道元祀, 因广仙迹, 为天柱之观。.....大历十三年(778), 中岳道士记之。)

425 Maggi Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986)

426 Xu Lingfu 徐灵府, 'Tiantaishan Ji' [Travel notes to Tiantai Mountain]天台山记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*[A collection of Travel notes of Zhejiang Province]中国游记散文大系浙江卷, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002). Pp.730-732 (original words 天台观在县北十八里, 山西南瀑布岩下。旧《图经》云, 吴主孙权为葛仙公所创。最居形胜, 北沿仙坛, 东北连洞, 西北枕翠屏岩。天台观西一里, 南朝宋元嘉年中(424-453)法门近瀑布下兴立瀑布寺。观前有田顷余, 东有溪。溪注田西经三井, 飞流瀑布。观即唐景龙二年(708)所置。游客恍然似升玄都玉京。)

century, with the best scenery on the mountain, located near a rock cave and a cliff with trees which looked like a green screen. Another temple had been there since the fifth century, near a cascade. A later temple was set there in 708, with stream, wells, cascades and a farmed field in front. Although this scenery was a hybrid of natural and rustic landscape, it still gave visitors a heavenly sense according to the travel note.

A travel note of the early twelfth century reveals the process through which the kiosk on top of a perilous peak (Jiugu Peak on Kuocang Mountain) was built and rebuilt over a period of more than 60 years. Many people contributed to the work. First, in around 1064, the head officer of Jianchuan had a kiosk built on the highest spot, which had been appreciated as the best scenic spot of the whole Kuocang mountain area. The kiosk not only offered a resting place, but also adapted the natural landscape to be a civilized leisure place and thus attracted more visitors. Later, during 1094-1097, a local man Yuan Xizhong, and then during 1102-1106 other locals, maintained or rebuilt the kiosk. In 1124, a new head officer, Yao, rebuilt the kiosk again when it was dilapidated.<sup>427</sup> As expressed in the travel note: ‘staying there reveals the feeling of an immortal being, who stands high in the air enjoying riding the wind; the place seems only to belong to immortal, and not to be real at all’.<sup>428</sup> The dangerous steep site was imaginatively connected with a fairyland, thus in order to accentuate this feeling and suggest it to others, an artificial construction was a necessary: The contrast between the precipitous steep site and the building made the scenery more dramatic and surreal. Only when it had a kiosk at this difficult dangerous spot, could the landscape be perceived in a way that was full of wild imagination.

This travel note also describes in full detail the scenic views that could be seen from

427 Zhuang Zhou 周庄(Song Dynasty), ‘Prose of the Pavilion on Top of Kuocang Mountain’括蒼最高軒記, in *Kuocangshanbu Yiwen*, ed. by Chen Menglei 陈梦雷, *Gujin Tushu Jicheng Fangyu Huibian Shanchuandian* 欽定古今圖書集成方輿彙編山川典第一百二十卷括蒼山部-藝文一(Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934) vol.120 (original text 剑川令策杖得九姑山, 作亭。遂为括蒼游绝冠。绍圣间衙人袁希仲, 暨崇宁间邑人皆继作。公临绝顶四顾而兴叹, 命诛藤蔓, 徘徊旧址, 曰‘凭虚高举, 冷然御风, 蓬壺游也。’乃飭能吏董其役。未几告成。)

428 Zhuang Zhou 周庄(Song Dynasty), ‘Prose of the Pavilion on Top of Kuocang Mountain’括蒼最高軒記, in *Kuocangshanbu Yiwen*, ed. by Chen Menglei 陈梦雷, *Gujin Tushu Jicheng Fangyu Huibian Shanchuandian* 欽定古今圖書集成方輿彙編山川典第一百二十卷括蒼山部-藝文一(Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934) vol.120 (original text 凭虚高举, 冷然御风, 蓬壺游也)

the kiosk. The wonderful view from a distance of the whole mountain with the kiosk on top was described with enthusiasm. These poetic descriptions illustrate the comprehensive relationship between the kiosk and the natural landscape: the kiosk became a part of the scenery, not an added facility for rest. It marked the wilderness as a civilized scenic attraction, hinted at the existence of immortal beings in this scenic area, and prompted the imagination of it as a fairyland. The kiosk was not only for rest or for viewing scenery, but also for enjoying and experiencing an immortal feeling and indulging in imagining the life of a fairyland. The kiosk on the peak of a mountain viewed from a distance not only marked the beauty spot and scenic views there, but also suggested an imaginary wonderland which was different from the daily world.

Confucius and Zhuangzi both relied on ‘myths of a golden age in antiquity’ and saw travel as facilitating a return to original human nature,<sup>429</sup> so recommended travel in Nature, especially preferred the scenery with cultural relics. Usually, historic heritage in scenic areas was looked after by the Daoist orders. In some cases, an ancient villa or hermit’s hut was occupied or taken care of by Daoists; such antiques were usually taken by visitors as an attraction. A travel note made in the Tang dynasty recorded that a Daoist monk applied to the emperor in 507 A.D to build his monastery in a mountain at the site of a previous residence of a famous calligrapher of the fourth century. The remains of the old residence were conserved in the temple. The study building of the old residence was in the northwest of the monastery. The square pond was northeast of the main hall of the monastery. Although the pond was not aligned with the axis of the temple, it was still well conserved.<sup>430</sup>

The religious orders which were established in scenic areas also supplied

---

429 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.21

430 Pei Tong (Tang dynasty) 唐，裴通, Travel Notes about the Study Building and Pond in Jinting Temple 《金庭观晋右军书楼墨池记》, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) P733-735 南齐永泰九年, 道士褚伯玉启高宗明皇帝, 于此山置金庭观, 正当右军之家, 故书楼在观之西北维, 一间而四徘徊, 高可二丈以下。墨池在天尊殿东北维, 方可斜, 广轮可五十尺以下。

accommodation for tourists. Sometimes the monks even served as tourist guides. For example, a travel note from the seventeenth century reveals that when the author climbed a hill on Qiyun Mountain, a Daoist guided him to many beauty spots.<sup>431</sup>

Daoism stresses the insignificance of the human presence in the vastness of the cosmos.<sup>432</sup> Such philosophical interest in Nature could have contributed to the concept in landscape painting, since in a Chinese landscape painting, the landscape does not play the part of a background against which a human event takes place; man is reduced to a very small element, while Nature is the real subject and focus.<sup>433</sup>

## Cave-world thought and the system of scenic landscape in Daoism

The natural cave was admired and is frequently mentioned in travel notes. They were appreciated for their mysterious beauty, unusual shape and for the special acoustic effect of the water dripping over stone inside the cave. The various shapes of stones were always admired by the ancient Chinese, as in the gardens where they were sometimes displayed. A story from the early twelfth century about an artist showing great respect for an unusually shaped natural stone by calling it 'big brother' and bowing to it<sup>434</sup> has been so familiar to later literati that it has been frequently cited in subsequent literature and has been represented many times in paintings<sup>435</sup>. Stones in

431 Cheng Jiasui(1565-1643)(明)程嘉燧, 'Travel Notes of Visiting Mt. Qiyun and the Tiger Cliff' 《游齐云观天门虎崖记》, in *Collection of Short Prose of Late Ming dynasty* 《晚明二十家小品》, ed. Shi Zhecun 施蛰存编, (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海书店, 1984), p.208. 程嘉燧(1565-1643)游齐云的天门虎崖时,就有道士来相迎,并且为他们「指虎崖之胜」

432 Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Kwang-ching Liu, *Cambridge illustrated history of China* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.162

433 Ulrich Libbrecht, *Within the Four Seas: Introduction to Comparative Philosophy* (Peeters Publishers, 2007) p.566-7

434 Anon, 'Biography of Mi Fu' 米芾传, in *Songshi* 宋史, ed. by Tuotuo, and others, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) (original text 宋徽宗大观年间(1104-1106)米芾知无为军, '无为州治有巨石,状奇丑,芾见大喜曰:“此足以当吾拜”,具衣冠拜之,呼之为兄。)

435 The story has been popularly taken as theme of paintings in later history. The most famous paintings involved include Midianbaishi, by Wuwei in Ming Dynasty 明代吴伟的《人物图卷/米颠拜石》(今藏上海博物馆), Midian Baishitu, by Chen Hongshou in Ming Dynasty 明代陈洪绶《米颠拜石图》, Baishi Tu, by Ren Xiong in Qing Dynasty 清代任熊的《拜石图》(今藏北京故宫博物院), and the one in modern times by Zhang Daqian 代张大千《米颠拜石图》。

caves were described in travel notes showing that, ‘rocks look like they have been cut by cleaver and piled up; some strange ones look like arms reaching out, or columns hanging down’<sup>436</sup>; ‘they look like beasts ready to jump and fight’<sup>437</sup>. The sky seen through holes or cavities in stone has also been keenly appreciated and described. In addition to strangely shaped stones, caves were also renowned for water in various forms, such as springs which ‘look like a hanging cloth or a long thread; some sprinkle and dribble, some splash and flow’<sup>438</sup>, and streams along the tunnel cave which were suitable for boating<sup>439</sup>. Various sounds have also been enjoyed and recorded, for example the special sounds of stones which, when knocked, sounded like bells, brass gongs or drums, and the acoustic effect inside the cave when people sing.<sup>440</sup>

Some caves have been taken as historic sites because they were used by early hermits as natural places in which they might dwell. Many travel notes recorded that people visited such caves for this reason. For example, a travel note in the eleventh century mentioned visiting a cave which used to be the place where a Daoist hermit wrote books in the early eighth century<sup>441</sup>, and another travel note in the eleventh century mentioned that the cave where a hermit of the sixth century taught his disciples had

436 Bai Juyi 白居易(772-846), ‘Foreword of Poems for Sanyou Cave’三游洞序, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) pp.38-39. (original text 初见石, 如叠如削, 其怪者如引臂, 如垂幢。)

437 Luo Dajing 罗大经(13th century), ‘Travel Notes of Caves in Guilin and Rongzhou’游桂林与容州岩洞, (original text 两岸石如虎豹, 森然欲搏。)

438 Bai Juyi 白居易(772-846), ‘Foreword of Poems for Sanyou Cave’三游洞序, pp.38-39 (original text 次见泉, 如渴如洒, 其奇者如悬练, 如不绝线。仰瞬俯察, 绝无人迹, 但水石相薄, 磐磷凿凿, 跳珠溅玉, 惊动耳目。俄而峡山昏黑, 云破月出, 光气含吐, 互相明灭。晶莹玲珑, 象生其中。虽有敏口, 不能名状。)

439 Luo Dajing 罗大经(13th century), ‘Travel Notes of Caves in Guilin and Rongzhou’游桂林与容州岩洞, (original text 中一暗溪穿入。因同北流令结小桴。秉烛坐其上, 命篙师撑入、诘屈而行, 水清无底。)

440 Liu Dakui 刘大魁(1698-1779), ‘Travel Note of Sanyou Cave’游三游洞记, in *Lidai Youji Shangxi* 历代游记赏析, ed. by Literature Department of Shandong Shifan University (Beijing: Mingtian Chubanshe, 1985) pp329-338 (original text 而石洞穹起, 高六十余尺, 广可十二丈, 二石柱屹立其口, 分为三门, 如三楹之室焉。中室如堂, 右室如厨, 左室如别馆。其中一石, 乳而下垂, 扣之其声如钟; 而左室外小石突立正方, 扣之如磬。其它石杂以土, 撞之则逢逢然鼓音。背有石如床, 可坐。予与二三子浩歌其间, 其声轰然, 如钟盘助之声者。下视深溪, 水声冷然出地底。溪之外, 翠壁千寻, 其下有径, 薪采者负薪行歌, 缕缕不绝焉。)

441 Xie Jiang 谢绛(994-1039), ‘The Letter to Mei-Diancheng after Travel in Songshan Mountain’游嵩山寄梅殿丞书, in *Songshanbu Yiwen*, ed. by Chen Menglei 陈梦雷, Gujin Tushu Jicheng Fangyu Huibian Shanchuandian 欽定古今圖書集成/方輿彙編 / 山川典 / 第五十八卷 / 嵩山部 / 藝文一 (Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934) vol.58 <http://140.126.30.5/bookc/ttsdbook.exe?1;17425;10;;1@13406> [accessed 19 Mar 2007] (original text 访石堂山紫云洞, 即邢和璞着书之所。山径极险, 披萝而上者七八里。上有大洞, 荫数亩, 水泉出焉。)

become an attractive spot in the local scenery.<sup>442</sup>

The cultural reason for caves being liked by the ancient Chinese can be traced to the influence of Daoism. Caves were seen in the Daoist view as dongtian (literally means cave-world) which means a cave as a world, where immortal beings live. According to Daoist canons, there are ten grand dongtian and 36 smaller ones which were all real places in the mountains.<sup>443</sup> The concept dongtian was not much explained, but all the dongtian places were listed in full detail, such as the name of the cave, the mountain and the county where it was located, the name of the immortal being who reigns there and the title of the cave-world. This Daoist belief has been generally accepted by the common people and so caves have also been seen as the location of fairyland, where an invisible immortal world might exist. The first mention of the full system of dongtian can be traced to the fourth century in Daoist canon.<sup>444</sup> Maps and drawings of dongtian places were recorded in the seventh century but do not survive, except for a preface mentioning the names and concise descriptions of these sites.<sup>445</sup> In the tenth century the system of 10 grand dongtian, 36 small dongtian and 72 blessed places was recorded again but slightly differently from the previous record, as some different caves and mountains were listed.<sup>446</sup> Nearly all these listed caves are real places, but why they were listed in the Daoist system and the reason for the order of the list is not clear. Some of the places where dongtian are located are famous scenic sites now and

---

442 Chen Liang 陈亮(Song Dynasty), 'Travel Note of Beishan Mountain and Puji Temple' 北山普济院记, p.814 (original text 梁刘孝标弃官居金华北山, .....结庐紫薇岩, 吴会人士多从之学。岩有石室, 因以为讲书之堂。庆历六年 (1046), 郡守命许归书'紫薇岩'三巨字, 刻于石)

443 The concept became systematic in the Tang Dynasty and after, recorded in: Sima Chengzhen 司马承祯(647-735), 'The Map of Heaven and Earth' 天地宫府图, in *Yunji Qiqian* 云笈七签 vol.27, in Daozang Yaoji Xuankan 《道藏要籍选刊》第1册, (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1989) pp.200-201 (original text 十大洞天者, 处大地名山之间, 是上天遣群仙统治之所。.....三十六小洞天在诸名山之中, 亦上仙所统治之处也。)

Du Guangting 杜光庭(tenth century), 'Dongtian Fudi in Mountains' 洞天福地岳渎名山记·序 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 江苏古籍出版社, 2000) p.1 (original text 三十六洞天'别有日月星辰灵仙宫阙, 主御罪福, 典录死生, 有高真所据, 仙王所理'。)

444 The term of Dongtian was first used in Dongjin Dynasty(317-420).三十六洞天一词, 始见于东晋上清派道书。《真诰·稍神枢》云: '大天之内, 有地中之洞天三十六所。'东晋道经《道迹经》(编集东晋上清派'仙人本业', 实为《真诰》别本)胪列十大山洞及与此相应的三十六洞天。

445 Sima Chengzhen 司马承祯(647-735), 'The Map of Heaven and Earth' 天地宫府图, in *Yunji Qiqian* 云笈七签 vol.27, in Daozang Yaoji Xuankan 《道藏要籍选刊》第1册, (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1989)

446 Du Guangting 杜光庭(tenth Century), *Dongtian Fudi Yuedumingshan Ji [Dongtian and Blessed Fields in Mountains]* 洞天福地岳渎名山记(Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 江苏古籍出版社, 2000)

have been designated as National Parks, such as Mt. Wangwu, where ‘the First Cave-World’ of Ten Grand Dongtian is located; but some have been encroached upon by residential development and lost their scenery, for example at Mt. Weiyu, where ‘the Second Cave-World’ of Ten Grand Dongtian is located.

According to the Daoist canon, the caves were recorded with a perimeter of several thousand li (each li equals about half a kilometre) or even tens of thousands li, but some of the real places are only several metres width and depth. This reveals the hutian 壶天 belief of Daoism: a whole world can be concealed in a small pot.<sup>447</sup> This thought has been widely accepted by the public and has been frequently cited in poetry.<sup>448</sup> It is similar to the thought, ‘a seed contains a whole university’ in Buddhism. Such ideas can be traced in descriptions in literature as early as the fourth century B.C; for example, ‘a cup of water is the sea for a small seed floating on as a boat’,<sup>449</sup> and the view of the landscape as seen from the sky by gods and immortal beings, which was described in a poem as ‘the sea is a footprint filled with water, and the mountains are only anthills’<sup>450</sup>. Imagination is focused on an analogy which recognizes landscapes at different scales, so that a cave can be imagined as a big Daoist space invisible to common people, increasing its mystery and appeal. Cave-world thought reveals ideas about the truth, illusion and perception, as expressed by Zhuangzi in his famous allegory that he dreamt of himself transforming into a butterfly; when he woke up, he wondered whether he was not awake, but was only dreaming of the butterfly.<sup>451</sup> This story raised the issue, what is reality or illusion? Thoughts of

447 Hou Zhongyi 侯忠义, *History of Ancient Chinese Novels* 中国文言小说史稿, (Beijing: Beijing University Press 北京大学出版社, 1993) p.88 神仙传中《壶公传》叙述, 壶公者……常悬一空壶於坐上, 日入之后, 公辄转足跳入壶中, 人莫知所在, 唯长房於楼上见之。……(壶公)语长房曰: ‘卿见我跳入壶中时, 卿便随我跳, 自当得入。’长房承公言为试, 展足不觉已入。既入之后, 不复见壶, 但见楼观五色, 重门阁道, 见公左右侍者数十人。

448 For example, poem of ‘The journey back to my old residence in Shimen’ by Li Bai, and the poem ‘For the Taoist Zhong Anji’ by Li Zhong, both of Tang dynasty. 唐·李白《下途归石门旧居》: ‘何当脱屣谢时去, 壶中别有日月天。’唐·李中《赠重安寂道者》: ‘壶中日月存心近, 岛外烟霞入梦清。’

449 Xiaoyaoyou, by Zhuangzi, and Xiaoyanfu, by Song Yu. 庄子的逍遙游, ‘覆杯水于坳堂之上, 则芥为之舟’, 或者宋玉的《小言赋》: ‘析飞糠以为舆, 剥粃糟以为舟, 泛然投乎杯水中, 淡若巨海之洪流’

450 Guo Pu 郭璞(276-324), Poem Series of Youxian 《游仙诗》, the ninth 19首之 9,< <http://data.jxwmw.cn/index.php?doc-view-31030>> original text: 采药游名山。将以救年颓。呼吸玉液滋。妙气盈胸怀。登仙抚龙驷。迅驾乘奔雷。鳞裳逐电曜。云盖随风回。手顿羲和辔。足蹈阊阖开。东海犹蹄涔。昆仑蝼蚁堆。遐邈冥茫中。俯视令人哀。

451 Du Baorui 杜保瑞, *The Philosophy of Zhuangzi* 庄周梦蝶: 庄子哲学 (Taipei: Wunan 五南圖書出版, 2007) p.81 《庄

difference in time, that ‘one day in heaven is one hundred years in mundane world’, is also a part of the Daoist cave-world thought which needs to be mentioned here. A text written in the fifth century talks about a legend of a woodcutter who watched two boys playing chess for a while in Mt. Shishi (which literally means ‘Room-like Stone Cave’) 石室山 in Quzhou 衢州, Zhejiang Province. When he returned home, he found decades had passed and the wooden handle of his axe had rotted: he realized he had encountered immortal beings.<sup>452</sup> People were so familiar with this legend that Chinese chess has a nickname, ‘rotten axe handle’ 烂柯. This name is still widely used today especially in Japan, where this term is usually written on fans by calligraphers as presents for chess lovers. The belief that immortal beings can be encountered occasionally in scenic areas was generally accepted. Thus, the natural cave in the mountains was a Daoist ‘big world’, where immortal beings live, and has been a mysterious attraction for both Daoists and for ordinary people.

## The image of wonderland in mythology and Daoism as the influence of the island-style paradigm in scenic improvement

There are two main landscape settings for mythology in ancient Chinese literature: one is Mt. Kunlun, surrounded by broad rivers that nothing could float on, which was believed to be the high mountain where immortal beings lived; the other comprises the several islands in the Eastern Sea called Daiyu, Yuanqiao, Fanghu (sometimes as Fangzhang and Huliang), Yingzhou and Penglai,<sup>453</sup> where the fairy world exists, with

---

子·齐物论》：昔者庄周梦为蝴蝶，栩栩然蝴蝶也，不知周也。俄然觉，则蘧蘧然周也。不知周之梦为蝴蝶与？蝴蝶之梦周与？

452 Li Daoyuan 鄒道元(466-527), *Shuijingzhu* 《水经注》。晋时有一叫王质的樵夫到石室山砍柴，见二童子下围棋，便坐于一旁观看。一局未决，童子对他说，你的斧柄烂了。王质回到村里才知已过了数十年。

453 Fan Ye 范晔, ‘Biography of Banbiao’, in *Official History of Houhan*, vol.40. 后汉书卷四十上, 班彪列传, 第三十上 <[http://win.mofcom.gov.cn/book/htmfile/30/s11536\\_16.htm](http://win.mofcom.gov.cn/book/htmfile/30/s11536_16.htm)>列子曰：‘海中有神山，一曰岱舆，二曰员峤，三曰方壶，四曰瀛洲，五曰蓬莱。’其中瀛洲和蓬莱之名最为固定，方壶，有时为方丈、壶梁。另两个比较少被提及。

immortal beings and herbs that give immortality.<sup>454</sup> The mythological imagery of these settings played a very important role in the design of landscapes and gardens. Such beliefs prevailed from as early as the fourth century BC,<sup>455</sup> and have continued in the popular imagination since then.

From the late third century BC, powerful emperors like Qinshihuang (259-210 BC) and Hanwu (156-87 BC), made artificial islands which created substitutes for the wonderland in sea they failed to find in reality.<sup>456</sup> There were five or six named islands in mythology; the most popular ones were Penglai and Yingzhou. Emperor Qinshihuang made an artificial pond in Lanchi Palace with water channelled from the Wei River; two islands were created in it and named as Penglai and Yingzhou, representing the two fairy islands of the ancient myth.<sup>457</sup> The Hanwu Emperor also made an artificial lake with four islands, Penglai, Fangzhang, Yingzhou and Huliang.<sup>458</sup> These fashions were very widely followed, not only in later royal gardens<sup>459</sup> of various dynasties but also in scenic improvement of the natural landscape for ordinary people. The Northern Sea Park in Beijing, a royal garden from the thirteenth century, has an island representing Penglai, and the artificial Middle and Southern Sea both also have an island representing a fairy one in the centre (Fig5.1, 5.2). Kunming Lake in Yiheyuan Garden also has islands or pavilions in the centre of the lake representing the three fairy islands (Fig5.3-5.6)<sup>460</sup>.

454 Fan Ye 范晔 (398-445), 'Biography of Banbiao', in *Official History of Houhan*, vol.40. 后汉书卷四十上, 班彪列传, 第三十上 <[http://win.mofcom.gov.cn/book/htmfile/30/s11536\\_16.htm](http://win.mofcom.gov.cn/book/htmfile/30/s11536_16.htm)> 史记曰: '海中神山, 仙人不死药在焉。'

455 Xitai Qing, *History of Taoism* 中国道教史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin 四川人民出版社, 1988) vol.1, p.60 《拾遗记》和《史记》中记载, 齐威王入海求仙

456 Zhou Weiquan 周维权, *Chinese Classic Garden History* 中国古典园林史 (Beijing: Qinghua University 清华大学出版社, 1999) p.45-46

457 Zhou Weiquan 周维权, *Chinese Classic Garden History* 中国古典园林史 (Beijing: Qinghua University 清华大学出版社, 1999) p.45 秦始皇在'兰池宫'引渭水为池, 筑蓬、瀛(《历代宅京记·关中一》)

458 Sima Qian, 'Biography of XiaoWu Emperor of Han Dynasty', in *Shiji*. 《史记·孝武本纪》载: '其北治大池, 漱台高二十余丈, 名曰太液池, 中有蓬莱、方丈、瀛洲、壶梁象海中神山, 龟鱼之属。'

459 for example, Xuanwu Emperor (483-515) of Northern Wei had a lake dug in his royal garden Hualinyun, with Penglai Island inside and the 'Pavilion of Immortal Being' built on; Emperor Suiyangdi (569-618) had a lake dug in his royal garden Xiyuan, with three islands inside to imitate the fairy islands; Emperor Songhuizong (1082-1135) had a waterside building in his garden Genyue named after the fairy islands; Emperor Songgaozong (1107-1187) had three islands built in his Deshou Palace Garden; Emperor Yuanshizu (1215-1294) built Penglai Island in Xiyuan Garden in Beijing; and the later Ming and Qing Dynasties had the royal garden with three islands in three lakes to imitate fairy islands.

460 Duan Baolin 段宝林, JiangRong 江容, *Landscape of China 山水中国* (Beijing: Beijing University 北京大学出版社,



Figure 5.1 The Northern Sea royal garden from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Beijing, has an island representing Penglai (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau)

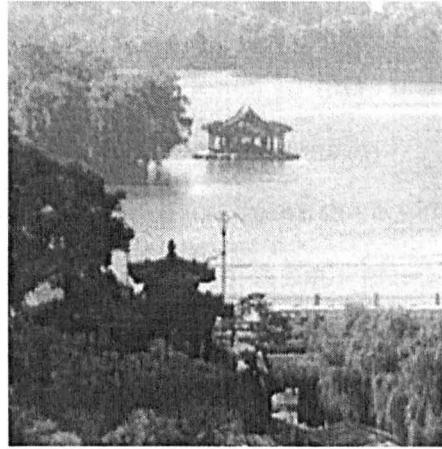


Figure 5.2 The Shuiyunxie Pavilion in Middle Sea royal garden from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Beijing, representing Penglai (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau)



Figure 5.3 the bird eye view of Kunming Lake, Beijing (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau)

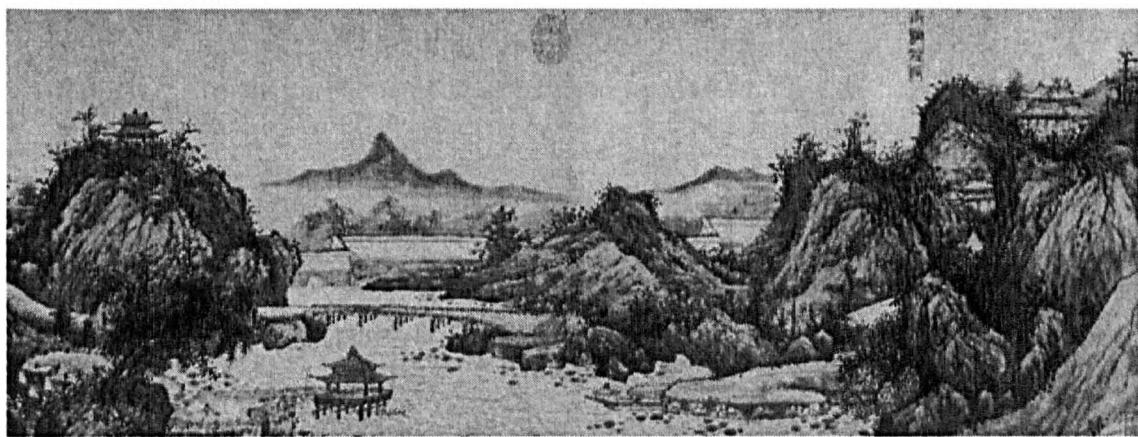


Figure 5.4 view of the island in centre of Kunming Lake, Beijing (source: Beijing Tourist Bureau)



Figure 5.5 the artificial island Little Yingzhou in the West Lake 西湖小瀛洲, Hangzhou, Zhejiang province (source: Hangzhou Tourist Bureau)

Figure 5.6 one of the Eight Landscape Scenes of Yanjing, painting in 15<sup>th</sup> century, by Wang Ba, a illustrating a kiosk in water centre, collection of the Museum of the Capital, Beijing



2005 ) p.56 颐和园昆明湖中有五座岛屿，其中藻鉴堂（一说南湖岛）喻蓬莱、治镜阁喻方丈，凤凰墩喻瀛洲。

The names of places in mythology were also frequently mentioned in literature to describe scenery, which shows their popularity. For example, a fast flowing river was described in a poem of the eighth century: ‘it must have burst from the Kunlun Mountain’,<sup>461</sup>, describing the torrential river pouring down from a high location. Another poem describes the huge waves in the sea as, ‘white waves as high as mountains, seem likely to collapse the island of Peng-Hu’,<sup>462</sup> where the immortal live. Gradually, the image of an isolated island in the centre of a body of water became a landscape archetype that represented the ideal world, a place where no one need worry about their livelihood and where they might enjoy scenery and leisure all the time (Fig 5.7).

Figure 5.7 kiosk in water centre, West Garden, Suzhou, Jiangsu province 苏州西园湖心亭 (source: Suzhou Tourist Bureau)



Belief in shen-xian has also influenced fashions in landscape design in other respects, such as storied buildings and artificial ponds with islands in the centre. It was believed that ‘xian favours living in storied pavilions’ in the first century B.C., when the Emperor Han-wu had such building built in his garden in the capital city in order to attract shen-xian.<sup>463</sup>

Although the artificial islands were designed to represent the fairy islands, there is no

461 Li Bai 李白(701-762), ‘Gongwuduhe’公无渡河, in *Quantangshi [Poetry in Tang Dynasty]*全唐诗, vol.19-2, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Zongjilei 文渊阁四库全书/集部/总集类, ed. by Jiayun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/qts\\_0019.htm](http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/qts_0019.htm)>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 黄河西来决昆仑, 咆哮万里触龙门)

462 Li Bai 李白(701-762), ‘Guyousuosixing’古有所思行, in *Quantangshi [Poetry in Tang Dynasty]*全唐诗, vol.163-16, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Zongjilei 文渊阁四库全书/集部/总集类, ed. by Jiayun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/qts\\_0163.htm](http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/qts_0163.htm)>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 海寒多天风, 白波连山倒蓬壺)

463 Sima Qian 司马迁(135B.C.-90B.C.), ‘Wudi Benji’ [Biography of Hanwudi], in *Shiji [History]*史记, (北京: 中华书局, 1959) vol.4, p.1400 (original words 公孙卿对武帝说‘今陛下可为观, 如缑城, 置脯枣, 神人宜可致也。且仙人好楼居’; 于是武帝下令在长安‘作蜚廉桂观, 甘泉则作益延寿观, ……将招来仙神人之属’)

detailed information about those; the image of an isolated island in centre of a body of water was the only source for the typology, and the detailed design of the islands appears to have been left to the fashion of the times or the taste of the men in charge. The pattern of an artificial lake with one or more islands in it, or of a natural lake with one artificial island, or the development of as a scenic spot on a natural island already present in a lake was very popular and there are many examples.

This island image seems have evolved into a subconscious philosophical thought about the relationship of ideal and reality: the island represents the ideal, and the bank of the lake represents the reality, while water represents the distance, obstacle, or partition between them. This idea was incorporated into traditional landscape painting composition: large areas of water were continuously chosen as a background to support the focus of the landscape, such as an island or buildings, and at the same time to create a sense of boundless, carefree, immortal and deep meditation (Fig5.8, 5.9).

Landscape design inspired by this popular island imagery developed into several styles besides the most familiar naturalistic island style described above, for example in a water court with a building inside like an island (Fig5.10-5.13), dry sea with islands in a Chan garden, a special place surrounded by water, and in the Suiseki in Japan.

The term suiseki means literally ‘water stone’. Suiseki are small naturally formed stones admired for their beauty and for their power to suggest a scene from Nature or an object closely associated with Nature. Among the most popular types of suiseki are those that suggest a distant mountain, a waterfall, an island, a thatched hut, or an animal. The art of suiseki is believed to have originated in China in the sixth century, when emissaries from the Asian mainland brought this style of art to Japan.<sup>464</sup> Suiseki are traditionally exhibited on a carved wooden base or in a shallow tray. When

---

<sup>464</sup> Vincent T. Covello, Yuji Yoshimura, *The Japanese Art of Stone Appreciation: Suiseki and Its Use with Bonsai* (North Clarendon : Tuttle Publishing, 1996) p.15

formally displayed, suiseki are often accompanied by bonsai.<sup>465</sup>

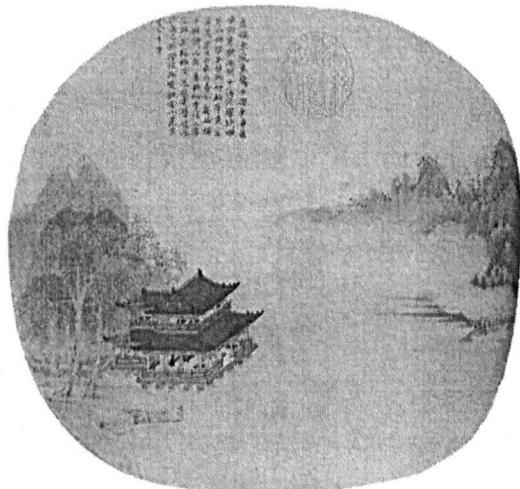


Figure 5.8 painting of *Yulou chunshi tu* 玉楼春思图, c. 12<sup>th</sup> century, ink and colour on silk 宋佚名纨扇绢本, size 24.4cmX25.7cm, collection of the Museum of Liaoning province



Figure 5.9 landscape painting of *Jiangge yuantiao tu* 《江阁远眺图》明 王谔 绢本淡设色 by Wang Er in around 16<sup>th</sup> century, Ming dynasty, size 143.2cmX229cm, ink and colour on silk, collection of the Old Palace Museum , Beijing 北京故宫博物院藏



Figure 5.10 the Mohua Pond and kiosk in Youjun Shrine, Shaoxing, restored in 20th century (photo by the author)



Figure 5.11 water court with kiosk in centre, Wanzhu Garden, Jinan, 16-19<sup>th</sup> century (source: Jinan Tourist Bureau)

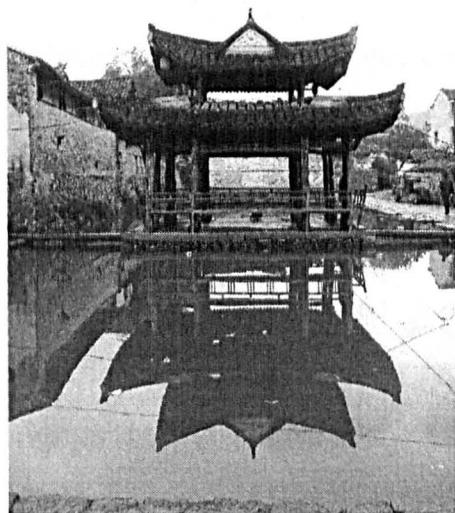


Figure 5.12 the kiosk in water centre used as an opera stage, Heyuan Garden, Yangzhou, 19th century (photo by the author)



Figure 5.13 Furong Kiosk in pond of Furong Village, Yongjia County, 16<sup>th</sup> century (photo by the author)

<sup>465</sup> Vincent T. Covello, Yuji Yoshimura, *The Japanese Art of Stone Appreciation: Suiseki and Its Use with Bonsai* (North Clarendon : Tuttle Publishing, 1996) p.15

A courtyard full of water and enclosed by surrounding verandas or partial walls and with a kiosk in the centre of the yard, seems also evolved from the island image, which translates the informal naturalistic form into a formal shape and display. Such a kiosk in the middle of a water yard provided an ideal venue for drama and opera.

In southern China, there were examples of traditional landscape designs in which the building or a group of buildings are surrounded by an artificial river. This makes such buildings look like an island, as though they are in the centre of a huge body of water, although actually there is only a narrow channel around the building, or just a half enclosed pond in front of the main entrance to create such an island image. This technique is designed to set up a comparison between this place and the idealised wonderland. The surviving examples of this are in temples or schools (Fig5.14), which in traditional times were important places and open to the public. The island imagery created by such designs may also imply the significance of the place and its symbolic meaning.

The island imagery has developed into a style of Chan Garden in Japan, (since there is no surviving example of this style in China, it is not certain whether it originated there although some scholars think so since it was described as ‘Tang-sansu’ 唐山水 , which means ‘Chinese mountains and water’ by the ancient Japanese). This style has dry sea with islands (Karesansu 枯山水), in which the sea is represented by raked gravels imitating waves, and the islands are represented by rocks. Such gardens are not designed for functional use, but for contemplation of their symbolic meaning (Fig5.15).



Figure 5.14 village school, Cangpo, Yongjia, Zhejiang province, first built in 16th -19th century 水嘉苍坡村书院. The building is surrounded by artificial river. (photo by the author)



Figure 5.15 detail of the 'island' and 'water' in dry sea (photo by the author)

## b. Views of Nature in Buddhism and Chan, and their contribution

Another important influence was Buddhism, imported from India during the first century. Buddha's teachings stressed the union between the natural and spiritual worlds; his reverence for sacred mountains, as well as the image of a paradise garden for immortal souls in a Pure Land, fit well into the Chinese philosophical framework.<sup>466</sup>

Buddhism has played an important part in Chinese culture and custom since it was first introduced into China. It had a significant influence on scenic improvement in China because of its own close relationship with natural landscape in its ideas and practices. The art critic and Buddhist layman Zong Bing (375-443) had a theory known as 'Landscape Buddhism', which saw mountains and rivers as scenes of enlightenment, through which Buddhist truth might be embraced. He regarded painted landscapes as 'substitute aids to meditation, icons that conveyed through similitude the spiritual truth to be found in Nature'; In old age, he relied on paintings to generate the experience of the landscape, as 'recumbent travelling', a term signifying 'vicarious journeys through texts and images'.<sup>467</sup> His theory later became influential and was repeatedly cited; landscape and landscape painting was seen as a source of inspiration or as the object of meditation.

Since Buddhism is the name for a family of beliefs and practices, it is important to identify the branch of the main thought that spread through China. It was particularly Mahayana, and the most popular sub-branch of Mahayana in China was Chan,

---

466 Dora P. Crouch, June G. Johnson, *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press US, 2001) p.300

467 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) p.27

especially after the eleventh century. Although it is usually mentioned as one of the three main religions in the world, actually at first Buddhism was mostly seen by Chinese literati as a philosophy, a systematic thought, rather than as a religion.<sup>468</sup> In the Chinese language, Buddhists called themselves ‘disciples of Buddha’, suggesting that their relationship with the Buddha was that of pupils and teacher, rather than god and human as in other religions; the founder of Buddhism Siddhartha Gautama was the ‘fore-teacher’ 祖师, the first man obtained Enlightenment through self-cultivation, but not the God; a senior monk was called a ‘principle teacher’ 法师, while even a child monk was respected as a ‘little teacher’ 小师父. Buddhism states that the universe is an unlimited circulation in which people suffer and are reborn; only the ‘awakened’ ones can relieve themselves from suffering. The ‘awakened’ person is called Buddha, who achieved nirvana (which means a condition without vexation). The word Buddha originally meant ‘the one who awake’ or ‘the enlightened one’. Buddhism mainly focuses on how to ‘awake’. It preaches that every one has the ability to become a Buddha, including all human beings, animals, plants, rocks and any objects.

Chan is the name of the branch of Buddhism which recommends that the best approach to becoming Buddha is to let the mind become enlightened directly from experience rather than trying to understand principles written in canons.<sup>469</sup> Thus, enlightenment from life and the observation of Nature became important. Since the sixth generation of Chan masters in China established the ‘Sudden Awakening’ Branch 顿门, as an evolution of the ‘Long Term Practicing Approach’ 漸门, Chan Buddhism has spread widely all over China and became the dominant Buddhist branch in the country. People, especially literati, were influenced by Chan thought, comprehending the life essence through Nature. Chan is concisely summarized and

468 Youlan Feng 冯友兰, *New Edited Chinese Philosophy History* 中国哲学史新编 (Beijing: People Press 人民出版社出版, 1982) p.209

469 Archive Centre of Chinese People's University, *Chinese Philosophy* 中国哲学 (Beijing: People's University 中国人民大学书报资料中心出版, 1996) p.16 「不立文字, 直指人心」的禪宗法門

praised by D.T. Suzuki 铃木大拙 (1870-1966), a famous modern scholar, ‘Chan is the sea, the mountain, the thunder, the spring flowers, the winter snow... Chan never restricts itself in those historic rituals, principles, or any custom, instead, it focuses on enlightening the mind, (through the natural landscape), in a lively and persistent way.’<sup>470</sup>

## Chan Buddhist thought: the sudden full comprehension of life through metaphors on natural landscape

Instead of principles, rituals or written canons, the lively metaphors on natural landscape were widely used by Chan to teach and enlighten young monks and people. Some of the metaphors were recorded: they are concise, dialectic, and sometimes inexplicable, but always seem inspiring and enlightening in some way. A typical one is: a monk asks, what is the Dao (universal truth, or the approach to it)? The master answers, the big beautiful mountain.<sup>471</sup> Apparently, Chan takes naturalistic scenery as their ‘approach’ to enlighten people and to share the insight of the ‘awakened’ Buddha.

Enlightened people have different levels of ‘mind conditions’, an important Buddhist term written as jingjie 境界 in Chinese, which originates from an ancient Indian word ‘gocara’, which originally meant the place a cattle grazes and walks.<sup>472</sup> ‘Mind condition’ is hard to describe without a metaphor; it has always been explained as

470 Suzuki Teitaro Daisetz 铃木大拙(1870-1966). *The Road to Chan 通向禅学之路* (Shanghai: Guji 上海古籍出版社,1989) p.16. ‘禅宗是大海，是大气，是高山，是雷鸣，是闪电，是春天花开、夏天炎热、冬天降雪，……禅宗并不拘泥于那些来历久远、长期形成的种种形式、习惯及其他一切外在因素，它直指人心，活泼而有生命力。’

471 Buddhist monk Puji (Song dynasty), *The Buddhist collection Wudenghuiyuan*, vol.3, entry of ‘Monster Xingshanweikuan’ 五灯会元(卷三, 兴善惟宽禅师) <[http://www.suttaworld.org/big5-txt/ancient\\_t/wdhy/5-03.htm](http://www.suttaworld.org/big5-txt/ancient_t/wdhy/5-03.htm)> 僧问：‘如何是道？’师曰：‘大好山。’

472 Suzuki Teitaro Daisetz 铃木大拙(1870-1966). *Spirit of Chan 禅风禅骨*, translated by Geng Renqiu 耿仁秋译, (Beijing: Chinese Youth Press 中国青年出版社,1989) p.284. 日本禅学大师铃木大拙的研究，境界之境源于梵文 Gocara，本指牛吃草或走动的场地。牛有吃草的场地，人则有心灵活动的领域。

'just as a man drinks, only he himself knows whether it's hot or not'.<sup>473</sup> A monk in the seventh century pointed out the three stages of his 'mind conditions' through the metaphor of the way in which he perceived scenery. It has been taken as typical statement of the Buddhist stages of awakening and was recorded in the Chan canon: at first, when I was not a Channist thirty years ago, I saw mountain as mountain, river as river; then, when I began to practise Chan, applying Channist understanding to landscape, mountains and rivers appeared to me as not natural landscape, but the application of thought; now, after decades of practicing Chan, I take mountains and rivers as the best place to have a rest, they are what they are once again.<sup>474</sup> This seems like ordinary talk but was praised as the highest Chan intelligence and has been cited frequently since. The most profound Buddhist understanding of natural landscape was metaphorical, reading it as 'a place to rest', which is obscurely inspiring in different levels in the typical Buddhist dialectic. It is concluded that 'Chan never uses abstract words to explain principles, never urges people to indulge in metaphysical thinking',<sup>475</sup> It never describes in detail, never tries hard to persuade, never specifies, it just gives a clue, pointing to the natural landscape, and suggests think by yourself. It is said in Buddhism that people have different comprehending ability and 'mind conditions', that some can get obscure enlightenment through a certain metaphor while others can not. Even though the metaphors are hard to understand, one thing is clear: that the natural landscape is important in practicing, expressing and comprehending Buddhist truth.

Possibly because Chan thought is easy to practice, and the Chan metaphor stories are easy to understand, at least to literally understand, unlike the complicated translated Buddhist canons, it has been widely accepted and spread very fast. Since the ninth

473 Feng Youlan 冯友兰, *Whole Collection of Sansongtang* 三松堂全集, (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press 河南人民出版社, 1985) p.639 当一个和尚问禅师的境是什么时, 禅师最多只能讲'如人饮水, 冷暖自知'

474 Lou Yulie 楼宇烈, *Chinese Buddhism and Humanism* 中国佛教与人文精神, (Beijing: Zongjiaowenhua Chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 2003) p.158 宋·释普济《五灯会元》卷十七‘老僧三十年前未参禅时, 见山是山, 见水是水。及至后来, 亲见知识, 有个入处, 见山不是山, 见水不是水。而今得个休歇处, 依前见山只是山, 见水只是水。’

475 Ikeda, Daisaku 池田大作, *My Views on Buddhism* 我的佛教观 (Chengdu: Sichuanrenmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1990) 一般說來, 禪拒絕用抽象言詞, 拒絕沉溺在形而上學的思考中。

century, Chan has been the most popular Buddhist branch in China. Chan takes Nature as the mirror of psychological activity; Nature by itself is vanity while only psychological activity is reality; natural landscape is the reflection of one's psychology.<sup>476</sup> Thus Nature is viewed as a place to practice Buddhist thinking: to see the reflected image in the mirror in order to see the self, that is, to experience the natural landscape in order to understand and improve oneself. The natural landscape, even a simple thing like a bamboo bush or a luxuriant meadow, is taken as an incarnation of Buddha or reflection of Buddhist principle.<sup>477</sup> As early as in the fifth or sixth centuries, the relationship between the natural landscape and Buddhism has been fully addressed by some famous Buddhist monks, such as Zhi-dun 支遁 (支道林), Hui-yuan 慧远, Dao-sheng 道生 and Seng-zhao 僧肇. The notion that Buddhist principles could be abstracted from the natural landscape or natural phenomena has been stated by Monk Zhi-dun and Monk Hui-yuan. The natural landscape and phenomena, perceived as a manifestation of Buddhist doctrine 法相, has been described in much Channist literature. As Dao-sheng's theory, 'comprehend the truth in an instant to become a Buddha' 顿悟成佛 through the experience of natural landscape has been popular since the fifth century, when natural landscape was viewed as the best aid and the only enlightenment to understand Buddhist truth.<sup>478</sup> Chan reckons that the common basic human capacity is the ability to become Buddha, but it is obstructed by daily mundane desires and not noticed by human themselves. Once a person realizes this he can achieve the same level of 'mind conditions' as Buddha.

Stories recorded in Chan books present the importance of experiencing natural

476 Monk Yinshun 印顺, *History of Chinese Chan* 中国禅宗史, (Nanchang: Jiangxirenmin Chubanshe 江西人民出版社, 1990) 色即是空, 空即是色, 即色悟空。禅宗认为心是真正的存在 (真如), 而把自然看空, 自然成为心相 (心象)。用空观去除一切世俗的情感, 即烦恼、惑。禅宗最激烈地破除偶像崇拜, 以走向自然取代神明思想, 自然作为色相、境界, 是个体解脱的最直观的亲证。

477 Lou Yulie 楼宇烈, *Chinese Buddhism and Humanism* 中国佛教与人文精神, (Beijing: Zongjiaowenhua Chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 2003) p.330 '青青翠竹, 总是法身, 郁郁黄花, 无非般若' (《大珠禅师语录》卷下)

478 Monk Yinshun 印顺, *History of Chinese Chan* 中国禅宗史, (Nanchang: Jiangxirenmin Chubanshe 江西人民出版社, 1990) 第五世纪, 道生法师提出了「顿悟」成佛的主张, 通过对自然现象的顿悟帮助自身证道, 也就是涅槃学, 要求人在山水中顿悟佛理。

landscape. One story about how to learn Chan says, a monk desires to learn Chan quickly and asks a master to give him instruction. The master says: 'Have you heard the sound of the mountain spring? That is the approach.'<sup>479</sup> The answer points to an ordinary scene and reckons it is the only approach for Buddhist truth and the only way for a person to be 'enlightened'. Another story says, when a monk consults a master about the eternal meaning of Buddhism, the master says: 'the stream comes from the valley; nothing can obstruct it from flowing down. Flowers in mountains bloom like golden brocade; this is the appearance of Manjusri Buddha. Birds sing in the forest in their own ways; this is the sound of Kuanyin Buddha. Monk, do you know what makes you contemplate introspectively?'<sup>480</sup> This answer also points to natural landscape as the help to bring up introspection and contemplation which leads to revealing Buddhist truth.

Along with the wide spread of Chan thoughts, this thinking method of Buddhism has been applied to the composition of poetry. Natural landscape was described in order to present a metaphor of philosophical meaning. For example, a poem in the Tang dynasty by a Buddhist nun reveals the process of comprehending Buddhist truth by metaphorizing it as the spring: 'I was seeking for the appearance of spring but failed, searching it in mountains in long walk; my shoes even worn broken; but still nothing turns out; when on my way back, by chance I smelled the faint scent of a plum flower bud, revealing the spring already been around'.<sup>481</sup> It suggests that the Buddhist truth is like the spring, when it is not time, it is impossible to get what you wished, but when you keep on waiting actively, it will reveal itself sooner or later. In this way, all natural landscape and phenomenon are the carriers of Buddhist principles and prompts

479 Monk Daoyuan 道原(12<sup>th</sup> century), *Jingde Chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄, cited by Ikeda Daisak 池田大作 in *My Views on Buddhism* 我的佛教观(Chengdu: Sichuanrenmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社,1990) 一個和尚急於學禪，說：「我才開始參學。請師父慈悲指示禪道。」禪師說：「你有沒有聽到山泉的聲音？」和尚說有。禪師說：「從此入。」

480 Monk Daoyuan 道原(12<sup>th</sup> century), *Jingde Chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄, cited by Ikeda Daisak 池田大作 in *My Views on Buddhism* 我的佛教观(Chengdu: Sichuanrenmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社,1990) 一個和尚請問佛教的最終意義，禪師答道：「溪水流自山間，沒有東西可以阻止它的去路。」然後說：「山花放如金錦。這是文殊師利直接現在你的眼前。「林深處，鳥雀各隨自己的方式唱歌。這是觀世音充滿你的耳朵。」和尚啊！是什麼使你反觀思慮呢？」

481 Lai Yonghai 赖永海, *Chinese Buddhist Culture* 中国佛教文化论(Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe 中国青年出版社, 1999) p.267 唐代比丘尼寻春诗：'尽日寻春不见春，芒鞋踏破岭头云。归来偶拾梅花嗅，春在枝头已十分。'

for comprehension and enlightenment. Buddhism spread all over China and became one of the most dominant systems of thought, including by the mass of ordinary people who actually appreciated the custom of enjoying Nature.

## Location of Buddhist monastery and temples

Buddhists pay a great deal of attention to the environment in which they practice their beliefs. Good scenery was considered helpful for Buddhist self-cultivation, for example when the Monk Yongjia said in his ‘Song of Practicing Buddhism’, ‘go into the deep mountain, and live in a quiet place, how perfect is it!’<sup>482</sup> The various nicknames of Chan monasteries clearly reveal the close relationship they have with the natural landscape: they are usually named ‘Conglin’ 丛林 (written as Vindhyanava in ancient Indian), which means ‘forest’; it is said that this name is to remind people that a Chan monastery has its own principles like a forest, and that the Buddha practiced in a forest before achieving nirvana. A monastery is also usually referred to as ‘shanmen’ 山门, which means ‘gate of a mountain’. These names were used even when the monastery was in a town.

Many records survive from the early period of Buddhism’s growth in China, showing that the local government officers permitted or even helped the monks to build temples in scenic sites. For example, it is recorded that in 384, a monk Huiyuan was helped by Hengyin, the head officer of Jiangzhou, to build a temple in Lu Mountain, a famous scenic place. The site of the temple was in front of a hill, near a valley with a cascade. The building was designed to integrate with the natural environment: the foundation was on natural rocks; the floor spread around and over pine trees; spring

482 ‘Song of Practicing Buddhism by Buddhist Master Yongjia’ 永嘉证道歌, quoted in Wei Chengsi 魏承思, *Chinese Buddhist Culture* 中国佛教文化论稿, (Shanghai: Renmin 上海人民出版社, 1991) p.209 入深山, 住兰若, .....优游静坐野僧家, 阅寂安居实潇洒。

streams surrounded the terrace; and clouds flew inside the room<sup>483</sup>. A biography of the third century about a hermit who was good at designing buildings for scenic sites and was famous for it, mentions that the emperor hired workers for him, and let him cooperate with government officers in the design and building of a temple. They investigated all the scenic sites in the mountains to select a building site. The finished temple was located in beautiful landscape with woods and streams, while the design was wonderful, getting all the benefit of the mountainous scenery<sup>484</sup>.

A biography from the fifth century reveals the process of selecting a location in the mountains for a Buddhist building. The building site was backed by a rock cliff, two streams meandered nearby and it was surrounded by hills. The site plan says, ‘the terrace was built facing the southern hill; the Teaching Hall was constructed leaning against the northern hill; the Channist chambers were located near the cliff; the monks’ bedrooms were arranged along the stream’. The environment was enjoyed and described as ‘facing huge trees of hundreds of years old, smelling perfumes all around, hugging the springs and streams originated from the very beginning of the earth; this is not a mundane world although the place is not far away from town’<sup>485</sup>.

Influenced by Buddhism, some people selected a place near a Buddhist temple in natural landscape to build their holiday house or hermit cottage. For example, the poet and officer Bai-Juyi took several monks as his best friends, climbing mountains with them and setting up a holiday house adjacent to Yiai Temple on Lu Mountain<sup>486</sup>. In

483 Monk Huijiao 釋慧皎(sixth century), ‘Biography of Monk Huiyuan(forth century)’慧遠傳, in *Biographies of Saint Monks 高僧傳* (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1992), p.212. 东晋高僧釋慧遠在晋孝武帝太元九年(西元 384 年)来到庐山,在江州刺史桓伊的帮助下建寺营居,此即为庐山东林禅寺。‘远创造精舍,洞尽山美,却负香炉之峰,傍带瀑布之壑,仍石叠基,即松栽构,清泉环阶,白云满室。复於寺内别置禅林,森树湮凝,石筵落合。凡在瞻履,皆神清而气肃焉。’

484 ‘Biography of Fengliang’ 馮亮传, in *Weishu[History of Wei]* 新校本魏書/列傳/卷九十一列傳第七十八/逸士, vol.90 topic78, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) pp. 1931 (original words 亮既雅愛山水, 又兼巧思, 結架巖林, 甚得栖游之適, 頗以此聞。世宗給其工力, 令與沙門統僧遷、河南尹甄琛等, 周視崧高形勝之處, 遂造閑居佛寺。林泉既奇, 罿製又美, 曲盡山居之妙。)

485 ‘Biography of Xielingyun’ 謝靈運傳, in *Songshu[History of Song]* 新校本宋書/列傳/卷六十七 列傳第二十七, vol.67 topic27, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) pp. 1765-6 (original words 硏其淺思, 罿其短規。非龜非筮, 擇良選奇。翦榛開逕, 穟石覓崖。四山周回, 雙流逶迤。面南嶺, 建經臺; 倚北阜, 築講堂。傍危岩, 立禪室。臨浚流, 列僧房。對百年之高木, 納萬代之芬芳。抱終古之泉源, 美膏液之清長。謝麗塔於郊郭, 殊世間寓城傍。)

486 ‘Biography of Baijuyi’ 白居易传, in *Jiu Tangshu[Old version of History of Tang]* 新校本舊唐書/列傳/卷一百六十六列傳第一百一十六, vol.166 topic116, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun

another case, instead of building his own cottage, a hermit lived his reclusive life in a temple on Kuang Mountain and built a garden nearby named ‘Away from Dirt’.<sup>487</sup>

Many Buddhist monasteries were located in famous scenic sites; the five most influential Chan Monasteries in the thirteenth century were usually referred to as ‘the Five Mountains’ 五山. The Four Famous Buddhist Mountains, Mt.Emei, Mt. Wutai, Mt. Putuo, and Mt.Jiuhua, gained their fame as such by the end of the Tang dynasty, and not only hosted many Buddhist temples and monasteries but were also scenic sites.

Monasteries and temples located in scenic sites were also involved in providing accommodation for visitors and monks to act as guides, according to many travel notes, poetry and diaries. A travel diary from the sixteenth century mentioned that a monk guided him when he climbed Guanyin Mountain and provided him with accommodation at the temple there. Monks led people to some unusual secret views, and to certain temple buildings from which great views could be seen.<sup>488</sup> Contemporary research on the tourism to Huangshan Mountain in the late Ming Dynasty (seventeenth century) reveals many examples of the monks there guiding visitors to the mountain.<sup>489</sup> In a dangerous scenic site, the only approach to the peak was through a tight gap between stones which was only passable when led by local monks.<sup>490</sup> A travel note written in the sixteenth century shows the humour of the climbers and their guiding monk: they agreed beforehand that when approaching very

---

(Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p. 4345 (original words 居易。在溢城，立隱舍於廬山遺愛寺……居易與湊、滿、朗、晦四禪師，為人外之交。每相攜遊詠，躋危登險)

487 ‘Biography of Liu huifei’ 劉慧斐傳, in *Nanshi[History of Nanchao]* 新校本南史/列傳/卷七十六列傳第六十六/隱逸下, vol.766 topic66, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) p. 1902 (original words 游於匡山，遇處士張孝秀，相得甚歡，遂有終焉之志。因不仕，居東林寺。又於山北構園一所，號曰離垢園)

488 Wang Linheng 王臨亨(1548-1601), ‘Travel Notes’志游览.紀行, in *Yuejianbian* 粵劍編(Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982), vol4, p.97. (original text 宦游至韶州觀音山峽山寺,有‘寺僧導余上,入涵碧堂小坐,啟右扉而北度石橋,過綠雲樓’;‘至此則面面芙蓉,高插云漢,石徑窮而游人却步矣。’)

489 Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, ‘Tourism and Commercial Culture in Late Ming: Take Jiangnan as Example’晚明的旅游活動與消費文化——以江南為討論中心, in *International Symposium on ‘Daily Life, Knowledge, and Chinese Modernities’*, ed. by Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, China, November 21-23, 2002 (提及林皎宏,〈晚明黃山旅遊的興起〉,頁 144-145. 黃山僧協助晚明士大夫登臨黃山的例子)

490 Yuan Zongdao 袁宗道(1560-1600), ‘Four Travel Notes of Shangfang Mountain’上方山四記, in *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华, ed. by He Kui 贺葵(Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1998), pp.335-342. (original text 或別有道達顛，不知身當从此度也。前引僧入罅，乃爭趨就之。至此游人如行匣中矣。)

dangerous sites, the monk should laugh to alarm people behind him, so that when his loud laughing was heard along the journey, people were all really terrified.<sup>491</sup>

A travel note about Tiantai Mountain in the seventeenth century states explicitly that the temple where the author himself had food was ‘a place to accommodate the public’; it is also mentioned that the temple had a kiosk for tea.<sup>492</sup> In one case, the tea plantation belonging to a temple was an attraction for people to visit, and two other temples supplied a tea making service and places, such as a pavilion in the woods or by a stream, at which people could enjoy drinking on site.<sup>493</sup> In addition to the supply of food and drink, temples in scenic areas also provided overnight services. In an example from a travel note of the sixteenth century, the author was attracted by one of the local Eight Landscape Scenes, ‘Moon scene of Dragon Gorge’, so he stayed in the nearby temple overnight.<sup>494</sup> Another sixteenth century diary reveals that the author stayed in three different temples for six nights when he visited the same scenic area three times in four months.<sup>495</sup> Another sixteenth century travel diary described how the author spent the night sitting in a temple in the mountains when his bedding was not ready since his luggage had been delayed.<sup>496</sup>

491 Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道(1568-1610), ‘Travel Note of Panshan Mountain’游盘山记, in *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华, ed. by He Kui 贺葵(Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1998), pp.343-348. (original text 先与导僧约, 遇绝险处, 当大笑。每闻笑声, 皆胆落。)

492 Zou Zhiyi 邹之峄(1574-1643), ‘Travel notes of Tiantai Mountain’游天台山纪略, in *Gujin Youji Congchao* 古今游记丛钞第四册卷18〈浙江省〉, ed. by Hu Wentian 胡文田(Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934), vol.18, p.27. (original text 饭于茶亭惠济庵, 庵主惠沾, 接礼甚殷, 庵为接众之所。)

493 Yang Shen 杨慎(1488- 1559), ‘The Travel Note of Diancang Mountain’游点苍山记, pp.55-60 (p.56). (original text 北折入谷口, 观宝林寺山茶。因叩圆海寺, 游茗煮泉, 坐于万松之阴。已乃拄杖下北涧, 渡石关, 至鹤顶寺, 松林萌轩, 泊波在席, 相与趺坐酌酒。)

494 Yang Shen 杨慎(1488- 1559), ‘The Travel Note of Diancang Mountain’游点苍山记, pp.55-60 (p.56). (original text 自龙尾关窥天生桥, 夜宿海珠寺, 候龙关晓月。)

495 Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道(1568-1610), ‘Hushang Zaxu’湖上杂叙, in *Yuan Hongdao Jijian Jiao* 袁宏道集笺校, ed. by Qian Bocheng 钱伯城(Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1981), vol.10, p.438. (original text 浪迹浙江四月余, 其间过西湖凡三次, 湖上住昭庆五宿, 法相、天竺各一宿。)

496 Zou Diguang 邹迪光(1550-1626), ‘Travel Note of Tiantai Mountain’游天台记六首/记二:游天台记, in *Shiqinggeao* 始青阁稿, in *Sikuquanshu Jinhuishu Congkan* 《四库全书禁毁书丛刊》明天启刻本集部第103册, ed. by Wang Zhonghan 王钟翰(Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2000)vol.15, p.5 (他在山中的寺院过夜, 「以行李未到, 无被可覆坐, 夜分始到, 始解衣卧, 卧未几而东方白矣。」)

## Contribution to scenic improvement by Buddhist orders

A prose text from the eighth century points out, talking about an improved stream in a Buddhist temple, that Nature is a resource in which scenery was sought, but most sites were not considered worth visiting until their scenic potential was highlighted and the scenic quality enhanced. Taking a waterhole for instance: it needed to be channelled to make a stream and led to a certain place, so that it could display its best potential and thus be fully appreciated and used.<sup>497</sup> Buddhist orders which were located in scenic sites contributed a great deal towards improving scenery, conserving and keeping it up, as well as supplying accommodation and guidance for visitors.

Most Buddhist orders were keen to cooperate with the government or the local head officers in scenic improvement, which would also benefit them as well as sometimes boosting their friendship with the officers, who usually were literati interested in the natural landscape. A case mentioned in a travel note in the eleventh century describes a small Buddhist temple located in a scenic area which benefited from the fame of the scenery. As with many other examples, it was the local government head officer who initiated the improvement of the scenic area and appointed a monk to stay there and maintain it. At first, only one monk was appointed there, and his temple was just a little hut. But the fame of the scenic site grew, many people visited there and the monk benefited from donations, so his small residence was soon developed into a big temple.<sup>498</sup> This example shows the financial benefit that a religious group which took responsibility for a scenic area could obtain. The financial benefit was possibly one of the main reasons for the religious orders being volunteered to maintain scenic areas.

497 Dugu Ji 独孤及(725- 777), 'Prose of the New Spring in Temple of Huishan Mountain' 慧山寺新泉记(original text 夫物不自美，因人美之。泉出于山，发于自然，非夫人疏之凿之功，则水之时用不广。)

498 Shu Tan(Song dynasty) 宋，舒亶，'Prose of Moon Lake' 《月湖记》，in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.686-7 (湖在州城之西南隅。……其中有桥二，然僻在一隅，初无游观，人迹往往不至。嘉佑中，钱公辅，始新作之。总桥三十丈，桥之东西有廊，总二十丈。廊之中有亭，曰众乐。其深广几十丈，前后有庑左右有室，而又环亭以为岛屿，植花木。于是遂为州人胜赏之地。方春夏时士女相属，鼓歌无虚日。) (亭之南小洲，前此有屋，才数椽，乃僧安定守桥之所。后浸广，今为寿圣僧院)

Usually, a religious order which resided in a scenic area was very keen to build new beauty spots and shelters around their monastery in order to attract more visitors. A case recorded in a travel note of the late eleventh century shows a monk who lived on the mountain taking it upon himself to construct a kiosk which provided a good place for resting, drinking and viewing the distance. As a consequence of this project, the place became a popular excursion destination and was favoured by local people.<sup>499</sup> In another example, the monks asked for advice from the local head officer about the improvement of the scenic site, and also honoured the head officer by asking him to name the scenic spots.<sup>500</sup>

Besides cooperating with the government on scenic improvement, Buddhists were also interested in improving the scenic environment of their monasteries, creating beautiful gardens when possible. Sometimes local head officers helped in the design work. Springs and streams in the mountains were highly appreciated and were improved and designed to integrate with land forms, plants and buildings. A prose text from the eighth century recorded such a scenic improvement designed by a local head officer: a spring was located at the foot of a hill, near a temple; the water feature was designed especially according to the land form to make the best of the spring; two ponds were made to store the water, each pond about the size of three by three meters; a cascade was made; the falling water was then led in artificial channels meandering around the temple complex, surrounding the living rooms of monks, sometimes very close to their beds; the design was praised because the sound of the flowing water made the temple more tranquil.<sup>501</sup>

499 Lu Dian(Song dynasty)宋，陆佃，‘Notes of Shinan Kiosk’《适南亭记》，in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) P757-758 (熙宁十年 1077, 程公出守是邦。与宾客沿鉴湖，上蕺山，以寻将军秘监之迹。未愜公意，有以梅山胜告公者，因至其上望之，曰：此山之佳处也。……其山之僧，契公之意，因高构宇。……暇日与众饮而赏焉。……于是阖州以为观美，而春时无贵贱皆往)

500 Zheng Zhidao (Song dynasty) 宋，郑志道，‘Travel Notes of LiuRuan Cave’《刘阮洞记》，in *Travel Notes of Famous Mountains*《天下名山游记》，ed. by Wu-Qiushi 吴秋士编(Shanghai: Shudian 上海书店出版, 1982), P399 (元佑二年 (1087) 春，乃凿山开道，立亭于其上。环亭夹道，植桃数百本。……明年三月，寺僧报桃盛开，并以其景物求名焉)。

501 Dugu Ji 独孤及(725- 777), ‘Prose of the New Spring in Temple of Huishan Mountain’慧山寺新泉记(original text 深源因地势以顺水性，始双星袤丈之沼。疏为悬流，使瀑布下，……及于禅床，周于僧房，灌注于德地，经营于法堂，潺潺有声、聆之耳清。)

A travel note from the twelfth century described the Buddhist monastery buildings and their designed environment and a water landscape in Baizhang Mountain: a stone beam was located over a small ravine stream, serving as bridge; water fell down through the ravine onto rocks, making rhythmic sounds; the small gate building of a temple was located facing the ravine, with a pond made of stones behind it; another stone beam stride over the pond as a bridge; the west pavilion was the best place for appreciating water landscape, which was located over the junction of two streams and by a pond; water ran into stones, making various sounds and forms, which were the focus of the scenery.<sup>502</sup> The improved natural environment of the monastery was the attraction of the mountain. There are also numerous records of temples or monasteries which were famous for their gardens or planted flowers, especially those not located in scenic sites.

Some religious orders took heritage buildings or historic sites in scenic districts as their residence. The main reason is thought to have been that the fame of the heritage elements could attract more people, as well as the scenery and legends of the site. The contribution of the monks to scenic improvement was not only to conserve heritage and put it to use, but also to integrate a cultural element within the natural scenery of a mountain landscape, making their excursion destinations more attractive and diverse. A tourist note from the Song Dynasty (tenth to the twelfth centuries) about an excursion to a mountain east to a town, described a temple which had previously been the residence of a famous politician of the fourth century. According to this note, some parts of the old building still looked like ruins, but a painting of the famous politician was hung in the abbot's hall as an honour to him.<sup>503</sup> The old building had

502 Zhuxi 朱熹(1130-1200), 'Travel Note of Baizhang Mountain' 百丈山记, *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) pp.143-152 (original text 循蹬而东, 即得小涧, 石梁跨于其上。水皆清澈, 自高淙下, 其声溅溅然。度石梁, 循两崖, 曲折而上, 得山门, 小屋三间, 不能容十许人。然前瞰涧水, 后临石池, 风来两峡间, 终日不绝。门内跨池, 又为石梁, 度而北, 跋石梯数级入庵。独其西阁为胜。水自西谷中循石罅奔射出。阁下, 南与东谷水并注池中, 自池而出, 乃为前所谓小涧者; 阁据其上游, 当水石峻激相搏处, 最为可玩。)

503 Sun Zhi(Song dynasty)宋, 孙枝, 'Travel Notes of the Eastern Mountain' 《东山记》, *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.748 (山中, 路平有屋, 曰蔷薇亭。路出亭中, 斗折百余步, 颓垣败壁突兀于前, 是谓东山国庆院, 晋谢安故居。主僧肃入丈室, 室绘谢安像祀之)

been partly adapted to function as a temple. The monks showed their respect to this ancient celebrity, looked after the historic heritage and at the same time used the celebrity's fame to attract more visitors to their temple. A kiosk was built a hundred steps in front of the entrance of the temple over the path, to attract visitors. According to the name of the kiosk, Rosebush Kiosk, roses were planted there. The heritage and temple became a tourist attraction for the mountain.

A note from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries about the history of a Buddhist temple in another mountain reveals that an old hermit residence of the sixth century was used as part of a temple when it was built in 955. The temple was located by a cliff with a natural cave, which was famous because it had been used as a teaching hall by the hermit in the sixth century.<sup>504</sup> The cave and cliff landscape of the mountain, a legend of an ancient hermit and the Buddhist temple, together made the scenic site a very popular excursion destination.

---

504 Chen Liang(Song dynasty) 宋，陈亮，‘Travel Notes to Puji Monastery in Northern Mountain’ 《北山普济院记》，in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.814 (梁刘孝标弃官居金华北山，今其故居，是为清修院，……结庐紫薇岩，吴会人士多从之学。岩有石室，因以为讲书之堂。周显德二年（955），吴越王始建寺于岩麓。庆历六年（1046），郡守命许归书‘紫薇岩’三巨字，刻于石)

### **c. Views and visions of Nature in Folk tradition**

For the Chinese, the natural world was not something hostile or evil, which had to be 'perpetually subdued by will-power and brute force', but something much more like 'the greatest of all living organisms', thus life could be lived in harmony with it once the principles of it being understood.<sup>505</sup> Natural phenomena were thought of as parts of the whole cosmic pattern in which everything acted and reacted on each other, and linked altogether in certain ways. The cosmos was perceived in wholeness. The unity of human and cosmos, and the thought of comparability between human body and natural landscape have been so popularly accepted. Experimental and observational inductive science was always interpreted by theories and hypotheses of such primitive type.<sup>506</sup>

#### **Nature worship and ideas of comparability between the human body and the natural landscape**

The ancient Chinese based their spiritual experience directly on Nature itself, and comparability between the human body and the natural landscape was popularly accepted. A quotation from the famous book *Huainanzi* of the second century B.C. illustrates attitudes at that time: 'The round head is like the sky, while the feet are like the earth. The Nature has four seasons, wuxing (five basic categories), jiujie (nine solutions), 366 days, while the human body similarly has four limbs, five organs, nine

<sup>505</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 7 part II, ed. by Kenneth G. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) P.91

<sup>506</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.18

apertures (refers to eyes, mouth, and so on), 366 joints. Nature has various weathers like windy, rainy, cold and hot, just as a man has tempers and various moods. Thus, when taking Nature as a reference, the gallbladder is cloud, lungs are air, liver is wind, kidney is the rain and spleen is thunder'.<sup>507</sup> Water has been taken as the blood of the earth and rivers as vessels, ideas which appear frequently in literature of this period.<sup>508</sup> The possible reasons for such ideas has been explained by the German philosopher Sachsse, who suggested that in eyes of peasants, Nature is the best model to follow, and also the best way to express their life.<sup>509</sup> As an agricultural country, ancient China recognised that Nature was an important part of people's life.

It is also necessary to mention that in ancient China medical science shared its principles and canons with Daoism, mainly the Neidanxue 内丹学, one of the main ideas and practices of Daoism. The classical medical book *Huangdineijing* 《黄帝内经》 is also a Daoist scripture, in which medical principles are at the same time a universal perspective and world view: the human body has its circuits and veins for qi (a source of invisible energy), the same as the mountains and the rivers have circuits and veins for qi. Thus, the human body is comparable with the universe, so that stars, directions, seasons, animals, the organs in the human body, colours and everything were all related to each other. Everything could be put into one of the five basic categories which are labelled: gold; wood; water; fire and clay. The universe was symbolized in this way, and everything was related to everything else; disease or

507 Liu An(179-122BCE), *Huainanzi*, vol.7 Jingshenxun 淮南子·精神训, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Zajialei 文渊阁四库全书子部/杂家类, ed. by Jiyun (rprt. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/007-40.htm>> [accessed 20 Oct 2008] (头之圆也象天, 足之方也象地。天有四时、五行、九解、三百六十六日, 人亦有四肢、五脏、九窍、三百六十六节。天有风雨寒暑, 人亦有取与喜怒。故胆为云、肺为气、肝为风、肾为雨、脾为雷, 以与天地相参也。)

508 *Guanzi*, vol.39, Shuidipian 管子·水地篇, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Fajialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/法家类, ed. by Jiyun (rprt. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/管子\(下\).htm](http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/管子(下).htm)> [accessed 20 Oct 2008] (水者, 地之血气, 如筋脉之通流者也。)

similarly, Wangchong(AD27-97) wrote in his book *Lunheng*, vol4. Shuxu, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Zajialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/杂家类, ed. by Jiyun (rprt. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/04-8.htm>> [accessed 20 Oct 2008] 王充在<论衡·书虚>中也说: '天地之有百川也, 犹人之有血脉也。血脉流行, 泛扬动静, 自有节度。百川亦然, 其朝夕往来, 犹人之呼吸气出入也。'

509 Hans Sachsse, *Naturalist Philosophy*, tran. by Wen Tao, Pei Yun (Beijing: Eastern Press, 1991) p.6 [德]汉斯·萨克塞《生态哲学》, 文韬、佩云译, 东方出版社 1991 年版第 6 页: '自然在耕田人的眼里几乎可以说是效仿的榜样, 是阐述人生的模式。'

people's fortune was also considered to be related to the natural objects of the environment, which could be identified beforehand with certain knowledge.

Influenced by Nature worship and ideas of comparability between human body and the natural landscape, natural objects such as mountains, rivers, the earth and the sky have always been believed to have certain divine power, and been offered sacrifices.

Mountains had long been seen as the homes of immortals, close to the heavens.<sup>510</sup>

This custom can be dated as early as three thousand years ago. Even in Confucianism, a number of old Nature-worship practices were included (for example, the Temple and Altar of Sky, Moon, Earth, and so on). Such divine power was thought of as especially linked with the right of the rulers who had been selected to lead their people. Thus, the king offered sacrifices to the large mountains and rivers all over his country while the rulers of various hierarchies respectively offered sacrifices to the large mountains and rivers within the boundary of their feudal territories.<sup>511</sup> Selected mountains were named by emperors as Five Sacred Mountains, and have since developed into famous scenic and historic sites. In Nature-worship practices, the worship of the earth, water bodies and mountains were the most popular.

The earth was associated with producing and regenerating, for example, the book *Liji* written before the third century B.C. reveals that 'the earth bears everything, so that people make a living on it; the sky shows omens and indications, so that people draw principles from it; thus people should respect the sky and love the earth'<sup>512</sup>. The word 'earth' in Chinese was originally explained as 'the bottom, which means the base of everything',<sup>513</sup> and as the verb 'release, which means the earth is the place where

<sup>510</sup> Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Kwang-ching Liu, *Cambridge illustrated history of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.162

<sup>511</sup> 'Wangzhi' 王制, in *Liji* 礼记, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Lilei 文渊阁四库全书经部/礼类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/003-2.htm> > [accessed 25 Apr 2008] (original text 《礼记》记载:‘天子祭天下名山大川,’与此同时‘诸侯祭名山大川在其地者。’)

<sup>512</sup> Wang Qifa 王启发, *Lixue Sixiang Tixi Tangyuan* [Origins of Lixue Thoughts] 礼学思想体系探源, (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 2005) p.24 《礼记·郊特牲》说:‘地载万物, 天垂象, 取财于地, 取法于天, 是以尊天而亲地也, 故教民美报焉’

<sup>513</sup> 'Shidi' [Explain the Earth] 释地, in *Erya With Notes* 尔雅注疏, vol.7 topic9 卷七·释地第九, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/小学类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) in Chinese Historic

everything is released from,<sup>514</sup> The gods of earth were collectively called ‘She’ 社<sup>515</sup>, which includes gods of field, gods of mountain and gods of water bodies. As a higher parallel to the emperor’s court, it was also regarded as the Queen Earth 后土 and the sky as the Emperor Sky 皇天. Since the sixth century BC, gods of earth, ‘She’ 社, have been worshipped and sacrificed to.<sup>516</sup> The sacrifice day of ‘She’ was usually in spring and autumn around the equinox. On that day, neighbours congregated under a big tree, offered wine and food as a sacrifice to ‘She’, then ate and drank the sacrifice food.<sup>517</sup> The celebration of the sacrifice day of ‘She’ has evolved as a kind of carnival since the tenth century. The original sacrifice practice has been left aside and only the custom of celebration followed. People celebrated the spring She day as a wine festival when the new wine of the year was brewed,<sup>518</sup> and the autumn She day as a thanksgiving festival for the harvest, giving each other cakes, wines and feasting.<sup>519</sup>

The mountains and rivers were regarded as divine, since the clouds, wind and rain

---

Literature Database <<http://www.guoxue123.com/jinbu/ssj/ey/011.htm>>[accsssed 22Apr2008] ‘地，底也，言其底下下载万物也。’

514 ‘Shidi’ [Explain the Earth] 释 地 , in Chinese Historic Literature Database <<http://www.guoxue123.com/jinbu/ssj/ey/011.htm>>[accsssed 22Apr2008] ‘土，吐也，吐生万物也。’

515 Tang Zhongwei 唐仲蔚, ‘Origin and Functions of the Land God and its Evolution’试论社神的起源、功用及其演变, *Nationalities Research in Qinghai 青海民族研究*, 2002(3) 古时所祭‘社神’, 包括‘社官’、‘公王’、‘土地’、‘山神’、‘龙神’等。

516 Li Xiusong 李修松, ‘Lishe yu Fenfeng’ [the Setting up of She and Feudalism]立社与分封, in *Academic Journal of Anhui University 安徽大学学报*, 1992(2) pp. 64-67 《说文》: ‘社, 地主也。’《周礼·大司乐》: ‘五土之总神也, 即谓社。’地神又被称为‘后土’。《礼记·郊特牲》说: ‘社祭土而主阴气’因此, 地神也被称作‘社’神。在商周时代, 社神具有十分重要的地位。《书·召诰》叙述周成王建设东都时‘乃社于新邑’, 在洛邑立社。‘祈年孔夙, 方、社不莫’(《诗·云汉》), ‘以我齐明, 与我牺羊, 以社以方’(《诗·甫田》)。郊祀社稷: ‘古者天子夏亲郊祀上帝于郊, 故曰郊。’古代在郊外祭天或祭地, 曰郊祀。社为土神, 稷为谷神。

517 Zong Ling 宗澧(501-565), ‘Seasons and Festivals of Jing-Chu’荆楚岁时记, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书*, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.sinology.cn/book/3/02-lib/01-zg/03-guoxue/%E5%8F%B2%E9%83%A8/%E5%85%B6%E4%BB%96/%E8%8D%86%E6%A5%9A%E5%B2%81%E6%97%B6%E8%AE%B0/jcssj.htm>> [accessed 25 Apr 2008]. (original text 社日, 四邻并结综会社牲醪, 为屋于树下, 先祭神, 然后飨其胙。)

518 Du Fu 杜甫(712-770), ‘Zao Tianfu Niyin Mei Yanzhongcheng’ [Persuaded Drinking by Tianfu] 遭田父泥饮美严中丞, in *Quantangshi Poetry in Tang Dynasty*全唐诗, vol.219,topic26, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Zongjilei 文渊阁四库全书/集部/总集类*, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/qts\\_0219.htm](http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/qts_0219.htm)>[accessed 25 Apr2008] (original text 田翁逼社日, 邀我尝春酒)

Zhang Yan 张演(ninth century), ‘Sheri’ [The day of She Festival] 社日, in *Qianjiashi Poetry of a Thousand Poets with New Annotations*千家诗新注, ed. by Wang Qixing and others 王启兴等 (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1981) p.20 (桑柘影斜春社散, 家家扶得醉人归)

519 Meng Yuanlao 孟元老(12th century), *Dongjing Menghualu* [Memory of the Eastern Capital] 东京梦华录 (Jinan: Shandong Youyi Chubanshe 山东友谊出版社, 2001) vol.8 ‘秋社’曰: ‘八月秋社, 各以社糕、社酒相馈送。’

were observed being generated from there.<sup>520</sup> High mountains were also regarded as being close to heaven and possibly the place where gods live.<sup>521</sup> Ancient people worshiped mountains and rivers because they were believed to be in charge of rain which was important to agriculture.<sup>522</sup> Mountain and river worship, especially its practice by emperors and governments, promoted the exploration of mountainous landscape and the forming of a hierarchical system of famous mountains. The hierarchy of the mountains was a parallel of the hierarchy of the government of the time: five high mountains in four widely separated locations and one in the centre of the country were selected for the emperor to offer sacrifice to; the country comprised nine administrative divisions, and each had a mountain in its area as its special mountain, called ‘zhen’, which means to protect this area from evil; the local leader offered sacrifice to the local ‘zhen’ mountain.<sup>523</sup> Many mountains were selected as ‘zhen’ for their area, forming a system. About 451 such mountains and their sacrifice practices were recorded in the fourth century.<sup>524</sup> These Mountains were adapted and improved for easier access, and later became famous for their scenery. For example, the Mt. Tai, which was one of the five sacred mountains selected as places for emperor to offer sacrifice, has been famous for its scenery and has been a tourist attraction since 219 BC, when the Emperor Qin-shihuang climbed up to the peak, an

520 ‘Jifa’ 祭法, in *Liji* 礼记, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Lilei 文渊阁四库全书经部/礼类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/021.htm>>[accessed 25 Apr2008] (original text 山林川谷丘陵, 能出云, 为风雨, 皆曰神。)

521 Ding Shan 丁山, *Zhongguo Gudai Zongjiaoshenhua Kao*[Investigation in Chinese Ancient Religious Myth]中国古代宗教神话考 (Shanghai: Wenyi Chubanshe 上海文艺出版社, 1988) ‘崧高维岳, 峻极于天, 维岳降神, 生甫及申’(《诗经 大雅 嵩高》)‘姜, 大岳之后也, 山岳则配天.’(《左传 庄公二十二年》)

522 Chen Zhidong 陈志东, ‘Yindai Ziranzhaihai yu Yinren Shanchuanchongbai’ [Natural Disasters and the Worship of Mountains and Rivers in the Yin Dynasty] 殷代的自然灾害与殷人的山川崇拜, in *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* [Research on World Religions] 世界宗教研究, 1985(2) 在商代, 山神称‘岳’, 卜辞中常见人们向‘岳’求年, 人们祈求祭祀于‘岳’的目的十分明确, 是为了得雨保丰收。河神信仰在商周时代也相当流行。人们信仰河神, 是因为人们相信河神控制着水, 影响着人们的生产和生活以至生命。殷周人的祭河活动也不少。《诗·时迈》: ‘怀柔百神, 及河乔岳。’《诗·般》: ‘於皇时周, 厥高山, 墾山乔岳, 兮犹翕河。普天之下, 褒时之对, 时周之命。’

523 ‘Zhouguan’ 周官, in *Liji* 礼记, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Lilei 文渊阁四库全书经部/礼类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/021.htm>>[accessed 25 Apr2008] (note: 天下之山川按照帝王公侯的祭祀分了若干等级。当时全国九州, 每个州都有自己的镇山)

‘Wangzhi’ 王制, in *Liji* 礼记, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Lilei 文渊阁四库全书经部/礼类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/003-2.htm>>[accessed 25 Apr2008] (original text 《礼记》记载: ‘天子祭天下名山大川, 与此同时’诸侯祭名山大川在其地者。’)

524 Guopu 郭璞(276-324), *Shanhaijing* [ Records of Mountains and Seas] 山海经, ed. by Bi Yuan 毕沅, (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1989)

altitude of 1545 meters, to sacrifice to the sky. The mountain was adapted for easy access to the peak, steps were chiselled into the rocks, and kiosks for rest were set up. As legends recorded in the first century BC show, even one thousand years before that time, many mountains including Mt. Tai had already been identified as places to meet gods or to learn immortal skills from gods by ancient clan leaders.<sup>525</sup> These early sacrifice practices actually promoted the fame of the scenery of the mountains and helped adapt them as tourist attractions. After a long period, the original Nature worship belief became less strong amongst the populace, and was only occasionally practiced by emperors as a rite. However, the mountains involved had been improved for easy access, provided with facilities for rest and became famous as tourist attractions with both natural landscape and plenty of historic cultural heritages.

### **Site selection practices described as Fengshui: Nature as a symbolic system for indicating fortune**

Site selection is an issue that was first recorded more than 2500 years ago. A poetry collection of the fifth century BC described how the forefather of the Zhou nation, Gongliu, led his people, looking for a suitable place to build up their residences: the rivers were observed and the topography of the site and its relationship with the sun direction were all carefully considered.<sup>526</sup> A text dated to the same time also recorded that Taibao was commanded by the King Zhouchengwang to make a survey and site selection for the new capital city Luoyang.<sup>527</sup> Taibao has been respected as the fore-

<sup>525</sup> Suchun Zheng, *Daojiao Xinyang: Shenxian yu Yishi* [Belief of Daoism: Shen-xian and Rituals] 道教信仰: 神仙与仪式 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan 台湾商务印书馆, 2002)p.158 (original text 中國華山、首山、太室、泰山、東萊，此五山黃帝之所常遊，與神會。黃帝且戰且學仙。)

<sup>526</sup> Zhongshen Huang, *Annotation of Shijing* 诗经选注 (Taipei: Wunan 五南圖書出版, 2002) p.519 《诗经》，描写周人的祖先公刘，率领族人四处寻找理想的定居环境：笃公刘，既溥既长，既景乃冈，相其阴阳，观其流泉。

<sup>527</sup> Cheng Jianjun 程建军, Kong Shangpu 孔尚朴, *Fengshui and Buildings* 风水与建筑 (Nanchang: Jiangxi Keji 江西科学技术出版社出版, 1992) p.4 周成王迁都洛阳时，又请太保召公去选择地形。据《尚书·周书·召诰》记载。

teacher of all fengshui masters since. Fengshui practices were frequently mentioned in historic literature. For example, the local Gazette of Wenzhou published in the late Ming Dynasty recorded that the site of Wenzhou town was first selected in 323 by Guopu (276-324), a scholar who was renowned for his fengshui book *zangjing*.<sup>528</sup>

Fengshui theory was based on the same principles upon which the ancient Chinese dealt with their natural environment. It reflected their view of Nature. It was based on several ancient Chinese philosophies: the idea of ‘oneness of human and Nature’ or the comparability of Nature and the human body, the theories of yin-yang, wuxing (literally means five categories) and qi.

The idea of ‘the oneness of human and Nature’ considers humankind as echoes of Nature’s principles, natural phenomena reflecting humanity’s destiny. Thus Nature, for example animal habits and the natural landscape were keenly observed in order to draw principles which might reveal humanity’s destiny. The book *Yi*, which contains the basic theory of feng-shui, was written in this way.<sup>529</sup> The contour of the location site of a settlement or residence was believed to be related to the destiny of its residents. For example, a location with high land on the western side was called lu-land, which was an omen that the residents would be prosperous and respected; a location with high land in front and lower land at the back was called chu-land, which was an omen of bad luck; a location with high land all around and lower land in the centre was called wei-land, which was an omen that the residents would be rich at first then poor, and so on.<sup>530</sup> Due to these principles, a wei-land or chu-land was never selected as a building site for a traditional residence. The names of these lands are the

528 Cheng Jianjun 程建军, Kong Shangpu 孔尚朴, *Fengshui and Buildings 风水与建筑* (Nanchang: Jiangxi Keji 江西科学技术出版社出版, 1992) p.4 据明嘉靖所修(温州府志>记载温州城址便是郭璞在晋明帝太宁元年(323)选定的, 他考察了瓯江南北的土壤、水流、山势, 最后确定选址于江南山口。

529 ‘Xici’系辞(下), in *Zhouyi/The Book of Change* 周易, in Jingbu Yilei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/经部/易类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinsheguan, 1986)<[http://guji.artx.cn/Article/695\\_699.html#](http://guji.artx.cn/Article/695_699.html#)>[accessed 27 Apr 2008] (original text 古者包牺氏之王天下也, 仰则观象于天, 俯则观法于地, 观鸟兽之文与地之宜, 近取诸身, 远取诸物, 于是始作八卦。)

530 Daoist Ruoguan 箴冠道人(18th century), *Bazhai Mingjing 八宅明镜* (Beijing: Hualing 华龄出版社, 1995) 凡平地曰「梁」土, 後高前下曰「晉」土, 西高東下曰「魯」土, 居之富貴出賢人。前高後下名「楚」土, 居之凶。四面高中央下名「衡」土, 居之先富後貧!

same as the names of the kingdoms around the eighth to third centuries B.C. A contemporary researcher has pointed out that these feng-shui principles may have been formed in that period and were calculated from the fate of each kingdom and the geographical contours of its capital city.<sup>531</sup>

An essential theory of fengshui is yin-yang, which literally means the opposition of two opposed forces, yang and yin, and might originally have referred to the contrast between sunlit and the shadowed areas. A balanced yin and yang force was considered to be perfect.<sup>532</sup> Any opposed things can be described as yin or yang. For example, female, softness, earth, night, dark, stasis and bitterness are considered as yin, while male, hardness, sky, day, brightness, dynamism and happiness are considered as yang. Yin is usually signified by a broken line ‘- -’, yang as a line ‘—’. Yin-yang was used to explain natural phenomena<sup>533</sup> and the state of health of a human body<sup>534</sup>. An earthquake or a disease was usually considered as the consequence of an ‘imbalance of yin and yang force’. A natural place with too much yin or yang force was considered unsuitable for people to live or stay.

Another basic term of feng-shui is wuxing, which literally means ‘the five basic categories’. It divides everything into these five basic categories, named gold, wood, water, fire, and clay. Examples are shown as follows. These five categories have relationships which are supportive, neutral or obstructive to each other. For example, wood is supportive to fire, gold is obstructive to wood, and clay is neutral to wood. Everything and every phenomenon can be explained in terms of the relationship of the

531 Feng Wang, *Zhongguo Fengshuiwenhua Shiwu Quanshu* [Chinese Fengshui Culture and Practice] 中国风水文化实务全书 (Beijing: Keji Wenhua Chubanshe 科技文化出版社, 2005) p.1693 後代眾多關於地形吉凶的風水理論，即源自春秋、戰國時代。由於當時周室式微，造成各地諸侯像齊、楚、秦、燕、魯、陳、晉、越、吳、韓、趙、魏…等國紛紛自立…因各國建城的地貌，每個國家都不太相同，而在「地形」、「地貌」的差異下，各個國家的「際遇」與「富強程度」，也各不相同！…於是，這現象給予後世風水專家，一個活生生的「範本」與想像空間，並據以制定住宅「地形高低」的吉凶理論。

532 Mou Zongsan 牟宗三, Lu Xuekun 廬雪崑, *Zhouyi Zhixue Yanjianglu* [Proceedings on the Phylosophy of Zhouyi] 周易哲學演講錄, (Taipei: Lianjing Press 聯經出版, 2003) p.93 《易經、繫辭》：一陰一陽之謂道

533 for example, a big earthquake happened in ancient time was explained as the consequence of ‘the suppressed yin and yang’ and recorded in contemporary account. 周幽王時，中國發生了一場罕見的大地震，《國語》解釋其原因乃： 陽伏而不能出，陰迫而不能蒸

534 Chinese traditional medical theory based on yin-yang. Any illness or unhealthy condition could be explained in reasons of unbalanced yin-yang.

five basic categories, for example, the change of dynasties, or the selection of a building site. The wuxing theory was promoted by the Confucians at first<sup>535</sup> and the theory was recorded in Confucian canon *Liji*,<sup>536</sup> which had a great influence on people later.

Table 3. The five categories

	directions	tastes	colors	animals	Body organs	seasons
Wood category	east	sour	green	sheep	liver	spring
Fire category	south	bitter	red	chicken	heart	summer
Clay category	centre	sweet	yellow	ox	stomach	
Gold category	west	spicy	white	dog	lung	autumn
Water category	north	salty	black	pig	kidney	winter

Qi is a concept commonly used to refer to the essential element of a living being; it was believed that 'with qi, there is life; without qi, there is death'.<sup>537</sup> Laozi even stated that 'everything has qi and yinyang'. Qi is usually used in feng-shui to describe the natural environment, and the term literally means vigour.<sup>538</sup> It is believed that qi disappears when there is wind and lingers when there is water. In order to make qi linger and stay under control, a suitable balance of wind and water in the environment is required.<sup>539</sup> Feng-shui, which literally means wind-water is the theory to deal with

535 Chen Yikui 陳怡魁, Zhang Mingyang 張茗陽, *Shengcun Fengshuixue [The Origin of Chinese Fengshui]* 生存风水学 (Taipei: Yixueyanjiu Jijinhui 易学研究基金会, 2000)p.372 根據荀子的說法, 認為, 當時「五行說」的盛行, 儒家的倡導是主要原因, 《荀子》一書曰: 子思、孟子按往事造說, 謂之五行! 《國語》: 王(周朝帝王)以土與金、木、水、火五行, 以成百物!

536 'Liyun' 禮運, in *Liji* 禮記, in Jingbu Lilei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/經部/禮類, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)< <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/007-1.htm> >[accessed 27 Apr 2008] (original text 人者, 其天地之德, 陰陽之交, 鬼神之會, 五行之秀氣也。故天秉陽, 垂日星; 地秉陰, 窪於山川; 播五行於四時, 和而后, 月生也; 是以三五而盈, 三五而闕, 五行之動, 迭相竭也。五行四時十二月, 還相為本也; 五聲六律十二管, 還相為宮也; 五味六和十二食, 還相為質也; 五色六章十二衣, 還相為材也, 故人者, 天地之心也, 五行之端也, 食味別聲被色, 而生者也。)

537 'Shuyan', *Guanzi*, original text: '道之在天者, 日也; 其在人者, 心也, 故曰: 有氣則生, 無氣則死, 生者以其氣。'(<管子·枢言>)

538 *Laozi*, vol.42, original text: '老子'道生一, 一生二, 二生三, 三生万物, 万物负阴而抱阳, 冲气以为和。'(<老子>第四十二章)

539 Zhong Jintian 钟进添, *Kanyudajian: Zangjing Yanjiu [Research on the ancient book of Geography Investigation: Zangjing]* 勘舆大鉴: 勘舆古籍葬经研究(Taipei: Chuangyi 創譯出版社, 1982) p.16 气乘风则散, 界水则止, 古人聚之使不散, 行之使有止, 故谓之风水。(晋郭璞《葬经》)

this. The basic feng-shui rule for a proper location in Nature is a place with access to a body of water, such as a pond or river, with no direct wind. Water landscape is considered to be the most important element.<sup>540</sup> Without it, even a place with the best land contour is considered unlivable.<sup>541</sup> Water is believed to be the generator of qi,<sup>542</sup> with rivers as its path.<sup>543</sup> Wind is usually blocked by hills around, and an ideal location must have mountains to its back, lower hills to its sides, a river in front or to its side, and remote hills in front of it.<sup>544</sup> Many of the traditional buildings in scenic sites which survive were built in such locations, suggesting the popularity of feng-shui.

Feng-shui criteria have been used to assess the quality of a natural landscape; a place with bad or improper feng-shui was not considered suitable to stay in, otherwise disease or bad luck would be incurred. For example, a book was written in the time of the Ming Dynasty about the criteria for water bodies; the shape of a river, the depth of it, the flow speed of the current, the relationship of the river with the site, were all thoroughly considered.<sup>545</sup> The best river shape was meandering<sup>546</sup>; while the best

540 Wang Qiheng 王其亨, *Fengshui Lilun Yanjiu [Research on Fengshui Theory]* 风水理论研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin University Press 天津大学出版社, 1982) p.9 ‘风水之法,得水为上,藏风次之’(《葬经》), ‘水深处民多富,水浅处民多贫’(《管氏地理指蒙》), 由此可见, 水在风水学的地位之重要

541 Wang Qiheng 王其亨, *Fengshui Lilun Yanjiu [Research on Fengshui Theory]* 风水理论研究, p.55 ‘未看山,先看水,有山无水休寻地,有水无山料可载’(《三元地理水法》)。‘山旺丁,水旺财,只见山峰不见水,各为孤寡不成胎,’(《堪舆漫兴》)

542 Youqian Gao, 高友谦, *Zhongguo Fengshui Wenhua[Chinese Fengshui Culture]* 中国风水文化,(Beijing: Tuanjie Chubanshe 团结出版社, 2004)p.33 ‘气者,水之母;水者,气之子’(《水龙经·气机妙运》); ‘夫阴阳之气,噫而为风,升而为云,降而为雨,行于地中而为生气’(《葬经》)

543 Kang Wu 吴康, *Zhongguo Shenmiwenhua Cidian[ Encyclopaedia of Chinese Mythology]* 中国神秘文化辞典(Haikou: Hainan Chubanshe 海南出版社, 1993) p.548 ‘气随水而走,故送脉必有水’; ‘气行则水随,而水止则气止’(《发微论》)

544 Kang Wu 吴康, *Zhongguo Shenmiwenhua Cidian [Encyclopaedia of Chinese Mythology]* 中国神秘文化辞典, p.561 《阳宅十书》中所描述的理想居住应为: ‘左青龙,右白虎,前朱雀,后玄武’避风的环境是靠山势来形成, 山高而巍峨者, 称为‘后龙’, 后龙之后的山脉称为‘来龙’或‘祖山’, 祖山必绵绵蜿蜒, 方显生气勃勃。左右宜有小山护卫合抱, 称‘龙砂’。‘后龙’正面还要有远山对景, 称为‘案山’ 或‘朝山’。山峦叠嶂, ‘负阴抱阳’, 草木方显旺盛, 乃为‘瑞气葱茏’的徵兆。

545 Feng Wang, *Zhongguo Fengshuiwenhua Shiwu Quanshu [Chinese Fengshui Culture and Practice]* 中国风水文化实务全书, p.795 由于水流的弯曲缓急千变万化, 风水家也将水比做龙, 明代道士蒋平阶《水龙经》说是专门讲水系形势与择地之关系的, 其汇总了上百种关于住宅的吉凶水局。取舍水的标准, 主要是以水的源流和形态为依据, 水飞走则生气散, 水深处民多富, 浅处民多贫, 聚处民多稠, 散处民多离。《水龙经》亦认为, 凡「反飞水」、「反跳水」、「重反水」、「反弓水」一类的地形均为凶地, 不利于生养居住。认为水要屈曲, 横向水流要有环抱之势, 流去之水要盘桓欲留, 汇聚之水要清净悠扬者为吉; 而水有直冲斜撇, 峻急激湍, 反跳倾泻之势者为不吉。

546 Bosong Xiang, 向柏松, *Zhongguo Shui Chongbai[Worship of Water in China]* 中国水崇拜 (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian 三联书店, 1999) p.262-4 风水学中追求「曲则贵吉」理念源远流长。正如宋黄妙应《博山篇·论水》中所说:「洋洋汪汪, 水格之富。弯环曲折, 水格之贵。」蒋平阶《水龙经》亦曰:「自然水法君须记, 无非屈曲有情意, 来不欲冲去不直, 横须绕抱及弯环。」「水见三弯, 福寿安闲, 屈曲来朝, 荣华富绕。」总之, 对水流的要求是要「弯环绕抱」, 讲究「曲则有情」, 因为「河水之弯曲乃龙气之聚会也。」(《阳宅撮要》)

location by a river was a site inside a bent river<sup>547</sup>. A site on the outside bank of a curved river was inauspicious. This principle can also be applied to judge the location of a site by a road.

Natural landscape was not viewed as a simple physical environment, but a source of powerful effects. To the ancient Chinese, plants, hills and water bodies were not only natural landscape, but also a symbolic system which was relevant to daily life. Feng-shui theory has been used widely dealing with the natural environment, assessing the quality of landscape and improving it in terms of its criteria. It has had a great influence not only on the selection of building sites, but also the design of buildings and gardens, and even city planning. There are many cases showing this. For example, the gate of a traditional quadrangle residential building was usually at the south-eastern corner or the north-western corner, rather than on the axis, in order to conform to feng-shui theory. The royal garden in early twelfth century Genyue (which literally means ‘a hill at north-east direction’) is recorded as being planned and designed according to feng-shui theory. According to feng-shui, the north-eastern direction influences the prosperousness of offspring; the higher the land in that direction, the more prosperous. Since the royal family wanted to have male offspring, they selected the north-east corner of the capital city to build a garden, which was designed by the emperor Song-huizong himself. The garden was mainly mounded with rocks to embody the theme of mountainous landscape.<sup>548</sup> As for the location of a settlement, feng-shui theory suggests that there should be water bodies south of it, and hills or mountains to the north.<sup>549</sup> This principle was applied to most traditional cities and

547 Cheng Jianjun 程建军, *Cangfengdeshui: Fengshui yu Jianzhu [Fengshui and buildings]* 藏风得水: 风水与建筑 (Beijing: Dianying Chubanshe 电影出版社, 2005) p.94 《堪舆泄秘》曰:「水抱边可寻地, 水反边不可下。」所谓「欲水之有情, 喜其回环朝穴。水乃龙之接脉, 忌乎冲射反弓。」即是河流弯曲成弓形的内侧之处, 其基地为水流三面环绕。这种形势称为「金城环抱」。风水学中又称其为「冠带水」, 是风水水形中的大吉形势, 民宅前的半月形风水池由此衍出。

548 Zhang Hao 张淏(13th century), *Genyueji* [About Genyue Garden] 艮岳记, in *Zhongguo Lidai Mingyuanji Xuanzhu* [Historic Garden Notes with Annotations] 中国历代名园记选注, ed. by Zhi Chen 陈植 (Hefei: Anhui Keji Chubanshe 安徽科技出版社 1983), p.57 艮岳记记载宋徽宗刚登上皇位时, 没有皇子, 于是询问擅长风水的堪舆家, 言‘京城东北隅, 地协堪舆, 但形势稍下, 倘少增高之, 则皇嗣繁衍矣。’八卦中东北方为‘艮’, 据《易经》, ‘艮’与子孙宗族的兴旺相关。

549 Xixian Yu 于希贤, *Fatianxiangdi: Zhongguo Gudai Renjuhuanjing yu Fengshui* [Immitation of Sky and Earth: Chinese Ancient Residential Environment and Fengshui] 法天象地: 中国古代人居环境与风水 (Beijing: Dianying Chubanshe 电影出版社, 2006) p.121 古人认为东、西、南、北四方各有一神, 分别是青龙、白虎、朱雀、玄武。南方之神是朱雀, 朱雀属火, 所以城南必须有水, 以水克火。北方之神是玄武, 玄武属水, 因而城北必须有山, 以山压水。

towns. The Forbidden City in the capital city was even built with an artificial river to the south and an artificial hill to the north.

An environment with proper feng-shui was considered to be able to supply proper qi for people, which would promote prosperity. Because of this, people were keen to visit scenic sites, which were seen as having good feng-shui and natural qi, and they were keen to improve their residential environment in a feng-shui favoured way, such as planting or gardening. The garden design book, *Notes of Courtyard Making* 《作庭记》, written in the twelfth century in Japan, reveals the influence of feng-shui thought on the planting design of a residence. It says that the ideal residence should have a river to its east side and if not, nine willow trees should be planted there; to the west side, there should be a road, if not, plant seven Chinese catalpa to substitute; to the south, there should be a pond, if not, plant nine cherry bays; to the north, there should be a hill, and if not, plant three Chinese junipers.<sup>550</sup> Particular trees were treated as substitutes in certain school of feng-shui to make a place perfect. Planting was considered important aspect because it was believed that ‘good luck follows flourishing flora’.<sup>551</sup> It was explained that ‘plants are the coat or feather of a residence since they are helpful in protecting the qi and preventing cold wind’; ‘without proper planting, a residence seems like a naked man or a bald bird’.<sup>552</sup> According to feng-shui theory, trees should be planted around a settlement or a residence to fill in empty space; too thick planting causes suffocation, while too thin will leave it too windy.<sup>553</sup>

550 Shiqing Zhang 张十庆, *Zuotingji Yizhu yu Yanjiu [Translation and Research on the Janpanese Ancient Garden Book Zuotingji]* 作庭记译著与研究(Tianjin: Tianjin University Press 天津大学出版社, 2004) 《作庭记》‘树事’载: ‘在居处之四方应种植树木, 以成四神具足之地。经云: 有水由屋舍向东流为青龙。若无水流则可植柳九棵, 以青龙。西有大道为白虎, 若无, 则可代之以七棵楸树。南有池为朱雀。若无, 则可代之以九棵桂树。北有丘岳为玄武。若无丘岳, 则可植桧三棵, 以代玄武。如此, 四神具备, 居此可保官位福禄, 无病长寿。’

551 Wenheng Yang 杨文衡, *Yixue yu Shengtai Huanjing[ Yi and Biological Environment]* 易学与生态环境 (Beijing: Zhongguoshudian 中国书店, 2003) p.224 风水理论认为‘草木郁茂, 吉气相随’、‘木盛则生’、‘益木盛则风生也。’

552 Chuanyou Guan 关传友, ‘Fengshui Lilun dui Zhongguo Chuantong Yuanlin de Yingxiang’ [Influences of Fengshui Theory on Traditional Gardens]风水理论对中国传统园林的影响, *Academic Journal of Wanxi College* 皖西学院学报, 2001(1), in Chinese Thesis Database 中国论文下载中心<<http://studia.net/dilidizhi/060413/08431919.html>>[accessed 28 Apr2008] 消《宅谱尔言·向阳宅树木》详尽阐述: ‘乡居宅基以树木为毛衣, 盖广陌局敝, 非林障不足以护生机, 溪谷风重, 非林障不足以御寒气。故乡野居址树木兴旺宅必兴旺, 树木败宅必消乏。大奕林大兴, 小奕林小兴, 苛不栽树木如人无衣, 鸟无毛, 裸身露体, 其保温暖者安能在欤……惟其草茂木繁则生气旺盛。护阳地脉, 斯为富贵坦局。’

553 Chuanyou Guan 关传友, ‘Gudai Fengshulin Tanxi’ [Investigation on Geomantic Forest in Ancient China]古代风水林探析, in *Agricultural Archaeology* 农业考古, 2002(3), in Chinese Thesis Database 中国论文下载中心 <[http://www.101ms.com/lunwen/lxue/dizhi/200704/lunwen\\_23874\\_2.html](http://www.101ms.com/lunwen/lxue/dizhi/200704/lunwen_23874_2.html)>[accessed 28 Apr2008] 清林枚《阳宅会心集》卷

Particular trees were recommended by feng-shui theory for planting at particular locations: for example, locust trees planted in front of the central gate is an omen of good fortune; an elm tree planted at the back of a residence prevents evil; jujube trees planted in front of the gate are an omen of good income, and so on.<sup>554</sup> Such principles have been widely followed and may be seen in many surviving traditional settlements.

## Festivals with vestiges of ancient Nature worship and outdoor customs of these festivals

Many Chinese festival celebrations involving activities such as picnicking, climbing mountains, admiring the moon and playing games by rivers, can be seen as vestiges of ancient Nature worship practices. This table shows the festivals, their date and their associated celebration activities.

Table 4. Traditional festivals and their associated celebration activities

Festival	Date (traditional calendar)	Celebration activities
Renri 人日	Seventh day of first month	Climbing mountain
Shangyuan 上元	Fifteenth day of the first month	Playing with lanterns and light
Shangsi 上巳	Third day of the third month	Waterside games, bathing in river
Hanshi 寒食	A day in the third month	Picnicking (cold food) excursion
Duanwu 端午	Fifth day of the fifth month	boating

上‘种树说’载：‘于（村落）背后，左右之处有疏旷者则密植以障其空’、‘稀薄则怯寒，过厚则苦热，此中道理，阴阳务要冲和。’

554 Chuanyou Guan 关传友, ‘Fengshui Lilun dui Zhongguo Chuantong Yuanlin de Yingxiang’ [Influences of Fengshui Theory on Traditional Gardens] 风水理论对中国传统园林的影响, *Academic Journal of Wanxi College* 皖西学院学报, 2001(1), in Chinese Thesis Database 中国论文下载中心<<http://studa.net/didizhi/060413/08431919.html>>[accessed 28 Apr2008] 消高见南《相宅经纂》：‘东种桃柳，西种梔榆，南种梅枣，北种柰杏’、‘中门有槐富贵三世，宅后有榆百鬼不近’、‘宅东有杏凶，宅北有李，宅西有桃皆为淫邪’、‘门前喜种双枣，四畔有竹木青翠则进财。’

Zhongqiu 中秋	Fifteenth day of the eighth month	Admiring the moon, climbing mountain
Chongyang 重阳	Ninth day of the ninth month	Climbing mountain

Primitive Nature worship practice declined although some of the rites and customs continued in use. Deeply influenced by Confucius, who ‘insisted on the rites of sacrifice as if the god was real (or here)’,<sup>555</sup> but denied to talk about gods or any supernatural power<sup>556</sup> and believed that the understanding of universal truth was based on the observation of Nature<sup>557</sup>, people went on celebrating all the ancient sacrifice days and festivals, sticking to the old customs, without observing their ancient meanings. So early Nature worship lost its original religious meanings as time passed, and evolved into festivals which had lost their religious significance.

Riverside games and bathing in Shangsi festival and the mountain climbing custom in Chongyang festival have been very popular since as early as the second century BC; the riverside bathing in spring to pray for luck and health was also described as an old custom from the Zhou dynasty (eighth century BC).<sup>558</sup> The purpose of these activities was said by the literature of the time to be ‘to avoid evil and bad luck’.<sup>559</sup> The traditional activities of the custom were followed later, but the intention of ‘avoiding evil’ was not often mentioned. There is a great deal of poetry reflecting such customs later, but nearly all of it speaks of the customs as a tradition to follow as an enjoyable

555 ‘Bayi’八佾, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.3, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/03-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 祭如在, 祭神如神在)

556 ‘Shuer’述而, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol. 7, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/07-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 子不语怪力乱神)

‘Yongye’雍也, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol. 6, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/06-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 敬鬼神而远之)

557 ‘Yanghuo’阳货, in *Lunyu [the Confucain Analects]* 论语, vol.17, in Jingbu Sishulei of Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) < <http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/17-1.htm>>[accessed 15 Apr2008]( original words 天何言哉, 四时行焉)

558 Zheng Xuan(AD127-200), *Annotation of Zhouli*. 《周礼·春官·女巫》: ‘女巫掌岁时祓除衅浴。’郑玄(127-200)注: 岁时祓除, 如今三月上巳如水上之类。衅浴谓以香薰草药沐浴。

559 Liu Xin ( 53BC-AD23), *Xijing zaji [Notes of Western Capital]*. 刘歆《西京杂记》云:‘三月上巳, 九月重阳, 士女游戏, 就此祓禊登高’《后汉书·礼仪上》: ‘是月上巳, 官民皆絜(洁)于东流水上, 曰洗濯祓除去宿垢疢为大絜。’

recreational activity. For instance, the poem *ascending Mt. Qi on the ninth day* by Du Mu (803-853), describes a good view when the author climbed the mountain with friends, drank on the site and picked bunches of chrysanthemums; he then says that this is a custom from old times though still very popular in his own day.<sup>560</sup>

When the original meaning of a festival's customs was lost or not retained in memory for too long, people explained it in different ways later on. A typical example is the Shangyuan Festival. People celebrate the first full moon night of a new year, playing with lanterns outdoors or on the outskirts of towns. The origin of the festival and the custom is unclear, but records about it can be traced back to the third century BC, long before religious Daoism or Buddhism appeared in China. The explanations of it are various: a book from the tenth century explains it as a Daoist festival, the birthday of a Daoist god;<sup>561</sup> a book of the twelfth century says it was the day when a Daoist god blessed the world;<sup>562</sup> another book from the twelfth century suggests that the lantern custom came from the tradition of sacrificing the ancient god Taiyi in the second century BC;<sup>563</sup> in the sixteenth century, a historian insisted that the lantern custom came from Daoist tradition;<sup>564</sup> there is also an explanation of it as a tradition from the third century, when the Emperor Han-mingdi commanded people to celebrate a Buddhist festival;<sup>565</sup> and so on. Actually the festival has been celebrated by people

560 Du Mu(803-853), 'ascending Mt. Qi on the ninth day', in *New Edition of 300 Tang Poetry*, ed. by Ma Maoyuan (Changsha: Shushe, 1985) p375 唐 杜牧(803-853)的《九日齐山登高》江涵秋影雁初飞, 与客携壶上翠微。菊花须插满头归。但将酩酊酬佳节。古往今来只如此。等句

561 Qirong Luo, Renxuan Yang, 罗启荣, 阳仁煊, *Zhongguo Chuantong Jieri [Traditional Chinese Festivals]* 中国传统节日 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1986) p.61 《岁时杂记》记载说, 这是因循道教的陈规。道教曾把一年中的正月十五称为上元节, 七月十五为中元节, 十月十五为下元节, 合称'三元'。汉末道教的重要派别五斗米道崇拜的神为天官、地官、水官, 说天官赐福, 地官赦罪, 水官解厄, 并以三元配三官, 说上元天官正月十五日生, 中元地官七月十五日生, 下元水官十月十五日生。这样, 正月十五日就被称为上元节。

562 Zonglian Zhou, 周宗廉, Hualing Li, 李华玲, *Zhongguo Minjian de Shen [Gods in Folk Beliefs]* 中国民间的神 (Changsha: Hunan Chubanshe, 1992) p.4 南宋吴自牧在《梦粱录》中说: '正月十五日元夕节, 乃上元天官赐福之辰。'

563 Zhu Bian 朱弁(1085-1144), *Quyou Jiwen* 曲洧旧闻 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guangling Gujikeyinshe 江苏古籍广陵刻印社, 1990) p.59 上元张灯, 自唐时沿袭汉武帝祠太一自昏至明故事。

564 Xia Rixin 夏日新, *Changjiangliuyu de Suishi jieling [Festivals in Changjiang River area]* 长江流域的岁时节令(Wuhan: Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 2004) p.30 郎瑛(1487-1566)《七修类稿》认为上元张灯起于东汉的道教。

565 Xu Jieshun 徐杰舜, *Hanzu Fengshushi [Custom History of Han]* 汉族风俗史 (Taibei: Xuelin Chubanshe 学林出版社, 2004) p.181-2 元宵张灯与东汉明帝时佛教传入东土有关。东汉时, 蔡愔从印度求得了佛法, 摩腾竺法兰东来传教, 汉明帝敕令正月十五佛祖神变之日燃灯, 并亲自到寺院张灯, 以示礼佛。据《僧史略》载, 佛祖释迦牟尼示现神变、降伏群魔是在西方 12 月 30 日, 即东土正月十五日, 为纪念佛祖神变, 此日需举燃灯法会。东汉明帝为提倡佛教, 便下令在元宵节, 不论士族庶民, 一律挂灯, 以表示对佛教的尊敬和虔诚。

without concerns of what it celebrated, but instead just enjoying the leisured atmosphere and the custom of celebration.

Nearly every Chinese festival custom involves one or more leisure activities taking place in settings of natural landscape, such as having a picnic on a meadow for Qingming, drinking wine alongside a stream for Shangsi, boating for Duanwu, launching lanterns in rivers for Zhongyuan, admiring the moon and having outdoor feasts for Zhongqiu, climbing mountains for Chongyang, and so on. According to the abundant literature which mentions these festival outdoor activities, they have been treated mostly as leisure activities, whatever the original intention of the festivals might have been. Many scenes of people crowded into scenic areas on the outskirts of towns during various festivals have been recorded since the third century.<sup>566</sup> A poem from the eighth century describes the crowded riverside scenic area around Shangsi Festival, saying that ‘it is more crowded than the market or the roads in the city centre; all your acquaintances who haven’t met in years are encountered here’.<sup>567</sup>

Climbing up mountains or hills to have a view was a common activity in many traditional festivals, such as Renri, Zhongqiu and Chongyang. According to a book written in the sixth century about folk customs, climbing mountains on spring days has been popular since remote ages and the custom was the same all over the country.<sup>568</sup> The original reasons for climbing mountains in certain season and festivals might be various. But although the original motifs had faded and been lost for a long

---

566 Xia Rixin 夏日新, *Changjiangliyu de Suishi jieling* [Festivals in Changjiang River area] 长江流域的岁时节令(Wuhan: Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 湖北教育出版社,2004) p.102 唐梅尧臣诗《湖州寒食陪太守南园》写郊外游春的盛况

Nie Ronghua, Wan Li, 聂荣华, 万里, *Huxiang Wenhua Tonglun* [Custom and Culture of Huxiang] 湖湘文化通论(Changsha: Hunan University Press 湖南大学出版社, 2005) p.455 杜甫《清明诗》描写唐代大历五年长沙清明节游春的热闹场景: ‘着处繁华矜是日, 长沙千人万人出。渡头翠柳艳明媚, 争道朱蹄骄毗膝。’

567 Liu Jia 刘驾(eighth century), *Shangsiri*[Day of Shangsi Festival]上巳日, in *Tangshi Fenlei Dacidian* [Encyclopaedia of Poetry in Tang Dynasty in Categories]唐诗分类大辞典, ed. by Ma Dongtian 马东田, (Chengdu: Sichuan Cishu Chubanshe 四川辞书出版社,1992) P.364 上巳曲江滨, 喧于市朝路。相寻不见者, 此地皆相逢。

568 Zong Ling 宗懔(501-565), ‘Seasons and Festivals of Jing-Chu’荆楚岁时记, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinsuguan, 1986) <<http://www.sinology.cn/book/3/02-lib/01-zg/03-guoxue/%E5%8F%B2%E9%83%A8/%E5%85%B6%E4%BB%96/%E8%8D%86%E6%A5%9A%E5%B2%81%E6%97%B6%E8%AE%B0/jcssj.htm>> [accessed 19 Mar 2007]. (original text 春日登临, 自古为适。但不知七日竟起何代, 桓温参军张望, 亦有正月七日登高诗, 近代以来, 南北同耳。)

time, the pure scenic value was still fully appreciated and words about the pleasure of enjoying scenery often appeared in all kinds of records, travel notes, poetry and prose. It was never recorded as a competitive sport or a religious ritual, but a leisure activity taken for pleasure as a social habit. The pleasure in climbing mountains, enjoying the views and the festival atmosphere was frequently presented in literature. Take Tiger Hill near Suzhou as an instance: In the Ming dynasty, it was a beauty spot which was frequently visited. During Zhongqiu festival, it was especially crowded, day and night,<sup>569</sup> when the marvellous view and various events were enjoyed there. One travel note written at the end of the sixteenth century even recorded a singing contest on top of the hill which was set up extemporaneously and involved thousands of people.<sup>570</sup>

## Scenic improvements influenced by outdoor leisure customs

A good view seen from a high place was keenly sought after and also frequently reflected in poetry, travel notes, prose and landscape paintings. Many poems were composed describing the views seen from man-made terraces in the mountains.<sup>571</sup> The custom of ascending to a terrace to have a good prospect was so popular that as early as the sixth century BC, a crowded scene was described as having ‘the same crowdedness as a mountain terrace in spring’<sup>572</sup>. The custom of ascending and

569 Zhang Dai 张岱(1597-1676), ‘Middle Autumn Night in Tiger Hill’虎丘中秋夜, in *Taoan Mengyi* 陶庵梦忆, vol.5, 1644 <<http://www.langsong.net/lstd/wxshk/htm/oem/gd/sw/taoan/070.htm>> [accessed 19 Mar 2007]. (original text 自生公台、千人石、鹅洞、剑池、申文定祠下, 至试剑石、一二山门, 皆铺毡席地坐, 登高望之, 如雁落平沙, 霞铺江上。)

570 Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道(1568-1610), ‘Note of Tiger Hill’虎丘记, in *Huqiu Shantu Yiwen*, ed. by Chen Menglei 陈梦雷, Gujin Tushu Jicheng Fangyu Huibian Shanchuandian 欽定古今圖書集成/方輿彙編/山川典/第 95 卷/虎丘山部--藝文一(Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934) vol.95

571 There are nearly 500 poems in Tang Dynasty with the word ‘tai’(platform or terrace for viewing scenery) in title, for example: Li She 李涉(Tang Dynasty), ‘Moon Scene in Middle Autumn Night Viewed from Terrace of Junshan Mountain’中秋夜君山台望月, in *Quantangshi* 全唐詩, ed. by Cao Ying and Peng Dingqiu 曹寅、彭定求(Yangzhou: Yangzhou shiju, 1707) <<http://qts.zww.cn/#>> [accessed 28 Mar 2008] (大堤花里錦江前) beside these, there are also numerous poems describing the view from high place of mountain, for example, ‘the melody of Mt. Lu sent to Mr. Lu’ by Li Bai(登高壮观天地间, 大江茫茫去不还李白《庐山谣寄卢侍御虚舟》)

572 Laozi, *Daodejing* 道德经(二十章), in *Wenhuayuan Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.renlong.com.cn/?action-viewnews-itemid-889>> [accessed 28 Mar 2008] (众人熙熙, 如登春台。)

viewing has been kept along with the celebration custom of ancient festivals, such as Renri, Zhongqiu and Chongyang. A case of making a terrace on a hill as a viewing site was recorded in the fifth century: 'On the peak of Anren Hill near Shouzhang Town, a terrace was made by Dongping King of Wei (around the third century) as a viewing and congregating site for climbers. There are words chiselled by the king on the stone cliff showing this'.<sup>573</sup> Nowadays, in nearly every scenic area there are surviving ancient terraces or raised platforms. Terraces in mountains have been taken as beauty spots, places with extraordinary views which attracted people to visit.

Scenic sites were not only excursion resorts for the public, but also a spiritual retreat for the literati class seeking inspiration from Nature. The remote scenery of high peaks and deep woods was always pursued, just as reclusive streams and strange stones were always a great attraction.<sup>574</sup> A famous landscape painter and theorist of the twelfth century has pointed out that water is the basic and most important element of mountain scenery, which to the mountain is as blood to a human body, for without it, the mountain is not alive.<sup>575</sup> This perspective retains vestiges of ancient Nature worship and seems comparable to the old words mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Water landscape takes various forms in mountains, such as springs, streams, cascades or ponds. Integrated with various land forms and environment, they function as a visual focus, no matter whether in a landscape painting or a real scenic area.

The folk poetry which survives from before the sixth century BC includes many rhymes which describe waterside scenery,<sup>576</sup> evidence of the popular appreciation of

573 Zong Ling 宗懔(501-565), 'Seasons and Festivals of Jing-Chu'荆楚岁时记, (original text 魏东平王翕。七日登寿张县安仁山。凿山顶为会望处。刻铭于壁。文字犹在。铭云。正月七日。厥日为人。策我良驷。陟彼安仁)

574 Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元(773-819), 'Travel Note of Xishan Mountain'始得西山宴游记, in *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华, ed. by He Kui 贺葵(Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1998), pp.53-55 (p.53) (original text 日与其徒上高山, 入深林, 穷回溪, 幽泉怪石, 无远不到。)

575 Guo Xi 郭熙(1023-1085), 'Theory about Landscape Painting'林泉高致/山水训, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu* 文渊阁四库全书集部, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.guoxue.com/jibu/wenlun/shihuad/shy\\_006.htm](http://www.guoxue.com/jibu/wenlun/shihuad/shy_006.htm)> [accessed 19 Mar 2007] (original text 山以水为血脉, 以草木为毛发, 以烟云为神采; 故山得水而活, 得草木而华, 得烟云而秀娟。水以山为面, 亭榭为眉目, 渔钓为精神。故水得山而娟, 得亭榭而明快, 得渔钓而旷落, 此山水之布置也。)

576 The folk songs in *Shijing*, for example '关关雎鸠, 在河之洲。' '河水洋洋, 北流活活。' '汝水滔滔。行人婳婳。' '泉源在左, 淇水在右。' '淇水悠悠, 桧柏松舟。' '坎坎伐檀兮, 置之河之干兮, 河水清且涟漪'都是<诗经>中收集

waterside settings at that time. Visiting river sides, enjoying games and drinking alcohol at the water's edge on beautiful spring days has long been popular. Scenes of people crowded along streams, having picnics, picking flowers and enjoying views were also recorded.<sup>577</sup>

The custom of waterside praying appears to have developed gradually, as early sources mention scenery and play in some detail while the prayer rituals are not mentioned much at all. A typical example to show waterside recreation customs and the related scenic improvements is the drinking game. It is also known as the game of 'drifting goblets in meandering brook', in which goblets are set adrift in a meandering brook, when they stop, the participant who sits nearby would drink the wine and perform an act or sing a song, improvise a poem, or similar, to entertain the party. The origin of this activity may be connected with the prayer ritual of the ancient festival Shangsi;<sup>578</sup> although the form of it has been handed down through the ages and is still practiced today, the ritual meaning has long been lost. At least as early as the Han dynasty (second century BC to the third century AD), imperial members, aristocrats and the populace were all involved in spring excursions to watersides, according to the literature of that time.<sup>579</sup> During their waterside visits, people also played games, drank wine and picnicked to enhance their enjoyment. It is recorded that the emperor Wei Mingdi (205-239) in the early third century had a channel carved out of a rock in his garden so that he might play this drinking game without leaving his own palace.<sup>580</sup>

The author of a prose text from the fourth century asserts that indulging in the natural

---

的民谣。

577 Li Binghai 李炳海, 'the descriptions of picnics in Shijing' 《诗经》野餐画面及其历史演变, in *Literary Heritage* 《文学遗产》, 2004(2) pp15-20. (《郑风·溱洧》 漆与洧，方涣涣兮。士与女，方秉蕑兮。女曰观乎？士曰既且。且往观乎？洧之外，洵訏且乐。维士与女，伊其相谑，赠之以勺药。)

578 In Japan, there is ancient pray ritual still performed, which looks similar to the Chinese goblet flowing game, which might be the evidence of the connection between.

579 For example, the history books at that time *Hanshu*, *Shiji*, and the poetry collection *Hanyuefu*, etc. 《汉书》《史记》《汉乐府》等

580 There are two historic literature resources recording this, 'Lizhi' in *Songshu*[*History of Song in Southern and Northern Dynasties*], and *Lidai zhajing ji*[*the capital cities of all dynasties*]. 魏明帝时，在御苑天渊池甫置石为流杯渠以供禊饮(《宋书·礼志》) 《历代宅京记》中引《宋书·礼志》曰：‘魏明帝时，于天渊池南设流杯沟，宴群臣’。陆机云，天渊池南之古沟，引御沟之水，池西积石为禊堂’(《历代宅京记》)。

landscape is the best kind of recreation: ‘there are high mountains with flourishing forest and bamboo, and streams with fast running currents around us. The weather is good with a clear sky and soft wind. The natural world is grand with so many varieties of vegetables and animals, where my eyesight is free and swimming like a fish; my mind is free like a galloping horse. This is the most excellent recreation, which is absolutely joyful.’<sup>581</sup> His description continues to the drinking game played at the water edge, and indicates that in order to play the game they dug a small curving canal.<sup>582</sup> The reason for constructing the sinuous channel was to create a more intimate setting where participants could space out along the channel so that when the goblet stopped at a corner, the person sitting nearest had to drink it. This is possibly the earliest evidence of people adapting riversides for recreational purposes, and this drinking game has had much more influence on landscape adaptation and improvement since then.

Playing near a stream in late spring continued to be very popular between the fourth and seventh centuries. A sixth century source noted: ‘around the third day of the third lunar month, people all come outdoors to the waterside, to play the game of drifting goblets and drink wine’<sup>583</sup>. This activity was originally encouraged by superstitions originating in Nature worship, because it was thought to enhance good luck and avoid evil things, while the river was used for bathing as a symbol for washing away bad luck and wickedness, but as shown in the sixth century source, by that time the custom had evolved from an ancient ritual to a conventional recreational pastime. Since then, such recreational activity has become more popular. During the seventh and eighth centuries such picnics and excursions were described in poems as very busy scenes without any reference to the traditional ritual, focusing only on landscape views and social events. For example, ‘with beautiful ladies playing on the watersides;

581 Wang Xizhi 王羲之, Preface of Lanting Compositions 兰亭集序, (此地有崇山峻嶺, 茂林修竹, 又有清流激湍, 映帶左右. 天朗氣清, 惠風和暢, 仰觀宇宙之大, 俯察品類之盛, 所以游目騁懷, 足以極視聽之娛, 信可樂也。)

582 Wang Xizhi 王羲之, Preface of Lanting Compositions 兰亭集序 (引以为流觞曲水, 列坐其次, The ‘Preface Prose of Lanting Meeting Composition’)

583 *Seasons and Festivals of Jing Chu* 《荆楚岁时记》 (三月三日, 四民並出江渚池沼間, 臨清流, 為流杯曲水之飲)

<sup>584</sup> the riverside is full of boats berthing, with large numbers of horses tied up around kiosks near the river.<sup>585</sup> These poems also mention that landscape features such as kiosks had been established near the river to accommodate public recreation.

Between the fourth and the thirteenth century, many buildings were named ‘pavilion of drifting goblet’, ‘hall of drinking game in front of river’ or ‘kiosk of drifting goblet’,<sup>586</sup> while some artificial ponds in gardens were referred to as ‘pond of drifting goblet’.<sup>587</sup> References to these buildings occur both in royal gardens and in popular public scenic areas.<sup>588</sup> One poem from a series about twelve views of Mt. Sheng in the early ninth century describes a scenic hill, showing ‘the canal for drifting goblet game’ as one of the twelve best scenic spots. The other scenic spots were: the valley with hidden moon, the crag with bamboo bush, the couch-like natural rock, the Accommodating Clouds Kiosk, the valley with plum woods, the place with peach woods, a shallow pond, a peak with tea bushes, the zigzagged terrace, and a spring.<sup>589</sup> Unfortunately, the 20 word poem does not provide any further information than that the speed of the water in the canal was as fast as a flying arrow and that it was full of drifting goblets, which may indicate that it was a popular recreational place.

A travel note written in the seventeenth century describes how a flat big stone located in centre of a valley stream was imagined as a place where immortal beings sit to play

<sup>584</sup> Du Fu 杜甫(712-770), ‘Lirenxing’ 丽人行: ‘三月三日天气新, 长安水边多丽人’。

<sup>585</sup> Shen Quanqi 沈佺期(seventh century), ‘Sanri duzuo Huanzhou siyi jiuyou’ [Sitting alone in Huanzhou on the third day remembering old leisure days] 《三日獨坐驩州思憶舊游》, in *Quantangshi* [Whole Collection of Tang Poetry] 全唐诗, vol.97, 卷 97\_28: ‘两京多节物, 三日最遨游’, ‘无亭不驻马, 无浦不横舟’。

<sup>586</sup> The many examples are 魏晋萧绎在江陵湘东苑之禊饮堂、南朝建康华林园的祓禊亭、流杯亭和清徽堂的流化渠、天泉池的禊堂、隋炀帝时宫苑中流杯殿, 《长安志》所载唐代御苑内流杯亭名‘临渭亭’, 现今朝鲜庆州的新罗城内, 留有建造年代相当于中国唐朝的流杯亭——鲍石亭, 五代吴郡南园的流杯亭, 《洛阳名园记》载董氏东园和赵氏小隐园中都建有流杯亭, 宋代韩世忠故园传觞亭。曲流或人工渠边所建亭、堂、殿等建筑, 从其命名中可见, 与临水浮杯饮宴的活动密切相关。关于隋炀帝时流杯殿, 《太平御览》卷 275 载: ‘流杯殿东西廊殿南头两边皆有亭子, 以间山池。此殿上作漆渠九曲, 从陶光园引水入渠。’

<sup>587</sup> The many examples include 长宁公主宅园流杯池、南宋杭州南园有流杯池、罗浮山一处溪谷景点名流杯池等。

<sup>588</sup> The many examples include 唐朝九华山流觞池, 北宋河南登封嵩山崇福宫泛觞亭(现存最早的有关流杯亭的实物), 北京故宫乾隆花园内的禊赏亭、中南海的流水音、恭王府花园内的泼秋亭和潭拓寺的老虎亭, 河北遵化汤泉有转杯亭, 浙江临海东湖有流杯亭, 安徽滁州醉翁亭内有意在亭。

<sup>589</sup> Wei Chuhou 韦处厚(r.780-840), ‘Twelve Poems of Mt. Sheng’ 盛山十二诗·流杯渠, in *Quantangshi* [Whole Collection of Tang Poetry] 全唐诗, vol. 479 全唐诗卷 479\_8 (激曲萦飞箭, 浮沟泛满卮。将来山太守, 早向习家池。十二景为: 隐月岫, 流杯渠, 竹岩, 绣衣石榻, 宿云亭, 梅谿, 桃坞, 胡卢沼, 茶岭, 盘石磴, 琵琶台, 上士瓶泉)

the floating goblet game and drink; the scenic spot was therefore named ‘Floating Goblet Pond’.<sup>590</sup> The naming of the scenic spot and the story associated with it shows the popularity of the game.

A diary dating from 1088 reveals in further detail how an official built such a kiosk on a suburban riverside. ‘It is spring. The monks who lived there invited me to name some of the scenic spots. ... When we arrived at the foot of a south faced hill we found a giant rock suitable to be the foundation of a kiosk. I planned a kiosk there, adjacent to a stream. Since the relics of setting which people played “floating goblet game” were located nearby, I named the kiosk as ‘Kiosk of Floating Goblet Game’.<sup>591</sup>

The popularity of waterside recreation on the outskirts of towns continued to increase to the extent that they became crowded, with riverside drinking games being integrated in residential areas. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, people are recorded as playing drifting goblet games in their own gardens and courtyards.<sup>592</sup> Gardens or courtyards were designed with water features of suitable channels to accommodate this game. Chinese traditional residences commonly consist of a central courtyard which serves as a normal place for people to spend their leisure time. Integrating the waterside drinking game into residential complexes became fashionable (Fig 5.16), possibly as a solution to avoid the huddling and crowd along public watersides during the peak season in the late spring.

This game became so popular that the national building regulations *Yingzaofashi*<sup>593</sup>, published in 1103, proclaimed two paradigms of how to build a curving channel for

590 Pan Lei 潘耒(1646-1708), ‘Travel notes of Mt. Luofu’ 游罗浮记, in *Lidai youji jinghua*, ed. by He Kui (Wuhan: Wubei People Press, 1998) p.452 贺葵编，《历代游记菁华》，湖北人民出版社，1998，(洞中平广处，有石坪，可坐数十人。飞湍旋激，名流杯池也，云群仙会饮之所也。)

591 Zheng Zhidao 郑志道(Song Dynasty 宋), ‘Travel notes of Liuruan Cave’ 《刘阮洞记》, in *Lidai youji jinghua*, p.399 (至于迎阳峰下，有石偃于山腹，广袤数丈，因结亭于其上。前临清流，浮杯之迹，顾指在目，遂名之浮杯亭)

592 according to a Song Dynasty resource *Eryayi*, vol.2 (宋 爾雅翼卷二釋草), cited in ‘Yiwen jilu’ in *Jing chu suishi ji*, entry 20. 荆楚岁时记 第二部 佚文輯錄 (二十) <<http://book.guqu.net/jingchusuishiji/10364.html>> (荆楚之俗。三月三日。亦出水渚沙洲間。或園宅地沼內。為曲水飲(宋 爾雅翼卷二 釋草))

593 the book *Yingzaofashi* 营造法式, vol. 29, first published in 1103 as the national building regulations, has two patterns for stone made goblet floating canal: one looks like the Chinese character ‘guo’, another looks like ‘feng’, and thus the two patterns were so named. 卷二十九《石作制度图样·流杯渠》刊有国字流杯渠和风字流杯渠等图样

the floating goblet game that people should follow. The paradigms formulate the style, size, and materials. There was also a specially designed kiosk for people to play this game in, the floating-cup-kiosk, which is a curving channel for the game shaded by a normal style kiosk (Fig 5.17-5.22). From the thirteenth century, the kiosk for the drifting goblet game was a popular feature, both in the public scenic area and in private gardens, with many examples surviving today.

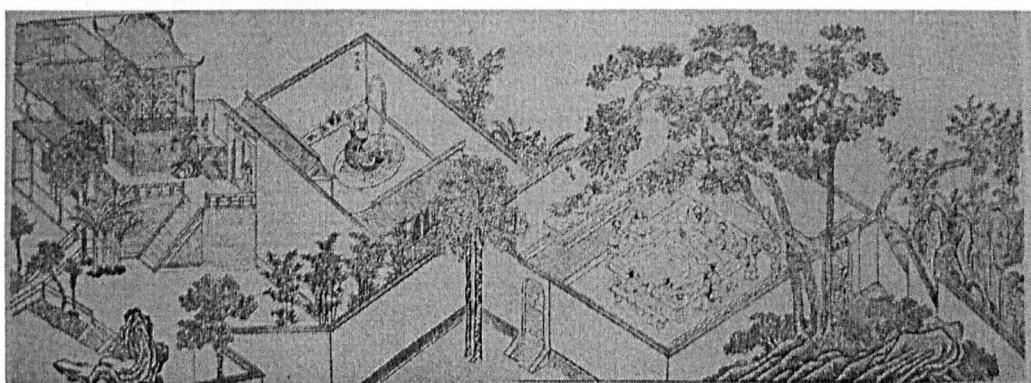


Figure 5.16 Woodblock print, from *Huancuitang Yuanjingtu*, illustrating the garden of Wang Tingna, where people sit around a specially designed table playing ‘the drinking game of drifting goblet’, c.1610. Gest Oriental Library, Princeton.



Figure 5.17 part of the painting of *Lanting yaji tu* 兰亭雅集图, by Wen Zhengming, Ming Dynasty, illustrating people playing goblet drifting game at waterside, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing

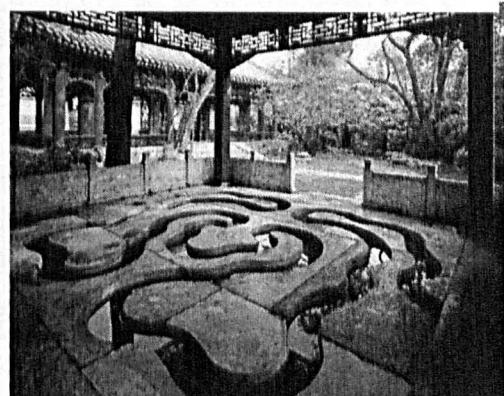


Figure 5.18 the channel in the Kiosk of Qishang in Ningshou Palace Garden 宁寿宫花园禊赏亭内流杯渠



Figure 5.19 the relics of channel for drifting goblet in Yuanming Garden 圆明园



Figure 5.20 kiosk for goblet drifting game, Beijing

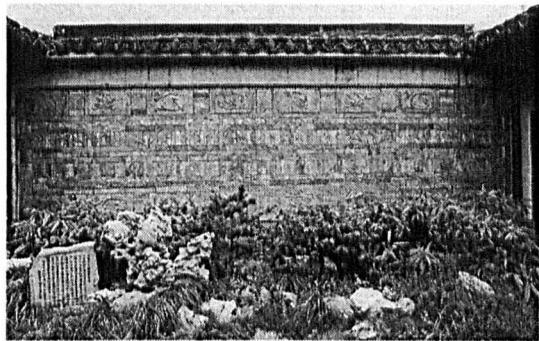


Figure 5.21 The relics of channel for drifting goblet game in a courtyard in 13<sup>th</sup> century, Wangxie's House 南京王謝故居, Nanjing, Jiangsu province (source: Nanjing Tourist Bureau)

Figure 5.22 the restored channel in the courtyard of Laiyan Hall 来燕堂, Wangxie's House, Nanjing, 13<sup>th</sup> century (source: Nanjing Tourist Bureau)



Figure 5.23 wood print illustration of Qiantang River with people on bank watching the tide, and the scenic sites of Hangzhou showed at the right hand of the painting (source: *Haineqiguan*, published 1609)

Another popular leisure activity which evolved from ancient natural worship was ‘admiring the tide’ or ‘admiring waterside view’, which has also greatly influenced scenic improvements, especially watersides (Fig 5.23-5.25). There is a great deal of poetry and prose describing waterscape views and tides. An open river view with sails and boats, or torrential currents with reefs and whirlpools, used to be common objects of admiration and description in Chinese literature.



Figure 5.24 the scroll of *Watching Tide* 观潮图轴, by Yuan Jiang 袁江, Qing dynasty, ink and colour on silk 绢本设色, size 97cmX131cm, illustrating the best location of watching the tide, collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 5.25 painting of *Tide at Night* 夜潮图 by Li Song 李嵩, 13<sup>th</sup> century, illustrating people watching the tide at night in a building at water side (source: collection of the Old Palace Museum, Beijing)

With a long tradition for Nature worship, spectacular natural phenomena were considered to be most attractive. There are literary references recording admiration of the tides in rivers from the second century B.C.<sup>594</sup> River flows are affected by sea tides, and experience a surge which has been an appreciated phenomenon since the Tang dynasty: ‘the tide in the Zhe River on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of each lunar month was the weakest, while that on the third and 18<sup>th</sup> was the strongest’.<sup>595</sup> The weakest river tides only caused surges of about one metre or less; while the strongest tides create waves as high as ten metres. Such river tides could be observed as far upstream as three hundred kilometres from the river mouth.<sup>596</sup> (Fig 5.26) Of the various tides over a year, that in the middle of autumn was the most phenomenal one, with a large event held during the Song dynasty around the 18<sup>th</sup> of the eighth lunar month. Between the seventh and thirteenth century, not only tide viewing and tide admiring were recorded,<sup>597</sup> but also surfing performance: some fishermen and people who were good at swimming swam in and surfed on the waves with small rafts, while thousands watched

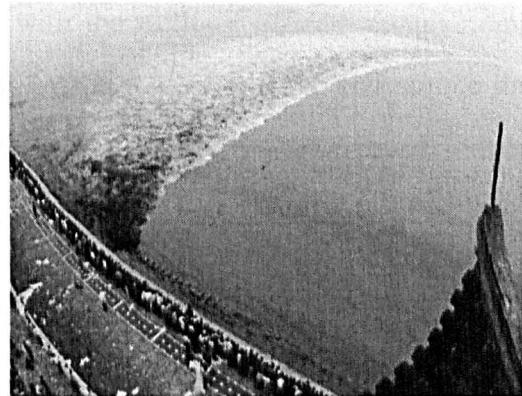


Figure 5.26 the river tide seen from the riverside tower by the Qiantang River, Zhejiang province (source: Hangzhou Tourist Bureau)

<sup>594</sup> The many literary references include *Qifa* by Mei Cheng (?-140BCE), *Lunheng* by Wang Chong(AD27-97), *Guantaofu* by Gu Kaizhi(345-409), *Nanxuzhou ji* by Shan Qianzhi (?-454), and many others. 汉代枚乘的《七发》中说，‘客曰：将以八月之望，与诸侯并往观潮于广陵之曲江’，王充《论衡·书虚篇》提到‘浙江、山阴江、上虞江皆有涛’。‘广陵曲江有涛，文人赋之’，又说当时钱塘浙江‘皆立子胥之庙，盖欲慰其恨心，止其猛涛也’。东晋顾恺之《观涛赋》生动地描绘了钱塘江怒潮。南北朝时，广陵涛仍十分兴盛。《南齐书·州郡志》：‘南兗州刺史每以秋月出海陵观涛，与京口对岸，江之壮阔处也’。晋代山谦之《南徐州记》：‘京口，禹项北江也，阔漫三十里，通望大壑，常以春秋朔望，辄有大涛，声势骇壮，极为奇观。涛至江北激赤岸，尤更迅猛’。南朝宋永初二年(421年)改徐州为南徐州，治所京口。

<sup>595</sup> the river tide phenomenon was thoroughly recorded in a Tang Dynasty resource *Yuanhe junxianzhi* 唐代李吉甫《元和郡县志》载：‘浙江东在县南一十二里。……江涛每日昼夜再上。常以月十日、二十五日最小，月三日、十八日极大。小则水渐涨不过数尺。大则涛涌高至数丈。’

<sup>596</sup> According to *Nanyanzhou ji* by Ruan Shengzhi (r. fifth -sixth C.) 阮胜之《南兖州记》：‘瓜步山东五里有赤岸，南临江中，潮水自海入江，冲激六七百里，至此岸侧，其势稍衰’。南朝宋永初元年(420年)改兖州为南兖州，治所今镇江，元嘉八年(431年)移治广陵。瓜步和瓜步山在今六合县东南。

<sup>597</sup> The literary references include Hangzhou guanchao by Yao He(775- 855), Qiantang jiangchao by Luo Yin(833-909), Dengzhangting wangchao zuo by Meng Haoran(689-740), and the poetry by Fan Zhongyan(989-1052 年), Su Shi(1037-1101), etc. (姚合(775-约 855)写有《杭州观潮》。罗隐(833-909)写有《钱塘江潮》。唐代孟浩然(689-740)在他的《与颜钱塘登樟亭望潮作》写钱塘潮‘百里闻雷震，鸣弦暂辍弹。府中连骑出，江上待潮观’。北宋皇佑元年(1049 年)，范仲淹(989-1052 年)写有观潮诗。苏轼(1037-1101)曾在《催试官考较戏作》诗中赞誉：‘八月十八潮，壮观天下无。’苏轼《八月十五日看潮》‘万人鼓噪慑吴侬，犹似浮江老阿童。欲识潮头高几许？月山浑在浪花中。’‘吴儿生长狎涛渊，冒利轻生不自怜。’)

on the banks.<sup>598</sup> A record of tide watching in Qiantang River, south of the capital Lin'an in the Song dynasty, describes such events in detail: 'Every year in the eighth lunar month, the tide there is the most profound. People come to see it from the 11<sup>th</sup> day. Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> days, most people come out of the city to the river. The road is crowded with carriages and horses until the 20<sup>th</sup> day. On the 18<sup>th</sup> day, the general also comes to the river to inspect the river army.'<sup>599</sup> The river army parade and performances helped to increase the significance of the event.

The performances are in two parts: 'the folk swimmers in groups of hundred or tens, swim in the river with various flags, colourful umbrellas and banners in hands. They also perform various actions in the water.'<sup>600</sup> The river army parades before the tide comes in, the army are arrayed in the river, with the military officers commanding with flag signals, the army simulates a fight. Arrows, spears, guns and smoke are recorded as being used in the mock battle; music plays and fireworks are performed afterwards.<sup>601</sup>

The common people stood on both banks to watch the performances and the tide while the royal family stayed at the highest position in the palace to watch it.<sup>602</sup> Rich

598 Li Jipu, *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 唐代李吉甫《元和郡县志》载: '浙江东在县南一十二里。……江涛每日昼夜再上。……每年八月十八日，数百千士女共观，舟人、渔子溯涛触浪，谓之弄潮'。

599 Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu* 南宋吴自牧在《梦粱录》记载: '每岁八月内，潮怒胜于常时，都人自十一日起，便有观者，至十六、十八日倾城而出，车马纷纷，十八日最为繁盛，二十日稍稀矣。十八日盖因帅座出郊，教习节制水军，自庙子头直至六和塔，家家楼屋，尽为贵戚内等雇赁作看位观潮'。……其日帅司备牲礼、草履、沙木板，于潮来之际，俱祭于江中。士庶多以经文，投于江。

600 Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu* 南宋吴自牧在《梦粱录》: 不惜性命之徒，以大彩旗，或小清凉伞、红绿小伞儿，各系绣色缎子满杆，伺潮出海门，百十为群，执旗泅水上，以迓予胥弄潮之戏，或有手执五小旗浮潮头而戏弄

Zhou Mi(1232-1298), *Guanchao*[Watching Tide] 周密(1232-1298)，观潮(并有乘骑、弄旗、标枪、舞刀于水中者，如履平地。吴儿善泅者数百。皆被发文身，手持十幅大彩旗，争先鼓勇，溯迎而亡，出没鲸波万仞中，腾身百变，而旗尾略不沾湿。以此夸能。而豪民贵宦，争赏银彩。)

601 Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu* 南宋吴自牧在《梦粱录》记载: 帅府节制水军，教阅水阵，统制部押于潮未来时，下水打阵展旗，百端呈拽，又于水中动鼓吹，前面导引，后抬将官于水面，舟楫分布左右，旗帜满船，上等舞枪飞箭，分别交战，试炮放烟，捷追敌舟，火箭群下，烧毁成功，鸣锣放教，赐犒等差。盖因车驾幸禁中观潮，殿庭下视江中，但见军仪于江中整肃部伍，望阙奏喏，声如雷震。

Zhou Mi(1232-1298), *Guanchao*[Watching Tide] 周密(1232-1298)，观潮(每岁，京尹出浙江亭，教阅水军，艨艟数百，分列两岸；继而，尽奔腾分合五阵之势，并有乘骑、弄旗、标枪、舞刀于水者，如履平地。)

602 Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu* 南宋吴自牧在《梦粱录》记载: 车驾幸禁中观潮，殿庭下视江中

Zhou Mi(1232-1298), 'Guanchao'[Watching Tide] 周密(1232-1298)，观潮(禁中例观潮于‘天工图画’。高台下瞰，如在指掌。都民遥瞻黄伞雉扇于九霄之上，真若箫台蓬岛也。)

people and officers hired the higher floors of the residences along the river to provide an improved, elevated view.<sup>603</sup>

Many tall buildings, such as towers or multi-storied pavilions were built along the river, as well as kiosks on elevated positions. The building of such towers and pavilions is recorded in literature, as for example a poem in Tang dynasty which describes the enjoyment of watching tide while lying in bed in a kiosk<sup>604</sup>. The naming of kiosks with titles like, 'kiosk of tide view' confirm the purposes for which they were originally built. Although these buildings were used as a place for people to enjoy the view, most of them were named, 'tower of conquering the sea' and originally dedicated to prayer in order to avoid floods. As with those activities in which people still followed the ancient rituals during the tide watching event, throwing sacrifices into the river, recreation activities have never been totally disengaged from their ancient ritual origins. People were amazed by the spectacular natural views, and the more they were amazed, the more they believed there must be supernatural powers behind these events. For this reason, the places used for recreational purposes were never recorded as being intended for this purpose, but were instead dedicated to prayer. There were many temples at riversides, lakesides and seaside dedicated to the local water god. When these places are mentioned in literary sources like diaries and prose texts, they were actually more praised for providing a good view and for organising celebration events which people enjoyed than any other reason.

In addition to these temples, there were also many open buildings near rivers, offering a good view and a rest place for people, usually originally built by local government and then administered by Daoists afterwards. Most of these buildings dated from the

---

603 Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu* 南宋吴自牧在《梦粱录》：自庙子头直至六和塔，家家楼屋，尽为贵戚内等雇赁作看位观潮。Zhou Mi(1232-1298), 'Guanchao'[Watching Tide]周密(1232-1298), 观潮(江干上下十余里间，珠翠罗绮溢目，车马塞途。饮食百物，皆倍穹常时，而僦赁看幕，虽席地不容闲也。)

604 Bai Juyi(772-846), 'Yijiangnan' [Memory of Jiangnan] 唐·白居易(772-846)《忆江南》江南好，最忆是杭州。山寺月中寻桂子，郡亭枕上看潮头。何日更重游？

Song Dynasty (tenth to the twelfth centuries) or the Ming Dynasty (fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries). Some originated from earlier times, such as the Huanghelou Pavilion near Yangzi River in Wuchang, initially built in the third century as a military structure and rebuilt in the eighth century to serve as a public building<sup>605</sup>; from the ninth to the tenth century it was administered by Daoists remained in charge until the 1950s. The Yueyanglou Pavilion near Dongting Lake in Yueyang was first built on the city wall in the eighth century, and opened seasonally to the general public; it was rebuilt many times.

During the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, more pavilions were built along watersides, forming the majority of surviving waterside kiosks and pavilions (Fig 5.27, 5.28); the majority of historic records surviving relate to these relatively recent structures.

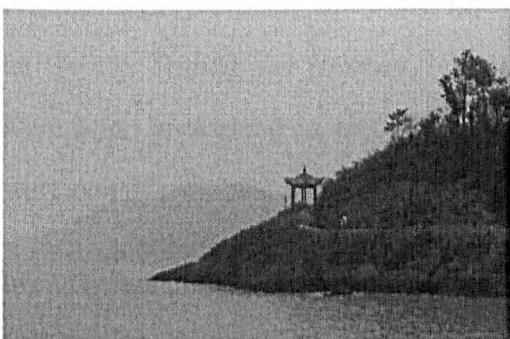


Figure 5.27 a typical ancient kiosk on the waterside, Taizhou, Zhejiang province

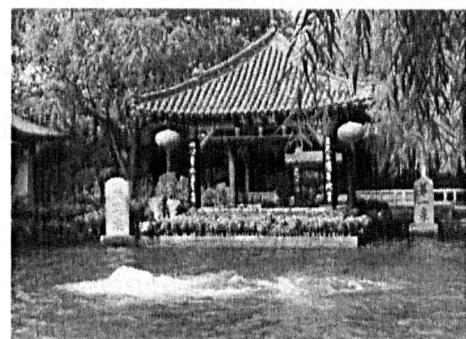


Figure 5.28 Kiosk of Admiring the Current  
观澜亭 (15th century), by the Baotu Spring, in Jinan, Shandong province  
(source: the Jinan Tourist Bureau)

## The integration of ‘pilgrim’ and ‘sightseeing’

Women were not free to roam, especially after the Ming dynasty, with the notable exception of pilgrimage. Since most temples and monasteries were located in scenic sites, such ‘pilgrimages’ were probably not purely for religious purposes, considering

<sup>605</sup> Hu Miaosen 胡淼森, *Chinese Architecture Map 中国建筑地图* (Beijing: Guangming Daily 光明日報出版社, 2005) p.147 至唐永泰元年（公元 765 年）黄鹤楼已具规模，使不少江夏名士‘游必于是，宴必于是’。如崔颢、李白、白居易、贾岛、夏竦、陆游等都曾先后到这里游览，吟诗、作赋。

that the temples and monasteries located in towns worked particularly on their gardens. It is recorded in the Gazette of Chengdu in the late Qing dynasty that for leisure purposes, seven out of ten women went to temples and monasteries, compared with others who went to drama house or other places.<sup>606</sup> A late Ming novel depicts such a ‘pilgrimage’ from Beijing to Mt. Tai in Shandong, a thousand miles away, which was a popular tourist destination. The wife of someone in the Imperial Academy bought a place on the pilgrimage for ten taels of silver. She discovered that her co-pilgrims were tenants’ wives and servants but decided to go anyway.<sup>607</sup> Such pilgrimage was a kind of tourist journey to some extent, but for women, such visits were only possible when disguised as ‘pilgrimage’. The destination was not only a sacred mountain but also a popular tourist destination, as shown in many travel notes of the place and the advanced hotel facilities at that time.<sup>608</sup> Mt. Tai had famous Bajing (Eight Scenes), while the Tai Temple located at foot of the mountain also had its Bajing. During the journey, one could seek to gaze at perfect landscapes, which were often preformed in sets of eight, ten, or more ‘prospects’ (jing) from which they were considered best viewed.<sup>609</sup>

Monasteries in scenic sites sometimes held various leisure events in order to draw people’s attention. For example, it is recorded in the Ming dynasty that the Zhaoqing Monastery located on a hill in the outskirts of Hangzhou was turned into a vast market of curiosa and souvenirs during the season when a fair was held each year, which lasted from the middle of the second month to the beginning of the fifth. ‘Every inch of space was used inside and outside the halls, above and below the raised paths, to the left and right of the pond, and within and beyond the front gate. Where there were

606 Fu Chongju 傅崇矩, *Whole Views of Chengdu 成都通覽*, (Chengdu: Bashu 巴蜀书社, 1987) p.4, 271

607 Xizhousheng, *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan [A marriage to alert the mundane]*, 17<sup>th</sup> century cited from Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) P.182-184

608 Zhang-Dai 张岱(1597-1679), ‘History of Mt. Tai’ 〈岱志〉, in *Collection and Annotation of Historic and Contemporary Travel Notes of Mt. Tai 《泰山古今游记选注》*, ed. by Qian Zhou, 周谦, (Jinan: Shandong People Press 山东人民出版社, 1987) p. 62-63

609 Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) P.182

rooms, dealers set up stalls; where there weren't, they put up sheds; in front of the sheds were booths with awnings and behind them were yet more stalls. Here everything was available, from cosmetics, hair ornaments and earrings, ivory, and scissors to scriptures, wooden gongs, and children's toys.<sup>610</sup> Such events added to the attraction of the scenic sites and also benefited the monasteries there.

---

610 Zhang Dai, *Taoan mengyi*, pp. 20, 29, 34, 67-68.

## Chapter 6. The Consumption of scenic sites and changing leisure patterns

The beauty of Nature has been valued for thousands of years as a setting for recreational activities and this continues, even today. From a contemporary view, leisure is indispensable; people work to survive and participate in leisure activities in order to increase their quality of life. The benefits from participating in leisure and sports are generally recognized, and such experience is now seen as an essential aspect of life.<sup>611</sup>

There are numerous historic records of people making excursions and having picnics on the outskirts of towns. For example, it was reported in the third century that: 'every day with good weather, people invite each other to Xinting, in order to feast while admiring flowers there'<sup>612</sup>. Xinting seems to have been an area with beautiful scenery and spectacular vegetation. Having a drink in a boat drifting in a river, having a picnic at a beauty spot in outskirt of town, or having a nice nap in a wood land, are very regular activities that are frequently recorded in historic literatures. As expressed in a prose text in the third century, 'in order to relax and enjoy, nothing is better than an excursion'<sup>613</sup>.

In the Song Dynasty, the popular custom of making excursions in the spring was

---

611 Colin Michael Hall and Stephen Page, *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space*, (London : Routledge, 1999)

612 Liu Yiqing 刘义庆(403-444), 'Yanyu' [Dialogue] 言语 topic31, in *Shishuo Xinyu* 世说新语, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Xiaoshujialei 文渊阁四库全书 / 子部 / 小说家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <<http://www.philosophyol.com/pub/guji/02-13.htm>>[accessed 8 Apr2008] (original words 《世说新语 言语》载:过江诸人,每至美日,辄相邀新亭,藉卉饮宴.)

613 Li-Chong(third c.), 'Spring Excursion', cited by Weisen Guo 郭维森, *History of Chinese ancient Lyrics and Fu (a poetry style)* 中国词赋发展史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Education 江苏教育出版社, 1992) p.142. (晋代李充《春游赋》: '盖适性莫畅乎游,而时和莫逾乎春'. )

recorded: people made excursions to the outskirts, set up temporary marquees and enjoyed singing and drinking there.<sup>614</sup> Many poems present excursions taken by whole families.<sup>615</sup> A record from the tenth century describes a scene in which ladies have a picnic on the outskirts of Chang-an: when they encounter a beautiful meadow, they have their picnic there, making a screen around them with their red skirts<sup>616</sup>. In the eleventh to twelfth century records, the outskirts of Kaifeng in spring were crowded with people, especially during the Qingming Festival in spring; it was 'as crowded as a market'<sup>617</sup>. People sat under trees to have a picnic and there were entertaining performers at every scenic site.<sup>618</sup> On one day of the peak season, the number of people recorded making excursions to a popular scenic area was more than ten thousand.<sup>619</sup>

The famous scenic site Tiger Hill in Suzhou was always crowded with people at the time of the Ming dynasty, when they were described as 'flocks of wild geese landed on a flat sandy beach' to describe the density of the crowd, or as a 'river reflecting colourful clouds' to represent the scene of so many people, dressed up in colourful clothes, moving along the paths.<sup>620</sup> From Dragon Hill in Hangzhou in the seventeenth century, there is Zhang Dai's description of the Lantern Festival, an annual four-day

614 Chen-Yuanliang (Song Dynasty), *Suishi guangji* [Notes of Seasons], cited in *Festivals in China* 岁时节日里的中国: 古代社会生活图记, by Jianhua Chang 常建华, (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 2006) p.71 (宋代陈元靓《岁时广记》记游蜀江, 都人士女络绎游赏, 缙幕歌酒, 散在四郊……)

615 like the one written by Yuan-Zhen, 'Day of Hanshi', in *Yuanshi changqingji*, vol.20, cited in *New Research of the Poet Yuan-Zhen 元稹年谱新编*, ed. by Xianglu Zhou 周相录, (Shanghai: Guji 上海古籍出版社, 2004) p.10 ('今年寒食好风流, 此日一家同出游', 元稹《寒食日》, 《元氏长庆集》卷 20)

616 Wang-Renyu(tenth c.), *Stories in Years of Kaiyuan Tianbao* 开元天宝遗事, cited in *Chinese Tourism History* 中国旅游史, ed. by Shuliang Wang 王淑良, (Beijing: Tourism Education Press 旅游教育出版社, 1998) p.245 五代人王仁裕所撰的《开元天宝遗事》记载了开元天宝年间: '长安仕女, 游春野步, 遇名花则设席藉草, 以红裙递相插挂, 以为宴幄。'

617 Meng Yuanlao 孟元老(12th century), *Dongjing Menghualu* [Memory of the Eastern Capital] 东京梦华录 (Jinan: Shandong Youyi Chubanshe 山东友谊出版社, 2001) ('清明时节……四野如市')

618 Meng Yuanlao 孟元老(12th century), *Dongjing Menghualu* [Memory of the Eastern Capital] 东京梦华录 ('往往就芳树之下, 或园圃之间罗列杯盘, 互相劝酬, 都城之歌儿舞女, 遍满园亭, 抵暮而归。')

619 Liu-Tong and Yu-Yizheng (Ming Dynasty 明), *Scenery in the Capital*, cited by Weijie Wang 王伟杰 in *Beijing Environment History* 北京环境史话, (Beijing: Dizhi 地质出版社, 1989) p.46 ('明 刘侗、于奕正《帝京景物略·春场》: '三月清明……是日簪柳, 游高梁桥, 曰踏青。' '岁清明日, 都人踏青, 船者、骑者、步者, 游人以万计。')

620 Zhang Dai 张岱(1597-1676), 'Middle Autumn Night in Tiger Hill' 虎丘中秋夜, in *Taoan Mengyi* 陶庵梦忆, vol.5, 1644 <<http://www.langsong.net/lstd/wxshk/htm/oem/gd/sw/taoan/070.htm>> [accessed 19 Mar 2007]. (original text 自生公台、千人石、鹅洞、剑池、申文定祠下, 至试剑石、一二山门, 皆铺毡席地坐, 登高望之, 如雁落平沙, 铺江上。)

celebration held there in the middle of the first month of the year. ‘On those days, people had lanterns made and displayed them along the path between the Chenghuang Shrine and Penglai Ridge. Each lantern owner sat out on mats spread beneath his lantern with kinsmen and friends, singing and drinking. In the crush of the merrymakers, it was impossible to do anything but let oneself be borne along with the crowd.’<sup>621</sup>

Commercial tourist facilities had already reached an advanced stage. As recorded in a travel note written in the seventeenth century about Mt. Tai: a single accommodation facility provided room for more than one thousand guests, hundreds of bedrooms, hundreds of groups of entertainers, and supplied more than one hundred tables of feast daily at the peak season. The number of people coming to visit the mountain was normally eight to nine thousand daily, while during spring, the peak number was twenty thousand.<sup>622</sup> Even in remote sites like one described in a travel note in the early seventeenth century, there was a small tavern located near the tomb of a contemporary calligrapher which supplied food and rest for visitors.<sup>623</sup>

621 Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) P.236

622 Zhang-Dai 张岱(1597-1679), ‘History of Mt. Tai’ 〈岱志〉, in *Collection and Annotation of Historic and Contemporary Travel Notes of Mt. Tai* 《泰山古今游记选注》, ed. by Qian Zhou, 周谦, (Jinan: Shandong People Press 山东人民出版社, 1987) p. 62-63 (文中所描写泰山景点的附属相关设施:离州城数里,牙家走迎,控马至其门.门前马厩十数间,妓馆十数间,优人寓十数间;向谓是一州之事,不知其为一店之事也.到店,税房有例,募轿有例,纳山税有例.客有上中下三等,出山者送,上山者贺,到山者迎.客单数千,房百十处,荤素酒筵百十席,优傒弹唱百十群,奔走祇应百十辈,牙家十馀姓.合计入山者日八九千人,春出日满二万,山税每人一钱二分,千人百二十,万人千二百,岁入二三十万.牙家之大,山税之大,总以见吾泰山之大也.呜呼泰山!顶上牙家有土房,延客入向火.余寒颤不能出手,热炙移时,方出向顶;「出红门,牙家携酒核洗足,谓之接顶.夜巨戏开筵,酌酒相贺,谓朝山归.」)

623 Hu-Yinjia 胡胤嘉(Ming Dynasty 明), ‘Notes of Han Hill’ 〈寒山记〉, in *Gujin youji congchao [Collection of Travel Notes in History]* 《古今游记丛钞》, (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1924) vol.4, juan no.15, p.36 第四册, 卷 15, 〈江苏省〉, 页 36. (胡胤嘉的〈寒山记〉说:「赵凡夫庐墓,自观音山左折十馀里,折穷而累垣如峡,峡穷而酒帘招摇,其旁板扉双合,排扉而入,凡夫小宛堂也.」)

## **a. Commercial facilities in scenic sites and the early appearance of tourism**

With an understanding of the level of the social economy, which made possible the commercialization of the supply of leisure activities; in considering the common land policy, which was important because it provided the places where most outdoor leisure behaviour took place; and taking into account the outlook of scholar officials educated in Confucianism, who believed that scenery appreciation was a method by which to give people edification, and who continued to promote scenic sites for public leisure, it is relatively easy to demonstrate the popularity of scenic sites and the leisure custom of ‘revelling in Nature’.

Historian Timothy Brook and art historian James Cahill have pointed out that by the sixteenth century, when leisure travel became a culturally approved activity for the gentry,<sup>624</sup> ‘a “national” canon of scenic sites had been well established by a succession of literati who, during their visits, referred back to the impressions of their predecessors, particularly Tang and Song scholar officials and cultural heroes such as Li Bai, Du Fu, Ouyang Xiu, Lu You or Su Shi.’<sup>625</sup>

Between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, many scenic sites were recorded as full of commercial facilities with all kinds of entertainments. For example, the Qinhuai River in Nanjing had flourishing entertainment and service buildings on both sides of its bank. The delicately ornamented boats of different sizes with full sets of living convenience which offered an integrated leisure experience, with performances,

---

624 Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: commerce and culture in Ming China* (London : University of California Press, 1998) p.180

625 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes : travel writing from imperial China* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1994)

feasts on board and sightseeing trips to the scenic area through which the boats were travelling. In Ming dynasty, the Gaoliang Bridge district (高梁桥 outside the Western City Gate of Beijing) was a famous destination for excursions in the vicinity of Beijing. There were dykes, willows along the five kilometre long riverside, pagodas, terraces, storied pavillions, tea houses and wine houses. In spring, the most popular excursion season, the peak number of daily visitors was recorded as over ten thousand.<sup>626</sup>

Commercial facilities such as boat-restaurants floating on the river, tea houses, wine houses, feast kiosks, and feasting gardens (gardens for parties and outdoor feasts) on the outskirts of scenic sites have been recorded frequently since the ninth century, especially since the eleventh century. Although they were called houses, they were actually buildings which were open to the environment with columns supporting the roof and flexible wooden walls which could be assembled and disassembled, usually with atriums in the centre, where exotic flowers were planted in order to attract customers. Entertaining performances took place there, such as comic dialogues and the telling of old stories. People could rent these places to hold outdoor parties or feasts. In the Song dynasty, there was a service department in government which was commercially responsible for supplying every item for these, called the 'Bureau of Tea and Wine' 茶酒司. Temples also supplied places which could be rented to the public for parties and feasting.<sup>627</sup>

Gardens for holding feasts were mentioned as early as the ninth century, during the Tang dynasty. A decree from an emperor in 847AD said that, 'from now on, the apricot garden is freely accessible for people to have feasts there once the government

626 Liu Tong (1593-1636), *Concise Records on the Scenic Spots in the Capital*. 刘侗《帝京景物略》记云：岁清明，桃柳当候，岸草遍矣，都人踏青高梁桥……是日，游人以万计，簇地三四里。另外，袁中郎《琼花斋集》：高梁桥在西直门外，京师最胜地也。两水夹堤，垂杨十余里，流急而清；鱼之沉水底者，鱗鬣可见；精蓝棋置，丹楼珠塔，窈窕绿树中；而西山之在九席者，朝夕设色以娱游人。当春盛时，城中仕女云集，缙绅士大夫，非甚不暇，未有不一至其地者也。

627 Meng Yuanlao, *Memories of Dongjing*, vol.4. 《东京梦华录》卷4中载，北宋的筵会假赁是‘椅卓陈设、器皿合盘、酒担动使之类，自有茶酒司管赁。’欲就园馆亭榭寺院游赏命客之类，举意便办。亦各有地分，承揽排备，自有则例。其收费大体公允，‘不敢过越取钱’。对小客户‘虽百十分，厅馆整肃，主人只出钱而已，不用费力’。

examination result is publicized.<sup>628</sup> The historian officer who recorded this decree explained its context, saying that the previous emperor had been fond of strolling around outside his palace, so he prohibited public entry to the area of Qujiang where the garden was located, so that he could go there at any time without mixing with common people.<sup>629</sup> This may be an early stage in the development of feast gardens.

Some excursion destinations became so popular that people came to visit from across their whole region, or even the whole country, especially in the Ming dynasty, when many books were published to introduce famous scenic areas as tourist destinations. For example, *The Travel Notes on Famous Scenic Hills* 游名山记, compiled at the turn of the sixteenth century and *The Full Collection of Notes on Scenery Hills* 名山记广编, compiled in the late sixteenth century, were designed to give people a travelling guide. *The New Version of Wonderful Landscapes of the Whole Country*, 新镌海内外奇观 published in 1609, comprises more than 130 paintings, one for each scenic site.<sup>630</sup> There were also picture books of paintings of these beauty spots. Being very popular, these picture books were used as travel guides, and also were used for imaginary travel, so that they were nicknamed as ‘picture books for lying-on-bed travel’ (卧游册).<sup>631</sup> In the late Ming dynasty (early 17<sup>th</sup> century), the increasing number of travellers needed more information. This need was met by a new genre, the route book, published in the form of professional travel journey guide books, with the

628 Shen Xu(tenth century), 'Biography of Xuanzong', in *Old Official History of Tang Dynasty*, Biographies of Emperors, 18. 沈昫, 旧唐书, 本纪 18 下, 宣宗纪, ‘又敕: 自今進士放榜後, 杏園任依舊宴集, 有司不得禁制’。

629 Shen Xu(tenth century), 'Biography of Xuanzong', in *Old Official History of Tang Dynasty*, Biographies of Emperors, 18. 武宗好巡遊, 故曲江亭禁人宴聚故也

630 Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, 'the Tourism and the Attitude of Shidafu in Late Ming Dynasty' 晚明的旅游风气与士大夫心态, in *Collection of Reviews on Culture and Society in Jiangnan Area Since Ming-Qing Dynasties* 《明清以来江南社会与文化论集》, ed. by Yuezhi Xiong and Bingzhen Xiong 熊月之与熊秉真编, (Shanghai 上海: Society Science Press 上海社会科学院出版社, 2004), pp.225-255. (吴郡都穆(1458-1525)编的《游名山记》与王世贞(1526-1590)编的《名山记广编》。自万历三十七年(1609)辑刻的《新镌海内外奇观》一书,内有全国各地风景名胜一百三十馀幅。(附图一)此书的编辑方式开后来诸名山记有图之端,出版后大受欢迎,成为当时颇具影响力的一本书。)

631 for example, the Album of 17Landscape Paintings by Shen-Zhou 沈周《卧游图》册页共十七开, the Album of Jiangnan, the Album of West Lake by Li-Liufang in Ming Dynasty,李流芳的《江南卧游册》《西湖卧游册》, and the Album of Streams and Mountains by Shen-Jingzong in Qing Dynasty,清沈宗敬《溪山卧游录》, etc., are all named with ‘picture books for imaginary travel’ in titles. Poems and prose which gave a good description of the scenery were integrated in the paintings. 明代流行的山水画册具有类似旅游导览的功能,这些山水画册常以「卧游册」作为名称,其内图文并茂。卧游欣赏景观一度非常流行,这可能与晚明盛行写实的山水画作有关。

local beauty spots of each town were put in the annexe.<sup>632</sup> The first extant route book, Huang Bian's *Comprehensive Illustrated Route Book* 天下水陆路程/一统路程图集, was published in Suzhou in 1570. He inserted information regarding famous sites, inns and ferries. Another Huizhou merchant Cheng Chunyu, compiled a second route book, *Essentials for Gentry and Merchants at a Glance* 客商一览醒迷, the one hundred-route book in a version entitled *Illustrated Guide to the Routes of the Realm* 天下路程图引.<sup>633</sup> The publication of these books provides evidence of the popularity of these scenic areas on the outskirts of major towns.

According to *The Comprehensive Illustrated Route Book* (*Yitong lucheng tuji*), it was easy to 'hop on a boat outside the city of Yangzhou and sail down the Grand Canal to the north gate of Guazhou, the canal's port on the Yangzi River, for three copper coins.'<sup>634</sup> You walked through Guazhou to the south gate to catch another boat that, for two coins, would ferry you across the Yangzi River and past Jin Mountain monastery to the wharf at Zhenjiang on the other side. From the wharf you entered the west gate of Zhenjiang, walked 1.5 kilometres down to the south gate and caught another boat heading down the Jiangnan portion of the Grand Canal. If you were travelling with baggage, a porter could be hired at the wharf for about fifteen copper coins per load. South from Zhenjiang, the rate for boat passage was only two copper coins for every 20 li (11.7 kilometres). The day's journey from Zhenjiang down to Wujiang, one of Suzhou's counties on Lake Tai, involved a relay of six boats. From Wujiang you could

632 Yang Zhengtai 杨正泰, *Research on Yizhan of Ming Dynasty* 《明代驿站考》(Shanghai: Guji 上海古籍出版社,1994),p.248,p.254 (晚明刊行的多种路程书中,也都会在各种路程后附带介绍当地的名胜古迹。就以天启六年(1626)文林阁唐锦池刻印刊行的《士商类要》一书为例,在记录各路程后还附有许多旅游景点的介绍,如卷一「徽州府由景德镇至武当山路」条之后,就附有武当山各宫殿景致的说明;卷一「苏州由杭州府至南海路」条后,附有普陀山景致的说明;其它还有茅山,九华山,东岳泰山,北京八景等。)

Annotated by Yang Zhengtai 杨正泰校注, *Three Journey Introduction Books in Ming and Qing Dynasties* 《天下水陆路程/天下路程图引/客商一览醒迷》(Taiyuan: Shanxi Press 山西出版社,1992),p.206, (明末刊行由徽商黄汴编纂的《天下水陆路程》书中在各路程后也附有名胜古迹的介绍,如卷七「杭州逾路澜溪至常州府水」条后,也介绍了苏州府内寒山寺与吴王墓的古迹。)

633 Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) p.180

634 A tael silver usually consists of 1000 copper cash. The price of pork at that time was 20 copper cash per unit (equals to 600 gram). The price of rice equals to 5.3 copper cash per kilogram. The annual income of a nanny maid was 24,000 copper cash, 20,000 for the government workers of the lowest rank, 45,000 for the county magistrate. It is clear that 3 or 2 copper cash was very low price.

take either a day or night boat to Jiaxing, and from there a day boat up to Songjiang or a day or night boat down to Hangzhou. From Hangzhou east to Ningbo the route was well serviced to handle the pilgrims going out to the Buddhist island of Putuo, and commercial boats plied the route day and night. If your destination from Suzhou was westward into Huizhou prefecture, you could get a night ferry to Huzhou, and then another night ferry from Huzhou to Sian. There you had to switch to land travel; commercial carriers in Sian offered a choice of sedan chairs, carts, and horses for those going to Sheh County'.<sup>635</sup> Along routes that had heavy commercial traffic, commercial travel services were available and cheap. Every port had many boats available for hire, as well as a large number of travel and warehousing agents and organized transport workers.<sup>636</sup>

Although transport labour was not as well organized away from the most heavily travelled routes, services were not usually difficult to arrange. In his now famous diaries, Xu Hongzu (1586-1641) provides a detailed record of his journey from his home Jiangyin, in present Jiangsu province to Yunnan province between 1636 and 1640. Xu makes frequent reference to the business of hiring boatmen, carters, and porters along the way.<sup>637</sup>

These examples from literature demonstrate that commercial facilities in scenic sites advanced, especially in the Jiangnan area (the southern part of the lower Yongzi River valley) and that tourism first emerged there no later than the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

635 Huang Bian, *Tianxia shuilu lucheng* (Water and land routes of the realm; 1570), translated by Timothy Brook and quoted in, the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) p.174-75

636 Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)p.-175

637 Timothy Brook, *the Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)P.176

## b. Leisure time and festival holidays

Another significant element of leisurely enjoyment is the time available for it, which is the main focus of this section, including how many festivals and official holidays there were in ancient China.

In the Tang Dynasty, the holidays supported by government laws were about 114 days out of 365 days in a year,<sup>638</sup> which means that on average every third day was a holiday. The types of holiday varied and three main categories might be distinguished.

The first category was festival holidays, which accounted for at least 47 days.<sup>639</sup> These 47 days included seven days holiday for New Year's Day, seven for the winter solstice, four days for the Hanshi Festival and three days each for the moon festival, the summer solstice and Lari (腊日), as well as one holiday each for twenty other festivals.

Sometimes holidays included Buddha's birthday, and those of Laozi (founder of Daoism) and the emperor, taking the festival holidays up to 53 days.<sup>640</sup> During part of the Tang Dynasty, the Hanshi Festival holiday extended to seven days, and even soldiers had seven days off and slaves three.<sup>641</sup> This totalled 56 festival holidays in one year.

---

638 Liansheng Yang 杨联陞, 'Gudai Jiari' [Holidays in Ancient times]古代假日, in *Qinghua Weekly Journal* 清华周刊, Jan 4th 2006<<http://www.law.tsinghua.edu.cn/lawtsinghua/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=28529>> [accessed 29 Apr2008]

639 Yugui Wu 吴玉贵, *Zhongguo Fengsu Tongshi: Suitang Wudai* [History of Chinese Custom: Sui Tang Wudai Period] 中国风俗通史·隋唐五代卷, 第 10 章‘节日风俗’(Shanghai: Wenyi Chubanseh 上海文艺出版社,2001)

640 Liansheng Yang 杨联陞, 'Gudai Jiari' [Holidays in Ancient times]古代假日, in *Qinghua Weekly Journal* 清华周刊, Jan 4th 2006<<http://www.law.tsinghua.edu.cn/lawtsinghua/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=28529>> [accessed 29 Apr2008]

641 Bo Zhang 张勃, 'Cong Hanshijie Xingshuai Kan Guanfang Yu Minjian Heli du Xisu Yingxiang' [The Influence on Cold Food Festival Custom by the Cooperation of Government and Folk]从寒食节的兴衰看官方与民间合力对习俗的影响, *Qilu Academic Journal* 齐鲁学刊, 2004(2) <[http://www.yesize.com/Get/L15/2005\\_03\\_02\\_20\\_10\\_47\\_183\\_21079.asp](http://www.yesize.com/Get/L15/2005_03_02_20_10_47_183_21079.asp)>[accessed 29 Apr2008]

The second category was Regular Breaks, which accounted for one rest day every ten days. Usually it was the tenth day, the twentieth day and the last day<sup>642</sup> of a month, which meant that there were at least 36 regular break days in one year. In the Chinese lunar calendar, every four years there is a year which has thirteen lunar months, called the bissextile year. So, in a bissextile year, there were 39 regular breaks. Before the Tang Dynasty, the number of regular break days was even greater. For example, government officers enjoyed one regular rest day in every five days.<sup>643</sup>

Another category was seasonal vacations, which were only for students and people who worked in education. There were fifteen days ploughing vacation<sup>644</sup> in spring, and fifteen days sewing vacation<sup>645</sup> in the autumn.

Occasionally, there were additional holidays, such as the wedding day of the emperor or crown prince, the coronation day or a day to celebrate the crown prince becoming an adult.

For common citizens, the festival holidays were the most important time for recreation. From the Tang to the Song Dynasty, the festival holidays increased. In the Tang Dynasty, there were around 50 festival holidays, and then in the Song Dynasty, the number increased to 76.<sup>646</sup> But for officers, only 18 of these holidays were included as ‘all free from work’, which meant in the other festival holidays, officers had to work or work half-time.<sup>647</sup>

---

642 The last day of a month in Chinese lunar calendar is usually the 29th or 30th day. In bissextile month, the last day is the 28th day.

643 Liansheng Yang 杨联陞, ‘Gudai Jiari’ [Holidays in Ancient times] 古代假日, in *Qinghua Weekly Journal* 清华周刊, Jan 4th 2006<<http://www.law.tsinghua.edu.cn/lawtsinghua/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=28529>> [accessed 29 Apr 2008]

644 Ploughing Vacation was during the busiest plowing time, which was in the fifth lunar month.

645 Sewing Vacation was during the ninth lunar month, when weather is going cold and people need to prepare quilted clothes for winter.

646 庞元英 (11th century), *Wenchangzalu* 文昌杂录 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1958) vol.1, p.3 <<http://www4.webng.com/khcjhk/Song/wczlla.htm#卷一>> [accessed 29 Apr 2008] 桀部休假, 歲凡七十有六日, 元日、寒食、冬至各七日, 天慶節、上元節同, 天聖節、夏至、先天節、中元節、下元節、降聖節、臘各三日, 立春、人日、中和節、春分、社、清明、上巳、天祺節, 立夏、端午、天眞節、初伏、中伏、立秋、七夕、末伏、社、秋分、授衣、重陽、立冬, 各一日, 上中下旬各一日, 大忌十五, 小忌四, 而天慶、夏至、先天、中元、下元、降聖、臘皆前後一日。後殿視事, 其日不坐。立春、春分、立夏、夏至、立秋、七夕、秋分、授衣、立冬、大忌前一日, 亦後殿坐, 餘假皆不坐, 百司休務焉。

647 Liansheng Yang 杨联陞, ‘Gudai Jiari’ [Holidays in Ancient times] 古代假日, in *Qinghua Weekly Journal* 清华周刊, Jan 4th

The true numbers of holidays for a certain festival changed too. For example, the Lantern Festival was only a single celebration day before the Tang Dynasty. But in the Tang Dynasty there were three days<sup>648</sup> and in the Song Dynasty, there were five.<sup>649</sup> The magnificent scenes of temporary decoration architectures were recorded where all kinds of lanterns were hung in the streets and various entertainment performances took place outdoors, while during the Ming Dynasty, there were ten days for celebration.<sup>650</sup>

Recreational time for peasants depended on the cultivation period. Usually the busiest periods were the third lunar month for sowing, the fifth lunar month for the wheat harvest and sowing new seeds, and the ninth lunar month for the second harvest.<sup>651</sup> During the period between the tenth month and the second month of the next year, when crops were dormant, there was a leisure period. Between the busiest months, which were the sixth, seventh, and eighth lunar months, when the weather was fine and the irrigation system worked well, peasants could still enjoy their leisure time.

It is characteristic of agricultural civilization that it allows abundant leisure time for peasant farmers and therefore for everyone in an agriculturally-based society. When there were normal climatic conditions and rains come as they should, the harvest was good without people making a special effort; this situation was described as 'fed by Nature' 靠天吃饭, an idiom in the ancient Chinese language. However, when the climate was disastrous, whether through flood or drought, harvest went poorly and famine might come and the basis of the social economy might be broken, let alone leisure activities.

---

2006<<http://www.law.tsinghua.edu.cn/lawtsinghua/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=28529>> [accessed 29 Apr2008]

648 Jieshun Xu 徐杰舜, *Hanzu Fengsushi [Custom History of Han]* 汉族风俗史, (Beijing: Xuelin 学林出版社, 2004) p.179 唐韦述《两京新记》: '正月十五夜, 敕金吾弛禁, 前后各一日以看灯。'

649 Chen Yuanliang 陈元靓(13th century), *Suishi Guangji [Notes about Seasons and Festivals]* 岁时广记 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 1939) 灯节从正月十四至十八, 历五天。

650 Zhongwen Shi 史仲文, *Zhongguo Mingdai Xisushi [Custom in the Ming Dynasty]* 中国明代习俗史, (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 1994) p.203 明代《永乐七年诏》载, '上元节自十一日为始, 赐节假日十日。'

651 The Chinese traditional agricultural proverbs show evidence of this. 清明忙种麦, 谷雨种大田/芒种忙收麦/立秋忙打淀, 处暑动刀镰, 白露忙割地, 秋分无生田

### **c. Changes of recreational behaviour along with the establishment of scenic sites**

When the scenic sites became generally popular during the Tang dynasty, recreational and leisure behaviour changed. Outdoor leisure behaviour could be distinguished in terms of three categories: a) active recreation, or athletic recreations which included ball games, martial arts, ice sports, archery games, wrestling, tug-of-war and so on; b) watching and viewing, which included watching games, animal games, watching entertaining performances, watching carnival processions, viewing scenery and so on; c) passive activities, which included meditation, sauntering, window shopping, and similar. Judging from the different games which were popular at different times, it is clear that Chinese history witnessed a change in leisure patterns from intense and competitive to cooperative and entertaining, and a change of leisure activities from active participation to passively watching.

### **The social context of changing leisure patterns**

Although leisure activities are undertaken for people's enjoyment in their own free time, voluntarily allocating resources (time, money, equipment), the leisure pattern of a society is not as free as it appears. It is related to the social context and influenced by the dominant ideology.

Leisure activities can be an expression of personal identity, provide for the expression

of distinct sub-cultures and be essential to the quality of life.<sup>652</sup> In expressing personal identity, recreation and leisure activities may differ markedly between different classes; so for example, a person's financial situation may have impacted on whether a certain recreation was accessible and affordable or not. However, Confucianism always advocated that the greatest pleasure comes from enjoyment in public,<sup>653</sup> insisting that even princes or the emperor should take part in the same pleasures as enjoyed by the populace, and that they should share their enjoyment with the populace, fusing the different classes. On the principle of 'enjoying with the mass', royal gardens in the Song dynasty were open to the public during the spring. In addition to this, the flexibility of social status since the Tang dynasty also helped in establishing this leisure pattern.

It was during the third century B.C. that the custom grew up of dividing the mass of the population into the famous four groups, shi, nong, gong, shang; that is, the lesser nobility or gentry, knights and scholars, the peasant-farmers, the artisans, and last of all the merchants.<sup>654</sup> Artisan and merchants, according to the theory of the day, were solely concerned with private profit and were looked down upon as lower class. During the Tang dynasty, entry to the national examination was opened, with the only limitation on candidates for the competitive examinations that they could not be merchants, artisans, or others who were solely concerned with private profit. Although this limitation was relaxed after the Tang dynasty, the entertaining performers were no doubt from a lower class, including the performers of professional skills in sports. For most sports and performing art, common people tended to watch only, or play occasionally, but not to be trained to perform in order to make a living. This attitude continued until recent times, when perceptions were changed totally by contemporary

---

652 J. R. Kelly, *Leisure* (London: Englewood Cliffs N.J., 1990)

653 Mengzi 孟子(372 B.C.-289B.C.), 'Dialogue with King Lianghui' 《孟子 梁惠王下》, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书 / 经部 / 十三经*, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/mengzi/mz\\_002.htm](http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/mengzi/mz_002.htm)> [accessed 30 Apr 2008] 曰：「与少乐乐，与众乐乐，孰乐？」曰：「不若与眾。」

654 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) p. 93

pop stars. Confucius showed his extreme dislike of entertaining performers. In one inter-kingdom meeting, he even commanded to execute several such entertainers.<sup>655</sup> As a consequence, entertaining performers were usually looked down upon as the lowest social class, no matter how rich or popular they were.

The influence of Confucianism became strong especially after the eighth century when the examination system was made open to the public and the scholar official class (people educated in Confucianism who comprised the government) came into being. The leisure pattern of the scholar official class (which was the upper class in ancient Chinese society), led fashion in society as a whole through their possession of government power. Certain leisure modes like scenery appreciation were encouraged by Confucianism while others were not.

## **Games change from intense and competitive to cooperative and entertaining**

In early China, as in early Greece, the display of physical prowess was a central element of many games. The ancient 'six arts',<sup>656</sup> part of the education of every aristocrat, included archery, charioteering and horse-riding. They were believed to be ideal education contents by Confucianism. Horse riding, archery and hunting were

655 Zhaoguang Ge 葛兆光, 'Sixiangshi Yanjiuzhongde Jiafa he Jianfa' [The Added and Deducted Parts in Historic Thoughts] 思想史研究中的加法和减法, *Dushu/Reading* 读书, 2003(1) ('齐鲁颠谷之会'记载在《春秋谷梁传》鲁定公十年, 齐国和鲁国的国君齐景公和鲁定公在颠谷举行盟会。'使优施舞於鲁君之幕下。孔子曰: '笑君者罪当死。'使司马行法焉, 首足异门而出。《史记·孔子世家》说齐国的'优倡侏儒为戏而前', 孔子便'历阶而登, 不尽不等, 曰'匹夫而营惑诸侯者罪当诛, 请命有司', 于是'有司加法焉, 手足异处'。)

656 Chongsheng Zhu 朱重圣, *Zhongguo Wenhua zhi Fuxing* [The Regeneration of Chinese Culture] 中国之文化复兴, (Taipei: Wenhua University Press 中国文化大学出版部, 1981) p.974 The other three arts are social courtesies, reading, and maths. 六艺者, 礼、乐、射、御、书、数也。《周礼·保氏》: '养国子以道, 乃教之六艺: 一曰五礼, 二曰六乐, 三曰五射, 四曰五驭, 五曰六书, 六曰九数。'

especially for aristocratic or rich people and it was not compulsory for common people to learn all the 'six arts'. However, after the Tang dynasty, when aristocrats and privileged families disappeared and the scholar gentry came into being, the 'arts' of archery and charioteering were rarely mentioned. The general education of Confucians did not include archery, horse-riding or hunting any more, since they were not required for the examinations for civil recruitment. Even popular sports and games became more gentle, uncompetitive and cooperative, rather than intense, competitive and requiring direct body contact as had been the case in earlier times.

As time passed, athletic recreational places changed from formal and large to informal and small. Between the Han and Tang dynasties, there were many comments about the special sports fields required for football and polo at the palace and in the manors of upper class people. However, later, in the Song dynasty, records say that upper class people and even the emperor played football or other games in informal open spaces such as in front of a major building in the palace or in the courtyards of their residences. The later the record, the fewer mentions there are of special sports field. People seem to have become accustomed to the informal small games which required only small spaces. The big games, such as polo which required more than ten people and horses as well as a large field, had vanished; while football changed its rules from requiring more than 20 players to needing only one or two players, and of course the football pitch also shrank, so that it might easily fit in any small field.

### **Ball Games as example**

Ball games were the most popular sports and games. Two phenomena are clear in the history of ball games. Firstly, ball games were not strictly ruled or limited by the need for a special playing field after the thirteenth century. Rules and playing field sizes had always been flexible and became more so as time passed. Games could take place anywhere and with any number of people. Special fields were rarely mentioned in

historic records, except for those in the imperial palace before the tenth century. In most cases, ball games took place on the street, or in the square enclosed by four residential buildings, or they might take place in any suitable open space. Secondly, ball games became more entertaining and professional. A few people were trained to perform ball games and they added acrobatic movements in order to make the show more interesting. These performances were presented as entertainments on the stage or as sideshows on the street or in a city's open spaces.

Such recreation behaviour did not require the provision of special stadiums or courts for particular games, but instead flexible open spaces which fitted well with the form of Chinese towns and their residential blocks. When some of the ball games evolved as entertaining shows, they could use stages built for other performances, such as drama and opera.

Cuju (a ball kicking game), similar to modern football, has a recorded history of more than 2500 years in ancient China. It was first played in the army as a military exercise and later introduced into the court in the Han Dynasty, since when football has always been the most popular game. Its popularity was described, 'no matter on broad road or in narrow lanes, there are always people playing Cuju'.<sup>657</sup> Especially for troops, football was the favourite, and it was once officially used as a training device to exercise soldiers: the general Huo Qubing let his soldiers play Cuju when preparing for battles, in order to build up the troops' fighting capacity and team cooperation ability.<sup>658</sup>

During the Western Han dynasty, a book on such sport entitled *Twenty-five Articles on Cuju* was written, describing ball-kicking with goals which was played in a team competition according to a set of rules and judged by referees, in a similar way as the

657 HuanKuan 桓宽, *Yantielun 盐铁论* (Beijing: Gudian wenxue Chubanshe 古典文学出版社, 1958) 康庄驱逐, 穷巷蹴鞠。

658 Sima Qian 司马迁(135B.C.-90B.C.), 'Weijiangjun Biaoqi Liezhuan' [Biography of WeiQing and HuoQubing] 卫将军骠骑列传, in *Shiji [History]*, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) <[http://guji.artx.cn/Article/2194\\_2306.html](http://guji.artx.cn/Article/2194_2306.html)> [accessed 30 Apr 2008] 骠骑尚穿域蹴鞠。

modern game.

One emperor of the Han dynasty, Liu Bang, once built a big football pitch in his palace, named ‘Ju City’. It is recorded that there were walls and a stand for the audience around the field, and the goal area was named ‘Ju Room’. The ancient football pitch looked like a short castle, with walls, goal rooms, steps to ascend, and a raised platform as a stand for audience.<sup>659</sup> Since the football pitch was large and formal, it was only built for the emperor or a few people of the upper class.

Then in the Tang Dynasty, there were marked changes in the ball-kicking game. New competitive ball games which were similar to the modern volleyball game were invented, adding to the original contact ball games (comparable with modern football, basketball, and rugby). Contestants in the new game were not in direct body contact but separated by a twelve metre high net with a third of a metre diameter goal. The outcome of the game was decided by the score. The ball was made of eight pieces of smooth hide with an air-inflated animal bladder inside which could be kicked much higher than before.

The populace usually played football in the street. Before the Song Dynasty, city plans were different: the city was divided into many blocks, each block with high walls around it, residential buildings and small lanes inside, and with gates for entry and exit. The streets between blocks were broad and suitable for playing big games. An emperor of the Tang Dynasty was recorded going up into a storied building in his resident block to watch people playing football in the street.<sup>660</sup>

For ball games, the fields were very flat, swept and specially flattened before every

659 Bingguo Liu 刘秉果, *Cuju: Shijie Zuigulao de Zuci* 蹴鞠: 世界最古老的足球, (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju 中华书局, 2004) p.55

660 Feng Yan 封演(eighth century), ‘Daqiu’ [Play Balls]打球, *Fengshi Wenjianji* [Historic Records by Feng] 封氏闻见记, vol.6, in Zibu Zajialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/子部/杂家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)<<http://www.guoxue.com/tangyanji/tdsl/fswj/fswj06.htm>>[accessed 30 Apr2008] (太宗到安福门外谓诗臣曰：闻西蕃人好为打球，比亦令习，会一度观之，昨升仙楼有群蕃街里打球。)

match.<sup>661</sup> The games were sometimes accompanied with music or drumming.<sup>662</sup>

Women also kicked balls. During the Tang, women's ball-kicking was confined to the imperial palace as a pastime for the isolated court maids and concubines. Then it spread among the populace in the Song dynasty.<sup>663</sup> It was recorded that on a festival occasion, a match was played between 153 women, all attired in four colour costumes with a brocade band around the waist. They played for three days, kicking embroidered balls to the accompaniment of a musical band.<sup>664</sup> Today the Imperial Palace Museum has a porcelain pillow painted with a girl kicking a ball, and at the Hunan Museum there is a bronze mirror engraved with an image of a woman playing football with men in garden (Fig 6.1). Both originate from the Song dynasty.



Figure 6.1 Back of the bronze mirror, showing a woman (the one at the lower right hand) playing football with men in a garden. Bronze mirror dated to the Southern Song dynasty (12<sup>th</sup> century), collection of Hunan Musuem, in Changsha, Hunan Province, China

Later, during the Song dynasty, new non-competitive ball games and various ball performances were invented and became popular afterwards. The rules were flexible about the number of participants and the size of the field. Except for cuju, most ball-kicking games were without goals, including baida, in which the ball was kicked to and fro between two or more persons (in even numbers); daju, in which an unlimited

661 Congxian Zuo 左从现 and others, 'Analysis of the Popularity of Polo in the Tang Dynasty' 唐代马球运动分析, *Tiyukexue [Sports Science]*, 2001(3) <<http://scholar.ilib.cn/Abstract.aspx?A=tykx200103011>>[accessed 30 Apr2008] 阎宽在《温汤御球赋》一文中就写道: '广场惟新, 扫除克净, 平望若砥, 下看犹镜。' 杨巨源的《观打球有作》诗也说: '亲扫球场如砥平'。

662 Wei Huang 黄伟, Ying Lu 卢鹰, *Zhongguo Guadai Tiyuxisu [Sports Custom in China History]* 中国古代体育习俗, (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin Chubanshe 山西人民出版社, 1994) p.155 韦应物(737-830?), 《寒食后北楼作》, '遥闻击鼓声, 跛鞠军中乐。'

663 Saishi Wang, *Chi he wan le : Zhongguo gudai shenghuo xisu mian mian guan* (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2000)

664 anon, *Sports & games in ancient China* (Beijing : New World Press, 1986).

number of contestants took part, each kicking by himself, trying to volley the ball as far as possible just as in kicking a shuttlecock; tiju, in which the winner was the one who booted the ball highest into air. There were also ball throwing games, ball tapping and racket games. These ball games gave opportunities for gentle play, cooperation between participants and also increased the ‘rest and watch’ time when in play. These factors may all have contributed to leading the ball games into a more entertaining stage in later times.

At the same time, new routines were added to ball-kicking games. The professional ball-kickers could touch the ball with any part of their body except hands and could give a performance of more than 100 movements, keeping the ball in the air. There were many ball-kicking performers during the dynasty who made a living by playing in that way. Ball players even formed their own society, Qiyunshe. The emergence of professional performers and popular entertainment shows supplied leisure opportunities which to some extent took the place of people playing games themselves, so that instead they were ‘watching and enjoying’.

In the capital Dongjing, early in the Song dynasty, the public ball-playing place was mentioned as located on a broad street, that running west to east south of the multi-storied royal feast building. The street was paved, with willow trees on both sides and supposedly the widest in the city.<sup>665</sup> The populace were also recorded kicking balls in the street where there was enough room.<sup>666</sup>

Since competitive ball games had decreased since the time of the Song dynasty, being substituted by entertaining ball game performances, the number of special sport fields in cities also decreased. The books which recorded ball games at that time mostly talked about routine entertaining movements of ball playing other than towards the

665 Meng Yuanlao 孟元老(12th century), *Dongjing Menghualu [Memory of the Eastern Capital]* 东京梦华录 (Jinan: Shangdong Youyi Chubanshe 山东友谊出版社, 2001) 《东京梦华录·驾幸宝津楼宴殿》载：‘琼林苑宴殿南面有横街，牙道柳径，乃都人击毬之所。’

666 Xihulaoren (13<sup>th</sup> century), *Xihulaoren Fanshenglu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1917) 上海商务印书馆涵芬楼秘笈《西湖老人繁胜录》：‘宽阔处踢球。’

goal, for example, 'keep the ball in air all day by kicks and other body touches'.<sup>667</sup> People began to appreciate the acrobatic shows and rejected the original competitive contact sport matches. Possibly, the greatly increased population in cities during the Tang to the Song dynasties was one of the reasons for this change. During the Song dynasty, the cities changed, from walled blocks to more modern roads and streets, and the unused spaces in cities which used to be suitable for holding large ball matches disappeared as the city densified.

Later during the period of the Ming to the Qing Dynasties, ball games seem to have been informal and were very rarely recorded, although there is evidence showing that people enjoyed watching them.<sup>668</sup> There were professional football players who were called Yuanshe, the same title as their association. The novels of that time mentioned people playing with balls in courtyards, quiet lanes, or the open space near the gate-buildings, and some people hired one or two professional ball players to play with or perform in their own residences.<sup>669</sup>

One important fact can be derived from this examination of historical sources, that, after tenth century, the ball games became less competitive, more entertaining and more performed by professionals as commercial shows.

### Polo as example

Another popular game in the Sui and Tang dynasties was polo, which originated

---

667 Cui Lequan 崔樂泉, *Chinese Games in History with Illustrations* 图说中国古代游艺(Taipei: Wenjin Publishing House 文津出版社, 2002) p.295

Liu Bingguo,etc. 刘秉果, 赵明奇, 刘怀祥, *Cuju:the ancient Football Game* 蹴鞠: 世界最古老的足球 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局出版, 2004) p.147(宋代的足球和唐代的踢法一样, 有用球门的间接比赛和不用球门的'白打', 但书上讲的大多都是白打踢法。所谓'脚头十万踢, 解数百千般', 就是指踢球花样动作和由几个花样组成的成套动作, 指用头、肩、背、胸、膝、腿、脚等一套完整的踢技, 使'球终日不坠'。)

668 Yuan Qixu(Qing dynasty), 'Yanjiu zhuzhici' 清人袁启旭《燕九竹枝词》: '如蚁游人拦不住, 纷纷挤过蹴鞠场。'

669 for example, the novel *Jinpingmei* (16th century) and the novel *Hongloumeng*(18th century). 《金瓶梅》中: 西门庆吃了一回酒, 出来外面院子里先踢, 又教桂姐与两个圆社踢。一个梢头, 一个对障, 拐踢拐打。《红楼梦》中, '可巧门上小厮, 在甬路底下踢球。'

during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). This game was mentioned in many historic records and even described in poetry. According to historical records, the emperor in the Tang dynasty, after feasting with his courtiers, would always invite them to watch a game of polo at the playground behind the Hanguang Hall. Archaeologists have proved that there were more than one sports-ground and playground within the walled city of Daming Palace.<sup>670</sup> There was another sports-ground near Liyuan Pavilion to the northwest. It is recorded that in 710 A.D., Emperor Zhongzong organized a polo game here to entertain an envoy from Turpan (a nation located southeast of China).<sup>671</sup> Polo became very popular in the Tang dynasty, but later was only continued by the army in Ming times. After the Ming dynasty, polo was rarely played.<sup>672</sup>

The famous poet Hanyu described a polo game and its court in the Tang Dynasty, saying that, 'at one corner of the city where two rivers cross, the court is so flat that it seems to be cut out. Low walls enclose three sides of it, and each side is about one thousand steps long. The drums are rataplaned and red flags are erected...',<sup>673</sup> Although the precise rules were not mentioned, the intense atmosphere of the polo game still can be sensed.

In the Tang dynasty, polo fields were also recorded as built in aristocrats' homes<sup>674</sup>, some imperial gardens<sup>675</sup>, imperial residences, near troops' stations and in the public area of cities or in the outskirts. Some frescos excavated from tombs also show that

670 Editing Committee, *Sports & games in ancient China*, (Beijing: New World Press, 1986).

671 Ma Wenting 马文廷, 'The Research of Polo in the Tang Dynasty Based on Evidence Showed in the Fresco of Polo' 从《马球图》谈唐代的马球运动, *Research of the Imperial Tomb Qianling 乾陵文化研究*, ed. by Fan Yingfeng (Xi'an: Sanqin 三秦出版社, 2005) p.182-6

672 Liu Gang 刘刚, 'The Lost Game of Polo' 失落的马球, *Sports Culture 体育文化导刊*, 2005(6)

673 Han Yu, 韩愈, 'Biansi jiaoliu Chang Zhang pushe', in *Quantangshi [Poetry in Tang Dynasty]* 全唐诗, vol.338\_4, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Zongjilei 文渊阁四库全书/集部/总集类, ed. by Jiyun (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) 《汴泗交流赠张仆射》《全唐诗》卷 338\_4 ‘汴泗交流郡城角，筑场千步平如削，短垣三面缭逶迤，击鼓腾腾树赤旗，……’

674 Wang Saishi, Zhang Xueshu 王赛时, 张学书, *Eating Drinking and Playing 吃喝玩乐* (Jinan: Shandong you yi, 2000 ) p.8 除宫廷设有马球场外, 贵族官员家中亦有自建的球场, 如唐德宗时的司徒兼中书令李晟家在长安永崇坊有自筑的球场。唐文宗时, 翰林学士承旨王源中在太平坊家里筑有球场

675 Feng Yan(eighth century) 封演, *Records Made by Mr.Feng*. 《封氏闻见记》唐中宗景龙四年, '吐蕃遣使迫金城公主, 中宗于梨园亭子赐观打球'。

polo took place on spacious common land in the outskirts of towns<sup>676</sup>. In Xinjiang Province, the remains of an ancient polo field survive, 50 to 60 metres wide with high lands on both sides for the audience.<sup>677</sup> In the Tang dynasty, there was a public polo field in the scenic area Qujiang, located on the eastern bank of Qujiang River, southeast of the city Chang'an. It was recorded that every year during the second and the third lunar month, people who had passed the Imperial Test to be officials (科举考试), would hold a ballgame match there to celebrate.<sup>678</sup>

To increase the game's entertainment value, during the Tang dynasty people changed the horses used in the polo game to donkeys, and had young girls play the game. The girls were dressed up and the donkeys decorated.<sup>679</sup> Since donkeys are much slower and smaller than horses, after the change the field required for the game was much reduced and people could enjoy it in a much smaller space.

Later, donkey polo was changed again to walking polo (buda ball, driving the ball with a stick while walking, was similar to polo, except that the people who played it were not mounted but on their feet), and another ball game chuiwan, which scored when the ball went into a pit in the ground, rather like golf<sup>680</sup>. The space it required was again much smaller. Since it was easy to fit in any space in cities, buda became popular from the Tang dynasty, and was handed down. People were recorded playing it in the small space in front of buildings. Poems also reveal that it was one of the

676 The painting of Playing Polo, 4 by 2 metre, fresco in tomb of Lixian, a prince in Tang dynasty, excavated in 1971. 考古发掘陕西乾陵的陪葬墓——章怀太子李贤的墓道上，发现了一幅大型壁画《马球图》。这幅长约 4 米，高约 2 米的大型壁画，真实地描绘了唐代马球运动的实况。这幅壁画除部分残缺外，尚保存着结扎尾巴的骏马 20 多匹，画面环境，很象旷野山地。

677 Li Huixing 李惠兴, 'the game of polo in the western part of China', in *Antiques of Xinjiang*, 1997(1). P.82 马球运动在西域，新疆文物 1997。新疆塔什库尔干县城北约一公里的地方，还残留着一个古代的马球场(宽 50~60m)，两侧还有高地供人坐立观看。

678 Luo Puyun, Luo Putin 罗普云, 罗普磷, 'Influence of Sports of the Silk Road on Polo in Tang Dynasty' 浅析丝绸之路体育对唐代马球运动的影响, *Journal of Xi'an Institute of Physical Education* 西安体育学院学报, 1999 Vol.16(2) (唐代'月灯阁球会'月灯阁位于唐长安城的游览中心曲江池的东岸，每年二、三月间，这里都要在进士科及第后，举行一系列的庆祝活动。其中有三大盛会，即慈恩塔题名、曲江游乐宴会和月灯阁下打球，以球赛的方式来庆祝进士科及第 1999 年 第 16 卷 第 2 期)

679 'Biography of Guo Zhiyun', in *New Official Tang History*, vol 133 《新唐书卷 133·郭知运传》: '女伎乘驴击球，锢鞍宝勒及它服用，日无虑数万费，以资倡乐。'

680 Wang Saishi, Zhang Xueshu 王赛时, 张学书, *Eating Drinking and Playing 吃喝玩乐* (Jinan: Shandong you yi, 2000) p.16 步打球 I 类似曲棍球，宋元时，由步打球又发展出一种新的击球入球窝为胜的球类运动——捶丸，类似高尔夫。

recreations played by imperial palace maids during the Hanshi Festival (one day before ‘Pure Brightness’, the fifth solar term).<sup>681</sup> In the Ming Dynasty buda ball was widespread, and was a favourite game played by young people in many cities.<sup>682</sup> The painting scroll ‘Pleasures of emperor Xuanzong of Ming Dynasty’ and the traditional Chinese painting ‘Beauties’ by painter Dujin, now stored in Beijing’s Palace Museum, both portray scenes of the game. However, the game was rarely played during the Qing Dynasty or later.

From the evolution of the rules of this game and the popularity of different rules at different times, it may be concluded that the game gradually evolved from intense to gentle, from direct body contact which was competitive to elegance.

### **People change from active participation to passively watching**

Over the course of time, some active recreation activities became more and more professional and entertaining, especially those requiring special skills and long practice or those which might be dangerous or might cause bodily injury such as Xiangpu (like Japanese sumo), wrestling and acrobatic ball games. Common people tended to watch them, rather than playing themselves. This led to the flourishing of huge varieties of entertainment, so that people didn’t need to engage in active body movement in seeking recreation, but only enjoy watching and having fun.

681 Wang Jian(eighth century), the no. 73 poem of the hundred poems about the palace, in Poetry of Tang Dynasty, vol.302 全唐诗卷 302 唐王建宫词之七三: ‘殿前铺设两边楼, 寒食宫人步打毬。’

682 Cai Fengming 蔡丰明, *History of Games 游戏史* (Shanghai: Wenyi 上海文艺出版社, 1997) p.117

## Jiaoli, wrestling and martial arts as example

Fighting games date back to the Zhou Dynasty, when warriors were required to practise jiaoli, a military drill in which they charged at each other with horns on their heads.<sup>683</sup> Wrestling was first an important military exercise, and only later gradually became a competitive, recreational sport. These fighting games were very popular before the tenth century, when many historical sources mention them as a recreational custom that common people often took part in and also enjoyed watching. It was recorded in the seventh century that on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, 'people in cities and towns are accustomed to play wrestling, and boast of being good at it. Neighbours all compete with each other.'<sup>684</sup> Another record mentioned a grand wrestling competition event held in the capital which last for one month.<sup>685</sup> A book about fighting games written in the eleventh century says: 'in Jinchu area, in the fifth lunar month, people enjoy boat racing and wrestling with neighbours';<sup>686</sup> it also concluded that during the Tang dynasty (seventh to the tenth centuries), fighting games such as jiaoli and xiangpu were popular not only in the capital but also the whole southern area which was always supposed to be the most civilized area in later history.

In and after the Song Dynasty (the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries), fighting games were mentioned more often as an entertaining show performed by trained boxers than as a game that common people participate in. The grand fighting matches were held between the Left and Right Armies of the Imperial Guard on the emperor's

683 Ma Guojun, Ma Shuyun 麻国钧, 麻淑云, *All about Traditional Games in China* 中华传统游戏大全 (Beijing: Countryside Readings 农村读物出版社, 1990) p.5

684 Wei Zheng (580-643) 魏征, 'Biography of Liu Yu', in *Official Sui History*. 《隋书·柳彧传》: '都邑百姓, 每至正月十五, 作角抵之戏, 递相夸竞。'

685 Wei Zheng (580-643) 魏征, 'Biography of Emperor Sui Yangdi', in *Official Sui History*. vol.3. 《隋书》卷三〈炀帝纪〉: '隋炀帝大业六年丁丑, 角大戏于端门街天下奇技异能毕集, 终月而罢。'

686 Tiaoluzi (12<sup>th</sup> century), *Jiaoliji [Wrestling Games]* 北宋调露子《角力记》: '荆楚之间, 五月盛集, 水嬉则竞渡, 街房则相撲 (提手旁) 为乐。' 唐时角抵不仅在京师流行, 而且江浙一带也'俗好角力相扑'

birthday and when banquets were held at the court.<sup>687</sup> As for the boxers that were to be found in the pleasure grounds and surrounding pavement spaces, they were travelling performers who gave shows in all the towns. Coming from all the prefectures in the empire, they gathered at the Huguo Temple for the big boxing competition shows that were periodically held there.<sup>688</sup> The traditional rule for a fighting match is Leitai, which may be literally translated as ‘fighting on the platform’. The winner of a fight was called the ‘platform-occupier’ and lost his position as such whenever he was beaten by a challenger. Then the occupier met the next challenger. This went on until there were no more challenges to the occupier, who was then declared the champion or final victor.

The custom of watching fighting games did not arise suddenly in the Song dynasty; it can be traced back hundreds of years before, in an informal style. In the Tang dynasty, fighting matches were recorded as often held in the foothills, with spectators sitting on the slopes. In the regions between Shanxi and Sichuan, according to a book entitled *Stories of Wrestling*, whole towns would turn out to watch such matches and cheer the winners when they received prizes.<sup>689</sup> In the Tang, there were professional wrestlers and special platforms in imperial palaces.<sup>690</sup>

In the Song, professional wrestlers for public shows formally appeared and national rings were erected. Wrestling was not only a game but also a kind of performance. There were all kinds of wrestling performances in the amusement markets<sup>691</sup>, even women’s and children’s sumo. It was recorded that on the stage of Huguo Temple there were sumo competitions, and the champions were rewarded with flag, banner,

---

687 Zhang Cankun 张灿辉, *Games Played in Imperial Courts* 古代帝王宫廷娱乐(Changsha: Yuelu 岳麓书社, 1997) p.246

688 Meng Liang Lu, V9,

689 Li Chongshen 李重申, *Theses on Sports and Culture of Silkroad* 丝绸之路体育文化论集(Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 2005) p.173

690 Xiang Si 向斯, *Leisure Life of Chinese Emperors* 中国皇帝游乐生活(Beijing: Xinhua 新华出版社, 1994) p.99

691 amusement market, 瓦市, a special place in city where all kinds of performance and commercial amusement congregate, which seems like a contemporary American midway, the area of a fair, a carnival, a circus, or an exposition where sideshows and other amusements are located.

silver cup, colourful satin, broche coat, official emblem and horses.<sup>692</sup> These records show that games at this time were already very commercial, and were presented as professional performances to amuse the public.

Along with the emergence of the professional performance of xiangpu, wrestling and jiaoli, the original fighting games that common people took part in evolved into Chinese martial arts that could be practiced by single people, as a kind of body exercise to maintain good health, which took the form of a set of body movement routines. Chinese martial art has many genres. It includes bare handed play, swordplay and the skill of wielding spears, cudgels and all kinds of weapons. Unlike boxing, however, it is a kind of exercise based on simulated fighting, and consists of systematic movements for both attack and defence. The most popular genre since the Ming dynasty is Taiji, which people enjoy practising even today. It is practised very slowly, nearly giving no evidence that it originated in real fighting skills.

In conclusion, fighting games prospered as entertaining performances but declined as games for the participation of common people. They were ultimately replaced by an elegant martial art, still practiced by ordinary people. Chinese martial arts and wrestling never required fields of a special size and shape, but could be done in any open space and performed on a stage or platform similar to that used for drama or opera.

The change of fighting games, together with the changes of various ball games, illustrates the general trend of leisure and changing taste in it.

---

<sup>692</sup> Meng Liang Lu, V20( 护国寺南高峰露台争交, 头赏者, 旗帐银杯彩缎锦袄官会马匹。)

#### d. Changed recreational behaviour integrates well with scenic sites

As has been mentioned above, competitive games and sports gradually evolved into uncompetitive games in time, and the public gradually changed from active participation in intense games to become the ‘watching and enjoying’ audience who benefited from the emergence of professional performers in various entertaining areas after the eleventh century. Although people still played games and sports, they actually only took part in small-scale competitive games such as tug-of-war, or uncompetitive games such as kiting, shuttlecock and some cooperative ball-games. This leisure behaviour was easily accommodated by scenic areas. The entertaining performances were also integrated into scenic sites and other public leisure places, for example as street-side shows or as part of massive leisure events and festival celebrations.

Many local archives record the crowded scene of spring excursions: people dressed up to make an excursion to the outskirts; they took picnic food and drink; swinging, kites and many games were played.<sup>693</sup> During their outing, people played various ball games, tug-of-war, wrestling and archery shooting. For example, an archery game was recorded in the Ming dynasty: a light box is hung over a willow branch with a dove hidden inside. Participants shoot it in turn. The one whose shot opened the box so that the dove was freed was the winner.<sup>694</sup> The swaying of the soft branch of willow in the

693 *Gazettes of Jinan*, Nanning, Yongping and Fengyang. Original text as follows: 《济南府志》: ‘清明节士女盛饰，结伴游春，或携酒肴郊饮，谓之踏青’；广西《南宁府志》载：‘清明有携植郊游宴饮者，谓之踏青’；河北《永平府志》载：‘清明展墓，连日倾城踏青、看花、挑菜、簪柳、斗百草……家家树秋千为戏，闺人挝子儿赌胜负，童子团纸为风鸢，引绳放之。山原车马，尊罍相接，道隅俊余而多醉歌矣’；安徽《凤阳府志》载：‘清明前后，士民携酒肴游郊外，谓之踏青’。

And also see Qin Weiyun (Qing dynasty), *Custom of Each Month*, vol.4,5,6. 清人秦味芸《月令粹编》卷四引明人冯应京《月令广义》云‘蜀俗正月初八日，踏青游冶’，卷五引元人著《岁华纪丽谱》云‘二月二日踏青节，初郡人游赏，散在四郊’，又卷六引唐人李淖《秦中岁时记》云‘上巳(三月初三)赐宴曲江，都人于江头禊饮，践踏青草，谓之踏青履’。

694 Jia Jingyan, Shi Yun 贾敬颜, 史筠, *National History and Culture 民族历史文化萃要* (Changchun: Jilin Education Press 吉林

wind increases the difficulty and the dove's joy after being released at last makes it dramatic and emotional. People enjoyed both participating in and watching this.

The changed leisure behaviour integrated into scenic sites so perfectly, and scenic sites became so popular that in the late Ming dynasty, when the leisure custom of revelling in scenic sites was at its heyday (judging by the number of records), it was criticized by some individuals. Controversy arose about whether it was a waste for the economy. As an extreme example, in the seventeenth century in Suzhou, people were so keen on making excursions to scenic sites that some local head officers worried about it and prohibited such leisure activities because they personally considered that too much time and social wealth being spent on leisure activities was a waste and might cause economic recession, a view which has turned out to be wrong in terms of modern economic theory. A magistrate, Wang, decreed the destruction of boats and yachts for leisure use, and later another magistrate, Cai, decreed the prohibition of excursions to scenic hills on the outskirts.<sup>695</sup> These records reveal not only the attitudes of certain individuals on the relationship of leisure behaviour and the economy, but also the extreme popularity of excursions to scenic sites at that time.

## The popularity of uncompetitive games and passive leisure

People had long been familiar with uncompetitive play and games. As early as in the third century BC, cockfighting, dog racing, gambling, playing chess and ball games were recorded in Linzi as popular leisure activities; various music instruments such as wind instruments, drums, zither and other stringed instruments were also generally

教育出版社出版, 1990) p.166 明代藏鸽于盒内, 悬之柳上, 射中盒开, 鸽飞而出, 以此为乐。' (吴长元《宸垣识略》卷3)

695 *Gazette of Changzhou County in Longqing Era of Ming dynasty*, republished in 1990 by Shanghai Shudian, vol.1, p.6.隆庆《长洲县志》,收在《天一阁明代方志选刊续编》第23册(上海:上海书店据隆庆5年刻本影印,1990年),卷1,《风俗》,页6b引(明)黄省曾《吴风录》,页6b。黄省曾在《吴风录》中指出苏州过去盛行游虎丘,西山踏青,盛夏观荷花荡的旅游活动,直到两位地方官执行禁令之后才略有变化,「先郡守王公廷毁舟后,蔡公国熙禁山游,稍正风俗。」

played. The source even says that ‘nobody there doesn’t play these’ in order to emphasize how popular this leisure behaviour was.<sup>696</sup> It was also recorded as common as early as the first century BC that people enjoyed observing fish and birds, watching wildlife and strolling around in open green spaces in their free time. Some educated people also took outdoor reading as their hobby, and when there was good weather, they went to scenic area to read, meditate or have a nap as well as gazing, drinking, feasting, and walking.<sup>697</sup> Small games such as tug-of-war, kiting, swinging, hide-and-seek and games with small items such as a rope, a kite, or a swing, were popular with women and children, since these games were relaxing and hardly needed any skill. In particular, swings provided the recreation of young society ladies.<sup>698</sup> In good weather, the indoor games were also played outside. All these popular recreations did not require a special field. They were flexible and easily adaptable to varieties of open spaces in a scenic area. Under the canopy of a big tree, in a kiosk or on a platform, on a decked terrace or in a small flat field, are all suitable.

### The popularity of watching and enjoying

There are abundant historic records including paintings<sup>699</sup> about the various entertaining performances in ancient China. As early as in the second century BC, a variety of entertaining performances, generally named and recorded as the ‘hundred shows’<sup>700</sup>, were already prospering. A great number of slate engravings exist, which

696 Sima Qian, ‘Biology of Suqin’, in *Shiji*, vol.69, no.9 in Category of Biologies. 《史记》卷 69，列传第九，苏秦列传：‘临淄甚富而实，其民无不吹竽鼓瑟弹琴击筑斗鸡走狗六博踏鞠者。’

697 Li Yanshou 李延寿 (Tang dynasty), ‘Biology of Liu Xuan’, in *Beishi [Official History of Northern Dynasties]*, vol. 82, no.70 in Category of Biologies. 新校本北史/列傳/卷八十二列傳第七十/儒林下/劉炫 2767’斂文史以怡神，閱魚鳥以散慮，觀省野物，登臨園沼，緩步代車，無事為貴’

698 Gernet Title, *Daily life in China on the eve of the Mongol invasion 1250-1276*.

699 These paintings were collected and published as a picture album: *Hundred Pictures of Folk Custom in Beijing* (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 2003) 北京民间风俗百图(珍藏版);国家图书馆珍藏绘本,编著: 佚名 北京图书馆出版社 2003

700 ‘Hundred shows’, 百戏, as a general title, includes wrestling, acrobatics, dancing, drama, magical shows and all kinds of different shows. The term was frequently used in historic literature before fifth century AD. After that period, each show

depict scenes of performances, surviving from two thousand years ago. Many foreign shows spread from countries along the western border, such as magic shows, fire playing, Persian music playing, rope-walking, rope-climbing,<sup>701</sup> all of which made a wide spectrum of various entertainments which usually took place in the open spaces of towns or in popular scenic areas during festival time (Fig6.2, 6.3).



Figure 6.2 drawing based on part of the painting *Qingming shanghe tu* (the whole scroll is 528cmX24.8cm of size, by Zhang Zeduan), Song dynasty, illustrating the audience of a performer on street, with the open style building

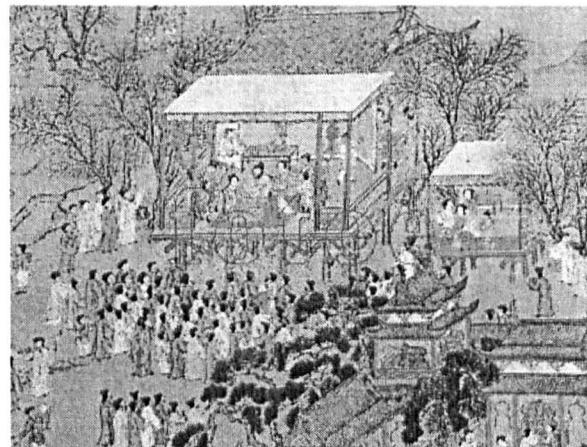
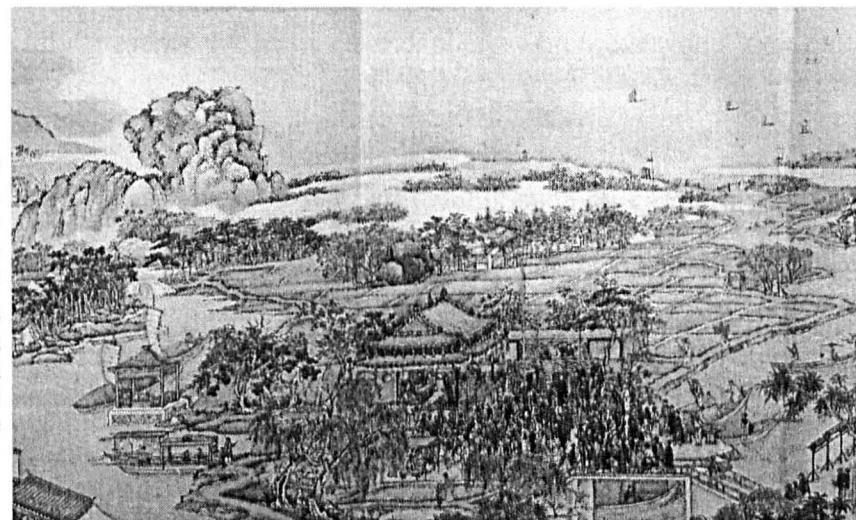


Figure 6.3 part of a painting of the Song dynasty, illustrating the entertainers in an open style building and the audience around 宋杂剧演出 (source: www.fotoe.com)



A painting from the seventeenth century shows an entertainment which took place on a kiosk stage in a scenic area (Fig6.4). The building was purposely built with only a

developed and has its own title, so that the general title is rarely mentioned again. The historic literature are as follows: 《后汉书南夷传》:‘永宁元年西南夷掸国王遣使者诣阙,献乐及幻人,能变化吐火,自支解,易牛马头.’《法苑珠林》卷 61 引崔鸿《十六国春秋北凉录》云:‘玄始十四年七月,西域贡吞刀,嚼火,秘幻奇伎.’‘幢者旌幢,树之攀缘以为戏.’《文选西京赋》薛综注百戏之‘上索’云:‘索上长绳系两头于梁,举其中央,两人各从一头上,交相度,所谓舞乡恒者也,是皆异国之游戏伎艺也.’

<sup>701</sup> Qi Sihe, *Research on Chinese History 中國史探研*, (Taibei: Hongwenguan 弘文館出版社, 1981) p.261

roof and columns, leaving all the sides open. It was suitable as a stage for entertainment or as a place for viewing scenery. These performances were enjoyed by common people, even the poorest, since it was usually not compulsory to collect money. The audience paid any price they wanted or could afford. This was a normal pattern, for citizens to enjoy their free time.

Some leisure activities were seasonal and depended on the weather. For example, kite playing was most popular in spring, when the wind is stable and strong, suitable for playing with kites. People even played with kites at night, attaching lights to the kite to make it more fun. In other seasons, kite playing was rarely mentioned. In certain season, with many people playing or watching the same game, it is spectacular and more enjoyable; this boosted the massive leisure atmosphere in scenic sites. For example, a poem from the ninth century describes the recreation activities of spring: exquisite carved egg shells and embroidered colourful pompons were made to play with; people rode on horses crossing the meadow or went by horse-drawn carriage to the outskirts of town; ladies played in swings, with their skirts flickering in the wind.<sup>702</sup> The poem vividly presents the leisure atmosphere which everyone took part in.

Certain festival times or seasons involved big folk events such as carnival parades. For example, around the Shangyuan Festival 上元 in early spring, there were usually lantern exhibitions on the street and the spontaneous public carnivals with various homemade lanterns and lights. Around the Duanwu Festival 端午 in early summer, boat-racing and river carnivals were usually held. At the time of the Chongyang Festival 重阳 in late autumn, people usually climbed a hill or an elevated location to view the distance. These seasonal and festival folk celebration events always took place in the scenic areas on the outskirts of towns. During leisure events, people were supplied with a full range of leisure opportunities, including playing games, watching

702 Bai Juyi, poetry series of 'Hechunshen', in *Collection of Bai Juyi*, ed. Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1988), vol. 26, p. 4362 白居易《和春深》, '何处春深好, 春深寒食家。玲珑镂鸡子, 宛转彩球花。碧草追游骑, 红尘拜扫车。秋千细腰女, 摆曳逐风斜', 《白居易集》卷 26

entertaining performances, enjoying scenery and especially the atmosphere of sharing the fun, which has been always promoted by Confucians and phrased as 'having fun with the mass is the greatest fun'.

## Conclusion

Participation in active exercise diminished after the Tang dynasty, when people preferred small games or sports which fitted better at the scenic sites, and which were uncompetitive with flexible rules and informal playing fields. The rules of ball games and other sports became less competitive but more entertaining, professional entertaining performers emerged and most of populace stayed in for 'watch and enjoy' parties; at the same time, scenery appreciation and the custom of 'revelling in Nature' was boosted, along with the adaptation of the natural landscape as scenic excursion places. Enjoying views became a major pastime and the adaptation of scenic places in and around towns for public leisure steadily increased. Finally, the 'small uncompetitive games', the 'performance watching' and the 'scenery viewing' behaviours all integrated with the adapted scenic sites, with festival events and folk celebrations occasionally held there.

## **Chapter 7. Discussion and conclusion**

Scenic sites have been very popular throughout China's history. The surviving scenic sites are a tangible part of China's landscape heritage, while their intangible counterpart, the cultural values, perceptions and human behaviour involved, is more significant in offering a deep comprehension which can benefit conservation, but unfortunately this heritage has been neglected for ages. This research has explored historic scenic sites with concerns for both tangible and intangible aspects of Chinese landscape heritage, based on the analysis of many records of Bajing, surviving scenic sites and other historic literature.

Historically, natural scenic sites have been appreciated and improved with great enthusiasm and have been recorded and praised in poetry, travel notes and prose, as well as being depicted in paintings and drawings. Judging from historical evidence, it was during the period of the Tang to the Song dynasties (the seventh to the twelfth centuries) that such scenic sites first came to be established on a scale; they continued to increase in number during the Ming to the Qing dynasties period (the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries), being continuously improved and embellished and recorded as Bajing, that is, Eight Scenes.

Unfortunately, during the sequence of wars since the 1930s and the subsequent Mao era until 1979, the tradition of improving scenic sites for public leisure and the tradition of Bajing have been neglected and damaged for various reasons. These include changes in management style, agricultural terracing, urban encroachment, and so on, despite official designation of the sites and their potential value for tourism. Subsequent economic development, particularly from the 1990s onwards, has unfortunately meant that most of the historic places included in Eight Scenes have

been destroyed, due to the ceaseless exploitation of natural resources and urbanisation. It is clear that there were no policies in place to conserve and maintain them. For example, seven of the eight of Quanjiao (in present Anhui Province) Eight Scenes, though recorded in the local Gazette as recently as the 1920s, have been destroyed since. One was destroyed by fire as early as the Second World War; one was developed for an industrial plant in the 1970s; another disappeared through dramatic changes in topography caused by farming and the loss of vegetation; a fourth one was flooded in order to build a new reservoir; two further ones have disappeared due to the construction of new sluices associated with a new irrigation system; and the seventh one has been misused by local peasants.<sup>703</sup>

Despite the desolation of so many scenic sites, some famous ones have continued to be celebrated and have been used as local resorts, such as the West Lake of Hangzhou (in present Zhejiang Province). Some were designated, though often only partly, as people's parks after 1949. Such surviving places are now officially referred to as 'famous sites with scenic views' 风景名胜 or 'historic cultural scenic sites' 历史文化风景名胜区, referred to as 'scenic sites' in this thesis for the sake of brevity. Since 1982, 120 such places have been added to a national list of scenic resources, and many more to provincial or local lists. Since 2005, the government has recognized them as a 'precious natural and cultural heritage'<sup>704</sup>. However, they still are not as well protected as they should be, suffering from modern development to provide for tourism, new adaptation and arbitrary construction.

China can now take pride in its ancient tradition of the preservation and development of such sites, quoting Zhao, the prefecture chief of Huzhou (in present Zhejiang Province). He commenced the improvement of a local scenic resort and in 1222 had just initiated the building of a new multi-storied pavilion. It was an extension of an

703 Zhihao Wang 汪治浩, 'Where are the traditional Eight Scenes of Quanjiao today?' 全椒八景今安在? , source from Quanjiao Government Website <[http://www.quanjiao.gov.cn/v2/include/article\\_view.php?id=66&ty=7](http://www.quanjiao.gov.cn/v2/include/article_view.php?id=66&ty=7)> [accessed 07Dec07]

704 'The Announcement of the Sixth List of the Important Natural Areas with Famous Scenic Views and Cultural Relics' 国务院关于发布第六批国家重点风景名胜区名单的通知, Document on 31Dec2005 of the Central People's Government [国函(2005) 107号], no.107 <[http://202.123.110.5/zwgk/2006-01/10/content\\_153188.htm](http://202.123.110.5/zwgk/2006-01/10/content_153188.htm)> [accessed 18Apr2008]

ancient kiosk by a lake which he had restored previously. He said, ‘it is better to let people enjoy the scenery of the lake than to preach to them’<sup>705</sup>. He was himself already responding to a long tradition, with a predecessor of his, Yan Zhenqing, recorded in 776 as ‘building an octagonal kiosk for public recreation’<sup>706</sup> at the same lake. The new pavilion was to provide the best view across the lake with the mountains in the background, enabling viewers to enjoy the fresh breeze coming from the lake. The aim of such places clearly was the moral improvement of the populace, and this encouragement of a close relationship with Nature was deeply influenced by Confucianism.

The present National Parks do not seek to restore this connection as they come from a different ideology which originates in the Western national park system. This concept was derived from successes in the USA and Great Britain particularly, and this inspiration is carefully acknowledged, as is clear from the official badging used since 2007. Their signs have the English words ‘NATIONAL PARK OF CHINA’ on the upper part, and the Chinese term, ‘中国国家级风景名胜区 (Chinese scenic areas on the national list)’ on lower part. This shows the official translation of ‘national parks’ as ‘Chinese scenic areas on the national list’.

Although the scenic areas on the national list are defined as ‘the same as the national parks in Western countries’,<sup>707</sup> they are not administered or protected as ‘national parks’ should be. In the US, ‘National Park’ usually suggests that the park belongs to the nation rather than to the state, local government or private individuals, and the national parks are usually administered and protected directly by the national government. In China, although all lands belong to the nation, the scenic areas on the

705 Ye Shi 叶适(Song Dynasty), ‘Huzhou Shengshanglou Ji’ 湖州胜赏楼记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Chengde Zhang, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.954-5 (original text: 以道讲民, 见湖可哉)

706 Bai Juyi 白居易(772-846), ‘Baipingzhou Wuting Ji’白萍洲五亭记, in *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan*, ed. by Zhang Chengde, and others 张成德等 (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002) p.943-5

707 The term is defined in the Chapter of ‘Standards and Terms of Scenic Sites Planning’, in *Chinese National Standards GB50298-1999*.根据中华人民共和国国家标准 GB50298-1999:《风景名胜区规划规范·术语》一章的定义, 国家级风景名胜区(原称‘国家重点风景名胜区’)在保护地体系归类中相当于‘海外的国家公园’。

national list are administered by local government or various bureaux, in the same way as those scenic areas which are on provincial or local lists. Since they are all administered by local government or different bureaux, and there are no laws or strict regulations dealing with conservation, many short sighted developments have taken place, and the scenic areas have been damaged more in recent times than when they were ignored before the 1980s. Even those which have been listed as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) are suffering from the same problems, for example, river dams, cableways and large hotels have been constructed. Accurately speaking, the national, provincial and local lists just indicate the different grades of fame of the scenic areas, or the quality of the tourist resource of there. Being named in the lists does not ensure that a scenic site is properly protected.

One significant characteristic of these listed Chinese scenic areas is that they are based on historic scenic sites whose landscape has been improved in past and which have a great number of cultural relics. In this sense, they are quite different from those typical national parks in America which are mainly designed to protect natural landscape resources reserved from development. They should be considered as landscape heritage, a combination of historic value, cultural significance and natural resources. This valuable heritage has both tangible and intangible parts, and the exploration of the intangible element is particularly significant. Research into historic cultural values, investigation of their evolution and their leisure use by the public is important and necessary for a better comprehension and conservation of this heritage.

Bajing was the most popular form for recording the local scenic sites, with poetic titles, series of poems and sometimes paintings. The heyday of Bajing records in Gazettes was in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, when the Gazettes were widely edited and published as printing technology improved. However, the first example of Bajing had been in the eleventh century, while the custom's roots can be traced to series of landscape poems with matching illustrations from the eighth

century. The analysis of a large number of Bajing records shows the public's evolving leisure preferences, landscape perceptions and the developing popularity of scenery appreciation in natural settings. The selecting and poetic naming of 'Eight Scenes' was an intangible way of enhancing and promoting scenic sites. It represents the traditional way to perceive, appreciate, promote and publicise the local scenic environment. The poetic text and painting art involved in Eight Scenes intrigued the imagination, contributing to the enhancement of scenery and influencing the appreciation of landscape. Chinese art's 'integration of poetry, calligraphy and painting' was its basic form.

Research on the origins and the characters of Eight Scenes reveals how this intangible approach to place making worked. More than 200 sets of Eight Scenes (that is, more than 1600 single scenes) have been collected in this research. By analysing these abundant examples of Eight Scenes, public leisure preferences and the characteristics of scenic sites have been revealed. A total of 93% of the recorded scenes were within natural settings, or had their main view over natural sites, while 60.5% boasted spectacular natural views. More than half were associated with famous religious orders. A quarter of the scenes acquired their fame because of the features built within them, either to improve the scenery or for public leisure use, including for example bridges, terraces or shelters for public use, like kiosks and pavilions.

Scenery appreciation and the adaptation of scenic sites for public leisure relies on traditional views of Nature rooted in culture. Confucianism was a key factor, since as the dominant ideology, it influenced the gentry who were educated in Confucianism and could practise Confucian principles once they had been assigned government posts as they passed through the different levels of the civil recruitment system, that is, the national examinations. These scholar officials played an important role in leading landscape adaptation for public leisure, promoting scenic sites and collaborating with religious orders on site maintenance. Influenced by Confucianism, scenery appreciation has been not only taken as the hobby of Confucian scholar officials, but

also taken by them as the best method by which to edify people, since it was widely accepted that ethics could be drawn and learned from Nature, and it was believed that good views would affect people so that they would be virtuous, law-abiding and righteous.

Chinese civilisation was always agricultural rather than pastoral; hence perhaps a more patient and less dominating attitude to natural resources.<sup>708</sup> Nature has always been taken as part of life and man as a part of Nature; human beings are on equal terms with animals and plants, rather than something unique in Nature. The value attributed to Nature in various ancient philosophies, systems of thought and religions, including both philosophical and religious Daoism, Buddhism, and vernacular systems of thought including Nature worship, mythology, and fengshui, supply a good basis upon which to understand the popularity of scenic sites, and also explain why as well as how they were adapted, improved and maintained. Religious orders (Daoists and Buddhists) located in scenic sites usually took responsibility for the upkeep and maintenance of the places they lived, since care for the environment was a part of their religious practice and the task was taken as a matter of course. Sites which had religious orders living within them often served as venues for celebrating festivals. These provided an additional attraction for their scenic area. Also religious temples with gardens and courtyards were considered beautiful; as they were freely accessible to the public, they acted as favoured destinations for excursions. In some cases accommodation facilities were supplied by religious orders residing in the scenic site.

Through exploration of aspects of leisure activities in scenic sites, this thesis concludes that along with the forming of scenic sites since the Tang dynasty, general leisure patterns have evolved from intense, competitive, large scale sports and games to cooperative, entertaining, and flexible ones, while leisure activities have evolved from active participation to passive watching, all fitting in well with the scenic sites.

---

708 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.7 part II, ed. by Kenneth G. Robinson(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) P.92

Participation in active exercise reduced as time passed, as professional entertaining performers emerged and most of the populace stayed in 'watch and enjoy' parties; at the same time, the recreation of scenery appreciation was boosted and the pleasure of enjoying views became a major pastime; occasional festival events and folk celebrations also took place in scenic sites.

The founder of environmental psychology, Roger Barker, put forward the theory that settings influence behaviour;<sup>709</sup> it is exactly the case here. The roles of physical and social environments as well as the relationships between environment and behaviour have been recognized as being of importance for the study of the interaction of leisure preferences, perception patterns and place making. It is apparent that settings, behaviours and systems of thought formed a circle that involved mutual influence, as shown in this study. Nature and scenery was valued by Chinese culture, in which people enjoyed visiting scenic sites and continuously improved them as places for public leisure. Meanwhile, leisure patterns evolved at the same time, and Nature and scenic sites were represented in various art forms, calling for more attention and higher status. The various artistic representations reveal perceptions of Nature and scenic sites, allowing a comprehension of historic scenic sites through the viewpoint of traditional Chinese culture. Besides literary representations, Nature and scenic sites were also imitated and represented in garden art. Knowledge of original scenic sites and their appreciation are essential in understanding classic garden design.

From the 1980s, scenic sites have been re-evaluated by the government, which has designated a large number of scenic sites as national and provincial parks. In a way this has meant that the tradition of Eight Scenes has been revived. In the process of fast urbanisation and because of the burgeoning tourist industry, landscape and scenery resources are being lost due to various causes, including urban sprawl, large scale engineering works for irrigation, reservoirs, hydro electricity and quarrying.

---

709 P. Schoggen, *Behavior Settings: A revision and extension of Roger G. Barker's Ecological Psychology*, (Stanford, CA : Stanford University Press, 1989)

Extensive tourism development has meant that most historic scenes have suffered some kind of damage. In order to protect them more effectively, further identification and research are necessary, as well as formal legislation that is workable and effective. The massive quantity of Eight Scenes provides a tremendous resource for future research as a basis for this process, but identification of the various scenes will become more difficult over time as more land is swallowed up due to development pressure.

We have to admit that, social systems and cultural values have changed dramatically since early twentieth century, when traditional values were criticised and the Western cultures started to occupy China. Western science, technology and military power have had a great impact, especially since 1949, when communism became the dominant ideology and the old tradition was deliberately discarded, demolished, or ignored. The old customs could not continue as they had over the previous thousands of years, since the prerequisites and necessary conditions for it have been removed. Although, in the last two decades, the government has realized the value of tourism in the landscape heritage sites, and has begun to conserve and promote them, it appears that where this promotion is driven by short term profit, it is damaging the landscape heritage sites more, especially when sections of sites within a continuous scenic area are administered by different authorities, such as local government and the different bureaux. Sometimes local authorities rent these scenic sites to private tourist investment companies to develop, or even sell small plots to privileged or rich individuals to build private houses or tombs; on a larger scale, dams, hydroelectric stations and cableways have continued to be established in historic scenic sites and the so called ‘natural reserves’. *Regulations for Famous Scenic Sites* were published in 2006 and have been put into force since 1 December 2006, and the problems of scenic sites should have been gradually addressed. However, the regulations are only given as general guidance, and their lack of detail may result in inefficient protection. Since change in social systems and cultural values is inevitable in contemporary times, the conservation and regeneration of historic scenic areas can not follow traditional ways

or customs; it has to find a new way on the basis of an understanding of the original culture in which they were established and developed.

This thesis is not designed to find resolutions for current problems, but to try to help with the comprehension of the Chinese landscape heritage and the appreciation of historic scenic sites. It describes the intangible landscape heritage, rather than pointing to executive steps for practical conservation of the tangible landscape. The executive steps and pragmatic principles of conservation will be the focus of my future research, based on the understanding of landscape and culture achieved by this thesis; although inspirations for landscape conservation, design and place making can be drawn from certain sections, this thesis did not aim to discuss in this in case it led the thesis astray or made it too discursive.

It is clear that in order to obtain a deeper understanding and proper appreciation of Chinese landscape history, it should be fully reviewed within its own cultural context and philosophical framework, which is quite different from that of Western. Within its own system of coordination, Chinese society was neither stagnant, nor lacking in rationality. On the contrary, it was vigorous and full of wisdom that should not be underestimated.

## Bibliography

### B

Boyd, Andrew. *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning 1500BC-AD1911*(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003 )

Berthrong, John. 'Confucian views of nature', in *Nature across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-western Cultures*, ed. by Helaine Selin, Arne Kalland (New York: Springer, 2003)

Brook, Timothy. *The Confusions of Pleasure: commerce and culture in Ming China* (London : University of California Press, 1998)

Ban, Gu. 班固(32-92A.D.), 'Yiwenzhi', *Hanshu [Han History]* 《汉书·艺文志》, vol.30 in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu/ Shibu/ Official History 文渊阁四库全书/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (repr. Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Beattie, Hilary J. *Land and lineage in China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)

Bush, Susan. *The Chinese literati on painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Chichang (1555-1636)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971)

### C

Chalcraft, David. Fanon Howell, Marisol Lopez Menendez, Hector Vera, *Max Weber Matters: Interweaving Past and Present* (Surrey : Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008 )

Chen,Tongyan. 陈彤彦, *The Culture of Chinese Orchid* 中国兰文化探源(Kunming: Yunnan Keji Press, 2004)

Cohen, Paul A. *China Unbound: evolving perspectives on the Chinese past*, (London: Routledge, 2003)

Cui, Lequan 崔樂泉, *Chinese Games in History with Illustrations* 图说中国古代游艺(Taipei: Wenjin Publishing House 文津出版社, 2002)

Cross, Jennifer E. 'What is 'Sense of Place'?', in *Archives of the Twelfth Headwaters Conference*, (Gunnison, Colorado: Western State College, 2001)

Crouch, Dora P. June G. Johnson, *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press US, 2001)

Chen, Yikui. 陈怡魁, Zhang Mingyang 張茗陽, *Shengcun Fengshuixue [The Origin of Chinese Fengshui]* 生存风水学(Taipei: Yixueyanjiu Jijinhui 易学研究基金会,2000)

Clarke, John James. *The Tao of the West: Western Transformations of Daoist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2000)

Cai, Fengming. 蔡丰明, *History of Games* 游戏史(Shanghai: Wenyi 上海文艺出版社, 1997)

Clunas,Craig. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997)

Covello, Vincent T. Yuji Yoshimura, *The Japanese Art of Stone Appreciation: Suiseki and Its Use with Bonsai* (North Clarendon : Tuttle Publishing, 1996)

Cheng, Jianjun. 程建军, Kong Shangpu 孔尚朴, *Fengshui and Buildings* 风水与建筑( Nanchang: Jiangxi Keji 江西科学技术出版社出版, 1992)

Cathill, James. *New Dimensions in Chinese Ink Painting: Works from the Collection of John and Alice Z. Berninghausen* (Washington D.C.: Univ of Washington Press, 1992)

Chen, Zhidong. 陈志东, 'Yindai Ziranzhaihai yu Yinren Shanchuanchongbai' [Natural Disasters and the Worship of Mountains and Rivers in the Yin Dynasty] 殷代的自然灾害与殷人的山川崇拜, in *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* [Research on World Religions] 世界宗教研究, 1985(2)

Cheng, Jiasui.(1565-1643)(明)程嘉燧, 'Travel Notes of Visiting Mt. Qiyun and the Tiger Cliff' 《游齐云观天门虎崖记》, in *Collection of Short Prose of Late Ming dynasty* 《晚明二十家小品》, ed. Shi Zhecun 施蛰存编, (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海书店, 1984)

Chen, Yuanhui. 陈元晖等, *the Ancient Institute of Shuyuan in China* 中国古代的书院制度 (Shanghai: Jiaoyu 上海教育出版社, 1981)

Chen, Yuanliang. 陈元靓(13th century), *Suishi Guangji* [Notes about Seasons and Festivals] 岁时广记 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 1939)

Chen, Menglei. 陈梦雷, *Gujin Tushu Jicheng Fangyu Huibian Shanchuandian* 欽定古今圖書集成/方輿彙編/山川典/第 123 卷/ 天台山部--藝文一 (Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934)

## D

Du, Baorui. 杜保瑞, *The Philosophy of Zhuangzi* 庄周梦蝶: 庄子哲学 (Taibei: Wunan 五南圖書出版, 2007)

Duan, Baolin. 段宝林, JiangRong 江容, *Landscape of China* 山水中国 (Beijing: Beijing University 北京大学出版社, 2005 )

Davis, Edward Lawrence, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture* (London: Routledge, 2005)

Dreyfus, Hubert L. Mark A. Wrathall, Truth, Realism, and the History of Being, in series of Heidegger Reexamined: Art, poetry, and technology, Volume 3, (Oxford : Taylor & Francis, 2002)

Du, Guangting. 杜光庭(tenth Century), *Dongtian Fudi Yuedumingshan Ji* [Dongtian and Blessed Fields in Mountains] 洞天福地岳渎名山记 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 江苏古籍出版社, 2000)

Du, Shunbao. 杜顺宝, *Gardens in China* 中国的园林 (Beijing: People's Press, 1990)

Ding, Shan. 丁山, *Zhongguo Gudai Zongjiaoshenhua Kao*[Investigation in Chinese Ancient Religious Myth] 中国古代宗教神祇考 (Shanghai: Wenyi Chubanshe 上海文艺出版社, 1988)

Dong, Zhongshu 董仲舒(179B.C.-104B.C.), 'Shanchuansong' [Praise of Mountains and Water] 山川颂, in *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露, vol.16 topic73, in Zibu Rujialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Dai, Sheng. 戴圣(first C. B.C.) (ed.), 'Zhongyong', in *Liji* 礼记 中庸, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu / Jingbu/ Lilei 文渊阁四库全书/经部/礼类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Dong, Gao. 董浩(19th century), 'Tiantan Wangwushan Shengjiji' [The Appearance of Shenxian in Mt. Wangwu of Tiantan] 天坛王屋山圣迹记, in *Quantangwen* [Whole Collection of Prose of the Tang Dynasty] 全唐文, (Yangzhou: Guanben 扬州官本, 1819 嘉庆二十四年; repr. Beijing: Zhongguashuju 中华书局, 1985)

Deng, Yunte, *History of Weather Disaster and Rescue in China*, (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937).

## E

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. Kwang-ching Liu, *Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

## F

Fang, Xiaoyi. 方笑一, Lun Dongjin Yonghe Wenxue [ Views on Literature of Yonghe Period in Eastern Jin Dynasty] 论东晋永和文学, *Academic Journal of Huadongshifan University 华东师范大学学报*, No.1(1999)

Feng, Tianyu 冯天瑜, *the Development and Change History of Chinese Academic thoughts 中国学术流变* (Wuhan: Hubei People Press, 1991)

Fu, Chongju 傅崇矩, *Whole Views of Chengdu 成都通覽*, (Chengdu: Bashu 巴蜀书社, 1987)

Feng, Yan 封演(eighth century), 'Daqiu' [Play Balls] 打球, *Fengshi Wenjianji [Historic Records by Feng]* 封氏闻见记, vol.6, in Zibu Zajialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/子部/杂家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Feng, Youlan 冯友兰, *Whole Collection of Sansongtang 三松堂全集*, (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press 河南人民出版社, 1985)

Feng, Youlan 冯友兰, *New Edited Chinese Philosophy History 中国哲学史新编* (Beijing: People Press 人民出版社出版, 1982)

Fairbank, John K. 'Introductory Chapter', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol.10, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)

## G

Gong, Shuduo. *Song Dynasty with Illustrations 图说宋*, (Taibei: Zhishufang 知书房, 2007)

Gao, Youqian. 高友谦, *Zhongguo Fengshui Wenhua[Chinese Fengshui Culture]* 中国风水文化, (Beijing: Tuanjie Chubanshe 团结出版社, 2004)

Ge, Zhaoguang. 葛兆光, 'Sixiangshi Yanjiuzhongde Jiafa he Jianfa' [The Added and Deducted Parts in Historic Thoughts] 思想史研究中的加法和减法, *Dushu[Reading] 读书*, 2003(1)

Guan, Chuanyou. 关传友, 'Fengshui Lilun dui Zhongguo Chuantong Yuanlin de Yingxiang' [Influences of Fengshui Theory on Traditional Gardens] 风水理论对中国传统园林的影响, *Academic Journal of Wanxi College* 蜀西学院学报, 2001(1)

Guo, Weisen. 郭维森, *History of Chinese ancient Lyrics and Fu (a poetry style) 中国词赋发展史* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Education 江苏教育出版社, 1992)

Ganza, K. S. *The Artist as Traveler: The Origin and Development of Travel as a Theme in Chinese Landscape Painting of the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1990)

Guo, Pu 郭璞(276-324), *Shanhaijing [ Records of Mountains and Seas]* 山海经, ed. by Bi Yuan 毕沅, (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1989)

Guo, H. S. 'The Pattern of Chinese Ancient Architecture 中国古代建筑的格局', *Culture and History Knowledge*, 2 (1987), 13-19 (p.17).

Guo, Xi. 郭熙(1023-1085), 'Shanshui Xun' [Theory on Landscape Painting] 山水训, in *Linguan Gaozhi 林泉高致*,

in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Yishulei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/艺术类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Ge, Hong. 葛洪(283-363), 'Lunxian' [Remarks on Xian] 论仙, in *Baopuzi 抱朴子*, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Daojialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/道家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Guo, Ruoxu. 郭若虚(11<sup>th</sup> century), *Tuhua Jianwenzhi [Notes and Stories about Paintings in 841-1074]* 图画见闻志 (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 人民美术出版社, 1963) Vol.4

## H

He, Chunsheng. 何春生, 'Idioms Influenced by Daoism' 与道教有关的几则成语, *Maoshan Daoyuan* 茅山道院, 22 Feb 2007

Hu, Miaosen. 胡淼森, *Chinese Architecture Map* 中国建筑地图 (Beijing 北京: Guangming Daily 光明日报出版社, 2005)

Huang, Ray. *Broad Historic View won't Wither* 大历史不会萎缩 (Hongkong: Lianjing Publish House 聯經, 2004)

Huang, Zhongshen. *Annotation of Shijing* 诗经选注 (Taibei: Wunan 五南圖書出版, 2002)

Hall, Colin Michael. and Stephen Page, *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space*, (London : Routledge, 1999)

He, Kui. 贺葵(ed.), *Lidai Youji Jinghua* 历代游记菁华 (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe , 1998)

Huang, Wei 黄伟, Ying Lu 卢鹰, *Zhongguo Guadai Tiyuxisu [Sports Custom in China History]* 中国古代体育习俗, (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin Chubanshe 山西人民出版社, 1994)

Huang, Ray. 黄仁宇, *Macro Views on Chinese History* 中国大历史, (Hongkong: Lianjing Publish House 聯經, 1993)

Hou, Zhongyi. 侯忠义, *History of Ancient Chinese Novels* 中国文言小说史稿, (Biejing: Beijing University Press 北京大学出版社, 1993)

Monk Huijiao 释慧皎(sixth century), 'Biography of Monk Huiyuan(forth century)' 慧远传, in *Biographies of Saint Monks* 高僧传 (Beijing:Zhonghuashuju,1992)

Han, Ying. 韩嬰(second century B.C.), *Hanshiwaizhuan* 韩诗外传, vol.3, in *Shuoyuan* 说苑, vol.17, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Rujialei 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983)

Ho, Pingti. *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962)

Huan, Kuan. 桓宽, *Yantielun* 盐铁论 (Beijing: Gudian wenxue Chubanshe 古典文学出版社, 1958)

Hu, Wentian. 胡文田 (ed.), *Gujin Youji Congchao* 古今游记丛钞第四册卷 18 (浙江省), ed. by (Beiping: Zhonghua Shuju, 1934)

Hu, Yinjia. 胡胤嘉(Ming Dynasty 明), 'Notes of Han Hill' 〈寒山记〉, in *Gujin youji congchao [Collection of Travel Notes in History]* 《古今游记丛钞》, (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1924)

# I

Ikeda, Daisak 池田大作, *My Views on Buddhism 我的佛教观* (Chengdu: Sichuanrenmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1990)

# J

Jia, Jingyan. Shi Yun 贾敬颜, 史筠, *National History and Culture 民族历史文化萃要* (Changchun: Jilin Education Press 吉林教育出版社出版, 1990)

Jiao, Xun 焦循(1763-1820), 'Reply for Luo-Yangzhai' 《答罗养斋书》, cited in *Chinese Literary Theory History 中国文学理论史* 4, edit. by Baozhen Huang 黄保真, etc. (Beijing: Beijing Press, 1987)

# K

Kirby, Stuart. *Introduction to the Economic History of China* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2006)

Kelly, J. R. *Leisure* (London: Englewood Cliffs N.J. Prentice Hall, 1990)

Keswick, Maggi. *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986)

Kong, Fu 孔鲋(?264B.C.-?208B.C.), 'Lunshu' 论书, in *Kongcongzi 孔丛子*, vol.2, in *Zilu Rujialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类*, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Kuhn, Philip A. *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1970)

# L

Libbrecht, Ulrich. *Within the Four Seas: Introduction to Comparative Philosophy* (Peeters Publishers, 2007)

Liu, Gang 刘刚, 'The Lost Game of Polo' 失落的马球, *Sports Culture 体育文化导刊*, 2005(6)

Liu, Bingguo 刘秉果, *Cuju: Shijie Zuigulao de Zuqiu 跳鞠: 世界最古老的足球*, (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju 中华书局, 2004)

Li, Binghai 李炳海, 'the descriptions of picnics in Shijing' 《诗经》野餐画面及其历史演变, in *Literary Heritage 《文学遗产》*, 2004(2)

Liu, Guoqiang 刘国强, 'About the Cultural Heritage of Traditional Beijing in Hunan Province' 湖南旧八景文化遗产刍议, *Chinese Local Gazette 中国地方志*, 2003 (04)

Lou, Qingxi 楼庆西, *Chinese Garden 中国园林* (Beijing: Wuzhou Chuanbo Press 五洲传播出版社, 2003)

Li, Yujie 李玉潔, *The Character of the Ancient Government in China 中国早期国家性质*, (Taibei: Zhishufang 知書房出版集團出版, 2003 )

Lou, Yulie 楼宇烈, *Chinese Buddhism and Humanism 中国佛教与人文精神*, (Beijing: Zongjiaowenhua Chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 2003)

Liu, Tong 刘侗, Yu Yizheng 于奕正(Ming Dynasty), *Dijing Jingwu Lue-Chunchang [Scenery in the Capital · Place of Spring]* 帝京景物略 春场 (Jinling金陵: Hongdaotang 弘道堂刻本, 1639 明崇祯十二年; repr. Shanghai: Gujichubanshe, 2001)

Lai, Yonghai 赖永海, *Chinese Buddhist Culture* 中国佛教文化论 (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe 中国青年出版社, 1999) Luo Puyun, Luo Pulin 罗普云, 罗普磷, 'Influence of Sports of the Silk Road on Polo in Tang Dynasty' 浅析丝绸之路体育对唐代马球运动的影响, *Journal of Xi'an Institute of Physical Education* 西安体育学院学报, 1999 Vol.16(2)

Li, Yingjie 李应杰, *Fenzhou canggang [History of Fenzhou]* 汾州沧桑, ed. by Kairen Wang and Ruixiang Liu 王恺仁、刘瑞祥 (Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe 北岳文艺出版社, 1998)

Lach, Donald Frederick. *Asia in the Making of Europe: A century of advance. Book 2, South Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998)

Li, Huixing 李惠兴, 'the game of polo in the western part of China', in *Antiques of Xinjiang*, 1997(1)

Li, Xiusong 李修松, 'Lishe yu Fenfeng' [the Setting up of She and Feudalism] 立社与分封, in *Academic Journal of Anhui University* 安徽大学学报, 1992(2)

Liu, Jia 刘駕 (eighth century), *Shangsiri* [Day of Shangsi Festival] 上巳日, in *Tangshi Fenlei Dacidian* [Encyclopaedia of Poetry in Tang Dynasty in Categories] 唐诗分类大辞典, ed. by Dongtian Ma 马东田, (Chengdu: Sichuan Cishu Chubanshe 四川辞书出版社, 1992)

Li, Caidong 李才栋, *History of Bailudong Shuyuan* 白鹿洞书院史略, (Beijing: Education and SciencePress 教育科学出版社, 1989)

Li, Bangguo 李邦国, *Zhu-Xi and Bailudong Shuyuan* 朱熹和白鹿洞书院 (Wuhan: Hubei Education 湖北教育出版社, 1989)

Liu, Tong. and Yu-Yizheng (Ming Dynasty 明), *Scenery in the Capital*, cited by Weijie Wang 王伟杰 in *Beijing Environment History* 北京环境史话, (Beijing: Dizhi 地质出版社, 1989)

Luo, Qirong. Renxuan Yang, 罗启荣, 阳仁煊, *Zhongguo Chuantong Jieri* [Traditional Chinese Festivals] 中国传统节日 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1986)

Li, Gefei 李格非(1045-1106), *Luoyang Mingyuan Ji* [Famous Gardens in Luoyang] 洛阳名园记, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Shibu Dililei* 文渊阁四库全书/史部/地理类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Liu, Qie 刘勰(?465-532), 'Wuse', in *Wenxindiaolong*, vol.10 《文心雕龙·物色》, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Shiwenpinglei* 文渊阁四库全书/集部/诗文评类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Li, Daoyuan 郦道元(?-527), *Shuijingzhu* [Notes of All Rivers] 水经注/渐水 (Taibei 台北: World Press 世界书局, 1980).

Liu, Yiqing 刘义庆(403-444), *Shishuo Xinyu* 世说新语, in *Zibu Xiaoshuojialei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书/子部/小说家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Liu, Xiang 刘向(77B.C.-6B.C.), 'Zayan' [Various Comments] 杂言, in *Shuoyuan* 说苑, vol.17, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Rujialei* 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Liu, Xi 刘熙(third Century), 'Shi zhangyou'[Explaining Words for Different Ages] 释长幼, in *Shiming* [Explaining Words] 释名/第十, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jingbu Xiaoxuelei* 文渊阁四库全书/经部/小学类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Liu, An(179-122BCE), *Huainanzi*, vol.7 *Jingshenxun* 淮南子·精神训, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Zajialei* 文渊阁四库全书子部/杂家类, ed. by Jiyun (rprt. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Li, Bai, 'Preface of the Poem about the Feast in Taoli Garden in Spring Night', in *Full Translation of 'Guwen guanzhi'* 古文观止全译, ed. Jinding Yang, etc. (Hefei: Anhui Education Press 1984 )

Liu, Caonan 刘操南(ed.), *Zhongguo Gudian Wenxuezupin Xuandu: Gudai Youji Xuanzhu* 中国古典文学作品选读 古代游记选注 (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1984)

Levenson, Joseph. *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964 )

Li, Siguang, *The geology of China*, (London: T. Murby & co., 1939)

## M

Ma, Wenting 马文廷, 'The Research of Polo in the Tang Dynasty Based on Evidence Showed in the Fresco of Polo' 从《马球图》谈唐代的马球运动, *Research of the Imperial Tomb Qianling 乾陵文化研究*, ed. by Fan Yingfeng (Xi'an: Sanqin 三秦出版社, 2005)

Moeller, Hans-Georg. *Daoism explained: from the dream of the butterfly to the fishnet allegory* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 2004)

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三, Lu Xuekun 盧雪崑, *Zhouyi Zhexue Yanjianglu [Proceedings on the Philosophy of Zhouyi]* 周易哲學演講錄, (Taipei: Lianjing Press 聯經出版, 2003)

Meng, Yuanlao 孟元老(12th century), *Dongjing Menghualu [Memory of the Eastern Capital]* 东京梦华录 (Jinan: Shangdong Youyi Chubanshe 山东友谊出版社, 2001)

Murck, Alfreda. *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The subtle art of dissent* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000)

Mayhew, Susan. *Oxford dictionary of geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Ma, Guojun. Ma, Shuyun 麻国钧, 麻淑云, *All about Traditional Games in China 中华传统游戏大全* (Beijing: Countryside Readings 农村读物出版社, 1990)

Mao, Lirui. etc., *Chinese Ancient Education History 中国古代教育史* (Beijing: People Education Press 人民教育出版社, 1984)

Meyer, Agnes Elizabeth Ernst. *Out of These Roots* ( Manchester: Ayer Publishing, 1980)

Munsterberg, Hugo. *The Landscape Painting of China and Japan*, (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle, 1955)

## N

Nyíri, Pál. *Scenic spots: Chinese tourism, the state, and cultural authority* (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 2006)

Nie, Ronghua. Wan Li, 聂荣华, 万里, *Huxiang Wenhua Tonglun [Custom and Culture of Huxiang]* 湖湘文化通论 (Changsha: Hunan University Press 湖南大学出版社, 2005)

Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.7 part II, ed. by Kenneth G. Robinson(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.1(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1954)

## O

Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The power of illusion in Chinese painting*,

(Boston: BRILL, 1999)

## P

Pregill, Philip, Nancy Volkman, *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1999)

Peng, Yuxin. *Arable land reclaiming history in Qing dynasty*, (Beijing: Agricultural Press, 1990)

## Q

Qin, Dahe. *the Historic Change of Climate and Environment in China*, (Beijing: Science Press, 2005) 秦大河.中国气候与环境演变.北京: 科学出版社, 2005

Qian, Zhaoming. *Orientalism and Modernism: The legacy of China*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995)

Qing, Xitai. *History of Taoism* 中国道教史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin 四川人民出版社, 1988)

Qian, Mu. *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis*, translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten (Hong Kong: the Chinese University Press, 1982)

Qi, Sihe. *Research on Chinese History* 中國史探研, (Taibei: Hongwenguan 弘文館出版社, 1981)

## R

Daoist Ruoguan 箔冠道人(18th century), *Bazhai Mingjing* 八宅明鏡 (Beijing: Hualing 华龄出版社, 1995)

Rong, Zhen. 荣真, *Hanwudi[Emperor of Hanwu]* 汉武帝 (Taibei: Zhishufang, 1992)

Ran, Yi.冉毅, 'Xiao Xiang Eight Scenes in Japan' 潇湘八景在日本, *Education Newspaper of Hunan* 湖南教育报, 9 May 1992

Rexroth, Kenneth. and Bradford Morrow, 'Sung Culture', in *World Outside the Window: The Selected Essays of Kenneth Rexroth* (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1987)

Relph, Edward. 'Geographical Experiences and Being-in-the-world: The Phenomenological Origins of Geography.' in *Dwelling, Place, and Environment: Toward a Phenomenology of Person and World*, ed. by David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985)

Relph, Edward. *Place and placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976)

## S

Swaffield, Simon R. *Theory in Landscape Architecture: A reader* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002)

Strassberg, Richard E. *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

Shi, Zhongwen. 史仲文, *Zhongguo Mingdai Xisushi [Custom in the Ming Dynasty]* 中国明代习俗史, (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 1994)

Schroeder, Ralph. *Max Weber and the sociology of culture* (New York: SAGE Publications, 1992)

- Sachsse, Hans. *Naturalist Philosophy*, tran. by Wen Tao, Pei Yun (Beijing: Eastern Press, 1991)
- Schoggen, P. *Behavior Settings: A revision and extension of Roger G. Barker's Ecological Psychology*, (Stanford, CA : Stanford University Press, 1989)
- Suzuki, Teitaro Daisetz. 铃木大拙(1870-1966). *The Road to Chan* 通向禅学之路 (Shanghai: Guji 上海古籍出版社, 1989)
- Suzuki, Teitaro Daisetz. 铃木大拙(1870-1966). *Spirit of Chan* 禅风禅骨, translated by Geng Renqiu 耿仁秋译, (Beijing: Chinese Youth Press 中国青年出版社, 1989)
- Sima, Qian. 司马迁(135B.C.-90B.C.), 'Kongzi Shijia' [Biography of Confucius] 孔子世家, in *Shiji [History]* 史记, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文渊阁四库全书/史部/正史类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)
- Su, Shi. (1037-1101), *Su Shi Corpus* 苏轼文集, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Bureau 中华书局, 1982)
- Sullivan, Michael. *Symbols of eternity: the art of landscape painting in China* (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 1979)
- Sima, Qian. 司马迁(135B.C.-90B.C.), 'Wudi Benji' [Biography of Hanwudi], in *Shiji [History]* 史记, (北京: 中华书局, 1959)
- Soper, Alexander Coburn. *Experiences in Painting: An eleventh century history of Chinese painting* (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951)
- T
- Tang, Zhongwei. 唐仲蔚, 'Origin and Functions of the Land God and its Evolution' 试论社神的起源、功用及其演变, *Nationalities Research in Qinghai* 青海民族研究, 2002(3)
- Tran, Van Doan. *Reason, rationality, and reasonableness* (Washington, D.C., The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2001)
- Tao, Gu. 陶谷(tenth century), 'Zhuaxiumen'[About Dish and Cookery] 儿嬉门, in *Qingyilu [Random Notes of Qingyilu]* 清异录 (Beijing: Chinese Business Press, 1985)
- Tao, Yuanming. 陶渊明, 'Return to the rural residence' 归田园居, in *Collection of Poetry in Period of Han, Wei and Liuchao* 汉魏六朝诗选, ed. Yu Guanying 余冠英 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue 人民文学出版社, 1978)
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: humanistic perspective* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1977)
- Twitchett, D.C. 'A Critique of Some Recent Studies of Modern Chinese Social-economic History', in *the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, 10(1965)
- Thorstein Veblen. *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (London : Allen & Unwin, 1899 repr. 1957)
- W
- Wang, Qifa. 王启发, *Lixue Sixiang Tixi Tangyuan[ Origins of Lixue Thoughts]* 礼学思想体系探源, (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 2005)
- Wang, Feng. *Zhongguo Fengshuiwenhua Shiwu Quanshu[ Chinese Fengshui Culture and Practice]* 中国风水文化实务全书 (Beijing: Keji Wenhua Chubanshe 科技文化出版社, 2005)

Wu, Renshu.巫仁恕, 'the Tourism and the Attitude of Shidafu in Late Ming Dynasty' 晚明的旅游风气与士大夫心态, in *Collection of Reviews on Culture and Society in Jiangnan Area Since Ming-Qing Dynasties* 《明清以来江南社会与文化论集》, ed. by Yuezhi Xiong and Bingzhen Xiong 熊月之与熊秉真编, (Shanghai 上海: Society Science Press 上海社会科学院出版社, 2004)

Wu, Renshu.巫仁恕, 'Tourism and Commercial Culture in Late Ming: Take Jiangnan as Example'晚明的旅游活动与消费文化——以江南为讨论中心, in *International Symposium on 'Daily Life, Knowledge, and Chinese Modernities'*, ed. by Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, China, November 21-23, 2002

Wu, Leifa.吴雷发(17<sup>th</sup> C.), *Remarks on Poetry* 《说诗晬牋》, cited in *Chinese Ancient Literary Collection* 中国古典文学丛编, by Jingzhi Hu 胡经之, (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2001)

Wu, Yugui.吴玉贵, *Zhongguo Fengsu Tongshi: Suitang Wudai [History of Chinese Custom: Sui Tang Wudai Period]* 中国风俗通史·隋唐五代卷,第 10 章‘节日风俗’(Shanghai: Wenyi Chubansh 上海文艺出版社,2001)

Wang, Shaohua.王韶华, 'Poetry and Painting Theory by Su Shi' 苏轼‘诗画一律’的内涵, *Wenzi Lilun Yanjiu [Research on Literature and Art Theory]* 文艺理论研究, 1 (2001),77-83

Wang, Saishi. *Chi he wan le : Zhongguo gudai shenghuo xisu mian mian guan* (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2000)

Wang, Weizheng.王维正, *National Park* (Beijing: Chinese Forestry Press, 2000)

Wilkinson, Endymion Porter. *Chinese history: a manual* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000)

Wu, Zongc.i 吴宗慈等, etc., *Chorography of Mt. Lu 庐山志* (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin 江西人民出版社, 1996)

Wei, Huacun.魏华存 (?265-?317), *Huangtingjing* 黄庭经, ed. by Zong Du and Chaozhong Zhang 杜琼, 张超中注译 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue Chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社, 1996)

Wu, Kang.吴康, *Zhongguo Shenmiwenhua Cidian[ Encyclopaedia of Chinese Mythology]* 中国神秘文化辞典 (Haikou: Hainan Chubanshe 海南出版社, 1993)

Wei, Chengsi.魏承思, *Chinese Buddhist Culture* 中国佛教文化论稿, (Shanghai: Renmin 上海人民出版社, 1991)

Wang, Qiheng.王其亨, *Fengshui Lilun Yanjiu [Research on Fengshui Theory]* 风水理论研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin University Press 天津大学出版社, 1982)

Wu, Qiushi.吴秋士(ed.), *Travel Notes of Famous Mountains* 《天下名山游记》 (Shanghai: Shudian 上海书店出版, 1982)

Wang, Linheng.王临亨(1548-1601), 'Travel Notes'志游览.纪行, in *Yuejianbian* 翰剑编 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982)

Wang, Qixing. and others 王启兴等(ed.), *Qianjiashi [Poetry of a Thousand Poets with New Annotations]* 千家诗新注, ed. by (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1981)

Weber, Max. and Hans Heinrich Gerth, *The religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Washington, DC : Free Press, 1968)

Wright, Arthur F. and James Cahill, *The Confucian Persuasion* (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 1960)

Wittfogel, Karl A. *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957)

Weber, Max. *The religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Washington, DC : Free Press, 1951)

## X

Xia, Rixin. 夏日新, *Changjiangliuyu de Suishi jieling [Festivals in Changjiang River area]* 长江流域的岁时节令 (Wuhan: Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 2004)

Xia, Chuancai. 夏传才, *Basic Theory of Chinese Poetry* 诗词入门, (Taibei: Zhushufang 知书房出版集团, 2004)

Xu, Jieshun . 徐杰舜, *Hanzu Fengsushi [Custom History of Han]* 汉族风俗史 (Taibei: Xuelin Chubanshe 学林出版社, 2004)

Xiang, Bosong. 向柏松, *Zhongguo Shui Chongbai[Worship of Water in China]* 中国水崇拜 (Shanghai: Sanlianshudian 三联书店, 1999)

Xu, Jin. 徐进, *Jiangxi Mingsheng Shixuan* [Poems about Famous Scenic Resorts in Jiangxi] 江西名胜诗选 (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe 江西人民出版社, 1986)

## Y

Yang, Liansheng. 杨联陞, 'Gudai Jiari' [Holidays in Ancient times] 古代假日, in *Qinghua Weekly Journal* 清华周刊, Jan forth 2006

Yu, Xixian. 于希贤, *Fatianxiangdi: Zhongguo Gudai Renjuhuanjing yu Fengshui [Immitation of Sky and Earth: Chinese Ancient Residential Environment and Fengshui]* 法天象地: 中国古代人居环境与风水 (Beijing: Dianying Chubanshe 电影出版社, 2006)

Yu, Kailiang. 余开亮, *Lun liuchao shiqi ziranshanshui zuowei duli shenmeiduixiang de xingcheng* [The Emergence of Natural Landscape as Independent Aesthetic Objects in Liuchao Period] 论六朝时期自然山水作为独立审美对象的形成, *Academic Journal of People's University of China* 中国人民大学学报, no.4. (2006)

Yang, Wenheng. 杨文衡, *Yixue yu Shengtai Huanjing[ Yi and Biological Environment]* 易学与生态环境 (Beijing: Zhongguoshudian 中国书店, 2003)

Yao, Yingting. 姚瀛艇, *Songdai wenhuashi [Cultural History of Song Dynasty]* 宋代文化史 (Taibei: Zhishufang 知书房出版集团, 1995)

Yang, Zhengtai. 杨正泰, *Research on Yizhan of Ming Dynasty* 《明代驿站考》 (Shanghai: Guji 上海古籍出版社, 1994)

Yang, Zhengtai. (ed.) 杨正泰校注, *Three Journey Introduction Books in Ming and Qing Dynasties* 《天下水陆路图/天下路程图引/客商一览醒迷》 (Taiyuan: Shanxi Press 山西出版社, 1992)

Yang, Busheng. 杨布生, Dingguo Peng 彭定国, *Chinese Shuyuan and Traditional Culture* 中国书院与传统文化 (Changsha: Hunan Education 湖南教育出版社, 1992)

Monk Yinshun 印顺, *History of Chinese Chan* 中国禅宗史, (Nanchang: Jiangxirenmin Chubanshe 江西人民出版社, 1990)

Ye, Qingbing. 葉慶炳, *History of Chinese Literature* ( Taibei: Xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1987 )

Yonezawa, Yoshiho. and Chū Yoshizawa, Betty Iverson Monroe, *Japanese Painting in the Literati Style* (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1974 )

## Z

Zhang, Xiqing. 张希清, 'The definition of Keju and the history' 科举制度的定义与起源申论, *Academic Journal of Henan University* 《河南大学学报》(社会科学版), 2007 (5). p.3

Zhang, Quanming. Wang Yude, *Research on Ecological Environment and Regional Culture*, (Wuhan: Chongwen shuju, 2005) 张全明, 王玉德, 生态环境与区域文化史研究[M].(武汉: 崇文书局) 2005.

Zhang, Shiqing. 张十庆, *Zuotengji Yizhu yu Yanjiu [Translation and Research on the Janpanese Ancient Garden Book Zuotengji]* 作庭记译著与研究(Tianjin: Tianjin University Press 天津大学出版社, 2004)

Zhang, Tingyin. 'The Cultural Significance of Eight Scenes Recorded in Traditional Clan Records' 传统家谱中八景的文化意义, *Academic Journal of Guangzhou University* 广州大学学报, vol.3 no.4 (2004) pp.40-45

Zhang, Xiqing. 张希清(ed.), 'Preface', in *Literature Collection of History of Chinese Examinations* 中国考试史文献集成宋代卷 卷首语(Beijing: Higher Education Press 高等教育出版社, 2003)

Zhang, Weibang. 张邦炜, *History of Marriage and Families in Song Dynasty* 宋代婚姻家族史论, (Beijing: People Press 人民出版社, 2003)

Zheng, Suchun. *Daojiao Xinyang: Shenxian yu Yishi [Belief of Daoism: Shen-xian and Rituals]* 道教信仰: 神仙与仪式(Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan 台湾商务印书馆, 2002)

Zhang, Chengde. and others (ed.) 张成德等, *Zhongguo Youji Sanwen Daxi Zhejiang Juan [A collection of Travel notes of Zhejiang Province]* 中国游记散文大系浙江卷, (Taiyuan: Shuhai Chubanshe 书海出版社, 2002).

Zuo, Congxian. 左从现 and others, 'Analysis of the Popularity of Polo in the Tang Dynasty' 唐代马球运动分析, *Tiyukexue [Sports Science]* 体育科学, 2001(3)

Zhou, Suning. 周苏宁, *Canlang Ting [Kiosk of Canglang]* 沧浪亭, (Suzhou: Guwxuan 古吴轩出版社, 1998)

Zhang, Cankun. 张灿辉, *Games Played in Imperial Courts* 古代帝王宫廷娱乐(Changsha: Yuelu 岳麓书社, 1997)

Zhou, Zonglian. 周宗廉, Hualing Li, 李华玲, *Zhongguo Minjian de Shen [Gods in Folk Beliefs]* 中国民间的神 ( Changsha: Hunan Chubanshe, 1992)

Zhou, Weiquan. 周维权, *Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlinshi [Chinese Classic Garden History]* 中国古典园林史(Beijing: Qinghua University, 1990)

Zhang, Dai. 张岱(1597-1679), 'History of Mt. Tai' 《岱志》, in *Collection and Annotation of Historic and Contemporary Travel Notes of Mt. Tai* 《泰山古今游记选注》, ed. by Qian Zhou, 周谦, (Jinan: Shandong People Press 山东人民出版社, 1987)

Zhang, Hao. 张淏(13th century), *Genyueji* [About Genyue Garden] 艮岳记, in *Zhongguo Lidai MingyuanjiXuanzhu [Historic Garden Notes with Annotations]* 中国历代名园记选注, ed. by Zhi Chen 陈植(Hefei: Anhui Keji Chubanshe 安徽科技出版社 1983)

Zhong, Jintian. 钟进添, *Kanyudajian: Zangjing Yanjiu [Research on the ancient book of Geography Investigation: Zangjing]* 勘舆大鉴: 勘舆古籍葬经研究(Taipei: Chuangyi 创译出版社, 1982)

Zhao, Xihu. 赵希鹄, *Dongtian Qingluji* 洞天清录集, cited by Xingpei Yuan, Zhongyi Hou, in *Zhongguo Wenyanshuxue Shumu [Catalogue of Novels in Classical Chinese]* (Beijing: Beijing University, 1981)

Zhu, Chongsheng. 朱重圣, *Zhongguo Wenhua zhi Fuxing* [The Regeneration of Chinese Culture] 中国之文化复兴, (Taipei: Wenhua University Press 中国文化大学出版部, 1981)

Zhu, Kezhen. 'The Primary Report on the Climatic Change of the last Five Thousand Years'. *Archeology Journal*, 1972(1). 竺可桢. 中国近五千年来气候变迁的初步研究[J]. 考古学报, 1972, (1)

## OTHER

*Advanced Dictionary of Chinese* (高级汉语大词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2005), the entry of '风景', '风', and '景'.

*Concise Ancient Chinese Language Dictionary* (简明古汉语词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1985), the entry of '场'

*Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) entry of 'place'

*The Collection of Words* (辞海) (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 1999), entry of '休闲'

*The Origin of Chinese Words* (辞源), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2001), entry of '休'

*Modern Chinese Language Dictionary* (现代汉语词典), (Beijing: Chinese Dictionary Press, 2002), entry of '闲'

Ministry of Construction of P.R. China, *Scenic District Provisional Ordinance* (Beijing: State Council of P.R. China, 1985)

Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of P.R. China, *the Report on General Achievement of Scenic District for 25 anniversary, 2007* <[http://www.cin.gov.cn/hybd/fjms25cjz/zhxx/200709/t20070903\\_122186.htm](http://www.cin.gov.cn/hybd/fjms25cjz/zhxx/200709/t20070903_122186.htm)> [accessed 2 Jun 2008]

Zibo Committee of Shandong General Press 山东省出版总社淄博办事处, *Zibo Fengwuzhi [Local History of Zibo] 淄博风物志* (Jinan: Shandong Renmin Chubanshe 山东人民出版社, 1985) p.41

Li Bai Research Institute of Ma'anshan 马鞍山李白研究所, *Collection of Research Theses on Li Bai in the 20th century 20世纪李白研究论文精选集: 纪念李白诞辰1300周年*, (Hefei: Taibai wenyi chubanshe 太白文艺出版社, 2000)

*Hundred Pictures of Folk Custom in Beijing* (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 2003) 北京民间风俗百图(珍藏版): 国家图书馆珍藏绘本, 编著: 佚名 北京图书馆出版社 2003

Archive Centre of Chinese People's University, *Chinese Philosophy* 中国哲学 (Beijing: People's University 中国人民大学书报资料中心出版, 1996)

*Lidai Youji Shangxi 历代游记赏析*, ed. by Literature Department of Shandong Shifan University (Beijing: Mingtian Chubanshe, 1985)

Anon, *Sports & games in ancient China* (Beijing : New World Press, 1986).

*Quanjiao local official Gazette literature 全椒县志*.

*Gazettes of Xuzhou, Qing dynasty*

*Gazettes of Jinan, Nanning, Yongping and Fengyang*.

*Gazette of Hangzhou of 1922*, quoting the 1687 source (*Gazette of Renhe County*, which does not survive now).

*Gazette of Jiahe County*, compiled in period of Zhiyuan(1264-1294).

*Gazette of Jiaxing, Qing dynasty*

*Gazette of Changzhou County in Longqing Era of Ming dynasty*, republished in 1990 by Shanghai Shudian

*Gazette of Chengdu, Qing dynasty*

Zhang Yingzhao 张应昭(Ming Dynasty, n. d.), *Xianyangxian Xinshi [New Records of Xianyang County]* 咸阳县新志(n.pub.: 1591 明万历 19 年)

Wu Shoufu (late 19<sup>th</sup> century), *Supplements of the Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*.

Xiang Yingwei (1730-1789), *Random Notes about Ancient Jiahe Custom*. 项映薇 (乾隆年间)《古禾杂识》

Biography of Lizhong 李重傳, in *Jinshu* [History of Jin] 晉書, vol.46, topic16 of Liezhuan 列傳第十六, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Wanghongzhi’ 王弘之傳, in *Songshu* [History of Song] 宋書, vol.93, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Zhongchangtong’ 仲長統傳, in *Houhanшу* [History of Later Han] 新校本後漢書/列傳/卷四十九 王充王符仲長統列傳第三十九, vol.49 topic39, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Baijuyi’ 白居易傳, in *Jiu Tangshu* [Old version of History of Tang] 新校本舊唐書/列傳/卷一百六十六列傳第一百一十六, vol.166 topic116, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Biography of Chuliang and Liuxiaosun 褚亮/劉孝孫傳, in *Jiutangshu* [Old Version of Tang History] 新校本舊唐書, vol.72, topic22 of Liezhuan, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Biography of Luzhan 墾詹傳, in *Jiu Wudaishi Jinshu* [Old Version of History of Jin in Wudai Period] 新校本舊五代史/晉書, vol.93, topic8 of Liezhuan 列傳八, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Biography of Yangningshi 楊凝式傳, in *Jiu Wudaishi Zhoushu* [Old Version of History of Zhou in Wudai Period] 新校本舊五代史/周書, vol.128, topic8 of Liezhuan 列傳八, in Shibu Zhengshilei Wenyuange Siku Quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/正史類, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Ruan-Ji’, in *Shibu jinshu* of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/新校本晉書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) vol.49, Biographies 19 列傳/卷四十九 列傳第十九 /阮籍

‘Biography of Xie-Lingyun’ 謝靈運傳, in *Shibu Songshu* of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/宋書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Wang-Sengda’ 王僧達傳, in *Shibu Songshu* of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/宋書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Xiao-Ji’ 蕭畿傳, in *Shibu Songshu* of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/梁書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Wenzong in 835’, in *Shibu Jiutangshu* of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/新校本舊唐書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Zheng-Zhu’, in *Shibu Xintangshu* of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書/史部/新校本新唐書, ed. by Jiyun(1724-1805) (rprint. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

‘Biography of Banbiao’, in *Official History of Houhan*, vol.40.

‘Biology of Emperor Sui Yangdi’, in *Official Sui History*, vol.3.

‘Biology of Liu Yu’, in *Official Sui History*.

‘Biology of Guo Zhiyun’, in *New Official Tang History*, vol 133

Li Yu 李漁(1611-1680), *Random Notes of the Pleasure* 《閒情偶寄》

Ji Cheng (1582-1642), *Yuanye* 《園冶》

Yang Xuanzhi 杨铉之(fifth -sixth century), *The Temples of Luoyang* 《洛阳伽蓝记景林寺》

Du Jiyang(Song dynasty), *Yunlin Stones*. 宋人杜季阳<云林石谱>序

*Quantangshi [Poetry in Tang Dynasty]* 全唐诗, in Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Jibu Zongjilei 文渊阁四库全书/集部/总集类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Mengzi 孟子(372 B.C.-289B.C.), 'Dialogue with King Lianghui' 《孟子 梁惠王下》, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书/经部/十三经, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986) 「文王之囿,方七十里,刍荛者往焉,雉兔者往焉,与民同之。」

Laozi, *Daodejing* 道德经(二十章), in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

*Laozi Daodejing Heshanggong Zhangju [Annotate of Daodejing by Heshanggong]* 老子道德經河上公章句. (Taibei: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1993)

*Lunyu [the Confucian Analects]* 论语, in Jingbu Sishulei of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书/经部/四书类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

Committee of Confucius research of Qufu Shifan College, *Research on Confucius's thought* 孔子思想论文集 (Changsha: Hunan Education, 1985) p.9

Zhuagnzi, 'Yufu', *Zhuangzi*, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu/ Zibu/ Daojialei* 文渊阁四库全书/子部/道家类, ed. by Jiyun (repr. Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

'Youzuo'宥坐, in *Xunzi* 律子, vol.28, in *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Zibu Rujialei* 文渊阁四库全书/子部/儒家类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

*Zhouyi [The Book of Change]* 周易, in Jingbu Yilei of *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文渊阁四库全书/经部/易类, ed. by Jiyun (Taibei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986)

*Yingzao fashi* 营造法式, vol. 29, first published in 1103 as the national building regulations

Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu*

Zhou Mi(1232-1298), *Guanchao*[Watching Tide] 周密(1232-1298), 观潮

Meng Yuanlao 孟元老(12th century), *Dongjing Menghualu* [Memory of the Eastern Capital] 东京梦华录