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RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Japanese Gozan Monks and Hangzhou's West Lake: Visualising Cultural Appropriation in Middle Period East Asia

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During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Japanese monks traveled to Hangzhou and spent time around West Lake. At the time, Hangzhou was known for hosting five temples among the imperially recognised “Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries”. During their stay in Hangzhou, Japanese monks communicated with local monks and scholars, wrote poems, and observed the monasteries. *Diagrams of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples*, which details the temples’ architecture and furniture styles, was later referred to in constructing the Japanese Buddhist system. At the same time, these monks rendered their sightseeing experience in poems, circulating words about the lake’s scenic beauty. Place names around the lake frequently appeared in poetry gatherings, and more poems were composed for paintings about the lake. The lake became a cultural trope within and beyond the Gozan literature, featuring iconic place names, visual culture, and multilayered mobility in real and imagined dimensions. The example of West Lake in Gozan culture offers a case study for cultural appropriation and the role that landscape appreciation can play in this process. Locations were crucial in trans-cultural appropriations. Specific places serve as anchored loci for organising and systemising a developing body of cultural knowledge.

在十二、十三世紀，杭州的“五山十剎”吸引了眾多日本僧侶踏訪。這些僧侶不僅與杭州的文人墨客及寺內高僧交流切磋，還對寺廟的建築藝術和管理規制展開深入的考察。他們帶回日本的《五山十剎圖》詳細描繪了杭州寺廟的建築風格和內部裝飾，還配有讚美西湖美景的詩文。本文旨在探討在日本五山文化圈中，杭州西湖及其標誌性地名和視覺文化特徵如何被構建成一種獨特的文化意象。文章還將分析日本僧侶經由“百聞不如一見”的親身體驗，如何多維度地感受和融入這一文化意象。筆者認為，五山文化中的西湖可視為文化挪用和景觀審美的經典實例。作為文化傳遞的核心媒介，特定的景觀會逐步成為文化認知的焦點。與此同時，跨文化的交流與互鑒，也為山水意象注入情感深度，對地標性景觀意象的確立具有決定性影響。

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**Keywords:** Gozan, monks, visual culture, cultural appropriation, West Lake

**關鍵詞：** 五山，僧人，視覺文化，文化挪用，西湖

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Hangzhou's West Lake has been frequently referred to in Japanese Gozan 五山 (Five Mountains) literature, starting from the travel records left by Japanese monks who visited China to the extensive mention in Gozan poems and illustrations. This paper examines West Lake as a cultural trope to explore how Japanese monks facilitated transnational cultural appropriation.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Japanese Zen monks frequently travelled to China, and Hangzhou was one of their main destinations. While staying in Hangzhou, many lodged in the monasteries around West Lake. At the time, Hangzhou was known for hosting five temples among the imperially recognised "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries". The most visited were the Soul's Retreat, Middle Tianzhu, and Pure Compassion monasteries. These monasteries were recorded in meticulous detail in *Diagrams of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples* 五山十刹圖. This compendium of diagrams detailed the temples' architecture, furniture, plaques, and other monastic rules, laying the foundation for the Japanese teaching of Zen (especially the Rinzai 臨濟 and Soto 曹洞 schools).

During their stays in Hangzhou, the Japanese monks communicated with local Chinese monks/scholars and toured various places of interest. The natural beauty and rich tradition embodied by West Lake were widely circulated and romanticised in these travelling monks' and their peers' poems and later also in paintings. The lake became a cultural trope within and beyond the Gozan literature, featuring iconic place names, visual culture, and multilayered mobility in real and imagined dimensions. As was recorded by the Ming Dynasty literatus Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503-1557), during the Zhengde 正德 reign (1491-1521), a Japanese ambassador travelled across West Lake and wrote a poem saying, "I have seen the painting of this lake in the past, and I did not believe the lake really existed. Now that I have personally toured the lake, [I see that] the painter did not fully depict its beauty. 昔年曾見此湖圖，不信人間有此湖。今日打從湖上過，畫工還欠費工夫。" (*Xihu youlan zhiyu*, 20.322-3) The information that this ambassador heard about West Lake was very likely derived from Gozan monks and their poems.

Scholars have long discussed the visits of Japanese monks to China, especially during the Song and Ming Dynasties. The intentions of these monks are typically the academic focus and are usually said to be either to receive Buddhist teaching or to conduct pilgrimages. (Hao 2016. Handa 2006) Recent work has focused on circulating material culture and connections with overseas merchants. (Li 2021, 27-49) Scholars agreed that West Lake became a cultural symbol and an artistic theme transcending its geographic region and local culture. (Gu 2014, 111-124) Beyond studies of Gozan literature, art historians also offered overviews of West Lake paintings created by monks during the Muromachi

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period, (Suzuki 2010, 166–76; Miyazaki 1984, 199–246; Oota 1986, 127–142) suggesting that this way of seeing shaped images of West Lake in East Asia. (I 2019)

Building on this scholarship, I wish to investigate further how and in what ways West Lake became a trope in Gozan literature. There are three aspects that I hope to highlight. Firstly, I will explore the creation, circulation, and transformation of visual culture, which is not limited merely to paintings but includes illustrations of monasteries around West Lake and visual images in texts. Images of West Lake provided a sense of familiarity by suggesting ways of viewing the location. Visual culture was essential in creating concepts about this location and the broad circulation of place-based knowledge.

Scholars often argue that the Japanese fondness for West Lake was rooted in their admiration of Chinese culture. This approach, however, over-simplifies cultural appropriation as a one-way process. The trans-cultural creation involved two-way communications and appropriations. The products of Japanese monks were critical in shaping how many people, both in Japan and in other countries, saw and experienced West Lake. Japanese monks invented a whole body of knowledge centring on West Lake, consisting of their touring experiences, their familiarity with historical figures and the lake's natural elements, monastic rules, material items such as tea, and visual images. Their efforts helped to make West Lake a cultural symbol both in Japan and elsewhere, including back in China.

Finally, this paper highlights the importance of locations in trans-cultural appropriations. Specific places serve as anchored loci for organising and systematising a developing body of cultural knowledge. In this case, Japanese monks developed a body of descriptive and evocative knowledge from their visits to West Lake in China. Mobility, including physical travels and the circulation of material items, is significant in creating location-specific knowledge. Transnational and transcultural “movements” thus facilitate abstractions and hybridisations of location-specific records in different media. Such movement helps people to view and further develop the imagery of the focal location. The accumulation of location imagery then encourages comparisons between real and imagined travels to that location, which is necessary for a place to become a trope.

## Japanese monks who visited China

Travelling to mountains and rivers was essential to Buddhist learning and meditation. As early as the Tang Dynasty, Japanese monks were travelling to China; this practice peaked during the Song Dynasty. Scholars believe the surge in travel by Japanese monks was related to the rapid development of Sino-Japanese trade during the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Many of the monks arrived via commercial boats. About 22 monks visited during the Northern Song and 109 during the Southern Song. (Ikeda 1920, 200) Monks continually visited China during the mid-Ming, and many engaged in artistic creation.

During the Northern Song, Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081) arrived in 1072. He recorded his experience of touring West Lake. (*Can Tiantai Wutai shan ji*) In a poem that he wrote for the abbot of Soul's Retreat Monastery, he mentioned Flying Hill (“The good hill flies out from Heaven 好嶺來從天外飛”) and Cold Spring Pavilion (“Cold jade gushes from the spring, after the meditation of the monks 寒玉噴

泉僧定後”。The last couplet reads, “Seeking places of interest, I became obsessed with the true environment when I arrived. Wearing wooden shoes and wandering there, I did not want to leave this place, even for a short while. 尋勝到此迷真境，屐齒盤桓忍暫移。” The emperor received many monks who arrived during the Northern Song. Jōjin was received by Emperor Shenzong and awarded the title Shanhui 善惠 (Merit and Wisdom) Master. Jakushō 寂照 (964–1034), who arrived in 1003 with six students, was summoned by Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 in 1004 and received the title Yuantong 圓通 (Perfect Penetration) Master.

Many more monks arrived during the Southern Song. One reason was that the Kamakura shogunate needed to regulate the behavior of monks and thus required a new Buddhist system. Another development was in shipbuilding technology. (Sun 2017) Overseas ships at that time could hold several hundred people. (*Pingzhou ketan*, 2) New technology allowed the ships to sail reliably, even with one compartment leaking. The improvements increased the ships’ ability to resist thunderstorms. Moreover, the sailors now understood the monsoon and tides much better.

Hangzhou was known as a hub for overseas trade and hosting foreigners. The Northern Suburb Pavilion Station 北郭亭驛 outside the Yuhang Gate 餘杭門 was where foreign envoys stayed while visiting Hangzhou. (*Mengliang lu*, 8) The Southern Song government treated foreigners reasonably well. In 1176, a Japanese ship encountered a thunderstorm and had to moor in Ningbo.<sup>2</sup> People on the boat had lost their food and were forced to beg along the way to Hangzhou. When the court heard this, they ordered that each Japanese should receive 50 *wen* 文 and two *sheng* 升 of rice each day until they found their way home. (*Gujin tushu jicheng*, 11.83)

Among the Japanese monks who visited the Southern Song, the most famous might be Myōan Eisai 明菴栄西 (1141–1215), who arrived in 1168 and was later credited with founding the Rinzaï 臨濟 school of Zen Buddhism. His student, Enni Ben’en 圓爾辨圓 (1202–1280), started his Buddhist training as a Tendai 天台 monk. Once a vision of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 appeared to him in a dream and told him to go to China. Later, after returning to Japan, he founded Tōfuku-ji 東福寺. Eisai’s student, Mukan Fumon 無関普門 (1212–1292), also travelled to Southern Song China in 1251 and stayed there for ten years.

Scholars have argued that for Japanese monks during the Song Dynasty, the pilgrimage was more important than the purpose of searching for Buddhist teaching. (Mori 2009) As a Japanese monk said, “Recently, we have seen more monks focusing on literature rather than Buddhist teaching. 多見日本僧以文為本，學道次之。” (*Dai nihon bukkyō zensho*, 281–2) While in China, Japanese monks spent a great deal of time communicating with literati and writing poems together. For instance, Jakushō and his students enjoyed a close relationship with a high official Ding Wei 丁渭, who introduced the elegant mountains and landscape to Jakushō. (*Shishi leiyuan*, 45.15b) Ming Dynasty monks also

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<sup>2</sup> Ningbo was a major port city for Sino-Japanese trade at the time. Ningbo was also frequently visited by Japanese monks and later became a Buddhist destination.

emphasised communication with literati. As Keijo Shūrin 景徐周麟 (1440–1518) put it, “The landscape and scenic beauty in China came before my eyes and played within my heart. I then wanted to write about it. 中華山川風物美，寓之於目，玩之於心，而欲潤色其文。” (*Shōkenkō*, colophon) Many monks visited various famous mountains and lakes while in China.

During their extended stays in China, many monks contributed statues and other monuments to the Jiangnan 江南 monasteries. One famous example was Zhuanzhi 轉智, who arrived in the Wuyue 吳越 Kingdom during the Five Dynasties (907–979). Zhuanzhi carved two statues of One Thousand Hands Guanyin. During the Southern Song, Dong Sigao 董嗣皋 recorded that Zhuanzhi encountered a great thunderstorm on his way to China. But the thunderstorm stopped when he saw an image of the Wish-Fulfilling King. Zhuanzhi then created two five-*zhang* tall statues (in total ten *zhang*), which were the size of the king whom he saw during the thunderstorm. According to Dong Sigao, during the Southern Song, Zhuanzhi was already regarded as a deity; whenever people had a need, they worshiped Zhuanzhi. During his lifetime, Zhuanzhi gave up typical food and ate only celery; he did not wear silk or cotton, only paper clothes. He was thus called the “paper clothes monk 紙衣和尚”. The pair of Guanyin statues became one of the one hundred views around West Lake, and Zhuanzhi’s story was recorded in the local gazetteer of Lin’an 臨安.

In addition to Zhuanzhi, other Japanese monks also contributed their expertise. Eisai, for example, was skilled in architecture, so he helped with the gates for the Ten-thousand-year Monastery, Guanyin Temple, and Great Compassion Monastery. Japanese monks also contributed to the exchange of books between the two countries—not only from China to Japan but also from Japan to China. The books brought to China as gifts were mostly decorated and in the best historical editions. Buddhist scriptures were undoubtedly the most important among the many books brought back to Japan. Still, the item that had the most significant impact may be the *Diagrams of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*.

## Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries

Buddhism was the most prominent religion around West Lake, which served as a Buddhist pilgrimage centre in China and was known across East Asia. As early as the Southern Dynasties (420–589), the Jiangnan region was famous for its many Buddhist monasteries. More than three hundred monasteries were located in and around Hangzhou during the Tang Dynasty. During the Five Dynasties, the local ruler Qian Liu 钱鏐 (852–932), a devout Buddhist, built or refurbished many monasteries, some of which were influential during the Song Dynasty. Hangzhou was one of the few places during the Song where various Buddhist schools other than Chan were represented. (Mou 2008; Sun 2010; Wang, 2005; Duan 2007) Later in the Southern Song, Hangzhou developed into an unparalleled location for the flourishing of Buddhism. (*Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, 75.1a) A total of 971 Buddhist monasteries were situated in Hangzhou, clustered around West Lake. (Zhuansun 2005; Huang 2007, 298) Visits

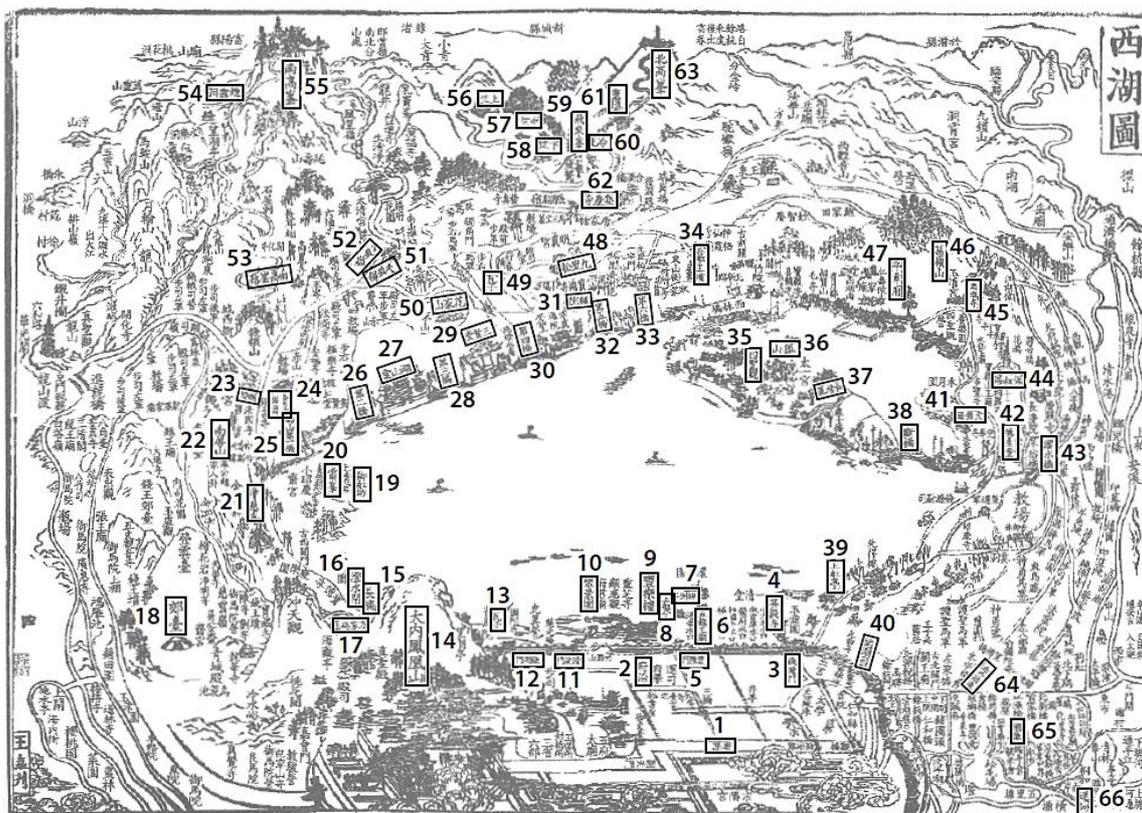
to temples were included in the annual calendar for Hangzhou residents. In the Southern Song, uncertainty concerning the results of the civil service examinations and the unpredictability of business ventures also encouraged scholars and merchants to worship at local temples. (Huang 2007)

Buddhism benefited from increasing state patronage during the Southern Song, due to the dynasty's desire for legitimacy. In particular, Buddhism in Jiangnan was emphasised using the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" ranking system, formulated by Emperor Ningzong 寧宗. (Zhang 2000; Lan 2014) This official ranking system encompassed the fifteen most important monasteries in the lower Yangtze area, three of which were located around West Lake, with the Jingshan 徑山 Monastery close by. Incorporating these monasteries into the imperial discourse was both the foundation for imperial patronage provided to the monasteries and a symbolic way to claim the significance of the lower Yangtze provinces, the central region of the surviving dynasty.

Almost all of these monasteries were known as scenic sites. Nature and remoteness from earthly desires were much valued in China's religious traditions, so most temples were initially constructed in places with spectacular scenery. As Zhao Bian 趙抃 (1008–1084) noted in his couplet, "Lovely, the lake and mountain scenery, which is the best under Heaven. But all the scenery is concentrated where the Buddhist monasteries are. 可惜湖山天下好，十分風景屬僧家。" (*Qingxian ji*, 5.12b) It is worth noting that starting from the Southern Song, the scenic space centring on and around West Lake was shared by numerous temples and also mansions owned by noblemen and high officials. For example, the imperial garden Assembled Scenery Garden 聚景園 was on the eastern lakeshore, the eunuch Lu Yunsheng's 盧允升 (ca. 1255) estate was close to the Hua Family Mountain 花家山 on the southwest corner of the lake, and Jia Sidao's 賈似道 (1213–1275) Mansion of the Manager of Affairs 平章府 was on the northwestern corner, close to the Big Buddha Head 大佛頭. As a shared space, West Lake provided a "middle landscape" for elites and monks to interact. (Lee 2001, 41–3; Duan 2020, 154–5) The lake had also taken on the role of a life-releasing pond since the Northern Song, acknowledged both by Buddhist monasteries and by the state. (Ebner von Eschenbach 2020; Duan 2020, 141–42) This interdependent relationship between elites and temples (which continued into the Ming Dynasty) allowed Japanese monks to become deeply engaged in elite circles in Hangzhou (Figure 1).

Among the three monasteries around the lake, Pure Compassion Monastery 淨慈寺 is the closest to the city. A day trip could be easily arranged. Located on the lake's bank, the Pure Compassion Monastery was backed by Nanping Hill 南屏山. (*Xihu lansheng shixu*, 214) This temple included the "Evening Bell from Nanping Hill 南屏晚鐘," one of the iconic Ten Views of West Lake. The Three Tianzhu Monasteries 三天竺 and Soul's Retreat Monastery 靈隱寺 were a bit further away from the city. Soul's Retreat Monastery, along with Flying Hill nearby, is within walking distance of the Tianzhu Monasteries, so travel records usually refer to these monasteries as a cluster. (*Wulin jiushi*, 5.402–3) Literati such as Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) made this spot a cultural pilgrimage destination. (*Xihu youlan zhi*, 10.115–6) The monasteries' monks also regarded scenic beauty as one of their attractions. One section in their temple gazetteer, devoted to "famous sites", details the nearby caves, hills, creeks,

and forests. (*Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, 10.240–259) This interdependence of religious sites and scenic appreciation was also picked up by Japanese monks.



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| 1. Imperial Street                              | 34. Tomb of King Yue                   |
| 2. (Lin'an) Prefectural Government              | 35. Four Guardians Temple              |
| 3. Qiantang Gate                                | 36. Solitary Mountain                  |
| 4. Bodhi Monastery                              | 37. Lin Bu's Tomb                      |
| 5. Harvest and Comfort Gate (Golden Flood Gate) | 38. Broken Bridge                      |
| 6. Temple of Five Dragon Kings                  | 39. Boat Landing Pavilion              |
| 7. Willow Temple                                | 40. Lake Dredging Bureau               |
| 8. Boat Landing Pavilion                        | 41. Big Buddha Head                    |
| 9. Harvest and Joy Tower                        | 42. Virtue Growing Hall                |
| 10. Assembled Scenery Garden                    | 43. Slip Water Bridge                  |
| 11. Clear Wave Gate                             | 44. Protecting Chu Pagoda              |
| 12. Qiantang Lake Gate                          | 45. Agate Monastery                    |
| 13. wazi (entertainment quarter)                | 46. Mount Ge Hill                      |
| 14. Imperial Phoenix Hill                       | 47. Mansion for the Manager of Affairs |
| 15. Long Bridge                                 | 48. Nine- <i>li</i> Pine               |
| 16. Clear Water Lock                            | 49. wazi (entertainment quarter)       |
| 17. Fang Family Valley Mountain                 | 50. Hua Family Mountain                |
| 18. Altar of Heaven                             | 51. Big Wheat Hill                     |
| 19. Imperial Boat Lane                          | 52. Small Wheat Hill                   |
| 20. Leifeng Padoga                              | 53. Southern Peak Route                |
| 21. Purity and Compassion Monastery             | 54. Mist and Cloudy Cave               |
| 22. Nanping Hill                                | 55. Southern Peak                      |
| 23. Wine Warehouse                              | 56. Upper Tianzhu (Monastery)          |
| 24. Paper Money Bureau                          | 57. Middle Tianzhu (Monastery)         |
| 25. The First Bridge of the Southern Hills      | 58. Lower Tianzhu (Monastery)          |
| 26. The Second Bridge                           | 59. Flying Hill                        |
| 27. Lake and Mountain Hall                      | 60. Cold Spring (Pavilion)             |
| 28. The Third Bridge                            | 61. Soul's Retreat (Monastery)         |
| 29. Three Worthies Hall                         | 62. Gathering Celebration Monastery    |
| 30. The Fourth Bridge                           | 63. Northern Peak                      |
| 31. Qu Winery                                   | 64. Northern Outside Wine Warehouse    |
| 32. The Fifth Bridge                            | 65. Wine Warehouse                     |
| 33. The Sixth Bridge                            | 66. (Grand) Canal                      |

Fig. 1: Southern Song Map of West Lake, with important sites noted. After Jiang, “Xianchun Lin’an zhi” Songban “jingcheng situ” fuyuan yanjiu (originally based on *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, 1.9). See Duan 2020, 16–7.

Once the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries system was introduced to Japan during the late Kamakura and early Muromachi periods, Buddhists and the Shogunate worked together to establish a Japanese version of the Five Mountains system. Japan developed two systems: the Kyoto Five Mountains and the Kamakura Five Mountains. Under each of these five mountains, there are ten monasteries and temples around the countryside, with Kyoto as the centre. By the end of the Muromachi period (1336–1573), more than 60 temples were ranked as the Ten Monasteries, and other 230 temples belonged to the category of “all sorts of mountains 諸山”. This ranking system not only created a hierarchical system for Buddhist monasteries but also confirmed the collaboration between the Shogunate government and the Buddhist world.

Many of these monasteries were built according to the illustrations in the *Diagrams of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*. Both Daijō-ji 大乘寺 and Tōfukuji 東福寺 Temples preserve one copy each of this work (titled *Gozan Jissatsu-zu* 五山十刹圖 and *Dai sō shozanzu* 大宋諸山圖 respectively), and both were ranked as national treasures in 1911. These images are said to have been copied from the pictures preserved in Southern Song temples and might have been made and accumulated from the Tang dynasty onwards. (Ishī 1982, 15–19; Shimizu 2009, 152–60) The architectural historian Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972) translated it in 1932 and gave it a high evaluation. (Liang 1932)

The book includes architectural illustrations for almost all aspects of these monasteries, including the layouts, furniture, plaques, pagodas, and other relics. The relative positions of different elements and the settings of the monasteries were emphasised. Famous sites were always noted in the illustrations; for example, the one for Soul’s Retreat Monastery noted the positions of Cold Spring Pavilion, the Tower of Bai Letian 白樂天, Flying Hill 飛來峰, and the Nine-*li* Pine 九里松 (Figure 2). The relative positions of the Three Tianzhu Monasteries were also noted.

With the expansion of the Five Mountains system and the increasing secularisation of the Buddhist monasteries, monks started to engage in book printing and developing cuisine culture. Buddhist monasteries have long been known for their close connections to cuisine innovations. Sugar, for instance, was first introduced to China through monks. Japanese monks also learned how to make miso, shoyu, and other monastic foods from Chinese temples and then popularised them in Japan.

Among these foods and drinks, the most important was tea. (Fang 2003; Chen 2009) The natural environment and famous tea-making monks made the lake a brand name for fine tea. Tea usually comes from famous mountains. Xu Cishu 許次紓 (1549–1604), in his *Exploratory Notes on Tea* 茶疏 (Chashu) wrote, “The famous mountains under Heaven all produce efficacious herbs. Jiangnan [the lower Yangtze region] is warm and especially suitable for tea. 天下名山，必產靈草。江南地暖，故獨宜茶。” (Chashu, 1.1) The temperate climate and rugged environment around West Lake are very suitable for tea cultivation. Numerous documents focus on the tea produced in the mountains surrounding West Lake. Examples are Lu Yu’s 陸羽 *Record of Martial Grove Mount* 武林山記 (Wulin shan ji) and *Record of Soul’s Retreat and Tianzhu* 靈隱天竺二寺記 (Lingyin Tianzhu ersi ji). He also discussed the tea around Tianzhu and Soul’s Retreat in his *Book of Tea* 茶經 (Chajing).

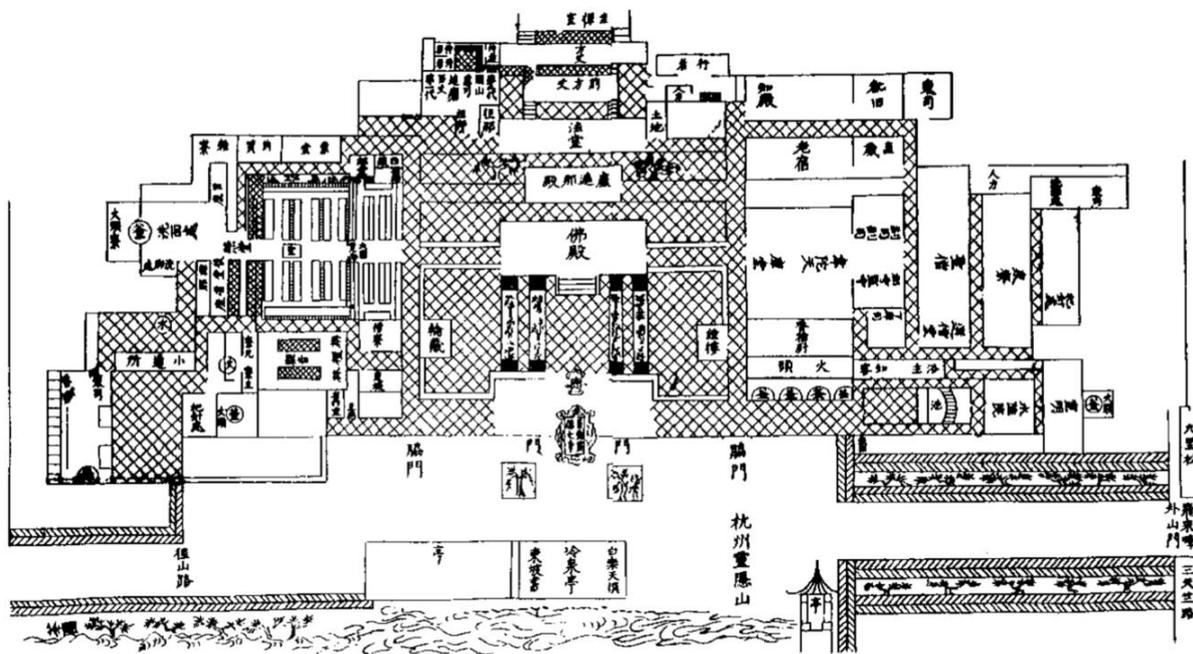


Fig. 2: The layout of the Soul's Retreat Monastery 靈隱寺伽藍配置. Monasteries of the Great Song Empire 大宋名藍圖. Zhang 2000, 118.

Local gazetteers documented the Fragrant Forest tea from Lower Tianzhu Monastery and the White Cloud tea from Upper Tianzhu Monastery. (*Xihu youlan zhiyu*, 24.385-6) Su Shi believed the Fragrant Forest tea to be the original type of West Lake tea. The seeds were brought by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) from Mount Tiantai 天台山, where he translated Buddhist sutras. This anecdote further enhanced the connections between Buddhism and tea and represented a specific connection with a famous Buddhist centre. Other famous teas include Fragrant Cloud tea, Treasure Cloud tea, and Lingering Cloud tea.

Many famous teas were named after temples, such as the Dragon Well tea 龍井茶. The monk Biancai 辯才 (1011-1092) from Upper Tianzhu Monastery retired and lived in Dragon Well Longevity Sage Temple 龍井壽聖院, to which place he brought tea seeds from Tianzhu. Later, people called him the ancestral father of Dragon Well tea. In 1084, Zhao Bian visited Biancai, who made for Zhao the Small Dragon Ball near the Longhong Pavilion 龍泓亭. Biancai responded with a poem: “The Southern Pole Star arrived at the monks’ house...Several times in Longhong, we wrote poems about the famous tea. 南極星臨釋子家，……幾度龍泓詩貢茶。” (*Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 78.4067) In this poem, Biancai does not hide his compliments and respect for the official and depicts himself as humble. This poem implies both Chan teachings and respect for the secular government. The exchange of poems demonstrates the friendly and mutual patronage between the monks and scholar-officials. Biancai frequently interacted with Su Shi as well. In his poem to Su Shi upon completing the new Longhong Pavilion, Biancai referred to Su by his official title. The fame of Biancai and his tea were

due both to the actual quality of the product and to his close associations with famous scholars and officials who helped to advertise them.

Good tea is inseparable from a good spring; spring water is very localised. Among the detailed documents about sites around the lake, famous springs were frequently mentioned in various geographical works. Most of the springs were within or next to a temple. These included Six One Spring 六一泉 next to Bao'en Monastery 報恩寺 at the foot of Solitary Mountain 孤山, Tiger Run Spring 虎跑泉 near Tiger Run Monastery 虎跑寺, Jade Spring near the Qinglian Monastery 青蓮寺 on Mount Jade Spring 玉泉山, Cold Spring next to Soul's Retreat Temple, and Dharma Rain Spring 法雨泉 near Li'an Monastery 理安寺. The Ming dynasty book publisher Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾 recorded the history of Cenliao Spring 參寥泉 during the Song dynasty in his *Newly Compiled Striking Views within the Seas* 新鐫海內奇觀 (Xinjuan hainei qiguan, 1609). (*Xianjuan hainei qiguan*, 3.17)

Many talented monks were good at making tea. Since the Song Dynasty, practising Chan Buddhism had been believed to be similar to making tea. “*He cha qu* 喝茶去!” (Go drink tea!)—the famous expression attributed to the Chan master Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897)—circulated widely in Song Dynasty Chan literature. (*Wudeng huiyuan*, 1565.93b19–21; Benn 2015, 128) Tea has long been an essential part of monastic life. As Wang Guoan 王國安 wrote, “Spring rain in the monastery strikes the tea drum; the sunset on the tower and the altar reflect the wine flag 春煙寺院敲茶鼓，夕照樓臺卓酒旗。” (Li 2002, 102) The “tea drum 茶鼓” is used to summon monks for a tea ceremony.

The monk Qianshi 謙師 on Nanping Hill was one of the best tea makers. Su Shi wrote a poem to him, using the story of Xie Lingyun to compliment his elegant tea-making technique. Liu Fen 劉芬 (1023–89) also wrote a poem to Qianshi, saying that Qianshi grasped the true meaning (samadhi) of tea. (*Nenggai zhai manlu*, 8.34b) Also, a letter by the monk Jujian 居簡 (1164–1246), inviting his friend Yin Tieniu 印鐵牛 for tea at Soul's Retreat Monastery, demonstrates his extensive knowledge of tea-making. (*Zengxiu Yunlinsi zhi*, 22.692)

During the Southern Song, tea-making and drinking became further standardised in monasteries. The Jingshan tea ceremony, for example, consisted of tea-making, a tea competition, a tea meeting, and a tea banquet. Jingshan tea can be traced back to the Tang Dynasty. In 742, the monk Faqin 法欽 arrived in Jingshan and planted several tea trees. He used tea leaves to worship the Buddha, and after several years tea trees were growing all over the valley. This started the tradition of Jingshan tea. The production of Jingshan tea was a further development of the tea culture in daily life. Tea was regarded as one of the “four elegant things” for literati. It was typical for Southern Song literati to visit monasteries to enjoy good tea. Literati such as Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Chen Haohe 陳浩和 wrote a significant number of poems about their pursuit of fragrant teas and tea parties in temples. (*Xihu youlan zhi*, 4.55; *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, 366)

Japanese monks were well exposed to this tea culture during the Song Dynasty. Eisai was once summoned to Lin'an by the emperor to ask the heavenly powers for rain, which seemed to work well. The emperor consequently held a grand tea ceremony at Jingshan Monastery to reward Eisai. (Chen 2009, 116) In the diagram of Soul's Retreat Monastery, the tea plantation was included, and an illustration of Green Mountain Monastery 碧山寺 even includes a tea filter in the mill (Figure 3). (Zhang 2000, 158) According to *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations* 百丈清規 (Baizhang qinggui), which was highly valued in Japan, labour was essential in Buddhist learning, so monks actively engaged in tea cultivation. Several Japanese monks were known for introducing tea to Japan. As early as the Tang Dynasty, Saichō 最澄 (762-822) and Kukai 空海 (774-835) visited Hangzhou and Soul's Retreat Monastery. They were later known for bringing tea seeds to Japan. When they arrived at Soul's Retreat, one of the ten monks mentioned in Lu Yu's *Book of Tea*, Daobiao 道標 (740-823), was also in residence there.

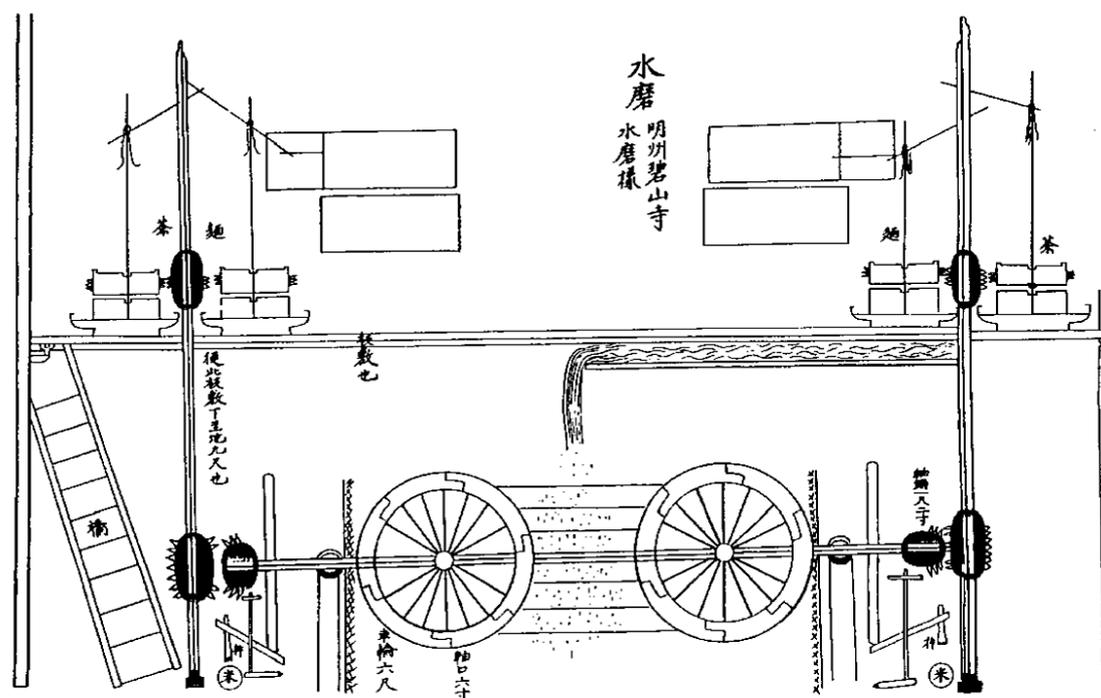


图 5-4 碧山寺磨院

Fig. 3: Mill at the Green Mountain Monastery 碧山寺磨院.  
Monasteries of the Great Song Empire 大宋名藍圖. Zhang 2000, 156.

Eisai, in his *Record of Drinking Tea and Nourishing Life* 喫茶養生記 (Kissa yōjōki), discussed teamaking during the Southern Song, including the use of hot water and the preference for stronger tea. Ein'en's teacher held banquets in Jingshan Monastery. During his stay, Ein'en studied tea and later created Japanese matcha. One book that he brought to Japan contained the way of tea and the standards for a tea banquet. He also brought to Japan the seeds for Jingshan tea and planted them in

Ashikubo Village in Abe County, his hometown. Later, the method he introduced was further developed to make high-quality Honzan tea 本山茶. Another monk, Nampo Shomei 南浦紹明 (1235–1308), visited Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269) in 1259 and followed Xutang to Jingshan Monastery in 1265. When he returned two years later, Xutang gave him a set of utensils for the tea ceremony, including a holder, a kettle for boiling water, and a water jar, all of which were used in Southern Song monasteries. (*Honchō kōsōden*) These material objects inspired and were later valued in the Japanese tea ceremony.

As a very location-based product, tea was relied on and also refashioned the environment around West Lake. The introduction of famous tea, tea tree seeds, tea-making methods, and associated material culture invoked monks' recollections and imaginings of Hangzhou and West Lake and thus further enriched the importance of the lake in monastic life.

## Gozan literature

In addition to architectural styles and tea, Japanese monks also brought back artistic illustrations which they saw during their visits to China. They repeatedly wrote about their trips, and non-travelling monks then retold stories and imagined the famous mountains and places of interest described by those of their brethren who had been to China. This collection of literature was called *Gozan Bungaku* 五山文學 (Literature of the Five Mountains). Gozan literature bridged Heian and Edo literature and marked the peak of Japanese engagement with Chinese culture.

Within this literary corpus, West Lake occupies a unique position. Many poems about West Lake were written on the occasion of seeing off fellow monks. For example, Betsugen Enshi 別源円旨 (1294–1364) wrote in the poem “Sending off monks to the lower Yangtze region 送僧之江南” :

Once again I will have many friends in Jiangnan, and I also have been there.

I left Jiangnan three years ago and can only remember Jiangnan in dreams.

Next to the ten-*li* lake is the Su Causeway; green willows and blue mist are decorated with light rain.

Famous monasteries among the northern and southern peaks, red towers and white pagodas pierce the clouds.

Snow houses and silver mountains, just like the Qiantang tide; looking back, one can see millions of households.

故人又是江南多，況我曾在江南住。

江南一別已三年，相憶江南在寐寤。

十裡湖邊蘇公堤，翠柳青煙雜細雨。

高峰南北法王家，朱樓白塔出雲霧。

雪屋銀山錢塘潮，百萬人家回首顧。

(Wang 1993, 64–65)

The poet inserted different layers of travel into this poem: his past travels, his dream travels following his return home, and his friends' travels. His use of colours to construct a visual image of the lake is prominent. The relative positions of the mountains, the temples, and the city also help to build a mental view of the location. Experiences from real travels frequently were invoked and emphasised in Gozan literature, as were imagined travels.

Scholars have calculated that site names around the lake are mentioned 583 times in 463 Gozan poems. These include 28 poems by Chinese monks who went to Japan, 62 poems by Japanese monks who travelled to China, and 373 written by Japanese monks who never visited the lake. (Gu 2013, 16-17) Several observations of these poems merit further discussion. Firstly, West Lake appeared the most, including 177 times within poems written by authors who had never been to the lake. In these poems, Solitary Mountain appeared 76 times, Six Bridges 23 times, and Su Causeway 11 times. It seems that, for those who had never been to West Lake, a general reference to the lake or one of the most iconic sites there was something the poets endeavoured to include. Their experiences were neither personal nor specific, so they mentioned the lake to connect with previous monks or to demonstrate their identification as contributors to Gozan literature. In such works, West Lake became more of a symbol than a real place.

Secondly, relative geographical locations were noted explicitly in many of the poems. For example, Ten'in Ryūtakū 天隱龍澤 (1422-1500) wrote, "willow trees surrounded the long causeway, standing in front of Soul's Retreat Temple; here begin the boats that travelled north and south. 柳繞長堤靈隱前，始通南去北來船。" These details of the location suggest his familiarity with the lake region. Isho Tokugan 惟尚得巖 (1359-1437) wrote, "Chanting of Solitary Mountain inscribed with fragrant shadows [of plum blossom]... with the small boat, I dreamed of the west of the Six Bridges. 一誦孤山香影題，扁舟載夢六橋西。" (Uemura 1936) Details such as this about relative locations are usually related to the travelling experience. People who have never been to the lake could understand the relative positions of sites from paintings, but directions could only be obtained by travelling there.

Thirdly, monasteries appear to be used more as functional inclusions, that is, as a way to note the destination of a day trip or a place in which a monk they had visited lived. Despite the importance it enjoyed, Soul's Retreat Monastery only appeared nine times in poems by authors who had never been to West Lake. Most of the time, when poets wrote about temples, the references were very general, as if mainly to create an atmosphere. Keijo Shūrin wrote, "three hundred and sixty monasteries surround the lake; it takes one year to tour [if one visits] one a day. 庵三百六十湖邊，一日一遊終一年。" The temples here were used to illustrate the lake's Buddhist theme and highlight the pilgrimage value of the location; 360 is certainly not an exact number. This poem reveals how the landscape and the Buddhist monasteries were described as an integrated setting.

Fourthly, just as most poems were copied and appropriated by those who had never been to the lake, some place names were mentioned only by authors who had never visited the lake. This may be due to the introduction of West Lake gazetteers. Most of the West Lake gazetteers published during the Ming and Qing also circulated in Japan, including *Beautiful Discussions about West Lake* 西湖佳論 (Xihu jialun) in 1735, *Beautiful Stories about West Lake* 西湖佳話 (Xihu jiahua) in 1700-1844, *West*

*Lake Gazetteer* in 1699, 1759, 1760, 1800, and 1800, *Compiled Gazetteers of West Lake* 西湖志纂 (Xihu zhizuan) in 1793, *A Collection of Records from West Lake* 西湖拾遺 (Xihu shiyi) in 1791 and 1845, *A Record of Academies around West Lake* 西湖書院記 (Xihu shuyuan ji), and *West Lake Attractions* 西湖攬勝 (Xihu lansheng). (Osamu 1967)

The Gozan literary works shared several commonalities with Ming Dynasty literary productions about West Lake. (Duan 2021) One feature is the listing of place names. For example, as Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501–1579) wrote concerning his tour of the lake:

Exiting from Clear Wave Gate and arriving on the lake shore provides the best and most beautiful views of the mountains and water. Reflections of the Six Bridges span the lake's surface like rainbows. There are innumerable boats on the lake, both pleasure vessels and fishing boats. Unfortunately, my travel schedule is pressing,... The Three Tianzhu, Soul's Retreat, Pure Compassion and other monasteries, the misty scenery of Solitary Mountain, Su Causeway, and Six Bridges, all resemble what has been painted in illustrations.

.....自清波門出到西湖之涯，於山於水佳絕可愛。六橋之影湖心橫幾虹，湖面或畫船或漁舟，不知其數。所恨公程忽忽，.....三天竺、靈隱、淨慈等諸寺，孤山、蘇堤、六橋之煙景，如畫圖中物。

(*Syotosyū*, 24–5)

He then wrote about Solitary Mountain and described the Three Worthies Hall. He also mentioned that Pure Compassion Monastery was known to a previous Japanese monk. This work follows the style of Chinese gazetteers, including one-sentence introductions about historical figures related to the various sites. Such descriptions of famous notables enriched the tours of different sites.

Su Shi was the most respected figure in Japanese Gozan literature. During the five years in which Su Shi resided in Hangzhou, he wrote over 300 poems about the city; about 160 poems were focused on West Lake. Many anecdotes about Su Shi circulated in Japan. For example, Chūgan Engetsu 中岩圓月 (1300–1375) recounted most of the tales about Su Shi and his life in Hangzhou. Seeing the lake through Su Shi's eyes became a significant theme. (Asakura 1977) For example, Ten'in Ryūtakū's inscription on a fan painting depicting West Lake read:

There are three West Lakes, namely Hang, Ying, and Hui, with Hangzhou's West Lake being the first. It is thirty *li* around the lake, and tourists find this troublesome. Imperial Scholar Su built the long causeway to connect the Pure Compassion and Soul's Retreat Monasteries. The area is decorated with lotus flowers and willow trees; seeing these from afar, the scenery is beautiful and resembles colourful silks. The view is lovely, and the distance is short; [that is why] tourists love this place. Su, therefore, wrote poems to compare the lake with Lady West, who was beautiful both with and without makeup. He also says that Hangzhou has West Lake, like a person with eyes and eyebrows. Su was a superb writer in comparing the location to a person.

西湖有三，曰杭曰穎曰惠，以杭為第一也。環湖則三十里，而遊人患之。翰林蘇公，築長堤以通淨慈、靈隱之前，插之以芙蓉楊柳，望之則爛然如錦繡。景彌勝路彌近，

遊人喜之，自作詩譬之淡妝濃抹西施。又曰，杭之有西湖，如人有眉目。指境為人，有蘇公乎哉。

(*Gozan bungaku shin shū*, 824)

This work was written based on Ten'in's acquired knowledge rather than his real experience of the lake. It emphasises what viewing such scenery might mean to the viewers. He also discussed travellers' experiences and why they might like Su Causeway—because it is close to the city. Reading this account, one can easily visualise the scenery. In the end, he complimented Su Shi on his brilliant comparison of the lake to the famous beauty. Su's poem on Lady West and his description of West Lake as the eyes and eyebrows of a person was frequently referred to and appropriated in poems by Japanese monks.

Specific natural elements further enhanced stories about historical figures. Su Shi's story is usually associated with willow trees along Su Causeway, while plum flowers are a symbol that was typically mentioned in association with Lin Hejing 林和靖 (967–1028), the literatus who lived a reclusive life on Solitary Mountain. (Hua 2015, 91–104) Seikei Tenyo 天與清啓 wrote about the critical association between Lin and plum blossom: “Even if another possesses these plum blossoms, they cannot be called plum flowers without referring to Lin Hejing; for then, West Lake would be just a wild pond. 雖有此梅，而無和靖則梅不能為梅也，西湖只是一野水也。” (Gu 2013, 117)

Like Chinese paintings, Japanese painters widely used Lin Hejing as a painting theme. Shōjū Ryūtō 正宗龍統, for example, once wrote about a fan painting of Lin's plum-adorned house, “The brush-wood gate is half open; the boat is tied next to the lake bank; black silk covers the boat's roof, and green gauze forms its curtains; this is what one can use to tour the lake. 柴門半開，岸下系舟，青絹為篷，碧紗為幕，載以將出遊之具。” (Gu 2013, 63) This depiction is very visual and invokes a real touring experience. Readers were naturally guided to imagine the gate and shift their imagination to the lakeshore, from the boat's roof to its curtains. And the last sentence guides one's imagination to the open surface of the lake. The technique of suggested mobility was used in this inscription for the painting to organise the writing and guide the reader's imagined view.

The use of natural elements, such as willow trees and flowers, makes the anecdotes about historical figures more relatable and specific and makes the experience around West Lake easier to transmit. Most of the Gozan monks never visited China themselves. They wrote about scenery they had read about in poems, seen in paintings, and heard about from other monks who had travelled to the lake. When they saw flowers or willow trees in their home regions (in Japan), they could recall descriptions of these in other monks' poems. For example, Ten'in Ryūtaku once wrote, “Just like arriving at the ten-mile lake in Yuhang, the fragrant pond after the rain is filled with lotus flowers. The water birds fly away upon seeing visitors, disturbing the lotus leaves so they spill their dewdrops. 似到餘杭十頃湖，芳塘過雨藕花鋪。水禽見客驚飛去，綠玉盤傾碎露珠。” In this poem, the poet depicted the scenery of lotus flowers relating to his experience on West Lake.

The combination of scenery, historical figures, and natural elements made visual descriptions of the lake realistic. These are all the necessary elements to construct a mental image or to create a vivid memory. Zuigan Ryusei 瑞巖龍惺 (1384–1460) wrote in an inscription poem:

West Lake is the best within the east and west Zhejiang;  
 People wander among the lotus fragrance and willow shadows.  
 With five horses and a double flag, we might be seeing Li Ji;  
 The red boat and black oars confirm Su Shi.

西湖勝冠浙東西，人在荷香柳影中。  
 五馬雙旗疑李及，紅舷烏榜認蘇公。

(Gu 2014, 117)

In this poem, the poet used natural elements such as lotus flowers and willow trees and referred to famous anecdotes about Li Ji and Su Shi; both were governors during the Song dynasty. The rendering of colours, specific material objects, and the suggested scent of flowers combine to constitute a mental image. For fullest enjoyment, the reader must be familiar with the relevant historical stories and have personal experience with lotus flowers and willow trees. In this way, historical and contemporary times could overlap, even across great physical distances, to enrich the imagined scenes of the lake.

The political situation was also referred to as part of the background for appreciating the landscape scenery; this could add a historical dimension to impressions of the natural places. Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311–1388) wrote in his inscription for a West Lake painting:

The Three Tianzhu were the mainstay of this sacred space;  
 This is where the imperial revival had its roots.  
 Every household is playing zithers and flutes, day and night;  
 Everywhere, towers and terraces allow enjoyment of the moon and the plum blossoms.

三竺靈區曾所鎮，中興皇祚藉之來。  
 家家弦管日還夜，處處樓台月又梅。

(*Fumyō kokushi goroku, juan 7*)

The emphasis on “revival” was a phrase taken from the Song context, referring to the political reconstruction during the Southern Song. The music, scenery, and depiction of monks, along with the playful and pleasurable context, likely were derived from Shun'oku's personal study of paintings and his reading and imaginings about the location.

These nostalgic depictions often contrast the actual scenery of the lake during the early Ming with lake depictions in previous poems. During the early Ming, the Hangzhou monasteries were not so visually appealing. Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388) recorded, “Eleven years after the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, more than half of the monasteries and temples in the empire had been burned down or destroyed by wartime fires. The Five Mountains, Soul's Retreat, and Jingshan monasteries, in particular, were in bad condition, particularly Jingshan, which had not even one hundred monks. 大明開國僅十一年，天下諸道諸寺觀，大半遭火未復。兩浙五山，徑山、靈隱火後淒涼，徑山尤

甚，居僧不滿百人。” (Hideo 1982, 180) This type of nostalgic depiction (emphasising ruins and decline) highlights famous places and temples. The passage of time can be sensed or visualised from the contrast between descriptions of the actual scenery and the scenery depicted in writing.

## Visual culture of West Lake

Many Gozan poems are inscriptions or descriptions of paintings of West Lake. Touring and appreciation of the lake were usually associated with its known “views” (sites) and the painting metaphor. When the painting monk Sesshū Tōyō 雪舟等楊 (1420–1506) travelled to southern China, he usually visited West Lake. He wrote that he regarded a paintbrush as a symbol to depict the changing beauty of sunny and rainy days. (*Gozan bungaku shin shū*, 824) This emphasises how a paintbrush can represent real experiences and changes over time in a region. The viewing of paintings was also related and compared to the real travelling experience. Ichū Tsūjo 惟忠通恕 (1349–1429) wrote, “This night, my dreamed travels match my old expectation: West Lake in mist and rain, the moment being half-sunny. 此夕神遊果舊期，西湖煙雨半晴時。” (*Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 328.286) The monk had seen paintings before and used them as a reference.

To understand the adaptation of West Lake paintings in Gozan literary depictions of the lake, it is essential to note how Japan's Middle Period drew on Southern Song paintings. *Daily Record of the Inryōken* 蔭涼軒日錄 (Inryōken nichiroku) mentioned several paintings by Southern Song imperial painters, including Ma Yuan 馬遠 (1160–1225) and Xia Gui 夏圭 (1180–1230). *Inventory of Objects from the Engakuji sub-temple Butsunichian* 佛日庵公物目錄 (Butsunichian kōmotsu mokuroku), published in 1363, listed artworks in the nunnery, most of which were by Muqi 牧谿 (ca. 1210–1270), but they also included paintings by Huizong 徽宗 (1082–1135) and Li Di 李迪 (1100–1197). Another catalogue, *An inventory of Chinese paintings in the Ashikaga Collection* 御物御繪目錄 (*Gyomotsu gyo-e mokuroku*), listed the Shogun's collection that had been assembled from Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's 足利義滿 (1358–1408) time; in total, 280 Song and Yuan paintings and calligraphy items were included. Landscape painting was the most significant topic, with Buddhist and other religious paintings coming in second.

Besides absorbing the Southern Song painting style, which was known among Chinese painters for best illustrating the beauty of West Lake, Japan also took on the concept of the inter-relation between poems and paintings. In the 1205 *Genkyū shika awase* 元久詩歌合, 19 poets (both Chinese poets and waka writers) participated in this gathering. (Kinpara 1998) Two themes in this competition, “Viewing Spring in the Water Village 水村春望” and “Autumn Travels on a Mountain Road 山路秋行” are similar to the topics used in the examinations for the imperial painting academy. (*Hua ji*) All 19 poems about "Viewing Spring in the Water Village" are about the lower Yangtze scenery, and eight verses explicitly mention West Lake.

Other than these painting-inspired poems, Japanese painters also left several West Lake paintings. One common feature of the lyrics is their depictions of iconic landscapes around the lake, which might be following the example of Li Song 李嵩's (ca. 1190–1230) *Painting of West Lake* 西湖圖. Most of the panoramic paintings depicted the city wall, Solitary Mountain, and Treasure Stone Hill. Other paintings also noted essential places. (Suzuki 2010) Sesshū Tōyō and Shugetsu Tokan's 秋月等觀 paintings were quite topographical, including important sites such as Clear Wave Gate, Golden Gush Gate, Qiantang Gate, the Six Bridges, Su Causeway, Three Worthies Hall, Southern and Northern Hills, and the Three Tianzhu and Soul's Retreat Monasteries.

Later, specific site views became more popular. The *Painting of Small Views of the Lake and Mountains* in Kyoto National Museum resembles Ye Xiaoyan 葉尚岩's album paintings. Kanō Sansetsu's 狩野山雪 (1589–1651) screen painting depicts only two views: Autumn Moon over the Placid Lake and Remaining Snow on the Broken Bridge. The details of these works resemble the details shown in the Ten Views illustrations in Yang Erzeng's *Spectacular Views within the Seas*. Unkoku Togan's 雲谷等顔 (1547–1618) screen painting uses symbolism to represent the four seasons on the lake: plum flowers for spring, a summer illustration, a goose in the autumn, and winter mountains.

These West Lake paintings may not have been viewed by many, but their inscribed poems could reach a wider audience. Paintings, poems, and gazetteers introduced from China all contributed to the construction of landscape depictions of West Lake. One feature of West Lake's visual culture is a comparison of the lake to a natural landscape painting; the term *tian kai tuhua* 天開圖畫 (heaven-formed image) was used in both China and Japan. (Yan 2020)

Another major theme in the visual culture involves the Ten Views. The Southern Song imperial painters invented the Ten Views to name the ten scenic views that were best for album paintings (Figure 4). (*Fangyu shenglan* 1.6b–7a)<sup>3</sup> Their precursor, the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang, also witnessed extensive appropriation among Japanese monks and artists, creating the tradition of the interplay between the textual and visual representation of nature. (Murck 1984; Shih 2015) Depictions of the Eight Views and Ten Views reveal connections between them. For instance, some Southern Song painters, such as the monk Muqi, based their painting of the Eight Views on their observations of West Lake scenery. (Lee 2001, 12; Duan 2020, 156–62) Muqi's painting was quite famous and well preserved in Japan, which further encouraged Japanese painters and monks to engage with the Ten Views. The appropriation of West Lake scenery in Gozan culture was likely related to the long-circulated fame of the Ten Views in Japan. Sesshū Tōyō wrote in 1619, “Harbour fish, stupa moon, and calm lake are beautiful; willow waves, cloud peaks, and sunsets are marvellous. Spring dawn and evening bell are rendered by the brush together; the lotus breeze and broken bridge exist simultaneously. 港魚潭月平湖好，柳浪峰雲落照奇，春曉晚鐘並入畫，風荷斷橋亦同時。” (Taki 1998, 30; Yang 1998, 471) This work put all Ten Views in one poem and noted that the scenery at different seasons could appear simultaneously in a painting. Paintings became a time capsule encompassing multiple layers of seasons and timing. It is eternal compared to the fleeting beauty in real life.

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<sup>3</sup> The translation is from Lee 2001, 32.

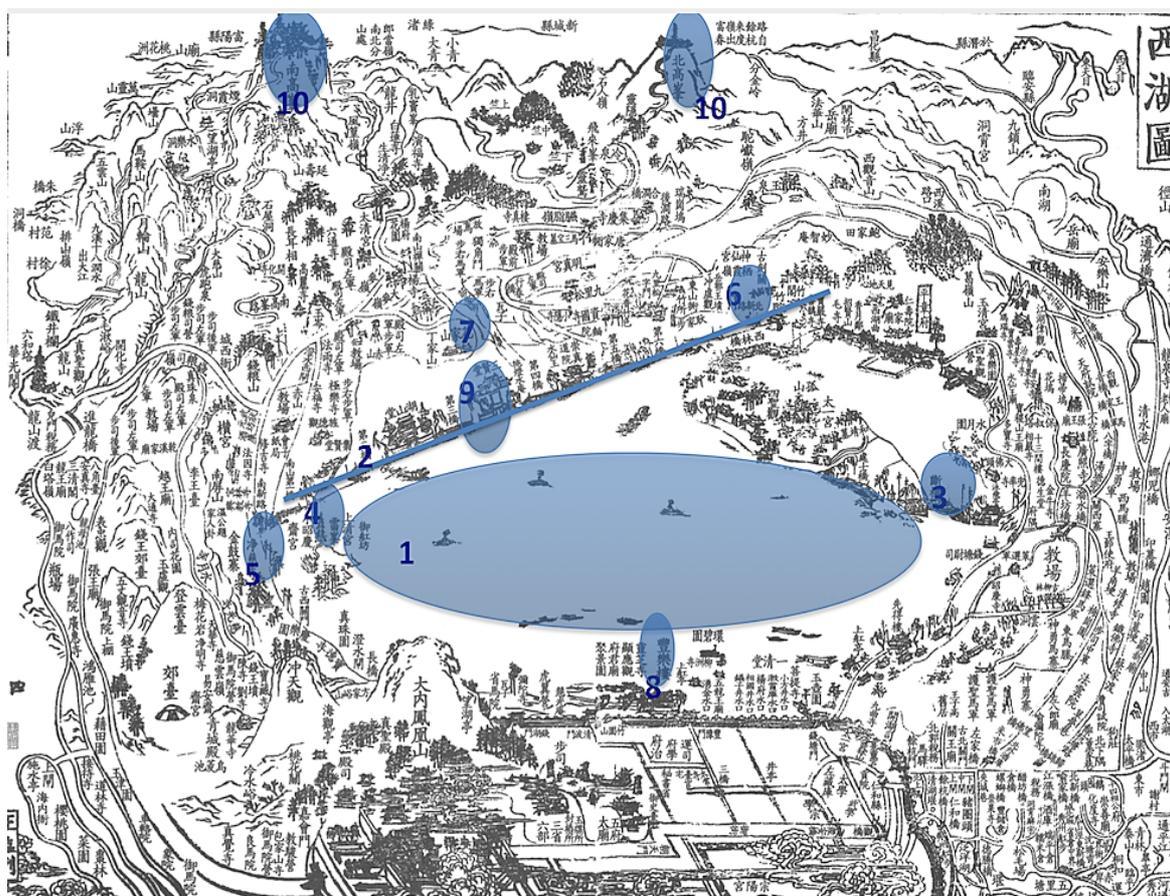


Figure 4. Locations of the Ten Views on the Southern Song map of West Lake. Based on Jiang, “*Xianchun Lin’an zhi*” Songban “*jingcheng situ*” fuyuan yanjiu.

1. Autumn Moon above the Placid Lake,
2. Spring Dawn at Su Dike,
3. Remnant Snow on Broken Bridge,
4. Sunset on Leifeng Pagoda,
5. Evening Bell from Nanping Hill,
6. Lotus Breeze at Qu Winery,
7. Watching Fish at Flower Cove,
8. Listening to the Orioles by the Willow Ripples,
9. Three Stupas and the Reflected Moon,
10. Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds.

At least two of the Ten Views are views of monasteries and are imbued with Buddhist-inspired imaginings. One is the Nanping Hill and nearby Pure Compassion Monastery discussed earlier; the other one is the Leifeng Pagoda that appeared in the view “Leifeng Pagoda against the Sunset,” which emphasises the sight from the city and consequently the relations between the religious and mundane realms. The connection between the scenic views and the Buddhist worldview was further developed when artists invented ten views for many monasteries in Japan. Furthermore, most monasteries in

Kyoto have ten views (十境 Jikkyo, ten selected sites). The practice of writing poems for the ten sites in monasteries started in China, especially at Soul's Retreat Monastery and at others in the Five Mountains system. (Hirade 2015, 23–47) Following this tradition, all the Five Mountains monasteries later acquired their own ten landmarks and landscape sites in Japan. (Yan 2020) For example, Soseki Muso 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351) found the Tenryu-ji 天龍寺 and determined its Jikkyo. He tried to create a landscape concept that matched his ideal world by applying previous land uses, natural conditions, and historical aesthetics. The ten sites could be considered the nucleus of the temple for future planning. (Yoshifumi et al., 2006, 529–34) Many of these ten sites owe a debt to the landscape tradition of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang. In addition, the formation of Jikkyo was a result of appropriations from the actual scenery in Hangzhou. Among these Jikkyo, most water- and cave-related scenes are borrowed from the Pure Compassion Monastery and West Lake. (Cai 2001, 13–51)

Different from the four-character poetic titles of West Lake's Ten Views, these ten sites include architectural features, such as a hall, a temple, and a pavilion, and natural landscapes, such as a hill and a forest. The difference is that the ten sites do not resemble painting titles, though this was the purpose of the original West Lake Ten Views. While *jǐng* 景 emphasises viewing a scenic site, *jìng* 境 emphasizes a setting. But they share the similarity of noting iconic sites within one area and offering suggestions for visitors. Most of the ten sites in Japanese monasteries were selected by visiting monks. The emphasis given to specific locations and the practice of advertising a collection of important places remained the same across these monastics' various selected ten sites.

Garden design also emulated and elaborated on the visual culture of West Lake. During the Edo period, daimyos started copying scenic elements from Chinese landscapes and adapted them to Japan's natural environment and climate. Examples include Tokyo's Koishikawa Gōrakuen 小石川後樂園 from 1629, which was designed with input from the Ming loyalist Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600–1682), Hiroshima's Shukkeien 縮景園 from 1619, and Lake Senba 千波湖 from 1651. (Li 2007) The visual images recorded in texts and illustrations within the Gozan culture were a significant inspiration for garden designs by offering a selection of sites and natural elements. (Yan 2020)

## West Lake in East Asia

West Lake, as a cultural trope, is not unique to Japan. In Korea, the river near Seoul was also called West Lake. (Zhang 2014, 209–220; Ma 2016, 18–20; Wang 2018) The famous poet Sin Hūm 申欽 (1566–1628) once wrote an inscription for the West Lake Gazetteer, “The clear appreciation of Qiantang is unique in the world; southern and northern peaks, along with the inner and outer lake. How can I become the leader of the lake in my next life so that I can tour the lake just like Bai Juyi [Tang dynasty literatus, 772–846] and Su Shi? 錢塘清賞世間無，南北高峰里外湖。安得來生作湖長，放遊如白又如蘇。” (*Sangch'on ko*, 19.486) Like the Gozan poems, this poem refers to symbolic landscapes and famous historical figures. It also implies a connection between the actual scenery and the lake as depicted in literature and art.

Paintings of West Lake were also well known during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. These paintings usually emphasise the lake's scenery and the monasteries around it, as well as imagined travels within the region. Sin Wan 申琬 (1646–1707), for example, lamented in his inscription for a West Lake painting:

At the moment, there is a painting of West Lake on my desk. I don't know who painted it ... the spectacular view of the lake and mountain, the magnificent monasteries and temples, and the prosperity of the people are all in this painting. ...Even though I want to wear black shoes and cloth socks to wander around the lake and mountain, how can that happen? This land in Jiangnan has long been a war zone. We don't know whether this place remains in a state of prosperity as in the old days. Looking at this painting today, I am indeed emotionally charged.

適案有《西湖圖》一幅，不知何人所作.....而湖山之勝概，寺刹之壯觀，人物之繁華，固在阿堵中。.....雖欲以青鞋佈襪，徜徉於湖山之間，安可得也。此江南一片地，久為戎馬之場，未知今日能保昔日之繁華耶？今觀此圖，不能無感。

(*Kyōngam chip*, 1.202)

Remembrance of the past, enjoyment of the painting in front of his eyes, and imaginings of possible future travel (or the impossibility of it) bring the different times (the lake's past and the writer's present) together.

Later, the Ten Views of West Lake became popular. (Dong 2019) Poems on the Ten Views highlight the connections between the lake's scenic sites and religious teachings. For example, one poem on "Three Stupas Reflecting the Moon" reads, "The moon is reflected on the water; all three stupas are covered equally. How can one know that the reflection is traceless, neither form nor emptiness? 一片水中月，三潭照處同，誰知印無跡，非色亦非空。" By appropriating famous scriptural language in this poem, the poet utilised the viewpoint of Buddhist teaching.

In Vietnam, West Lake has been used as the name of a lake next to the capital city since the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The name of the lake came from an anecdote. Two immortals each dropped a mirror when returning to heaven; one mirror landed in Hangzhou, and one in Hanoi, and each became a West Lake. The anecdote provides a clear connection between Hangzhou's West Lake and the lake in Vietnam. The widespread fame of West Lake in East Asia was understood not only as a symbol of China but also as a perfect trope for landscape appreciation. (Jin 2001) While Japanese monks played the foremost role in transmitting and circulating West Lake culture in Japan, those who facilitated the circulation of this trope in Korea and Vietnam deserve further discussion.

## Conclusion

Gozan monks visited, wrote about, and interpreted West Lake. Their contact with the lake started from pilgrimages and from seeking Buddhist teaching in major Hangzhou monasteries. The example of West Lake in Gozan culture offers a case study for cultural appropriation and the role that landscape appreciation can play during this process.

When a foreign landscape is introduced as an artistic focus, it is usually first accepted by a group, whose literature and art then offer certain descriptions and illustrations to others. Visual culture was always prominent, as well as all sorts of material culture and culture that appeals to the senses (cuisine, for example). Once landscape illustrations became symbolic and abstract, they became universalised. During this process, West Lake's landscape culture transformed Japanese imaginings about China and the concept of West Lake itself. Just as West Lake functioned as a mental locus for prayer and play in Song China, (Duan 2020) these images were adapted to Gozan Buddhist teaching and secular life in Japan.

Japanese monks were the primary mediators between the two countries, creating a two-way cultural appropriation. They brought ideas and things back home from China and further contributed to the development of various aspects of the monasteries in China. They communicated with local literati, and their interpretations of West Lake added to its fame and meaning (in both Japan and China). Romantic distance, universalisation, and standardisation—partly a result of the distance between the lake and foreign admirers of West Lake culture—reinforced the trope but at the same time also made West Lake less personal.

An area for future research is how such cultural communications were extended to a larger transnational context. It is not a coincidence that the development of overseas trade, the circulation of the West Lake trope, and the Middle Period transition in China and Japan took place around the same time. This was also when the visual culture became more critical than text-based culture in circulating information and knowledge, along with the expansion of readership. Scholars have pointed out that the 12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries were when East Asia collapsed as a politically unified region. (Nishijima 2002, 64) Whether or not a cultural entity replaced this political entity is open to debate, but West Lake might offer a perspective to understand this transformation.

Mobility increased dramatically during this time. Mobility involved people, books, tea, poems, illustrations, and concepts; this movement of many elements was essential for West Lake to become a cultural trope. Increasing mobility reflects increasingly intimate and complex relations between people across separate areas. Through experiencing, understanding, and harnessing foreign locations, contacts, and products, specific location knowledge was acquired and expanded. This location-focused knowledge included emphases on site names, advertisements of places, and regions becoming brand names for products such as tea. The Middle Period East Asia witnessed the growth of a body of cultural knowledge acquired via increasing interactions with natural landscapes. Specific locations were utilised as a new organising principle and channel of communication.

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