Architecture and Domestic Culture in Eighteenth-Century China

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines architectural discourse and spatial practices as manifestations and experiences of order in eighteenth-century Qing dynasty China. It reviews the development of the historiography of Chinese architectural history as an academic discipline, and proposes that in the Qing there was an unprecedented rupture between domestic architectural style from that of the court. An alternative design strategy in spatial planning and detailing was adopted. It is argued that the Qing architectural discourse, its intertextuality, was implicitly linked to the historical formation of the Qing self, and that it was pivotal to the rise of domestic culture. The study approaches architecture as historical statements and arguments, and focuses on the production of space, human agency, gender, and subject positioning in early modern China. The study analyzes the Yugong mansion, Beijing, the Rong mansion in the Qing novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*; and the Manchu imperial city, as examples.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse analyse le discours architectural et la pratique de planification spatiale comme expérience quotidienne en Chine au dix-huitième siècle. Elle fait une critique du développement de la historiographie et des historiens chinoises comme une discipline académique, et propose que la dix-huitième siècle marque une discontinuité sans précédent dans l'architecture domestique des cours par l'introduction des stratégies de design alternatives, et bien détaillés. Une autre supposition est que la relation intertextuel des représentations et des discours architecturaux était germinative à la création de la culture domestique Qing. Au cœur de l'analyse s'effectue une étude approfondie de l'espace, de la contribution du facteur humain et la production d'architecture. Le sujet principal est l'étude la résidence Yugong de Rongrong hutong, Beijing; la résidence de Rong dans le livre Qing " *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Rêve dans le pavillon rouge*)," et les plans de bâtiments de la ville impériale.

To my mother, Heung-Ping Wong
黃向平 (1942-2003)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There were many subject positions in Qing China. Qing society was composed of the reigning conquerors of the Ming, the emperors, Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese Bannermen, as well as the Ming loyalists, literati, scholar-officials, merchants, the elite *jia* 家 (family) and the *ren* 人 (people). The Qianlong emperor was a poet, calligrapher, filial son, a bodhisattva, and a ruler. The military forces of the Qing were composed of the different coloured banners. The Qing elites were scholar-officials, literati, and merchants. Each of the subject positions mentioned used architecture as a medium to fabricate, reinforce and invent identities. The production of architecture was a cultural practice that assisted in the creation of personae of the Qing Emperors, the Qing family, the Bannermen, and so on. Architecture was a site and an instrument of contestation and negotiation of self-representation. It was self-reflexive and self-conscious in constituting and re-constituting identities in eighteenth-century China. The historical formation of the Qing self was linked to the discourse of Qing domesticity.

This thesis examines eighteenth-century architecture in China, particularly the Manchu capital city, Beijing, and the domestic architecture of the elites, which I argue, formed a unity with the architectural context of the city, of temples, and of palaces, emerging from a common discursive practice. I am interested in the architectural discourse as it was related to domestic culture in eighteenth-century China. I analyze the eighteenth-century architectural discourse (of the city and the house) in relation to the context of other discourses such as *dizhai* 第宅 of the *guan* 官 and *min* 民 (court vs. folk dwellings), elite *jia* 家 (elite family vs. commoner), *guige* 閨閣 (women's inner quarters) (the feminized space vs. other spaces), ethnicity and identity (Manchu vs. Han), and construction and design rhetorics (court vs. popular construction manuals). These discourses were part of an episteme that has spatial origins. The episteme, discontinuous as it might seem, had a homogeneous plane of existence, a totality that was linked to the historical formation of the Qing self. Qing architectural discourse assisted in subject

positioning. There was a modality in the discourse, which repeated itself in different modes and media. Discursiveness emerged in intertextuality. But within the homogeneous plane of existence, I found heterogeneity. Such was the case in the analysis of the Qing novel *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (The Dream of the Red Chamber), where, in narrative form, the author discloses subjectivities and uses narrative as a main trope for organizing the structures and spaces that were the everyday. Therefore, I am interested in the consumption of space and architecture, and the human agency in which the narrative order is manipulated as a means of contestation and representation.

The fetishization by means of boundaries, or any object that distinguishes space, such as screens, walls, gates, streams, and so on, seem to function as devices for creating spaces that are directly linked to the subject. The subject in movement through these markers of space are altered and changed. Space, particularly domestic environment, gains its signification from the person occupying it, and vice versa.

Mainly in two parts, this thesis begins with a discussion of the process of canonization of traditional architecture in China, the construction of the category of "traditional Chinese architecture". Perhaps heuristic, this modus operandi is a guide to the writings and methodologies of the Chinese architectural historians of the early part of the twentieth century, which still dominate the field today. Not only is the main group of the primary sources for architectural historians made up of the measured drawings of the early Chinese researchers, a good understanding of their work is necessary for research in the field, either building on their research or breaking away from it. Working from a critical perspective, the approach starts with the comparative methodology established by the Chinese historians of the early twentieth century, utilizing the language of the discipline and readapting it to a theoretical frame.

Framework

The *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中國古代建築史 (History of Traditional Chinese Architecture) (Liu ed. 1984)[1] groups Qing architecture within the period of the Ming-Qing. Architecture in the Ming-Qing period is described as the final stage of the standardization of traditional Chinese architecture, emphasizing an impressive continuity in the building tradition since the early dynasties (Liu 1984: 288). In the chapter on Ming and Qing architecture, the capital city Beijing, palaces, temples, tombs, and domestic architecture are represented with plans, site plans, sketches, and photographs of buildings. Yet, this formal approach to architecture, recording and presenting building as evidence within the frame of a historical period is without any theoretical underpinnings. Limited to the discussion of style within a broad chronological history, either technology of construction or style, *The History of Traditional Chinese Architecture* does not consider history of architecture as in active engagement with society, politics, and culture. Architecture is inextricably linked to space and time, and is part of daily life. It is a cultural practice that is within a system of circulation and reception. But it was only in the late 60s that "theorizing" really developed in western historical practices of architectural history, rethinking a field that was very much dominated by historicism. Therefore, to initiate a discussion and begin to rethink the field of architectural studies of the eighteenth century in China within current theoretical discussions, I propose an interdisciplinary framework that constructs an argument with the practice of theory. The following is the proposed framework.

Space

Space is an indispensable category in the study of architecture. Edward Soja in "History: Geography: Modernity" argues against historicism's depiction of the historical imagination, how it rationally reduces meaning and action to "the temporal constitution and experience of the social being," insisting on geographies that take time and history as

[1] This remains the most important text book and source material on the history of Chinese archtitecture. It is a compendium of research material of the first generation of Chinese architectural historians in the 30s and 40s, and also includes the archaeological discoveries of the 70s.

the primary "variable containers" (Soja 1993: 139). Soja alludes mainly to Foucault's work, which has space as a center of analysis.

Architectural Discourse

I approach architecture in this thesis as discourse and architectural discourse as having an episteme of its own that is irreducible and is able to be manipulated. It also means that the discursiveness does not exist by itself, but exists with other discourses. I propose to look at some of the discursive practices surrounding the idea of domestic culture or environment, and analyze how they were related intertextually. My argument is that the architectural discourse, its intertextuality, was implicitly linked to the historical formation of the Qing self. In another words, the discursive practices that I study participated in the production of culture and persona in the eighteenth century, and vice versa.

Chinese Architecture and Interdisciplinarity

Keith Moxey in *The Practice of Theory* (1994) proposes a framework, cultural politics, for the study of art history with the aim to include agency in the analysis of visual materials. Writing against structuralism, he employs poststructuralist theories in the construction of his framework. Mainly referring to Althusserian-Lacanian ideology, Moxey is able to break away from the dialectical ideology of Marxist theory, and sets it in a semiotic frame. Unsatisfied with Marxist cultural criticism, Louis Althusser's notion of ideology originates from ideological apparatuses such as institutions, rather than from the dominant class that forms the base of a superstructure. The main attraction of Althusserian ideology is the possibility for the inclusion of human agency. The ideological apparatus "interpellates" the individual into a social being. When Lacanian psychoanalysis merged with Althusserian ideology, Lacan's notion of the symbolic order, which is equivalent to the state apparatus, brings the human subject into existence, the subject as representation. Therefore with Lacan's notion of subjectivity, the subject, outside the symbolic order, has the power to offer a re-presentation back to the symbolic order, having a capacity for agency. Then representations are constructed. Moxey's

cultural politics has the ability to destabilize a positivistic approach to the reading of images. It is an effective merging of agency, representations, and semiotics within a politicized frame, going beyond the simplistic notion of mimetic representation to the process of production and reception. A semiotic analysis dissuades the analyst from searching for essences, reading only on the surface as the vectors intersect at the moment of analysis. Yet, this postmodernist approach is emancipatory. A reading that is limited to the surface means that identity has no point of origin, which I find problematic. My interest is to find the homogeneous plane which serves as the everyday, the way in which the contemporary understood the world, a form of knowledge.

Along the same direction that was taken by art historians such as Moxey and other post-structural theorists, cultural historians similarly appropriated the Althusserian ideology with an anthropological bent. The practice was to salvage the neglect of human agency within the often-criticized positivistic approaches of Marxist theory and historicism. Michel Foucault's notion of disseminated power has been influential because it denies the dominance of a single homogeneous site of power, which, for the cultural critic's argument for human agency, serves well because power gets dispersed. But Foucault's notion of power received negative responses for its association with technologies, such as state institutions, as a main source that originate power, prompting much contestation about the lack of the human factor in the production of power. Therefore Pierre Bourdieu's formulation of habitus became the frame that was to return the stolen voice of the "Other" that got written out of histories. Simply put, habitus is a practice-centered component outside the bounds of a dominant ideology, which is institutionalized and stable, like sex, Confucianism, law, and so on. Habitus allows people to work in and around dominant ideology; it exists in the standardized world just to break it apart. The concern with the habitus, thus, logically leads to strategies and tactics. Therefore in this thesis, I discuss also some of the habitus in eighteenth-century discursive practices. Mainly by locating subjectivities that were found in narrativity, I have also considered certain architectural elements and representations as sites of manipulation and contestation. Representations get constituted and reconstituted.

Many of the examples I use are from literature. Literature as a medium works well in representing architecture because narrative has, arguably, a cinematic quality. Narrative form simultaneously brings together space, time, visuality, and subjectivity. It also links structures together, offering an experiential wholeness. Narrativity privileges the reader of the subject's gaze as she or he moves through space. The subject consumes space. Also, I argue Qing visuality was very much connected to narrativity. This thesis can only do so much as to suggest this connection; an in-depth study will have to be left for future research.

Such, in short, is my thesis. Chapter 2 is on the canonization of traditional Chinese architecture, starting with the Chinese architectural historians of the 30s and 40s to the more recent scholarship of the late twentieth century. Chapter 3 "The City and the House" analyses the Qing capital and the house, and the ways in which they represented the different subject positions. Chapter 4 "Temples, Palaces, & Residences: Eighteenth-Century Hall" is a comparative study of halls of different uses to decipher the architectural specificity of the domestic hall. Chapter 5 "Family, Master, Women, and Servant" is an analysis of the different components of the Qing house of the elite. In this chapter, we will look at some of the stories in *Honglou meng*, particularly a discussion of the separate residence for the visitation of the imperial concubine in the Rong mansion in *Honglou meng* (The Dream of the Red Chamber). Chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

TWENTIETH-CENTURY VIEWS ON TRADITIONAL CHINESE ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

This chapter is a historiography and a critical reading of twentieth-century views on traditional Chinese architecture. It is a road map to maneuver in the field, how the discourse operates: a modus operandi. The first generation of Chinese architectural historians created the methodology that was used in the writing of the history of traditional Chinese architecture, which is still in use today. The architectural historians of the 30s and 40s established the descriptive language of the discipline, which remains the main way of speaking. They have situated the canonical texts and buildings in which all timber-frame constructions are compared and analyzed.

The history of Chinese architecture as a discipline in both China and the West has a short history, not more than a century old and has been written exclusively in the twentieth century (Steinhardt 1997: 23). Although the writings on the subject of art as a whole were abundant in pre-modern China, the materials were not gathered and analyzed within disciplinary frameworks (Clunas 1997: 9). As for fieldwork, the study of extant buildings began in 1901, when researchers from Japan photographed and recorded the Imperial Palace in Beijing (Glahn 1984: 50). Furthermore, in late imperial China, the *gongbu* 工部 (the Board of Public Works), the department responsible for public architecture, ranked low among the different departments in the Ming and Qing central government. The *gongbu*, the last in the order of importance, came after the departments *li* 例 (the Board of Personnel), *hu* 戶 (the Board of Revenue), *li* 禮 (the Board of Ritual), and *xing* 刑 (the Board of Punishment) (Yang 1969: 55).

Writing on the history of traditional Chinese architecture began in the West. William Temple (1685) was one of the first to write on the subject.

Recently, the extensive writings rethinking previous scholarship on non-western countries in various disciplines have brought a new debate to the discussion, and history of China is no exception. Early 20th-century works on China, arguing from a modernist standpoint, considered China to be unchanging and had no history. This perception of an unchanging China has to do with the separation of traditional Chinese history into two parts—the feudal and post-feudal periods. With a Hegelian explanation, the discontinuity of Chinese history is attributed to western modernism, leading to the frequent misconception of a stagnant China prior to its contact with the western world. Contrary to this view, recent scholars in the social and cultural history of China have shown that such views should be scrapped. In cultural history, scholars of the history of Chinese women in imperial China have had brought forward much evidence that Chinese women were active participants in Chinese history, not silenced subjects of Confucian patriarchy. For example, Dorothy Ko's study (1997) of changes in urbanization, commercialization, and the print culture in seventeenth-century China revealed the popularity of elite women authors. And Susan Mann's study (1997) of women in the High Qing period shows how women made their mark by their writing. In the area of Chinese art, interdisciplinary approaches prompted a revision of past scholarship, which at present, is at the beginning stages of these new interpretations.

On history of Chinese art of the nineteenth-century, Craig Clunas, astutely states:

> The creation of 'Chinese art' in the nineteenth century allowed statements to be made about, and values to be ascribed to, a range of types of objects. These statements are all to a greater or lesser extent statements about 'China' itself (Clunas 1997: 9).

A corollary of this is that studies in the early part of the twentieth century consider art objects to be embodiments of visions and development of a nation and its culture, within a genealogical timeline. Yet, the paradigm employed by nineteenth-century authors in the West was in accord with a general trend in art historical practice. The reduction of architecture, either to its essence or identifying characteristics in an unilinear and developmental historical system could be traced to the beginning of art historical practices that go back to the work of sixteenth-century European art historian

Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), a historiographer of Renaissance Florence. Vasari proposed two fundamental assumptions, of which later art historical practices were variations and developments. The first is privileging certain objects over others on the grounds that they contained important information on the sources and their makers. The second is the focus on historical genealogy of objects, which traces and defines a specific cultural vision (Preziozi 1998: 21).

The history of Chinese traditional architecture is mainly the history of timber frame construction from the Tang (618-907) dynasty to the Qing (1644-1911) dynasty, along with stone and cave structures, and imperial city planning. Even today, the main focus of architectural studies has been on structures of monumental stature, such as religious, palatial, and funerary structures. The writings that came out of China are mainly attributed to the history of Han Chinese, often skimming over the non-Chinese contribution of "barbarian dynasties," whose reigns occupied a significant part of Chinese history. Nancy Steinhardt's work fills these lacunae. Her research on Chinese architecture under Mongolian and Liao patronage stands as the most up-to-date authoritative text on the subject (Steinhardt 1997).

The 1920s and 30s

The research of *Zhongguo Yingzao Xuehui* 中國營造學會 (the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture), founded in 1929 by the former Qing scholar-official Zhu Qiqian 朱啓鈐 (1872-1962), headed by Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, Liang Sicheng 梁思成, Lin Huiyin 林徽因, and two of their students, Mo Zongjiang 莫宗江 and Chen Mingda 陳明達, remains not only today's most important work in the field, it is also the foundation on which most scholarship is built. In the nine years (1932-1941) that the Society was active, it conducted research in more than 200 counties of fifteen provinces (Steinhardt 1997: 24). The study of the traditional Chinese architecture would not be possible without their groundbreaking work as many of the buildings researched by the Society survive only as drawings and records: many of them were destroyed during the Sino-Japanese war. Steinhardt tells us, of the fifteen Liao-Jin buildings studied by Liang and

Lin, all but two are known, five were destroyed during the war with Japan, and one was completely rebuilt. That means that one-third of Liao architecture was destroyed during or in the aftermath of the war (Steinhardt 1997: 25).

The main mission of the Society was to identify and recover old buildings and to study them according to current methodology in the West (Steinhardt 1997: 24). Both Liang and his wife Lin studied architecture at the University of Pennsylvania between the years 1918 and 1930, in the Beaux-Arts studio of Paul Cret. Liu Dunzhen joined the group in 1932; his contribution to the Society was his training received in Japan. The way of working of the group was to search through *difang zhi* 地方誌 (local gazetteers) of various regions, and then go to these regions and locate the buildings noted in the *guji* (historical relics) or the *siyuan* 寺院 (monasteries) sections; then study the buildings, detail by detail, by measuring, drawing, and photographing them; the final products were publishable drawings and reports. The measurements of the buildings under study were always compared to the building details in the Song manual *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式. The intensity of the fieldwork is summarized in Liang Sicheng's notebook:

> For the last nine years, the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture of which I am a member has been dispatching twice every year, on trips of two or three months duration, small teams of field workers headed by a research fellow to comb the country for ancient monuments. The ultimate aim is the compilation of a history of Chinese architecture, a subject that has been virtually untouched by scholars in the past. We could find little or no material in books; we have had to hunt for actual specimens. We have, up till today, covered more than 200 *hsien* of counties in fifteen provinces and have studied more than two thousand monuments. As head of the Section of Technical Studies, I was able to visit most of these places personally. We are very far from our goals yet, but we have found materials of great significance." (Fairbank 1980, [xvii])

The Society published a quarterly periodical, *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 中國營造學社匯刊 (Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture) between 1929 and 1942, with a total of seven volumes, before it was interrupted by the Japanese invasion in 1937. The bulletins contained mostly research on monumental structures throughout China. They include: the ashlar pagoda of Fuqing; the Wannian bridge; *pailou*

牌樓 (memorial arches); locks and culverts; palaces and yamen; temples; and the Ming tombs. In addition, there are travel notes and studies on Kaifeng, Zhengzhou, and the old city of Suzhou. There is also a proposal for the renovation of the Kongzi temple in Qufu, which is first attempt at restoration and preservation in China. The bulletin also includes a bibliography of primary sources for further specialized research. The first studies on the building manuals *Ying zaofashi* (the Building Standards) and the *Lu ban jing* 魯班經 (the Carpenter's Manual) are in the bulletin.

Several Western scholars conducted research in China before the Sino-Japanese war; their works contributed to the formative years of the discipline. Although the publications of Gisbert Combaz, Ernst Boerschmann (1873-1949), Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) and Osvald Sirén are mainly photographs (whose works have been criticized for their non-documentary research), they are important historical records of pre-modern Chinese architecture, and are well known worldwide. Berthold Laufer's book *The Chinese Gateway* contains pictures of Qing Beijing. The Swedish art historian, Osvald Sirén, published works on architecture. They are: *The Walls and Gates of Peking* (in 3 volumes: 1924); *The Imperial Palaces of Peking* (in 3 volumes: 1926); "A Chinese Temple and Its Plastic Decoration of the Twelfth Century" (1932). Ernst Boerschmann published several books of photographs that have captured buildings which are no longer in existence, or have been completely restored: *Die Baukunst und religiose kultur der Chinesen* (1911); *Baukunst und Landschaft* (1923); *Chinesische Architektur* (1925); and *Chinesische Pagoden* (1931).

In 1922, Joseph Mullie, a French missionary, wrote two articles that appeared in the *T'oung Pao*, one of them "Les anciennes villes de l'empire des Leao au royaume Mongol de Barin," remains the major Western contribution to the study of Liao architecture (Steinhardt 1997: 23). The Japanese archaeologist Torii Ryuzo led a Japanese exploration team in Manchuria under the Japanese occupation, which followed with the publication of a four-volume work on Liao culture, in 1936 (Steinhardt 1997: 23).

Gustav Ecke is best known for his research on Chinese traditional stone pagodas. He started his research in 1923 working along with the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, and his results were published in the *Bulletin*. His methodology was to measure and draw the pagodas, which he found in Shanxi and Hebei provinces.

Alexander Soper studied traditional Chinese architecture in China during the 1930s during the time of the Japanese occupation, which limited it to one month in 1938 (Steinhardt 1997: 26). Soper's *Art and Architecture of China* (1968), relying heavily on the research of the Society, was the standard textbook in English until the recent translation *Chinese Architecture* with an expanded text on the cultural and historical background and bibliography (Steinhardt et al. 2002).

Liang Sicheng

Liang Sicheng's *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of its Structural System and the Evolution of its Types*, was finally published posthumously for the first time in America in 1984, in English, edited by Wilma Fairbank, thirty-four years after the date of its conception. Yet, the conceptual ideas in this seminal work was already in place in the early quarter of the 20th-century, on the brink of academic studies of architecture in China. The book contains meticulous drawings and watercolor renderings. *A Pictorial History* proposes one of the first attempts at a chronological history of traditional Chinese architecture.

Liang explains in the preface of the *Pictorial History* that the study is on the development of the Chinese structural system and the evolution of its types. In the section "Origins", Liang describes the applicability and widespread use of the Chinese structural system:

> [t]his osseous construction permits complete freedom in walling and fenestration and, by the simple adjustment of the proportion between walls and openings, renders a house practical and comfortable in any climate from that of tropical Indochina to that of sub-arctic Manchuria. Due to its extreme flexibility and adaptability, this method of construction could be employed wherever Chinese civilization spread and would effectively

> shelter occupants from elements, however different they might be (Liang 1984: 8).

Like many of the modern studies on architecture, the *Pictorial History*, as its title states, is concerned with formal issues of architectural studies like building typologies. Yet, if the work is taken for its pictorial record (measured drawings of plans, sections, and elevations) displayed in a comparative method and chronology, then the *A Pictorial* represents the influence that the author had in the formation of architectural studies in China.

Liang classifies the complete traditional architecture into three main periods: the "Period of Vigor;" the "Period of Elegance" and the "Period of Rigidity". The "Period of Vigor" is the Tang dynasty (618-906), the "Period of Elegance" is from the Song dynasty to the end of the reign of the Hongwu emperor (960-1398), and the "Period of Rigidity" is from the Yongle reign of the Ming to the Qing dynasties (1403-1911). Liang points out the difficulty of drawing the division of the periods: "[i]t is impossible to draw a line of demarcation to separate the imperceptible steps in the process of evolution" (Liang 1984: 37). The main concern for Liang is to trace the evolution of architecture, the progress through time with a metaphor of biological growth, Tang dynasty (960-1398) as being the Golden Age of Chinese architecture just as it was in Chinese poetry.

Another major contribution by Liang Sicheng to the discipline is the introduction of the nomenclature and features of timber construction, derived from the Song manual. They are points of investigation of pre-modern Chinese architecture. In the essay, "*Zhongguo jianzhu de tezheng*" 中國建築的特徵 (The characteristics of Chinese architecture), in *Liang Sicheng wen ji* 梁思成文集, a collection in four volumes, containing the complete works from 1950 to 1964, published in 1986, the main features of Chinese architecture are summarized into nine points: (1) in general, buildings have three sections—the *taiji* 台基 (base); the *fangwu* 房屋 (building), which is the body, the pillars and their arrangements; and the roof; (2) in plan, the *suo* 所 (buildings) (i.e., verandas, halls, etc.) are related to each other surrounding a courtyard, organized along a central axis, having the most important building facing south; (3) wood construction; (4)

dougong 斗拱 (bracketing system); (5) *jujia* 擧架 (raising the frame), a Qing term for the method of determining the pitch and curvature of a roof; (6) the importance of the roof; (7) the use of colors; (8) the wood frame system functions as both structure and ornamentation; (9) carvings on stone and wood elements, for example, doors and windows, and interior finishes. Simplistic as it maybe, the definition of the features of timber construction is the basis for architectural analysis, a way of describing the buildings by their components. Many of the studies by the Society start with comparisons of these elements. Moreover, these components are described in the *Yingzao fashi*.

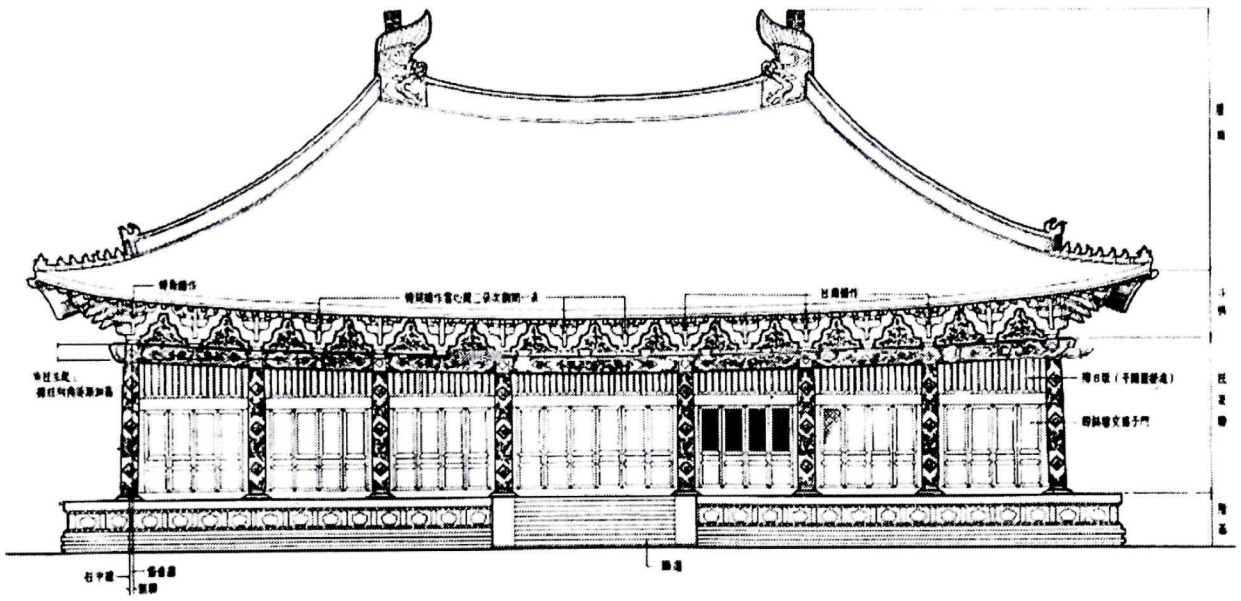


Figure 1 Ideal elevation from the Song manual *Yingzao fashi*, showing base, body, and roof. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 243]

Liang's and Lin's training received at the University of Pennsylvania affected the way they approached traditional Chinese architecture, hence its influence on Chinese scholarship. Liang and Lin introduced the concepts of measured drawings, site plans, and fieldwork, in their research on Dule si 獨樂寺, 984, Ji county, Hebei province, which became a model for the investigation of traditional Chinese architecture (Steinhardt 1997: 31). The valuable records left by the Society are due to the painstakingly laborious method of site measurements and drawing taught in a Beaux-Arts curriculum at

University of Pennsylvania. Without the drawings, piece by piece, of building members, the secrets of the enigmatic *Yingzao fashi* would not have been solved.

Liu Dunzhen

Typological study of Chinese architecture has been the principal method of study of domestic architecture in China since its beginning in the 1930s. Little work had been done on domestic architecture during that period. The interest in traditional dwellings really began when the Society took notice of them on their exodus to Yunnan Province to avoid the Japanese invasion of 1937 (Knapp 2000: 7-8; cf. Liang Ssu-ch'eng 1984: 110). The first and most important work that established the methodology of later studies is the categorization system of folk dwellings in Liu Dunzhen's, *Zhongguo zhuzhai gaishuo* 中國住宅概説 (Chinese residential architecture). It is the first complete monograph on Chinese domestic architecture. *Zhongguo zhuzhai gaishuo* is the result of an article "*Domestic Architecture: Origins*," that Liu wrote for the journal, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建築學報 (1956 no. 4). The publication of that monograph is an indication of the acceptance of vernacular architecture as a worthwhile academic research subject (Knapp 2000: 8).

Liu's system of categorization of building types of domestic architecture is the most influential work on the topic to date. For example, Ronald Knapp, a distinguished scholar on China's folk dwellings, employs Liu's system of categorization in *China's Traditional Rural Architecture: A Cultural Geography of the Common House* (1986), and *China's Old Dwellings* (2000). And then there are the studies that challenge the system, arguing that the problem of categorization has yet to be solved, like Zhou Lijun's 周立軍 article "Beifang Hanzu chuantong zhuzhai leixing qianyi" 北方漢族傳統住宅類型淺議 (Northern Han Chinese traditional dwellings) (Zhou 1996: 16-20).

Liu's system categorizes the different types of domestic buildings of the Ming and Qing into nine types. They are circular, vertical rectangular, horizontal rectangular, three buildings and a court, four buildings and a court, a combination of the previous two

categories, and caves (Metaillé, Clement-Charpentier, & Clement 1980: 75). Each of the building types represents specific regional characteristics.

Metaillé, Clement-Charpentier, and Clement, the translators of *Zhongguo zhuzhai gaishuo* into French *La Maison Chinoise* (1980), comment in the preface that it is a history of dwellings, a history of techniques of construction, a history of plans, and a history of ideas of Chinese architecture. Yet the history is anachronistic, it does not consider the stylistic distinctions of specific historic periods nor does it, in Ronald Knapp's words, go beyond the primary stages of empirical methodology towards "a nuanced consideration of many variables within an interdisciplinary and comparative framework" (Knapp 2000: 4). The underlying narrative is one of evolution. The most evolved residential building has the 'four buildings enclosing a court' plan or *siheyuan* 四合院. Several claims might explain the plausible reasons for this assumption: the perceived supremacy of Han culture, and that the Han Chinese official-style spatial layout is deemed to be at the highest level of evolution in architecture.

The different building types in Liu Dunzhen's system, aside from regional distinctions, are dwellings of different ethnic nationalities in southeast China. The Han Chinese house plan, which is the 'four buildings enclosing a court,' is superior in comparison to other buildings of the ethnic minorities, because of the perceived supremacy of Han culture over other nationalities. Liu Dunzhen claims in *Zhongguo Gudai jianzhu shi* (History of Chinese traditional architecture):

> The high degree of standardization of official style architecture resulted from a long period of experience. Standardization not only leads to estimation of materials and increased speed of erection; there is also a definitive relationship of proportions and ornamentations. That kind of standardization resulted from a long period of perfection of an art, achieving the highest quality of architecture (my translation).

The official style in domestic architecture is the *guanshi*, or, literally, "official style." With the exception of the *guanshi* 官式 house, all the others are considered under the over-arching terminology of folk dwellings, the *minju* 民居. The *minju*, primitive in its characterization, does not abide by any prescriptions of standardization nor observe

any paradigmatic rules of spatial layout, such as symmetry and north-south axiality, to which all the idealized plans should comply. Recent studies on *minju* have been anthropological and ethnographical in nature, focusing on the house as shelter, determined by climate, customs, technologies, rather than historicity.

Nancy Steinhardt describes Liu's *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* in "New Chinese Books on Chinese Architecture" (1987) as the most important general history of Chinese architecture available today. After more than a decade, this book in Chinese remains an important general survey of the history of Chinese architecture (this research would not have been possible without this source). *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi,* a work that began in 1959, was finally published in Beijing in October 1980 after it had gone through eight revisions. The book is in seven chapters, organized chronologically--each chapter is devoted to a different dynasty. The sources for this book not only include extant buildings most of which are reproductions of the fieldwork of the Society in the form of drawings and photographs, but also include literary texts and paintings as documents, and the work contains reconstructions of partial archeological remains. This broadening of sources is a precursor to the work of future students, like the research of the prominent architectural historian Yang Hongxun 楊洪順, whose reconstruction work includes the late seventh- & eighth-century Hanyuan Hall 含元殿 at the Daming Palace 大明宮 and the Mizong si 密宗寺, Chang'an 長安 in Shaanxi province (Yang 1987: 210-252). As well, there are the works of Xi Zezong and Su Bai.

Liu Dunzhen's influence on architectural studies in China is significant. The Department of Architecture in the School of Engineering in Suzhou, began with Liu Dunzhen as its director, in 1927. With the establishment of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, he was appointed the head of fieldwork, a position he took on after seven years of study abroad, in 1930. In the preface of *Zhongguo zhuzhai gaishuo*, he credits his work on domestic architecture to the founding of the Chinese Architectural unit by the Society of Ancient Architecture of the East and the Nanjing Institute of Technology in 1953, where he was later appointed director in 1968. During this period, besides *Zhongguo zhuzhai gaishuo* and *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi,* he also wrote

Suzhou Dadian Yuanlin 蘇州大典園林 (Suzhou Gardens) (1979) and many articles. Steinhardt calls *Suzhou Dadian Yuanlin* as "the most scholarly and most extensive new Chinese publication on landscape architecture" (Steinhardt 1987).

Significant Buildings and Texts

There are several significant buildings and texts that, since their discovery, have led to the writing of the history of Chinese traditional architecture. They are the canonical examples of Chinese traditional architecture in pre-modern China. Knowledge of them is necessary for reading the literature that they support. Of the existing buildings that have became the main focus of modern and contemporary literature on Chinese architecture, most became known and were studied by the Society in the 1930s, some have been missed, and several were later destroyed in the Sino-Japanese war. Many of these surviving pre-thirteenth-century buildings are located in Shanxi Province, 106 of the 140 buildings, of which more than seventy are located in the southeastern part of the province beyond Liao territory (Steinhardt 1997: 58).

Two important construction manuals, *Yingzao fashi* (Building Standards), published under the Ministry of Public Works of the Song Dynasty, Li Jie 李戒 editor, completed in 1100, is the only surviving written document of official architecture of early imperial China (it was published twice, once in 1103 and 1145, included in the Imperial Library of Yongle 永樂, and again in the Imperial Library of Qianlong, the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 and the *Siku quanshu* 四库全書, in Qing dynasty), and Gongbu *gongcheng zuofa zeli* 工部工程做法則例 (Engineering Manual for the Board of Works), published in 1734 by the Ministry of Works of the Qing Dynasty. Both have prescriptions for the size of buildings and their structural components, architectural decoration, on the management of construction projects and also consider construction methods.

Zhu Qiqian 朱啓鈐, a Chinese scholar-official who was in charge of restorations of the Forbidden City in Beijing, found a manuscript copy of the Song manual in 1919,

and had it printed that year. Actually, the original purpose of assembling the Society for Research of Chinese Architecture was to study the *Yingzao fashi*. The old craftsmen and artisans of the imperial palace helped members of the Society to understand the text. They themselves were familiar with the Qing construction manual, and so with the extant buildings from the Qing Dynasty and the 1734 manual, researchers began to understand the enigmatic *Yingzao fashi*.

The chapters that have fascinated scholars are four and five in this 34 chapter manual, which describe the standard timber units of construction, with a total of eight grades. The eight grades of units are called *cai* 材. They are measurements of the various bracket-arms in cross-section (height by width), which are used according to the size of the building—described by the number of spans in length, the front elevation. The first grade, the most impressive in building scale, is used for halls of nine to eleven spans long. In a diminishing order, the smaller the *cai*, the smaller the building: the eighth rank is for the design of a pavilion. Also the smaller the bracket-arm, the more intricate the detailing would be. Therefore, the craftsmen would know the size of the building if they knew the grade of the bracket-arm or vice versa. Moreover, the size of traditional Chinese halls is indicative of the status of the building--larger halls have more importance over smaller ones.

In 1962-63, Chen Mingda, a former student of Liang Sicheng reinvestigated the Muta 木塔 (Timber Pagoda) of the Buddhist monastery Fogong si 佛宮寺 in Yingxian county 應縣, Shanxi province 山西, dated 1056. It was through this study that the full secret of the *Yingzao fashi* was finally understood. The research began in the 1930s in a collaborative effort--Liang Sicheng, Lin Huiyin, Mo Zongjiang and Ji Yutang. Only several photographs of the research project remained in aftermath of the political turmoil of the 1930s and 1940s (Steinhardt 1987). It was not until 1981 that Chen Mingda's research, the *Yingxian Muta* 應縣木塔 (Yingxian timber pagoda) was published. Chen Mingda discovered that the dimensions of the different building members in this magnificent Liao period architecture; columns, beams, lintels, and rafters, are proportional to each other. When he converted the dimensions (in metric units of

measurement) into the units of the Song manual, his speculation was proven to be correct (Glahn 1984: 55). The width of bay, the height of column, and the storey height all had definite ratios, and that these ratios have direct relationship to the *cai-fen* system described in the *Yingzao fashi* (Chen 1981: 234). It was the analysis of the Yingxian Muta that testified to the significance of the Song manual, that the dimensions are not random. This, the author writes, "induced the author to realize that the study of actual examples should be incorporated with those in the book *Yingzao fashi*, mutually complementing and promoting each other" (Chen 1981: 234). Chen Mingda summarizes the value of the Song manual:

> The book is quite a valuable reference for research on ancient Chinese architecture. It is especially so since we have already noticed from existing examples that there are differences between the[sic] architecture of the[sic] Tang-Liao dynasties and that of Ming-Qing dynasties, with great changes in appearance, structure and style. It was just during the period of transition from end of Northern Song to Yuan that the book was written. The book retains some of the architectural characteristics of Tang-Liao dynasties and also shows some of the prototypes of Ming-Qing dynasties, serving as a link between the past and future. It is an important document for research on Chinese architectural development since the eighth century (Chen Mingda 1981: 231-232).

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a change in architectural detailing and a new system of proportions was in place. The *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* (Engineering Manual for the Board of Works), compiled in 1734, stands six centuries apart from the Song manual. This Qing manual compared to that of the Song is less comprehensive, and less precise in terms of its units. In addition, the Qing manual has introduced a new nomenclature, and new proportions for the corbel bracket-arms. The major difference from the *Yingzao fashi* is that the difference in units and proportions reduces the height of buildings and the sizes of the bracket members, to the point that the Qing bracket system changed from structural to decorative.

Traditional Chinese buildings may be compared to the ideals presented in the Song manual and in the Qing manual, so to determine whether they belong to one of the two periods. For example, in "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall," (Steinhardt 1988: 57-73), Steinhardt concludes that Yuan period halls, when compared to

both the Song and Qing styles, have a transitional style in Chinese architecture. The evidence shows that the details of the Yuan halls are more similar to the details found in the *Yingzao fashi* than to the Qing examples. And the similarities of the Yuan period hall to that of the Qing period style lies in the use of straight beams.

The *Lu Ban jing* 魯班經, a popular technical treatise, is known to have been compiled in the second quarter of the fifteenth-century by three people mentioned in the manual, Wu Rong 午榮, an official of the Board of Works in Beijing, Zhang Yan 章嚴, a military official, and Zhou Yan 周言, an official of the Bureau for the Assignment of Craftsmen in Nanjing. The oldest extant edition dates to the late Ming (Ruitenbeek 1986: 1-23). The Song and Qing treatises on building are for official architecture, such as court buildings, while the *Lu Ban jing* is a carpenter's manual for more humble structures--wood frames from three-purlin sheds to nine-purlin and five-bay halls, and small pavilions. In three main sections, the *Lu Ban jing* is a manual for the construction of houses, for the construction of furniture and utensils, for siting, and for non-technical aspects of building—magic, amulets, auspicious measurements, and so on. The construction of a house is an exposition of the different stages of construction from site preparations, to measurements for millwork, to the erection of the building, to ritual and magical operations.

The *Lu Ban jing*, unlike the Song and Qing manuals received little attention from the early Chinese scholars. They saw the technical section of the manual on timber frame construction to be jottings, copied from the official treatise *Yingzao fashi*. In a short summary of the *Luban yingzao zhengshi* 魯班營造正式, from the Ming period, Liu Dunzhen (who declares that it is the same book as *Luban jing*) disparages the parts on building magic and cosmology as superstition that have no consequential evidence (Liu 1984, vol.2: 418-419). But he ended the article with a statement that is really interesting. He suggested that the Ming carpenter's manual could assist in the research on the southern houses and on the development of Daoist and Buddhist temples of the later Ming period.

From the Tang dynasty (618-907) to the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), there are important extant buildings, which stand as examples for each period. Liang Sicheng organized them in drawings, to scale, showing the typical columns, bracket systems, and rafter details, and plans and elevations for comparing their differences (according to him evolution) of the Chinese "order."[2] All of the buildings included in Liang's comparative studies were measured and drawn in the 1930s. Later archeological discoveries, like the foundations of the Mizong Hall (Esoteric Buddhist Hall) of Qinglong si 青龍寺, from the Tang Capital Chang'an (A.D. 618-906), by the leading Chinese architectural historian, Yang Hongxun, relied on the extant Tang buildings along with other textual and visual sources for imaginative restorations (Yang 1987). The Hanyuan Hall at the Daming Palace, Chang'an, is also another reconstruction from a combination of archeological work and textual research, and most importantly derived in large measure from extant structures of the Tang period. Thorp and Vinograd point out that the Hanyuan Hall is "a "virtual monument" of Tang architecture that affects how we judge the earlier and later history of imperial halls" (Thorp & Vinograd 2001: 189). Therefore, not only does the list of exemplary buildings implicate the discussion of Chinese traditional architecture, it provides the starting point for chronological histories. As well, it aided the reconstruction of buildings from archeological remains. Since several of the buildings from the list of exemplary extant buildings stand as milestones in the history of traditional Chinese architecture, they are summarized here.

Tang Religious Architecture: Nanchan si 南禪寺 & Foguang si 佛光寺 Main Halls

The Foguang si Main Hall 佛光寺 (c.857 CE) (fig. 4) was built seventy-five years after the Nanchan si Main Hall 南禪寺 (c.782 CE) (fig. 2 & 3). Their comparison illustrates that either the architectural style of a lower ranking hall was significantly different from a more important hall within the same monastery, or that significant changes had occurred in monastery architecture during the period (Steinhardt 1984: 105). In addition, the surviving Tang buildings are important for comparison. Steinhardt explains:

[2] These drawings have became standard references, they are in his *A Pictorial History*...,Cambridge, Mass., 1984: Liang (1984) and *Liang Sicheng wenji* 梁思成文計, Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Press, 1986.

> Tang halls have been compared with halls of the late Northern Song dynasty, of which specifications for construction, like the module, are contained in the architectural treatise *Yingzao fashi*. The comparison is important, for it has been postulated that the Song handbook follows one or more earlier (now extinct) ones of the Tang, and that Song style consequently inherits that of Tang (Steinhardt 1984: 105).

The Main Hall of Nanchan si is the oldest known Tang building, located on Mount Wutai 五台山 in Shanxi province 山西州. The hall at Nanchan si was not studied by the Society, but it received attention from scholars in 1961. The discoveries were published in *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) (Steinhardt 1997: 67-68). Except for stelae inscriptions from the Ming and Qing dynasties, few records of Nanchan si Main Hall have been found; the only date recorded is on a cross-beam, which indicates that the hall was repaired in 782 (Steinhardt 1984: 102). The building went through major renovations in the Song period. The stylistic evidence suggests that the hall was built after the establishment of the Tang dynasty (Steinhardt 1984: 102). It is an example of a lower ranking hall type, the *tingtang* 廳堂, as described in the *Yingzao fashi*. Moreover, it collapsed in an earthquake in 1966, so Chinese architectural historians had a chance to make a thorough investigation of all its members before reassembling it (Steinhardt 1984: 102).

The Eastern Hall of the Foguang si (fig. 4, 5, 6) on Mount Wutai, Shanxi province, is the premier example of Tang period architecture, built in A.D. 857 under the patronage of Emperor Xuanzong, by the monk Yuancheng with the aid of Ning Gongyu, a female donor. The hall is dedicated to the Bodhistava Manjusri. It has 7 x 4 bays, with a building area of 634 square meters. It has two layers of columns encircling each other, one outer and another inner, all having the same height. According to the *Yingzao fashi*, the building is a high-ranking hall, a *diantang* 殿堂, therefore it is a major building in the Buddhist complex. This temple has retained its original state, without later reconstruction and dating is known to be exact. The building is in compliance with the prescriptions of a similar size hall found in the *Yingzao fashi*. The height: depth ratio of the transversal arms can generate all the measurements of the members of Foguangsi

Main Hall. This also indicates that the prescriptions in the Song text were in use in medieval China.

The Foguang si Main Hall is considered by Chinese historians to be an archetypical example of Chinese temple architecture. Steinhardt points out: "Liang Sicheng presented the east hall of Foguangsi not only as a classical model of the Tang tradition, but as an archetypical example of Chinese construction, and a source for much later Chinese architecture" (Steinhardt 1991: 45). For the restoration of the sculptural relief base of Dayan Pagoda 大雁塔 in Chang'an, the Tang style building Kondo of Toshodai-ji in Japan, and other Liao-Jin architecture, all assumed one source--the Foguang si Main Hall as their ideal model (Steinhardt 1991: 45).

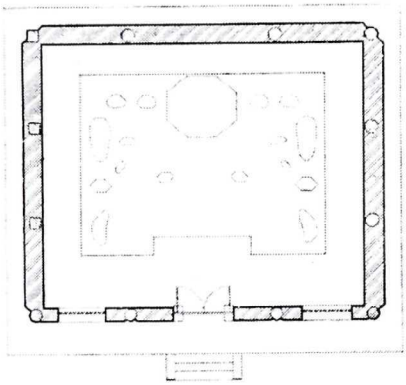


Figure 2 Nanchan si, Wutai, plan. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 133]

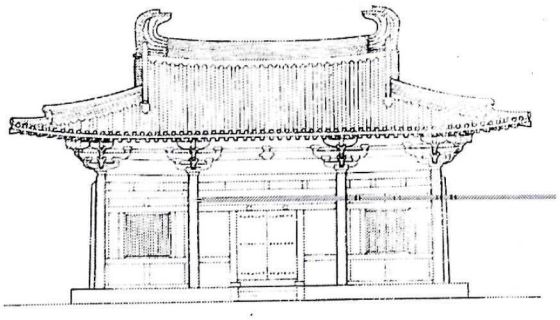


Figure 3 Nanchan si, Wutai, elevation. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 133]

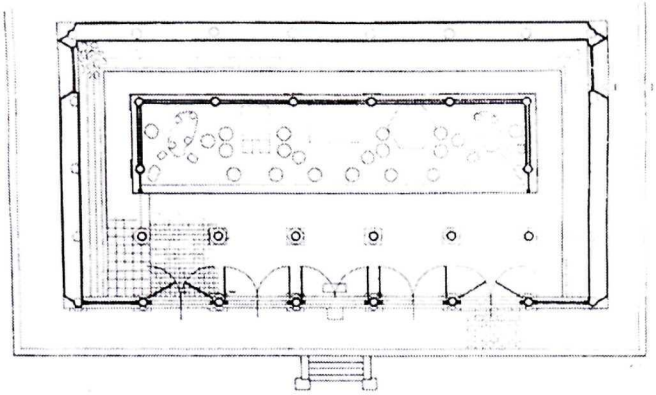


Figure 4 Foguang si, Wutai, plan. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 137]

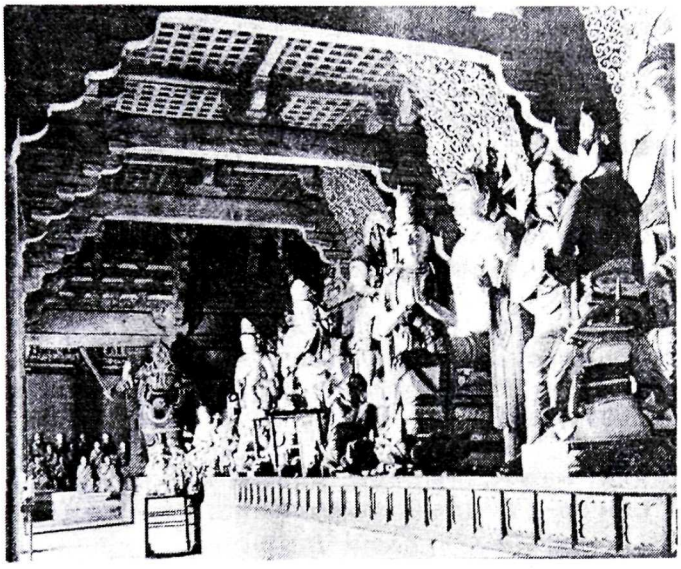


Figure 5 Foguang si, interior photograph. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 137]

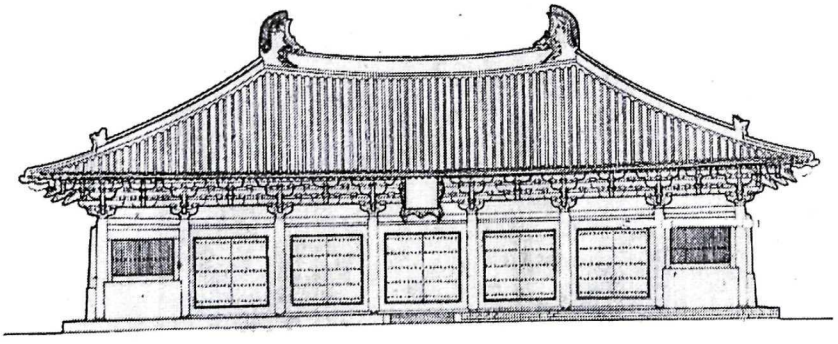


Figure 6 Foguang si, front elevation. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 139]

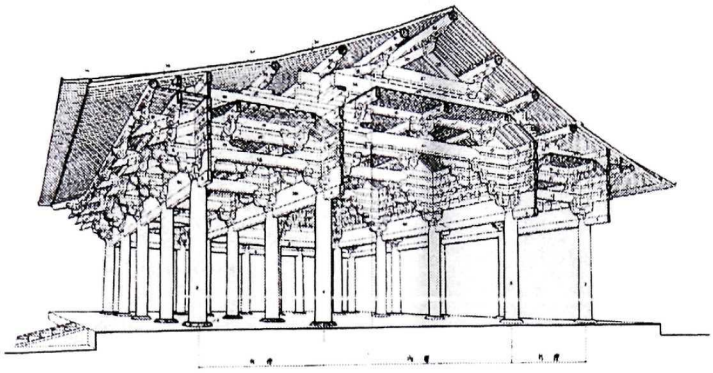


Figure 7 Foguang si, idealized structural system. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., ill. 86-6]

Dule si 獨樂寺—Liao Dynasty

The Avalokitesvara Pavilion in Dule si 獨樂寺, Jixian County, Hebei Province, is the prime example of Liao architecture. It was built in 984, during the reign of the Emperor Shengzong. This thousand year old building is of first grade in timber units. It is considered to be only inferior to the Foguang si. This building, as mentioned earlier, was the first building measured and drawn up within its context by Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin.

Yingxian Timber Pagoda 應縣木塔—Liao Dynasty

Aside from the importance of the Yingxian timber pagoda (fig. 8), or Muta, to the elucidation of the *Yingzao fashi* mentioned earlier, the research on the Muta tells us about Liao imperial patronage, and the relation of religion, specifically Buddhism, to architecture. This was also one of the first buildings that Liang and Lin studied with the methods of measured drawings, site plans, and fieldwork.

The architecture of the Muta seen as dependent on the Liao emperor's patronage in Steinhardt's *Liao Architecture* (1997) gives an astounding argument to the importation of pagodas to China, the implicit link between Buddhism and the building in plan and section, and the similarity in the monumentality of the Muta and tombs.

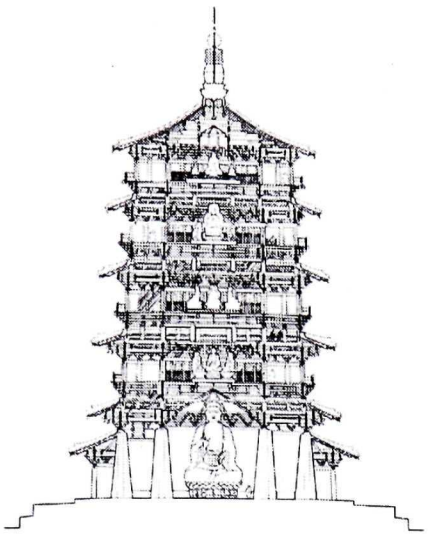


Figure 8 Yingxian muta [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 128]

Huayan si 華嚴寺—Liao-Jin Dynasty

In September 1933, Liang Sicheng, Lin Huiyin, Liu Dunzhen, and their students Mo Zongjiang and Chen Mingda, measured three temple compounds--the upper and lower Huayan si and Shanhua si in Datong, Shanxi Province (Glahn 1984: 53). The Shanhuasi was built in Jin Dynasty, dated 1130-43. In the early part of the twelfth century, the Nuzhen northeastern people founded the Jin Dynasty. The Jin emperors made five cities their capitals: Datong was the western capital and it is there where most of the extant buildings of the period are located.

The 50s, 60s, & 70s

The research of both Western and Chinese scholars in the first half of the twentieth century with their impressive textual research and fieldwork laid the foundation of the history of Chinese traditional architecture of the imperial periods from the Tang to the Qing dynasties. In 1957 *Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 中國科學院考古研究所 and Shaanxi sheng wenwuguan 陝西省文物管 began an archeological dig at the Chang'an site, leading to the creation of, in 1963, the journal *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology)

and the *Tang Chang'ancheng kaogu jilue* 唐長安考古紀略 (Collected archaeological reports of Tang Chang'an) (Yang 1987: 201). The publications included the massive archaeological discoveries of foundations of architectural sites in the Yangtze River valley, the Shaanxi plain, south Shanxi and western Henan province, Xinjiang, and Xizang. The research of the primary sources in the 1970s and 1980s provided us with the history of pre-imperial periods of the Bronze Age, early imperial periods of Han-Qin dynasties (ca. 250 BCE –200 CE), and mostly on Tang architecture. Yang Hongxun's 楊鴻勛 *Jianzhu kaoguxue lunwen ji* 建築考古學論文集 (Essays on Archaeology of Architecture in China) (1987) is an important work that continued to advance the research of the first generation of architectural historians with new archeological discoveries and interpretative studies. [3] One of the most significant discoveries during the thirty years was the Tang capital Chang'an and the Daming gong 大明宮 (Palace of Great Light) located just outside the city walls.

These archaeological sites are immeasurably valuable to our understanding of the architectural principles of the early imperial period, and also have revised some of the

[3] Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勛 is one of the foremost architectural historians in China who specializes in early imperial periods; a compendium of his work is in *Jianzhu kaoguxue lunwen ji* 建築考古學論文集 (1987). The following is a list of archeological sites found in *Jianzhu kaoguxue lunwen ji* (Yang 1987: 285-316). For the Shang 商 and Zhou 周 dynasties, there are the pre-Shang palace-temple found at Erlitou 二里頭, Yanshi, Henan province (site was cleared in 1972-1973); the foundation of a palace-temple at Fengchu 鳳雛 village near Qishan district, Shaanxi province (1976); the foundation of the palace-temple at Panlongcheng 盤龍城 in Huangpi, Hubei province; the Shang capital Aodu 傲都 at Zhengzhou; the architectural remains at Taixicun 台西村, in Gaocheng 藁城, Hebei province; the Zhou capital, Wangcheng, Luoyang; and the tombs of the Zhongshan 中山 Kingdom of the Warring States. For the early dynasties—Qin and Han, the foundations of a palace at Xianyang 咸陽, Shaanxi (Qin capital); the arsenal at the Western Han capital Chang'an; remains of the city gate of Chang'an; Mingtang 明堂 foundations near the X'ian (1956-1957); remains of the Han and Wei capital Luoyang and the Lingtai south of it; and the barracks on the border of Juyan district. Finally, the archaeological discoveries of Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) architectural remains: the Sui capital Daxing 大興 (Chang'an). The foundations at Daming palace 大明宮, or the Palace of the Great Light (found in 1857 and excavation completed in 1983, it is located just outside (northeast) the walls of Chang'an) and was a major archeological find; some of the foundations are: the Linde hall 麟德宮, Hanyuan hall 韓元殿, and the main hall of Daming gong. Other discoveries are the Qinglong temple 清龍寺 (1973); and the Tang Eastern capital Luoyang. Recent publications on the Daming gong and the Tang city are Victor Cunrui Xiong's *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China* (2000) and a report by the X'ian Tangcheng gongzuo dui 西安唐城工作隊, Kaogu yanjiusuo 考古研究所, and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 中國社會科學院, "Tang Daming gong Hanyuan dian yizhi 1995-1996 nian fajue baogao" 唐大明宮含元殿遺址 **1995-1996** 年發掘報告 in *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (1997).

interpretations of Sui and Tang architecture derived from textual and visual sources. Prior to the discoveries of architectural examples of Shang 商 and Zhou 周 periods, the architectural history of the Bronze Age was written from literary sources, visual arts, and funerary objects. Robert Thorp points out the problems with the sources:

> Today, most of the secondary literature in all languages and especially in English is based on the judicious conflation of those two kinds of evidence. Only a few studies incorporating new, archaeological data have appeared, even in Chinese (Thorp 1986: 365-378).

From the architectural remains of Qin-Han structures, we know that by the end of Western Han (206 BCE –9CE) the great unification of China as a polity had created with it, in the early imperial period, a "new style" of architecture that formed the basis of later Chinese architectural styles. For example, the Qin Xianyang Palace 咸陽宮, Shaanxi, from the archaeological remains, indicates the structural system of columns and colonnades functioned as appendages to an earth core (Thorp 1986: 368).

The foundations found in the Tang capital Chang'an, present day X'ian 西安, have revised some of our understandings of Tang dynasty architecture. Prior to the discovery of the foundation of Mizonggong of Qinglongsi in 1973, there were only two extant examples of Tang period architecture: Foguang si and Nanchan si, both on Wutai.

Chronological Histories

There are varying chronological histories of Chinese architecture, the separation of the pre-modern periods from the Tang period (618-907) to the last dynasty, the Qing (1644-49). For example, Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* (History of Chinese traditional architecture) (1978), groups Sui, Tang, and the Five Dynasties into a chapter covering 581 to 960. The following two chapters are the Song, the Liao, and the Jin periods from 960 to 1279, and the final chapter is on the Yuan to the Qing (1272-1840). Liang Sicheng's *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* (1984), describes the history of Chinese architecture in three periods: the Tang, the Song, and Ming to Qing. The *History and Development of Ancient Chinese Architecture* (1986), compiled by the

Institute of the History of Natural Sciences Chinese Academy of Sciences, under the chapter "Building Technology of Wood Construction," describes the periods of Chinese architecture as developments in the technology of wood construction, and group the Sui, the Tang, and the Five Dynasties as one stage of development, then separates the dynasties—Liao, Song, Jin, and Yuan dynasties with the Ming and Qing as one period. Zhou Weiquan's *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi*, (History of Chinese Traditional Gardens) (1990), describes the history of Chinese gardens into two large periods—from 589 to 960, the Sui to the Tang Dynasty, and a period from 960 to 1736, covering the Song to the first part of the Qing Dynasty. *Zhongguo jianzhu shi* (The History of Chinese Architecture) (1979), a textbook, categorizes the history of Chinese architecture into the feudal period and post-feudal (1279-1911) period.

In short, the standard history of Chinese architecture, the buildings of the Sui (586-618) and Tang (618-906) are discussed together; and the Liao (947-1125) and the Jin (1125-1234); the Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Song (960-1279); and the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911).

The problem of the Chinese chronological histories of Chinese architecture, as Nancy Steinhardt remarks, is the persistence of emphasizing the "impressive continuity" of Chinese architecture "thereby eclipsing stylistic distinctions of specific historic periods" (Steinhardt 1988: 56). The persuasiveness of a continuum of Chinese architecture, the intention to describe a history of evolution, deterred many studies from investigations concerned with specific technical, cultural, and stylistic details of the different dynasties. The *History and Development of Ancient Chinese Architecture* considers that architecture reached its maturity in the Tang Dynasty:

> By the Tang Dynasty, the most important structural members such as the beam, column, corbel bracket and cantilever arm...and the various technical processes (entasis, proportions, etc.) had been finalized and no drastic changes were introduced all through the subsequent dynasties (Liu ed. 1984: 74).

Zhou Weiquan's 周維權 *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* 中國古典園林史 (History of gardens in pre-modern China) (1993) uses one encompassing period of 960 to 1736,

because for Zhou it is the level of development that decides where the line is drawn: the Song, Yuan, Ming, and the beginning of Qing Dynasties already reached a level of sophistication. Zhou describes the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties (960-1279) as the first *high-period*, and the Ming and the beginning of the Qing as the second.

In her analysis of the Shaka Pagoda, or Muta, of the Buddhist monastery Fogong si, built in 1056, in Yingxian, Shanxi, under the patronage of the Emperor Daozong of the Liao Dynasty, Steinhardt suggests that the period of Liao was an age of transition in Chinese art and architecture, and that the Tang-Song is not an appropriate stylistic group (Steinhardt 1984: 117). This pagoda, one of the only eight surviving structures dating back to the Liao Dynasty, is the highest wood construction existing in the world (67.31 m). It borrowed heavily from the preceding Tang dynasty, but there is evidence of similarities with the contemporary Song style. There are similarities between the Liao pagoda and the Main Hall of Foguang si on Mount Wutai, built in the Tang Dynasty, as pointed out by the Chinese architectural historian Chen Mingda. He also found similarities between the timber pagoda to the building standards of the Song *Yingzao fashi*.

In the article "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall" (March 1988), Nancy Steinhardt focuses on halls built at palatial and religious complexes in the Yuan period to discern if there was a specific architectural style, so as to argue against the standard periodization of architectural style that includes the last three imperial dynasties. Steinhardt concludes that the Yuan dynasty should be considered as a transitional style. The architecture of the Yuan halls resemble that of the previous Song dynasty, as described in the Song *Yingzao fashi*, rather than the Ming and Qing styles, indicating the problem with grouping Yuan dynasty halls with those of the Ming and Qing.

For palatial and temple architecture, *dian* 殿 (halls) and *si* 寺 (temples) throughout the dynasties from the Tang to the Qing, there is substantial evidence--both from literary sources and extant buildings--to investigate the distinctions of stylistic periods, especially from the large amount of archaeological discoveries in the 1970s and

1980s. The current art-historical issue is to challenge established chronologies that were laid out prior to the new findings. For example, we have evidence and conclusive research that shows that the Yuan was a transitional period in architecture between the earlier Song period and later imperial periods, and the archaeological remains of Mizongsi have shown that the standard plan of religious architecture from Tang dynasty was not without change over the centuries.

Yet, for traditional domestic architecture, the existing chronology is tentative and has not received any attention. There are several reasons for this. First, there are practically no extant examples prior to the Ming. Except for paintings, there are no examples of domestic architecture that exist from the Sui, Tang, and Song dynasties (Knapp 1986: 15). Based on literary sources, stone carvings, and paintings representing domestic architecture of the pre-Ming dynasties, Chinese architectural historians have argued that the history of domestic architecture has an impressive continuity, and has gone through little change in both layout and in the structure and details of the wood frame construction. But none of these claims is founded on analysis of technical data. Second, the interest in typological studies of domestic architecture disregards stylistic distinctions and historical context. Third, the partiality architectural historians have for monumental architecture over secular buildings, the distinction by ethnic differences and by region, restricted the study of domestic architecture to the area of anthropology. Another art historic issue is that Chinese domestic architecture in late imperial China, like that for monumental architecture, has been grouped together into a single period. Furthermore, digressing from stylistic distinctions and considering domestic architecture within the broader historical and social context, the focus has been to identify the impressive diversity of residential architecture amongst different ethnic groups.

Recent Views on Chinese Domestic Architecture and the Environment

Since I have already discussed the research on domestic architecture by the Chinese architectural historian Liu Dunzhen in the 1930s, I would like to summarize some of the trends in recent scholarship in the West (no more than half a decade) on traditional

Chinese dwellings. The Chinese house has been studied from a mostly interdisciplinary perspective of cultural anthropology, social history, and cultural geography.

In *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (1997), Francesca Bray argues that the construction of gender from the Song to the Qing periods has to do with 'technology.' Technology can 'shape' and 'transmit' ideological traditions; in another words, it is a "form of communication," that participates in the "processes of cultural reproduction." This systematic approach aims to locate the "sets of technologies that constitute systems," and, in Bray's words, she "analyses the building of the houses and the complex structuring of domestic space that embodied in microcosm the hierarchies of gender, generation and rank inherent to the Chinese social order, tying all its occupants into the macrocosm of the polity" (pp. 3-4). The idea of technologies as both repository and generator of cultural concepts is rooted in finding ways to connect ideology with architecture. The most original claim that Bray makes is that the Chinese house in late imperial China is "best understood as a material structure or shell incorporating the principles of three "imaginary architectures," each conveying a different set of messages about the relations between its inhabitants, the cosmos and society at large" (Bray 1997: 59). The first "imaginary architecture" is a space of decorum, the second is the house as a cosmic space, and the third, a space of culture. The space of decorum is the embodiment of neo-Confucian ideals, such as the basic relationships between the state and the members of the family. The house as a cosmic space is a response to the geomancy in the design of the house. And lastly, the house as culture qualifies the house as a container for the socialization of children, providing a specific experience of space. The ingenuity of the three "imaginary architectures" bridges the gap between the apparent disparities between the normative ideology in traditional Chinese culture, the presence of *fengshui* 風水, or geomancy in the selection of sites for building, and pedagogic sense of family life and culture in the home. The most poignant argument in this work is its starting point—that architecture and culture form a system. But the system that Bray proposes is closed and restricted to the three imaginary architectures. What at first successfully implicates architecture as part of

cultural production fails, and returns to a positivist approach. The period of history, from the Song to the Qing, is also too large, making any historical study impossible.

One of the few scholars writing in North America on the Chinese house is the cultural geographer Ronald Knapp. In an article called "*At Home in China: Domain of Propriety, Repository of Heritage*," Knapp says that the Chinese house is often viewed as a "template" that reflects "social norms," "guiding" proper behavior; in Knapp's words "a repository of heritage within which orthodox patterns were repeated in myriad ways" (Knapp 1999: 16). In another fashion, on form and meaning, Knapp continues in the same article, "[h]ierarchy within Chinese dwellings is expressed in terms of upper/lower, left/right and inner/outer associations, which are seen in the placement and sequencing of walls, gates, steps and rooms" (19).

Ronald Knapp employs the Skinnerian division of "macro regions" as his framework of reference for the discussion of different house types in China in *China's Old Dwellings* (2000). In addition, his work also encompasses society and culture within smaller localities—customs and characters of villages. *China's Old Dwellings* is really an amalgamation of an impressive life's work that has brought the study of Chinese folk dwellings to North American scholarship, which had started with his first publication *China's Traditional Rural Architecture: A Cultural Geography of the Common House* (1986). His recent book *China's Living Houses: Folk Beliefs, Symbols, and Household Ornamentation* (1999), focuses on the magic used in the construction of village houses, geomancy, and the house deities.

Craig Clunas, a historian of Chinese art, has been shifting the recent approaches towards problems of visuality, representation, and discourse-making in art of China, mainly in the Ming period. Among his published books are *Superfluous Things* (1991) on discourse making of Ming connoisseurship, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (1996) on discourse making of the garden in the Ming period, and *Art in China* (1997), a general discussion of objects in China by their functions, instead of by chronology or theme. He warns the effect of "orientalism" in the study of art in China—

the trouble with "Chineseness" and the theoretical issues of writing history, of whose existence Clunas states he is suspicious in the writing of history. In the introduction to *Fruitful Sites*, Clunas describes his deliberate intention of writing against a "reductive history" that promises to deliver a definition of a Chinese garden, detailing its true essence. He summarizes his view on writing about Chinese culture in general, and on Chinese gardens in particular: "I have made the attempt to eschew the comfort of any explanations that rely on ascribed essences intrinsic to the Chinese garden and Chinese race, but also to the very concept of 'Chinese race' and 'Chinese culture' as historically coherent and stable objects" (Clunas 1996: 13). Furthermore, elsewhere he writes:

> My account begins relatively abruptly. There is no examination of the philological roots of the various terms translated as 'garden,' nor are there citations of instances of those words in classical Chinese texts of the Bronze Age. This is a conscious strategy of reading, a refusal to make the equation of origins with essences, which is one of the central practices of orientalism (Clunas 1997: 9).

The above quote echoes Michel Foucault's warning against "teleologies" and "totalizations" of history in *Archaeology of Knowledge*:

> ...my aim is most decidedly not to use the categories of cultural totalities (whether world-views, ideal types, the particular spirit of an age) in order to impose on history, despite itself, the forms of structural analysis. The series described, the limits fixed, the comparisons and correlations made are based not on the old philosophies of history, but are intended to question teleologies and totalizations... (Foucault 1969: 16).

From a theoretical stand point, Clunas has made an important contribution to the discussion of Chinese gardens, with his strategy of adopting discourse-making about ideas and things in traditional China. Studying discourse-making is a powerful analytic tool. In *Fruitful Sites*, Clunas searched in gazetteers for references to the term "garden" in the Ming period, and he found that there was a discursive regularity on the object garden and land use. By mid-Ming the idea of garden as a place for agricultural production had shifted to an object of luxury and refinement.

Klaas Ruitenbeek's well researched and documented book *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual*

Lu Ban jing (1996), covers traditional domestic architecture in two main sections: Chapter 1, "The Lu Ban jing and The Building Trade in China" discusses the building of a house in late imperial China from different aspects such as materials, carpenters, ritual, and the general building industry, and also provides a discussion of available sources on domestic architecture from pre-modern China. Chapter 2, "The History of the Luban jing," describes the history of the carpenter's manual and accompanies it with line drawings interpreted from the original Ming text, which is translated and annotated. Ruitenbeek does not disparage building magic as does Liu Dunzhen, but, in sharp contrast considers that it is a main part of construction practices of residential buildings.

In short, the publications of the last five years in the West have been stretching the boundaries and have taken different paths from those of the earlier Chinese scholars and of those scholars' students writing today. In actuality, as we have seen, the bulk of the work on domestic architecture is left for scholars in other disciplines rather than those in the history of Chinese art and architecture. I am not implying that lines should be drawn between disciplines, but rather, as Clunas's analysis of gardens in the Ming period has shown, that architecture belongs to the broader field of art and culture.

The house as the container for human activities of private family life has been the predominant interest of the scholars mentioned above. Thus, the house as the centre of discussion has been mainly in anthropologically-orientated studies. From the list of possible research materials introduced by Ruitenbeek in his book, domestic architecture as a topic of research in history of Chinese architecture, art, and culture is not only possible but with existing buildings, popular literary sources, such as construction manuals and popular almanacs, make the study of domestic architecture not just possible, but a valuable site for analysis. The new direction in research in domestic architecture seems to point to a broadening scope of research materials, so that the scarcity of buildings does not limit possible explorations.

A Chinese Classicism?

The features which qualify extant buildings as representatives of standard styles have all been compared with the *Yingzao fashi*. Aside from the strong similarity of the structure of the Foguangsi to the prescriptions found in the Song manual (which declared its significance), it remains the premier example of Chinese traditional architecture, partly because it dates from the Tang dynasty. Most writers regard the Tang dynasty as being the era of cultural superiority, of high achievement, culminating earlier developments in Chinese culture (Thorp & Vinograd 2001: 185). As Liu Dunzhen describes, traditional architecture had taken on its rightful form and had reached the degree of completeness, of maturity (Liu 1984: 65). As the stylistic reference of later periods, art historians have referred to the art objects from the Tang period as a period of 'Chinese classicism.' The issue of a Chinese classicism is complicated, even more so when a comparison is made with western classicism as John Hay describes in his article "Some Questions Concerning Classicism in Relation to Chinese Art":

> The aspect of stylistic reference is obviously basic to classicism, but here the situation in China becomes much more complicated. Surviving very effectively with no external creator and no conceptual absolute, the authority was necessarily invested in the past. Committed to changefulness as permanence, yet equally committed to its own history, the Chinese tradition put much effort into delineating a concept of lineage as a sequence of transformations. Thus, in a chronological participation, the past was at once more immediate and the present less insular than was normal in the West. The manner in which a style referred to the past was quite different from the west, because it was probably impossible for *any* style not to refer to the past (Hay 1988: 26-34).

Hay brings up the fundamental difference in the Western view of the world with that of traditional Chinese worldview. The manner in which style referred to the past in western art and architecture does have fundamental differences with that of China. One of the differences has to do with renaissance theory of art history.

The Renaissance theorists thought of the new art in Florence as the implicit goal of the previous periods of art practices, and believed that art had reached perfection, rivaling that of antiquity, the art of the Graeco-Roman world. Four years before the

publication of *The Lives*, Leon Battista Alberti, the renaissance architect and theorist, had his *Treatise on Painting* printed in 1545 in Florence. Alberti used the myth of Narcissus as a symbol for painting--a handsome youth gazing at his own reflection in a pool, where nature is mirrored, but not all that is in nature, only beautiful nature. The idea of beauty to Alberti resides in a selection of norms, standards, and ideals. The chosen elements of beauty are geometry and mathematics, the classical form, correct proportions, and combination of grace and harmony in the things of nature.

The difference resides in the principles governing the 'classicism' in architecture in the West and China. Firstly, the profound difference starts with religion. China, unlike the West, did not have a pagan past that was merged with Judeo-Christianity. The Renaissance Florentines like Vasari, Alberti, and years later Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo, believed that they were living in the Golden Age of art production, leaving behind the pagan past of the Mediaeval Era and entering into the new era of reason, of humanity and of Christianity. Hence, historians of art and architecture perceive the Renaissance as the summit of Western art practices. Secondly, the decline of art and architecture in China from the Tang is often viewed as resulting from barbarian rulers and their regimes than immorality and decadence in the Christian sense and an increase in rigid standardization because of state control of building. The third difference is the period considered to be the Classical Era--Antiquity, where ideal beauty originated. In Europe, the Graeco-Roman artifacts were taken as the models of perfection. Idealized beauty was revived and studied in later schools in the Italian Renaissance, and even later, the French École des Beaux-Arts. In China, there was no equivalent to the concept of an "Apollonian beauty." The history of architecture is a history of precedents, building on concepts of previous periods and their developments in the technology of building and art. These particularities of Chinese architecture became relevant issues. When scholars made discoveries of extant buildings scattered throughout China, never before studied or recorded, and recovered the significant lost building manual of the Song Dynasty, the *Yingzao fashi* (The Building Standards), and the Qing dynasty construction manual, *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* (Engineering Manual for the Board of Works), the future of the practice of architectural history had its beginning.

The questions and issues of a Chinese classicism are far from being solved, especially in the space of this short discussion, but the topic is too important not to be mentioned. For Liang Sicheng and many of the later Chinese historians of architecture, the Tang dynasty represents the highest of achievements in art and architecture, affecting general issues of chronological histories, and the way they have diminished the diverse contributions of non-Han cultures in the formation of traditional Chinese architecture. Moreover, there is the problem of rating buildings of later periods as a deviation or decline from the idealized Tang model. And the cross-cultural implications with the use of "classicism" in art historical practices in Chinese traditional art and architectural history raise other problems. As we will see, in many instances, emperors of new regimes used architecture to legitimize their reigns; their motives were not "neoclassical," or antiquarian in nature, rather they used architectural precedents as a representation of power. Pre-modern China is so different from that of the West, that it is more commonsensical to read China within its own webs of time and history than framing the discussion with art-historical issues from western historiography.

Conclusion

What we know about traditional Chinese building, the available research materials, the exemplary buildings and the methodology of their documentation and research, and the organization of their historical chronologies were mostly formulated by the Chinese architectural historians of the 1930s and by later archaeological findings of the 70s and 80s. No present research on the topic can avoid this tradition of modern research. The history of traditional Chinese architecture is the modern literature of the historical practices of the first generation of architectural historians; it is a constructed category, having its particular system of analysis. I began by calling this review a modus operandi because without an understanding of the historiography, the literature would not be readily understood, and without the study of the canons, it is impossible to situate oneself within the discourse.

When we study the writings by historians of traditional Chinese architecture from the early imperial to the late periods, the buildings that they discovered and studied were mostly examples of monumental architecture. From the point of view of building materials, there are buildings of stone and wood construction, and from the point of view of function, they are religious, palatial, and tombs, and most are examples of court architecture or for the elites. And in the canon of Chinese traditional architecture, each one of the buildings is situated within a larger context, within a compound of buildings. Chinese architecture in pre- and early-modern China is not solely one building: the approach to the building, the orchestration of different structures, constitutes the experience that is architecture. In addition, the complexes themselves are within a larger environment, a secluded hillside, for example, or the Tang capital, and so on. The buildings and their settings are implicitly linked. Therefore the study of domestic architecture in pre- and early-modern China must go beyond the housing units themselves to include their relatedness to other buildings of different use and their place within the architecture of the city.

Archaeological studies should not be separated from historical studies, which have traditionally only relied on textual sources and the extant buildings. Sources may also include other forms of representations, such as paintings, cave paintings, and so on. The familiar western critical conceptions of building "typologies" and the determination of buildings by their form and function do more in reducing the buildings than to fully understand their place in time, space, and culture. The task is great, to break out of the formalism of architectural analysis, categorizing buildings by their typologies, towards a contemplation of historical, spatial, and cultural contexts.

An interdisciplinary approach to domestic architecture has broadened the scope of our inquiry: but it is not without its problems. We have seen many of the recent approaches replace one epistemological basis for knowledge and formal theory with another. The general theme that comes up often in this critical reading is the problem with chronological histories. I contend that it is important to problematize the unchallenged, existing, chronology rather than abandoning it all together. As I will later

discuss in this thesis, the tearing apart of chronological histories reveals specific historical phenomena that surface as discourse in architecture that was in close proximity to other contemporary discourses. The discursiveness of architectural discourse exists because of its intertextuality with other discourses. As well, style, in a broader sense other than that described by art-historical practice, can also be a kind of discourse that is not textual. Martin J. Powers' creative analysis of early dynastic imagery as political expression and discourse does just that (Powers 1991). By carefully analyzing style as "statements, assertions, citations, comparisons, arguments, and wishes—in other words, as pictorial correlates of literary strategies," he bridges images with words in discourse making (Powers 1991: 65-66). In this thesis, I approach buildings as statements and arguments, considering the community of buildings in the Qing capital to have had a style that was discursive, and domestic architecture was part of this architectural discourse. The most troubling problem I had with the study of traditional Chinese architecture was making this particular disctinction between style as a category in chronological studies within art-historical practice and style as historical statements. In the case of traditional Chinese architecture, I contend that both are necessary, even though present approaches in the study of art and architecture argue against it, abandoning the idea of a history of anything.

CHAPTER 3

CITY AND HOUSE: REINFORCING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SELF

The elite architecture in eighteenth-century Beijing-- the domestic architecture, the parks, and gardens-- was unified; they were spaces of sociability, of cultural performance of daily life, of power, and of public persuasion. This unitary architecture was partially the result of a policy issued by the imperial state on social and architectural engineering. But here it is argued as a theory of sorts. Later on in chapter 4, I demonstrate how in the Qing the prohibition issued by the emperors against ordinary commoners using the *gong*-plan was partially the result of a conscious policy issued by the state on architectural projects. In this chapter and elsewhere, the contention is that not only theory of design existed in late imperial China; it was symbiotically related to the concept of practice, existing on the same intellectual plane. In other words, the practice of the theory of architecture in the Qing formed a system that constructed meaning and identity, creating the Qing cultural landscape. To explain the use of the term theory then, we must consider practice. On the analysis of spatial practice Henri Lefebvre explains:

> The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space (Lefebvre 1994: 38).

According to Lefebvre the knowledge of the space comes from the study of its production. The problem is not to define theory per se; rather the point is on the use of the conception of theory in tandem with practice, the infinitesimal spatial articulations that it presupposes. Yet there are characteristics that identify and distinguish the conception of theory when it compounds with spatial practice. Yvon Thébert in his study of the architecture in the Roman era points to three characteristics that define an architectural theory. He writes, "In the Roman era, however, architecture freed itself from local limitations and turned its attention toward social, aesthetic, and individualistic considerations" (Thébert 1992: 327). For Thébert it is necessary that architecture "freed" itself from local limitations, and that the new architecture must have "social, aesthetic,

and individualistic considerations." It is liberation of sorts, departing from the dominance of an existing power relationship; the architecture acquires a new definition of aestheticism and individualism. Consider the proximity of this new triumph in architecture with that of the strategies and the subsequent creation of a "proper" as theorized by de Certeau. In de Certeau's use of the term strategy as it is applied in practice, it "seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an "environment" (de Certeau 1984: 36). He calls this "own" place, "proper." This is how he defines it:

> The "proper" is *a triumph of place over time*. It allows one to capitalize acquired advantages, to prepare future expansions, and thus to give oneself a certain independence with respect to the variability of circumstances. It is a mastery of time through the foundation of an autonomous place" (de Certeau 1984: 36).

Coming back to the notion of Qing architectural theory, it existed because it had created its proper, which in it, other power relationships were fabricated. In what follows are specific examples of individual strategies in the production of space that clearly show the triump of place by the Qing state and the subsequent changes to the social, aesthetic, and individualistic nature of the city and house in eighteenth-century China. It shows the processes in which the Qing state created its own architecture proper, making a claim for a Qing cultural landscape.

Unity was also brought about in other ways. It was achieved by spatial rhetoric: siting by associating famous personalities with places, literary metaphors, and by historicizing. The architecture of the elite was a "product of elite consensus about the way 'things ought to be,' both in the precise and the figurative sense" (Clunas 1991: 53). The competing subject positions created boundaries and distinctions between both the visible and invisible in the Qing world, transforming their 'imaginings' into reality.

Yet, the unity brought about by this community of architecture in the Manchu capital is only the base for a more textured reality. The patrons in eighteenth-century China were diverse. Cultural construction through architecture in the eighteenth century occurred at many different levels, with many proponents, and modalities. The Manchu emperors, especially the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, saw "landscape as monument,"

where "the power of imagining landscape [was] a *medium* for public persuasion" (Forêt 2000: 1) (emphasis added). Philippe Forêt describes such strategy as "spectacle of domination", a way in which the Qing emperors were concerned with the promotion of Manchus as a nation (Forêt 2000: 1). So, for the Qing emperor, it was an exaltation of ethnic identity and rule that established legitimization. Then, there were the *yimin* 移民 (Ming loyalists), as studied by Tobie Meyer-Fong of late Ming and Qing Yangzhou, who utilized architecture, both real and imagined places throughout the city, as symbolic sites of memory, representing an elite collectivity in a transnationalistic way that continued a Ming habit. And there was also the burgeoning merchant class for whom architecture was a playing field for the mimicry of elite lifestyle in a time of disintegrating boundaries. But the most complex of all is the co-habitation of Hans and Manchus in the post-conquest cities. By the eighteenth century, Beijing was occupied by banner members only: it was a city of apartheid (Elliott 2001). Within the banners there were class distinctions as well. The complexity of urban architecture and domestic environments in eighteenth-century China was the intersection of many different social, political, and cultural phenomena that interwove in a competitive reinforcement of the boundaries of self that served as the everyday. Architectural discourse repeated itself in other discourses.

Under the foreign rule of the Qing, the upper class was a community of disparate ethnicities: the Manchu, the Mongol, and the Han. From architectural point of view, the multiculturalism had little effect on the houses in the Manchu Inner City. The plan of the *siheyuan* dates back to earlier traditions, and it was constructed in the first layer of the Mongol city of the Yuan dynasty. As a semi-nomadic people, the Mongol Yuan had no building tradition; they did not have permanent structures. The Mongols adopted the classical Chinese city plan--the imperial walled city in the center of a larger walled outer city and one of the house plans in the Chinese building tradition (one of the two major architectural schemes in traditional China, the *gong* plan). The revival in architecture was a way to legitimize their rule. Yet, as Chinese as the theoretical planning design might be, it was the Yuan who brought back the King of Zhou's idealized city plan (Steinhardt 1986, 339-357). Some time in the post-Yuan period, probably in the

seventeenth-century, the house plan in Beijing had changed from the *gong*-plan 工 to the second major scheme (the extant houses in the old sector of Beijing)--the courtyard enclosed on four sides by architecture, or *siheyuan*. This scheme, the 'courtyard enclosed on four sides by architecture', was a common spatial arrangement used for religious, palatial, and residential architecture in previous Han and non-Han periods. As for domestic architecture, this scheme was also used in many of the southern provinces such as Zhejiang, Anhui, and Yunnan, with regional variations. Yet, none of the southern strands of domestic architecture reflected as much as the theoretical contemplations of social, aesthetic, ceremonial, and individualistic considerations that had gone into the Beijing *siheyuan*. The *siheyuan* in the eighteenth-century Manchu capital was the result of a highly architectural theory that was related to the rituals of the family, cultural performance, urban culture, and identity. The domestic architecture was urban architecture.

The meditation on the design of elite domestic architecture was not the product of late imperial China. In the *Yili* 義禮, the Confucian ritual text, the house of the *shi dafu* (literatus) is recorded and later was also discussed by Song scholars (Liu 1984: 37-39). The main gate had three bays, the middle *mingjian* 明間 (central bay) was the entrance, the left and the right were the *shu* (school); inside the gate was the *tingyuan* 庭院 (courtyard), directly in front was the *tang* 堂 (hall); on the right and left were the *xiang* 廂 (side room & portico); and behind the hall were the *qin* 寢 (chambers). The tang was the living space and for receiving guests, and was also a place for ritual activities. Zhang Huiyan 張惠言 of the Qing dynasty reconstructed the plan from the description in the *Yili* (Liu 1984: 37-39).

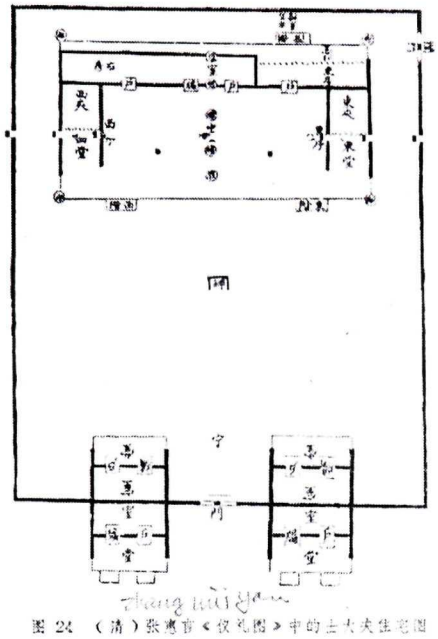


Figure 9 Zhang Huiyan, *Yili tu*, Qing dynasty.
[After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 37]

In the *Gongbu* 工部 (Department of Works) section in the *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected statutes of the great Qing) it is recorded that different social groups occupied appropriate housing types. For the highest group of the ruling class, beneath the emperor and princes, the domestic architecture was called *fu* 府. The residences of the emperor and his immediate family were the *wangfu* 王府. The rest are referred to as *dizhai* 第宅, houses of lower officials, *jun* 軍 (military), *shang* 商 (merchants), and *shumin* 庶民 (commoners) (c.f. Lu and Wang 1996: 67). The Rong mansion 榮國府 of the Jia 賈 family in the Qing novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢 is a *fu*, located in the Manchu Inner City, constructed by imperial commission.

Elite domestic architecture reflected the underlying unity, a discursive practice of a common culture embraced by the ruling class in eighteenth-century Qing society. Landownership as source of wealth, political power, and collective elite culture marked the division between the upper class elites—high officials, the emperor, and members of the imperial court--from the commoners and the merchants. The production and ownership of things were part of an elite social world, where the interactions were a

cultural practice. Timothy Brook explains the relation between conspicuous consumption and social interaction: "Their consumption had to be conspicuous, and that conspicuousness invariably imparted to every social interaction a public significance," and "the gentry related to each other in public as public elite" (Brook 1993: 28). By the late Ming and the Qing domestic architecture was the site of conspicuous consumption; it was the stage of luxury and cultural performance. Craig Clunas in his study of private gardens in the Ming, describes the paradox of luxury property: "The late Ming garden was not a set of meanings but a site of contested meanings: readable differentially as a pure space of aesthetics or as a luxury object par excellence, a battery of wealth" (Clunas 1996: 102). The aesthetics of architecture hinges on the status of the inhabitants on a "public" level.

The Qing court painter Xu Yang 徐揚 (active ca. 1760), appointed by the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆, shows in this scroll *Spring in the Capital* 京師生春詩意圖 (figure 10) the centrality of the Qing Empire. The strength of the painting parallels the layout of the Qing capital city in the strong ceremonial north-south axis that bisects and organizes both the composition of the painting as well as the city itself. This map-like representation of the city contains all the characteristics of a classical Chinese city plan. The first large gate horizontally divides the painting at its center, marking what was the *neicheng* 内城 (inner city) and the *waicheng* 外城 (outer city). In the outer city, shoppers and merchants are dealing and meandering along the bustling central commercial street outside Yongding gate. Along the axis north bound, on the north, is the inner city, the residential section of the city. Intricately laid out, the *hutongs* or residential streets, in a grid-like order connect the streets to the private courtyards. The next gate, the Lizheng gate separates the residential sector from the imperial city, where officials carry out their daily business, and where the imperial family members reside. Here there are government buildings and temples. At the center of the capital is the Purple Forbidden City, the central throne, nestled in the walls is the emperor's residence and the residences of his closest family members.

Figure 10 Xu Yang, *Spring in the Capital*, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, Qing dynasty. [After Yang Xin et al., *Three Thousand Years of Painting*, p. 290]

The capital city of the Qing was the result of a theoretical consideration. Designed by the court city planners with design criteria, they contemplated issues of ritual, the symbolism of power, and the organization of different components from infra-structure such as roads and zoning requirements to the ritual spaces. It was also a city that stood on top of the Mongol city of Dadu (fig.11) and of the Ming (a little to the south) (fig.12). It was built from the existing frame, on top of the former Mongol and Ming cities. The memories of the city had a direct influence on the housing as much as the contemporary interventions of Qing city planning and urban programs.

Before the late sixteenth century, working and residential spaces for government officials were inside the city walls in the vicinity of the palace compound. Then it was separated into two enclosures—the *huangcheng* 王城 (imperial city), where the officials were located and the *gongcheng* 宫城 (palace city), which accommodated the emperor and his immediate relatives (Steinhardt 1990: 13).

Beijing is one of few imperial cities in the 2,000 years of Chinese city planning that emulated the scheme of the King of Zhou's city plan, following the dictum: *qianchao houqin* 前朝後寢，hall of audience in the front, and private residence in the back. The imperial city is in the center, the palace in the front, the market in the back, and the ancestral temple on the left and the altar of gods of land and grain on the right. Steinhardt has shown that irrespective of the popular belief of historians of the pre-modern Chinese city urban design that all imperial cities have their origins from the enigmatic *huangcheng* 王城 (imperial city) (fig.13) found in a passage in the *Kaogong ji* 考工記 (*Records of Artisans*) (500 BCE) section of the classical text *Zhou Li* 周禮 (Rituals of Zhou) (Steinhardt 1986: 339-357). There are actually three lineages of Chinese imperial city plans: the King of Zhou's scheme; the imperial city at the north center of the walled city, like that of Chang'an in the Tang dynasty (630-918) and the double city plan, two walled enclosures adjacent to each other, as was the case with Xiadu 下都 of Yan 燕 in the Warring States period (Steinhardt 1986: 339-357).

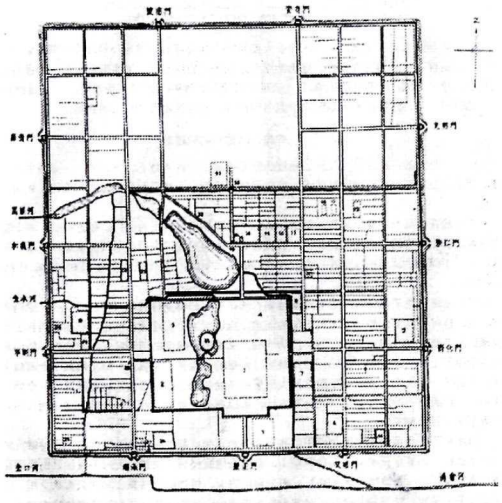


Figure 11 Plan of Dadu, Yuan dynasty. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 269]

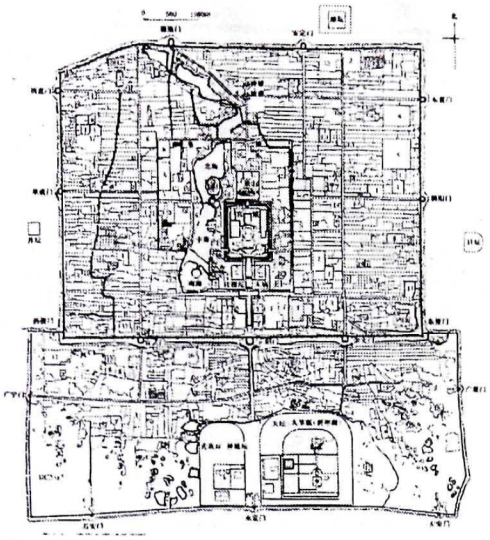


Figure 12 Ming Beijing.
[After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 290]

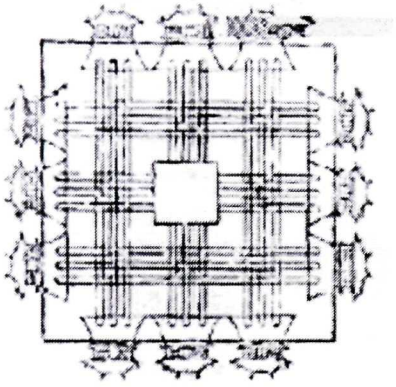


Figure 13 Huangcheng, from *Sanli tu*.
[After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 36]

Therefore, when the Mongol ruler Khubilai Khan of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) built Dadu as its capital, it was by choice that he had selected the design from the *Kaogong ji*. According to Steinhardt, the selection of a "purely Chinese plan" legitimized the non-Chinese regime according to Chinese tradition. Steinhardt explains the significance in appropriating a Chinese imperial plan:

> In China as elsewhere the ruler's power and authority were unchallenged, but in China, in addition, an emperor's reign was always compared to the exemplary models of rulership of former emperors and even preimperial dynasties. The form of capital city and its architecture were just two of the many means the emperor used to display his legitimized position as both ruler and guardian of tradition. The alteration of an accepted design was therefore considered a challenge to the imperial past. The imperial city was such a powerful symbol of rule that a nonnative conqueror would always choose to implement a Chinese design instead of plans more reminiscent of his homeland (Steinhardt 1990: 4).

Beijing, then, was a palimpsest of three imperial cities--Ming-Qing Beijing was layered on top of Khubilai Khan's Dadu. The Ming imperial city was constructed by the renovation of Dadu, the Ming Forbidden City was built on top the Yuan Capital, and the southern Outer city was added in the Jiajing reign, which was completed in 1564. The very idea of an outer city is a Mongolian invention. When we compare the city plans we see the changes that were made to the city, but the Han Ming, who would reclaim Han rule from the Yuan, adopted the city as their own. As to why the Han Ming adopted an invention of the Mongols, their bitterest enemies, is a question to be answered.

Upper class society in the Qing was defined by its distinguishing "cultural capital" and the social networks as much as it was by its financial affluence. Jonathan Spence divides elite society and "class consciousness" in the Qing into four elite groups: Chinese official and Banner elite, both being defined by the office held; imperial elite was defined by power; and local elite was defined by terms of attitudes (Spence 1966: 44-45). The Chinese officials were comprised of only Chinese, who held office posts in either the civil or the military bureaucracies of the seventh rank or higher. The Banner elite comprised of all three main ethnic groups—Chinese, Manchus, and the Mongol bannermen, who held posts in civil and military bureaucracies of the seventh rank or

higher, and/or the rank of company captain. The imperial elite was comprised of people who served the emperor, such as bondservants, and eunuchs; they were either Chinese or Manchu. The final group was the local elite, comprised of both Manchus and Chinese; they were in the higher level of society due to family wealth, degrees (either attained or purchased), or held hereditary ranks. The elite groups all shared a comparative leisurely lifestyle, and, except for the local elite, the elite groups in addition to the Emperor were ruling groups (Spence 1966: 45). Therefore, when we deal with subjectivities of these groups, we must account for the multiplicity of positions, their ethnicity, gender.

The Banner system was the Manchu machine of organization for both military and civil control. It combined military discipline and registration of civilians. Known to have been founded by Nurhaci in 1601, the Banner system comprised eight different groups, differentiated by eight different colors: plain yellow; plain white; plain red; plain blue; and bordered yellow, white, red, blue, and yellow. Each Banner contained five battalions, and each battalion had five companies. Under the Banner system, the members and their families were given food, clothing, and were allocated to different residential districts in the Manchu Inner City.

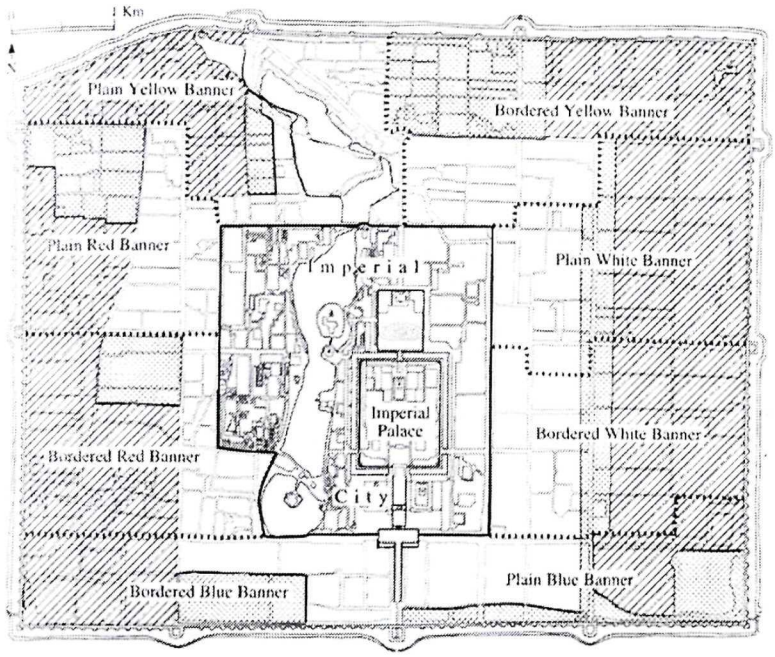


Figure 14 The organization of the Manchu city. [After Mark Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, p. 103]

In the southern neighborhoods of the Inner City, or *fang* 坊, the bordered blue and the Plain Blue Banners occupied the west corner and the east corner respectively. Then both the red banners were in the western side of the palace city, with the bordered red on the southern side. The white banners lived on the eastern side of the Inner City. The plain red was located at the northwestern corner, and the bordered red occupied the southwest residential part of the Manchu Inner City. This organization of the Imperial City was changed from the Ming organization of five sectors based on cardinal directions. As a bondservant to the emperor, Cao Yin 曹營, Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 grandfather, was a Plain White Bannerman; he owned a property in the plain white sector of the Inner City (Spence 1966: 46).

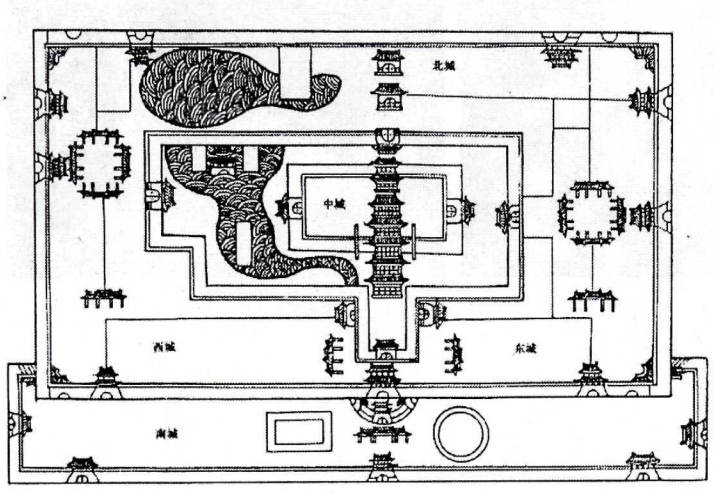


Figure 15 Tracing of a traditional map showing the division of the Ming capital. [After Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 60]

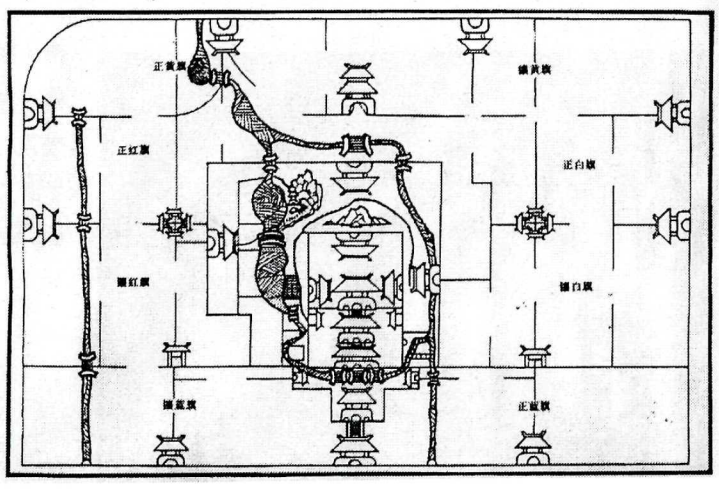


Figure 16 Tracing of a traditional map showing the division of the Qing capital. [After Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 61]

Comparing the Ming and Qing traditional maps (fig.15, 16), the cities represent the shift from a layout that was based on cardinal directions to a city of boundaries, distinguishing areas allocated for groups.

The map showing the Ming capital is partitioned into five distinct sections: the *Beicheng* 百城 (North City); *Zhongcheng* 中城 (Central City); *Xicheng* 西城 (West City); *Dongcheng* 東城 (East City); and *Nancheng* 南城 (South City). The names of the different parts of the city were determined by their cardinal location, the emperor's city is in the center. The lake in the *Xiyuan* 西園 (West Lake) is within the walls of the *Neicheng* 内城 (Inner City). The Ming practice of spatial organization is directly related to the importance of the center, where the Forbidden City is literally depicted at the center.

The Qing practice of spatial organization was different. The traditional plan of the Qing capital does not show the Ming South City, which in the Qing was changed to *Hancheng* 漢城 (Han City) where four years after the post-Qing conquest, it was reserved for the Han Chinese only. The encircling lake in the traditional plan is deceptive—the West Lake in reality lies on the northwest side of the Forbidden City, not surrounding the Imperial City. The plan also edits out the *Hancheng*, contrary to the Ming plan where not only was it represented, but the ritual space, *Tiantan* 天壇, was indicated. The comparison of these two traditional plans indicates the desires and intentionality behind the person who drew them, and the way in which the Qing emperor wanted to record his city. As mentioned, the Ming Forbidden City represents itself as the *zhong* 中 (center) within the city, within space. And considering the blatant representation of the Manchu Banners, and the lack of Han representation, it is clear that the spatial organization program is one of empowerment of the Manchu race through segregation. An Italian Jesuit in China during the early eighteenth century said:

> Peking is composed of two distinct cities, one being called the Tartar city, the other the Chinese. The Tartar city is so named because it is inhabited by Tartars, and by those who, though not Tartars, are enrolled in Ki-hiu-ti [qixiade=Eight Banners], or eight bands which constitute the Tartar

troops. The Chinese city is inhabited by Chinese alone…The Tartar city is square, and encircled by a yellow wall (Quoted in Elliot 2001: 98).

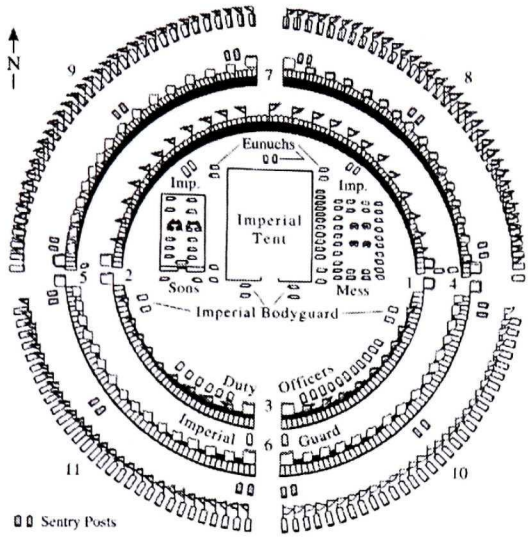


Figure 17 The arrangement of tents on an imperial expedition. [After Mark Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, p. 104]

The layers that wrapped around the Forbidden City suggest that the spatial signification was located in the boundaries. Creation of boundaries as a spatial practice, in an encircling manner, is found in other representations. The plan of an arrangement of an imperial expedition (fig.17) is a case in point. While the allocation of the different colors of the Bannermen within the walls of the city is often said to be derived from the *wu xing* 五行 (Five Phases), linking the spatial organization to colors and the cardinal points of a compass, Mark Elliot argues otherwise. He posits that the organization of the Qing Capital, the residence patterns, conform to banner structures. Elliot cites the official history of the Eight Banners, "[f]or military mobilization, the significance of the complementary placement of the Eight Banners thus is [the creation] of order and discipline; for establishing the dynasty, it is to strengthen the screen," and he continues, on the idea of the screen, "[w]hen the Shizu emperor [Shunzhi] established the capital at Ying [Beijing], he divided the Eight Banners, arranging them so they surrounded the imperial palace" (Elliot 2001, 102). The Manchu hunting formation (fig.17) does show the centrality of the imperial yurt with the different screens of military protection. When we go back to the Qing plan of Beijing (fig.16) the boundaries created by the different

layers do seem to form series of screens, from the river that encircles the center, to the spatial arrangement of the bannermen.

The Ming Inner City, prior to the addition of the southern section, was sectioned into 33 *fang* 坊 (neighborhoods), divided by *hutongs* 胡同. They were for administration and control purposes. After the addition, the Inner City was re-divided into 29 *fang* in the Inner City and 7 in the outer. The *fang* were further divided into narrow streets called *hutong* (a word in Mongolian means "water well"; in the Yuan *hutong*, there was a well for drawing water at the end of every *hutong*), they were residential streets that served the *siheyuan*. They ran perpendicular to the main street along the central axis connecting the Zhengyang gate which runs directly north into the Forbidden City. The *hutong* of the Ming are remnants of the Yuan dynasty plan. Lu Xiang and Wang Qiming point out that there was culture within the *hutongs* for the inhabitants and the bannermen had similar cultural backgrounds, with different ethnicities. In the *hutong,* there were local shrines and temples, and other meeting places. The Yuan *hutong* had an uniformity, the distance of two parallel hutongs was 60 to 70 meters. Due to the increase in population in the Ming period (population in Beijing reached 1 million in the sixteenth century), the *hutong* became narrower and less orthogonal (Lu & Wang 1996).

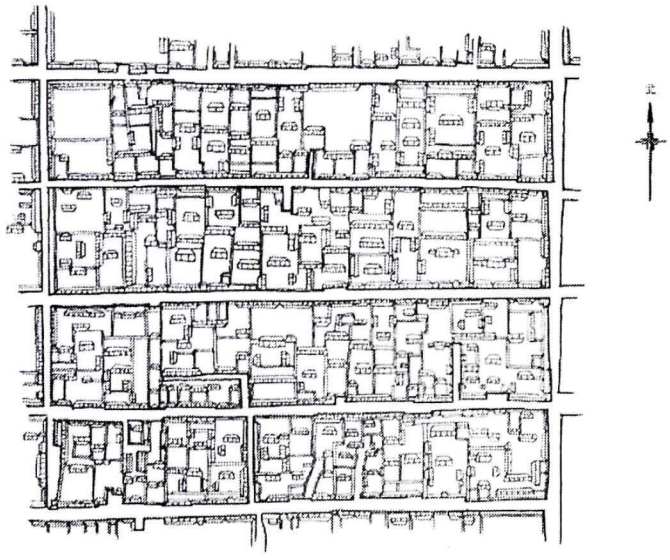


Figure 18 Hutong. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, p. 294]

Conclusion

The houses of the elite in late imperial China were a theoretical architecture, prescribed by social homogeneity and political cooperation through a reflective process of planning. Like the imperial city, which was more than a ruler's capital, it was an institution, articulating the concepts that were written, accepted, and transmitted through the ages, having specific design requirements (Steinhardt 1990: 5). The architecture and the city plan symbolized participation in power and prestige. The Yuan emperor used the *Zhou li* city plan not because it was a natural development of the Chinese urban planning scheme, but because he could impose it by the force of his political will.

We have also discussed how eighteenth-century Beijing was a non-Han city. The planning of the city and the organization of the tents in the Manchu imperial expeditions shared a similar strategy in spatial practice. I argue that the emphasis placed on the boundaries was a Manchu spatial practice. Comparing the different maps done for the representation of the different dynasties has shown strikingly the desires of the Qing's self-representation. One of the main concerns in this study is to acknowledge the representation of the diversity of the different groups who occupied the city.

CHAPTER 4

TEMPLES, PALACES, AND RESIDENCES: THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HALL

The purpose of this chapter is to determine the distinctive architectural features of domestic halls in the Ming-Qing period from halls of different uses, so to establish a clear definition of elite halls within a domestic setting. By comparing the different halls within compounds of different uses—religious, palatial, and residential, and of different periods—from the Tang, Song, Yuan, and the Ming-Qing periods, the goal is to decipher the architectural features of those buildings from earlier ones, and the features that characterize those that are residential. This investigation is relevant because there is no study that I know of that considers the differences between residential halls and halls of palatial and religious architecture. [4]

Generally, residential halls get lost in the category of domestic architecture, and not often identified as a part of complex of system of halls, with the same fundamental Chinese spatial planning as in temples and palaces. Yet, typological studies, which define buildings by their function and form, are problematic when applied to traditional Chinese architecture. For traditional Chinese architecture, unlike western buildings, distinctions are not confined to form and function. This is what I attempt to show below. Another importance of such a study is to challenge the notion of a history of Chinese traditional timber-frame construction as having an impressive continuity, little or no changes occurring in time and space. This, I argue, is a misconception, especially in the Ming-Qing halls derived from earlier dynasties.

The culmination of different discursive practices surrounding the idea of the hall points to a change in the architecture of the hall within residential compounds. The

[4] This analysis and its methodology is indebted to Nancy Steinhardt's comparative study of the period style of Yuan halls in "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall" (1988), which compares the architecture of palatial and religious halls from the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) for features that determine their distinctiveness from earlier and later periods, and to confirm with specific technical data that the Yuan period in architecture was a transitional style in Chinese traditional architecture and not to be grouped with the architecture of the Ming and Qing dynasties as has been the practice in previous scholarship.

discursivity was brought about by the different representations, the construction manuals, literature, and the buildings themselves from their intertextual relationship. The discourse on the eighteenth-century self repeats itself in different modes, and architecture was one of them. I am concerned not so much with the change from one type of hall to another; rather, I am interested in the epistemic change in everyday Qing practice. This change was implicitly linked to issues of boundary creation that reinforced the notion of self and identity.

The main architectural element of all building complexes—religious, palatial, or residential--is the hall structure, which is positioned along the central north-south axis facing south. The compound is actually composed of halls positioned within a spatial organizational system. A hall's location, height, scale, decoration, and ornamentation and name express its hierarchy and relationship with other halls of the same compound. For example the main hall differentiates itself from other auxiliary structures, commonly called *suo* 所. The late seventeenth-century garden designer Ji Cheng (1582-?) explains the hall in his *Yuanye* 園冶 (The Craft of Gardens) (1631-1634):

> What the ancients referred to as 'halls' were buildings of which the front had been cleared out to form an audience hall. The word 'hall' [*tang*] means 'imposing' [*dang*]. That is to say, the hall is the main central building facing south, which thus carries the implication of 'splendid [*tang-tang*] and conspicuous' (Hardie 1988: 66).

The main hall was the most impressive architecturally compared with the other halls in the complex. Daiyu's first impression of Grandmother Jia's main hall in the inner quarters of the Rong mansion in *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is one of awe:

> Passing round the screen and through a small reception hall beyond it, they entered the large courtyard of the mansion's principal apartments. These were housed in an imposing five-frame building resplendent with carved and painted beams and rafters which faced them across the courtyard (Cao, chapter 3, 88, David Hawkes trans.).

The halls are coordinated in a compound with varying building heights in a family mansion so the ranks of the generations could be read. Similarly, the halls in a family

temple that housed the spirit of the dead had similar system of organization. The *Lu Ban jing* describes a family temple:

> Moreover the rear hall, main hall, corridors and triple gate may increase only gradually in height, since only then do sons and grandsons know their rank; and does not the younger aspire to the older's place. The builder must take careful notice of this (juan one, section 81, cf. Ruitenbeek 1996: 197).

The main hall has different names depending on its setting. For palatial halls, they are *dian* (the *Lu Ban jing* refers to them as *wangfu gongdian* 王府宮殿 [princely palaces]); for temples, they are *zhengting* 正廳 and also called *dian*; and in the domestic context, they are the *zhengfang* 正房. Ruitenbeek points out the differences between a *ting*, or main hall and a *tang*, or rear hall in another carpenter's manual *Yingzao fayuan* 營造法原 (Source of architectural methods) by Yao Chengzu 姚承祖 (1866-1939) (Ruitenbeek 1996, 72). The *ting* has square beams and columns, while the *tang* has round ones (Ruitenbeek 1996: 192). The main hall in an ancestral shrine is a *citing* 祠堂.

The *Lu Ban jing*, in the extant late Ming version, has not been used for the study of the detailing of halls, mainly because of its unofficial origins, and the elaborate information on building magic. Yet, this manual deals with halls of lower rank, including the houses of the elite. Unlike the two manuals, the *Lu Ban jing* does not provide units of measurements, nor does it offer information to the master builder on the different areas of a construction project, such as estimation of materials and scheduling, but it does provide the basic dimensions and proportions in a direct manner of the different sizes of halls according to *jian* 間 (bays) and jia 架 (purlins).

In similar prescriptive language, Hongwu's Decree on *dizhai* 洪武第宅 (houses for commoners, or people who were not part of the imperial family) (1393), also uses the *jian* and *jia* system. This sumptuary law prohibited the use of certain finishes, and decorations, for houses based on the rank of the officials. The sizes of the houses were determined in relation to rank, using the same *jian* and *jia* system. In conjunction with

the descriptions from the *Lu Ban jing*, we can gain a bigger picture of this grade of domestic architecture.

As previously stated, the two last dynasties, Ming and Qing, are seen as one period of architectural style for both monumental and domestic architecture. For the eighteenth century, the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* stands as the written record of Qing dynasty architecture. With the many extant timber frame buildings from the large campaign to rebuild the Forbidden City, the contemporary craftsmen whose trade was passed down to the early part of the twentieth century, and the written record of Qing construction standards, we can derive a good understanding of the halls of this period. The details stipulated in the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* correspond to the extant Ming halls. For example, of the Ming Sheji tan dian 社稷壇殿 in Beijing, built in 1412, the typical column details, roof structure and supporting members are similar to the example described in the Qing manual.

The *Yingzao fashi* is considered to be a more creative and innovative manual than the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli*, mainly because of the *cai* modular system of the former and the *doukou* of the latter. The *cai* is a modular system in eight-grades, and the dimensions of the halls are designed proportional to the grade appropriate to the rank of the building, allowing for flexibility of working with proportions. The *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli*, on the other hand, is based on a system of eleven grades, in which, depending on the rank of the halls, the building members are a multiple of a selected *doukou* 斗扣, or grade. Therefore, there is no possibility of creative manipulation of the precise dimensions of a Qing building. Also, the *Yingzao fashi* describes stylistic features of Song architecture, whereas the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* lays stress on material quantities and scheduling. Another difference is that the *Yingzao fashi* is replete with illustrations of the described details, while the details in the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* are scant.

The *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* was used for *neigong* 内宫, for construction work in the imperial city itself as well as for *waigong* 外宫, construction for outside of

the imperial city, as it was used for the construction of Yuan Ming Yuan 圓明園, which is located outside the Imperial City in the northern part of Beijing, and completed during the Qianlong reign in 1770 (Wang Puzi 1983: 49-55). The construction work, both in construction management and labor, is divided into architectural work at court and that of outside. The applicability of the Qing code of construction could also be for *fu* 府, a category of residences below those of princes and the imperial family. To suggest that the code was directly used for the construction of *fu* residences needs clarification. Compared to the extant Qing buildings outside of the court, the *fu* are in compliance with the prescriptions of the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli.* And, we do not know if the code was drawn up as a compendium of an existing tradition that had already been in use or whether it was common practice. From the following comparison of the Qing construction manual with extant residential halls, we can judge the extent of its influence.

Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli is in seventy-four *juan* (chapters), published in 1734, during the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor. But due to the massive building campaign under the patronage of the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795), we can see that the manual was in use during the later period. The Qing manual describes mainly two types of timber frame halls. The *dashi* 大式 (literally, the large style) is a typical hall of high rank and the *xiaoshi* 小式 (the small style) (fig. 19, 20) is a typical hall of lower rank. Together, there are twenty-seven examples of halls, of which there are twenty-three *dashi* types, and three typical halls for the *xiaoshi.* The *dashi* is for halls used in the palatial and religious setting. The sizes range from 5 *jian* to 11 *jian*, and the depth may be up to eleven purlins. Colonnades may be used. As for the size of the halls, the height and width are determined by the appropriate grade of *doukou.* The roof was to be *xieshan* 歇山, or combination hip-gable or *wudian* 廡殿, or hip. The *xiaoshi* is mainly for halls that served or supported the main halls, and for common residences. They are three to five *jian*, and never exceeding seven purlins in depth. The transversal elevation is divided into five rafters. Two types of roofs are permitted for *xiaoshi*: *yingshan*, or a gable with masonry sides with *tailiang* 抬梁 (column-beam-and-strut system), and *danyan chuanshan* 單簷穿山 (gable) with chuandou 穿斗 (column-and-tie structural system).

The proportions of a *xiaoshi* type structure are based on the width of the *mingjian* 明間, or central bay, and on the diameter of the columns and the eave projection. The height of the columns described in the Qing manual for a *xiaoshi* type is 7.5/10 of the *mingjian* (center bay); the *dashi* type structure (a step up) is 8/10 of the *mingjian*, the highest ranking *dianshi* style 殿式 (palace style) is 60 doukou.

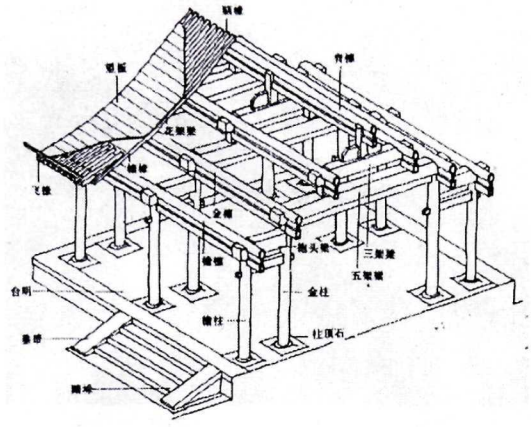


Figure 19 Illustration of a structure of a residential hall, following the descriptions of a *xiaomu* type construction described in the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli*. [Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 143]

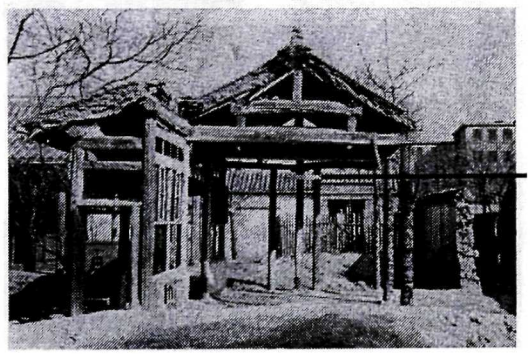


Figure 20 Photograph of a timber-frame structure of a residential hall. [Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 143]

Let us take the Yugong mansion 靄公府, at Rongrong hutong 絨絨胡同 (fig.30), in the old quarter of Beijing as a case study (at present, it is a restaurant, Sichuan fandian). Approximately the height of the columns in the *zhengfang* (main hall) (fig.35) in the second courtyard of the Yugong mansion is 3.9m (approx.12 ft.) high, and the

width of the *minjian* (central bay) in this 5 jian structure is 4.6m (approx. 15 ft) wide. According to the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli*, the *xiaoshi* normally has a 5 *jian* structure, and the *mingjian* is 14ft. or 15ft. The Yugong hall is close to the description of the *xiaoshi* type hall described in the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli*, having slight differences in the height to central bay ratio (the error is inevitable, I was working with a measured drawing that had been reduced in scale). It is enough to note that the use of the Qing manual was not only for the construction of buildings in the court, it was also used in the city for the *fu* residences. This also suggests that the *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* is also a manual to analyze domestic halls, and should not be regarded simply as a manual for monumental and court buildings.

The architecture of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties is commonly grouped together for several reasons, two of which are the intense connection of architecture and a political system based on rank and for the architectural projects under the patronage of the two courts. When the third Ming emperor, Yongle 永樂 (1403-1424) moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1421, he rebuilt most of the Imperial City with the experience he derived from constructing Nanjing. Large-scale projects were constructed in the Imperial City and its surrounding areas when the Ming moved in after the Yuan dynasty, for no buildings were left from the Yuan period within the walls of the Imperial city, except for the layout of the residential areas and the *hutong*. The court gained control over the craft workshops, and had close supervision of their artistic production. Being from the south, the Ming court brought the southern Nanjing-style of art and architecture to Beijing, by relocating craftsmen to work for the court, which created a distinctive Ming-style of court patronage. When the Manchu empire established its capital in Beijing in 1644, it continued the Ming architectural tradition in both the philosophy of construction and by maintenance, and rebuilding, of Ming structures and edifices, especially in the Imperial City. The Taihe Hall 太和殿 (the Hall of Supreme Harmony), the largest hall in the imperial palace was constructed in the early Ming period, first named Fengtian dian 鳳天殿, and then later renamed Huangji dian 皇祭殿. During the Qing, renovation work was done on this building, and was again renamed as the Taihe Hall. The Taihe Hall was a place for important ceremonies, from

the enthronement of the emperor to the emperor's pronouncement of his edicts. Therefore the simple fact that the Manchu emperor assimilated this symbolic image of imperial power testifies to the continuing importance of the Ming architecture to this non-Chinese dynasty.

Although there was a decline of court patronage at the beginning of the Qing dynasty in areas of visual arts, the court continued a strict control over the construction industry by maintaining the codification of architecture that began in the early Ming dynasty. According to ranks of the inhabitants—princes, close family of the emperor, official-elites, and merchants and commoners--the Ming Code stipulates the appropriate use of decoration and selection of paint colors, roof types, and building materials, and had a control over the sizes of the houses. The sumptuary laws on architecture from the Hongwu Emperor (the decree of the 26th-year of the Hongwu reign, 1393) was little changed throughout the two long periods: it was cited in later reigns. It is copied in various sources: in the Department of Ritual, in the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 of 1587 (Collected statutes of the great Ming); in the *Mingshi* 明史 (Ming history) in the Qing, forming part of the compendium of the *Gongbu* 工部 (the section on construction) in the *Qingshi* 清史(Qing history); and in the *Kaogong* 考工 section of the Qing encyclopedia, *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Complete collection of illustrations and writings from the earliest to current times) (published in the early 18th century), by Qing scholars under the emperor Yongzheng's patronage led by Chen Menglei.

Lastly, because Ming and Qing halls are located at the end of a long timber-frame tradition—from 782, the date of the oldest extant hall, Nanchansi, in Wutai, Shanxi—they were influenced by previous periods. Therefore, relating the Qing hall to pre-17th-century buildings helps explain how the different layers that went into the later period halls. It is also through such a comparison that we are able to distinguish the halls under Qing patronage.

Bases, Platforms, & Plan: Inscribing Ritual/ Marking Boundaries

"The gong plan is prohibited"

Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645)

All the halls from the Bronze Age to early imperial periods and throughout the dynasties were elevated on platforms, either constructed in *hangtu* 夯土 (pounded earth), in the case of the main hall in the temple-palace compound found in Erlitou site, Yanshi, Henan, or in masonry, in the later dynastic periods. The base of individual halls not only raised the height of the structure, it was also a foundation that structurally supported the pillars. The platforms were sites of ritual and cultural significance in traditional Chinese spatial planning that goes back to early imperial China.

By the Ming dynasty, the *gong*-plan (in the shape of a *gong* 工 character) was no longer used for common residences, especially in Beijing, while it was maintained in the design of temple and palatial architecture both in the capital and elsewhere. Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585-1645), a late Ming scholar-official, proclaims: *Ji gongzi ti* 忌工字體, "The gong plan is prohibited." *Zhangwu zi* 張物志 (The Treatise on Superfluous Things, juan 1, "Hailun"), suggests the argument that political and cultural shifts might have been manifested in the domestic architecture of the later Ming-Qing period by means of design prohibitions.

Let us look at the *gong*-plan used in palatial architecture. Of all the extant halls of the highest rank, the Taihe dian 太和殿 (Hall of Supreme Harmony) (1697) of the Gongcheng 宮城 (Forbidden City), in the Ming capital Beijing has the tallest base, 7m high with a total building height of 33m. It is the tallest building in the Imperial City, similar in height to the Tiananmen gate 天安門 tower immediately to the north of Waijin shuiqiao 外金水橋 (Golden Water Bridge), inside the Wumen 午門 (Meridian gate). The platform is composed of three tiers surrounded by white marble balustrades at every level in a *gong*-character. What is most interesting, and is often shown separately, is that

the Taihe dian is grouped with two other smaller halls on the same raised *gong*-shaped platform: the Zhonghe dian 中和殿 (Hall of Central Harmony), immediately to the north of the Taihe dian, and, on the same north-south axis, further to the north, the Baohe dian 保和殿 (1615). They are known as the Three Great Halls, or *sanchao* 三朝. Each of the three halls has a separate base that supports the timber-frame structures. In a larger context, on the south-east corner of the Forbidden City is the Wenhua dian 文華殿, mirroring on the west side is the Wuying dian 武英殿, both of these compounds are on platforms. The Wenhua dian and Wuying dian are places where the emperor received lower-ranking officials (Steinhardt et al. 2002: 210). Directly north of the Taihe dian group, are the Three Back Halls, also often known as the Qianqing gong 乾清宫 (Palace of Heavenly Purity), composed of the Qianqing gong, Jiaotai dian 絞泰殿, and Kunning dian 坤寧殿, forming another *gong*-shape configuration, but of a single layer. The Three Back Halls are smaller-scale replicas of the Three Great Halls (Steinhardt 1990: 174). The two groups all have the three-structure configuration on *gong*-shaped platforms. Liu Dunzhen referring to the Liji 禮記, in the *Kaogong* section, describes how the dictum, "left ancestor, right god of the land," *zuozu, youshe* 左祖右社 (the Twin Altars of Soil and Grain 社壇 was located to right, or southwest corner of the Imperial City, and the Ancestral Temple, Tai miao 太廟 was on the left, on either side of the imperial-way, *qianbulang* 千步廊), "three courts," *sanchao* 三朝, and "five gates," *wumen* 五門, were observed in the planning of the Forbidden City (Liu 1984: 1984). The distances between the groups of halls and palaces are of equal distances (Steinhardt 1990: 174). Nancy Steinhardt describes the *gong*-plan as having a special appeal in traditional Chinese planning for its manifestation of the classical dictum "front court, behind residences," *qianchao, houqin* 前朝后寢 (from the *Kaogong ji* section of the *Zhou li* 周禮 (Rituals of Zhou) (Steinhardt 1984: 152-166). The audience hall should be in front of the private or residential quarters. Between the Daqing men 大清門 (Great Qing Gate) to the Kunning dian, there are six compounds, And when we consider the relationship of the Three Great Halls with the Three Back Halls, the classical dictum was kept, the three buildings in the first group are halls and the three behind them are palaces. The prescription of five

gates was also respected, starting from Daqing men to Taihe men, situated in front of the halls and palaces.

The *gong*-scheme was commonly used in the architecture of early dynasties. It was found in the archaeological remains of the Fengchu 風雛 village site, Qishan district, Shaanxi—dating to the Late Shang (c.a. 11th-century B.C.). All the archaeological remains of palace architecture beginning from the Tang have the relationship where the front hall is connected to a more secluded back hall. For example, the Daming gong in Tang Chang'an, the main imperial residence, had this relationship. The Hanyuan Hall was situated directly along the north-south line. Also, it is interesting to note that imperial tombs also were closely constructed to reflect the *gong*-scheme (Steinhardt 1990: 103). This was the case for Qianling, the tomb of emperor Gaozong (r. 650-683) and his wife Wu Zetian (d. 705), which mirrors that of Chang'an in a smaller-scale (Steinhardt 1990: 102). So were the Crown Prince Yide's tomb and the residences of the Eastern Palace in Chang'an.

Prior to the disuse of the *gong*-plan in the Ming-Qing period, it was commonly used in domestic architecture. The *Qianli jiangshan tu* 千里江山圖 (A Thousand Miles of Streams and Mountains), ca. 1113, of the Song dynasty, contains illustrations of different houses from humble homes to mansions showing houses with a *gong*-plan. The Kong Family Mansion in Qufu dates back to the Song (the extant compound has many layers of renovations and rebuilding throughout the dynasties up to the Ming period) and has a main hall and back hall relationship on a *gong*-platform. The evidence of the *gong*-plan in use for domestic architecture before the Ming period is also found in geomantic literature of the Yuan and the Ming (Ruitenbeek 1996: 51-52). Ruiteenbeek attributes the significance of the *gong*-plan to geomantic work of planning rooms in a house specific to a branch of geomancy, the Jiangxi School. The corridor connecting the main hall to the back hall by a corridor where the center of the house is located, the *minglou* 明樓, of which the center determines the location of the rest of the spaces. Moreover, since the *gong*-plan goes further back than the Song, it cannot have originated in the Jiangxi School.

Judging from archaeological remains, the foundation of the Houying Residence 后英 from Khubilai Khan's Imperial City is an indication that the courtyard houses from the Yuan dynasty used a *gong*-plan (Steinhardt 1988: 61-62; Lu & Wang 1996: 7-8). The foundation is located within the city limits of the Yuan Dadu. The platform of the main hall measures 76 cm above grade. It is without question that the Mongols appropriated the Chinese plan of the previous Song dynasty because prior to the Yuan dynasty, the Mongolian building tradition was the tent. Similarly, Steinhardt has shown that the Yuan capital city resurrected the classical Chinese city plan from the *Kaogong ji* as a way of legitimizing Mongolian rule (Steinhardt 1986: 339-357). So it, too, may be said about the *gong*-plan. The fundamental spatial organization of structures and spaces are maintained irrespective to the type of architecture. The *gong*-plan was the result of an architectural expression derived from the discourse on the relationship between the hall and the palace. The hall was where rituals and business matters were conducted and the palace was the place of residence. Both being located along the strict north-south line ensured the equal importance of these two realms. One existed because of the other, in unison.

Therefore, the Yuan and Ming dynasties marked an important change in the plan of residential architecture, from the *gong*-plan to the *siheyuan* plan, the principle of enclosure on four sides. Lu and Wang explain the switch of the plans as resulting from an increased population growth in Beijing in the Ming period that affected the size of the houses and limited the number of structures per household. Lu and Wang also posit that during the span of the Hongwu to the Yongle reigns, due to the increase in the migration of southerners to the capital city, the architectural style had influenced the change. The most convincing part of their argument is that in the Song and in the Yuan dynasties, the *gong*-plan was mainly used for temples and palaces (Lu & Wang 1996). Yet, there is arguably enough evidence that indicates the *gong*-plan, prior to the Ming, was used for palatial, religious, and residential architecture: the Houying Residence and the other evidence from examples depicted in Song painting and geomantic literature from the Yuan, as pointed out by Ruitenbeek, attest to it.

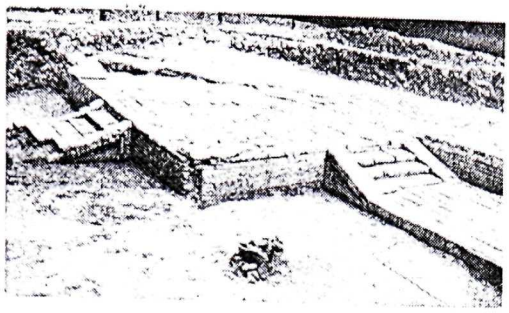


Figure 21 Beijing, Houying Residence, building foundation, from *Kaogu*, 6, 1972, p.2. [After Steinhardt, "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall", p. 60]

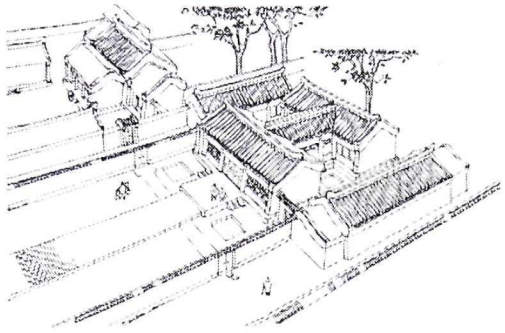


Figure 22 Reconstruction of Yuan period Beijing house. [After Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 13]

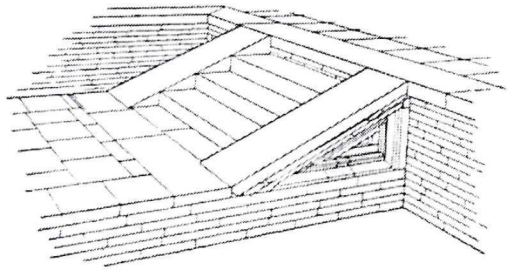


Figure 23 Beijing, Houying Residence, drawing of *tadao*, from *Kaogu*, 6, 1972, 5. [After Steinhardt, "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall", p. 60]

Returning to the statement made by the erudite Wen Zhengheng: "The *gong* plan is prohibited;" the *gong*-plan fell out of use in the later Ming-Qing period, and it is reasonable enough to infer that its disappearance from common residential architecture resulted from "prohibition," while palatial complexes continued its use. Then the next question we must therefore ask is, if the classical dictum *qianchao, houqin*, "front court,

behind residences," as was originally embodied in the *gong*-plan, was no longer used in domestic architecture outside of court, how was this spatial relationship articulated in the newly adopted *siheyuan* plan? I contend that the separation of the inner/outer spheres in the new plan has relocated from a form of spatial organization of the *gong*-plan to a separation by boundaries, mainly by the addition of the *chuihua men* 垂花門, the most decorated gate in the complex. Moreover, from the point of view of engineering, the *gong*-shaped platform is non-structural: it is purely a manifestation of a ritual and programmatic-spatial organization physically denoting the relationship and separation of "court" and "residence" within a "private" complex. The terms: "court," "residence," and "private" need explanation, especially the binary of "private" and "public." The house itself is clearly a "private" domain. However, the house was also a place for receiving guests and clients. Therefore spaces in a house varied in the level of gradation of seclusion from the outside world. The change in the spatial layout of the relationship of these components in a house reflects changes in the perception and representation of the classical dictum.

Another element that forms part of a platform is a *yuetai* 月台 (fig. 25), literally "moon-platform." It is a supplementary platform added to the south side, a noticeable element on the front elevation, acting as an intermediate level between the main platforms, and aligned with the ground level of the hall. The *yuetai* were used in Tang halls, and all but the simplest Liao buildings, and the absence of the *yuetai* must have indicated the building's low status (Steinhardt 1997: 69-70). This feature was also commonly used in Yuan halls in both Buddhist and Daoist temples (Steinhardt 1988: 62). One of the three oldest existing low-ranking halls, a pre-845 building in Shanxi, the Wulongmiao 五龍廟 (Five Dragons Temple), in Longquan village, Ruicheng County, does not have a *yuetai*. It was a main hall of a Daoist temple, five bays across the front, with standard features of a simple building.

Interestingly enough, in later halls in the Ming and Qing periods, the status of the building does not seem to have a relation with the use of *yuetai*. The Taihe Hall (Hall of Audience) in the imperial palace does not have a *yuetai*, and neither does Baohe Hall 寶

和殿, both of the highest status. A *tadao* 踏道 (fig. 24), a staircase with triangular side casting, leads directly onto the ground level of the hall. If the *yuetai* was used in pre-Qing dynasty as marking the status of the halls, in the Qing this tradition was not kept. As an architectural element, the *yuetai* functions as an intermediary space, or a transitional space before entering the building, attenuating a direct entrance from outside to inside, having a direct influence on the experience of the space. None of the residential halls in the old quarter of Beijing has a *yuetai* and it was the same for Tang residential halls depicted on the murals of the Dunhuang Caves. Moreover, for all the halls that have *yuetai*, they have only one set of *tadao* (staircase) while both the high-status halls in the Qing Forbidden City have three sets of *tadao*, the center one being the most significant—in scale and decoration. If we consider both the *yuetai* as a symbol of status, then the *tadao* in the post-Ming halls had a similar function, with a significant distinction: the center access, like the central gate to a city, was reserved as a thoroughfare for the emperor, indicating the presence of the emperor.

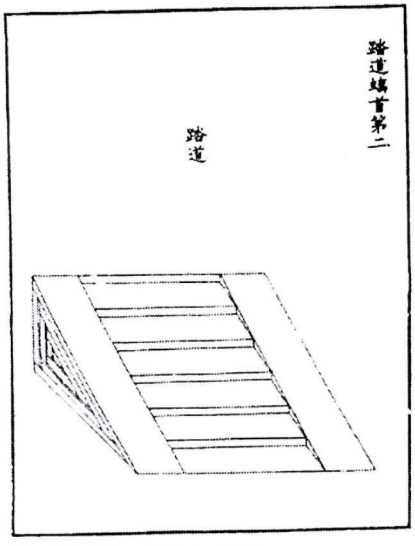


Fig. 12. *Tadao* (*Yingzao Fashi*, juan 29, 17)

Figure 24 *Tadao*, from *Yingzao fashi*, juan 29, 17. [After Steinhardt, "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall", p. 62]

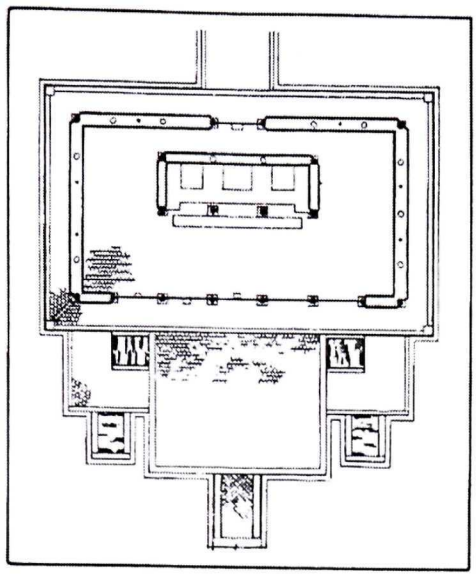


Figure 25 Ruicheng, Yongle Daoist Monastery, Sanqing Hall, plan showing *yuetai* from *Wenwu*, 8, 1963, 5. [After Steinhardt, "Toward the Definition of a Yuan Dynasty Hall", p. 63]

This makes the Ling'en dian 淩恩殿 (Hall of Heavenly Favors) (1425-26), at the Ming Tombs, an interesting combination of *yuetai* with the triple *tadao*. Unlike the pre-Ming halls, with a full rectangular *yuetai*, the Ling'en Hall has a smaller extension of the primary base of the hall. Therefore, from our comparison of the *yuetai* and the *tadao* of halls from different periods, the post-1425 halls exhibited a change towards a reduced base—reduced to the peripheral columns, with no *yuetai*; but the *tadao* was a more important architectural feature in signifying difference in the status of halls. This explains the simple one *tadao* used for residential halls of later dynasties.

Lastly, the transition from the outside to the inside of a hall was architecturally different in the Qing halls. The *yuetai* being a transitional space, as discussed earlier, the Qing halls have another transitional space, the *qianliang* 前廊 (porticos). Porticos are a main feature in Qing period palatial, religious, and residential halls. The change in the use of a portico as an entrance to a hall is a Qing innovation that has no precedents. The Taihe Hall, the Baohe Hall, all the residential halls in Beijing, and many of the halls rebuilt in temples and monasteries have porticos. A portico is a covered entranceway or porch with columns one or more sides. In many of the *siheyuan*, the porticos of the four

buildings enclosing a courtyard are linked, forming a covered walkway; but in all the examples, the halls remain individual buildings. The lower covered walkways, also with gable roofs, connecting the enclosing buildings, pierce through the masonry side gables, which extend forward to support the front eaves and forming the two ends of the portico.

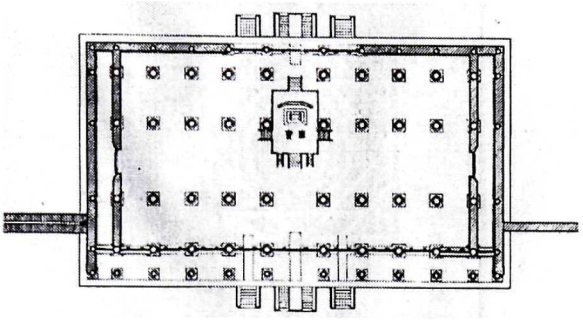


Figure 26 Taihe gong, plan. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 297]

The four points of comparison of pillars are: their section; the presence of a base; their height and dimensions; and their arrangement (Steinhardt 1988: 64). Rigid standardization of construction method and design is known to have caused several departures of the features of pillars and their placements in Qing period palatial and religious halls from that of the pre-Ming halls. Little is known about the pillars in pre-Ming residential halls, except from paintings.

Since the twelfth century, Chinese halls have had pillars that were both circular and square in sections (Steinhardt 1988: 64). The twelfth-century reconstruction of the eight-century Nanchansi Main Hall, in Wutai County, Shanxi province, replaced pillars in square sections for circular ones (Steinhardt 1984:101-107). This change from square sectional pillars to circular ones in the Song dynasty is consistent with the ruins of an earlier building, the palace of the first emperor of Qin excavated in Xianyang, third century B.C., which had pillars in square sections (Steinhardt 1984: 103-104). Square sections are more common in later Ming and Qing architecture, but the corners are beveled (Steinhardt 1984: 103). All the columns in the residential halls measured by Lu Xiang and Wang Qiming are circular in section, although square columns in many cases were used in the *chuihua men* (ornamental gates).

From the Dunhuang Cave (#217) murals, in the paintings that depict residential halls, the columns have no bases. Nor does the residential hall in the painting titled, *Gaoshi tu* 高士圖 (High official), dating from the Five Dynasties (fig. 29), have any bases; the columns are directly planted into the platform. None of the Beijing *siheyuan* have column bases. In the Song manual *Yingzao fashi*, all the idealized sections of buildings have bases. And, for post-Yuan religious halls, column foundations were a common practice (Steinhardt 1988: 65). Steinhardt points out that although the use or omission of column bases might be a sign of rank, they cannot be used to date Chinese buildings. As for residential halls, column bases are not used in earlier or later periods.

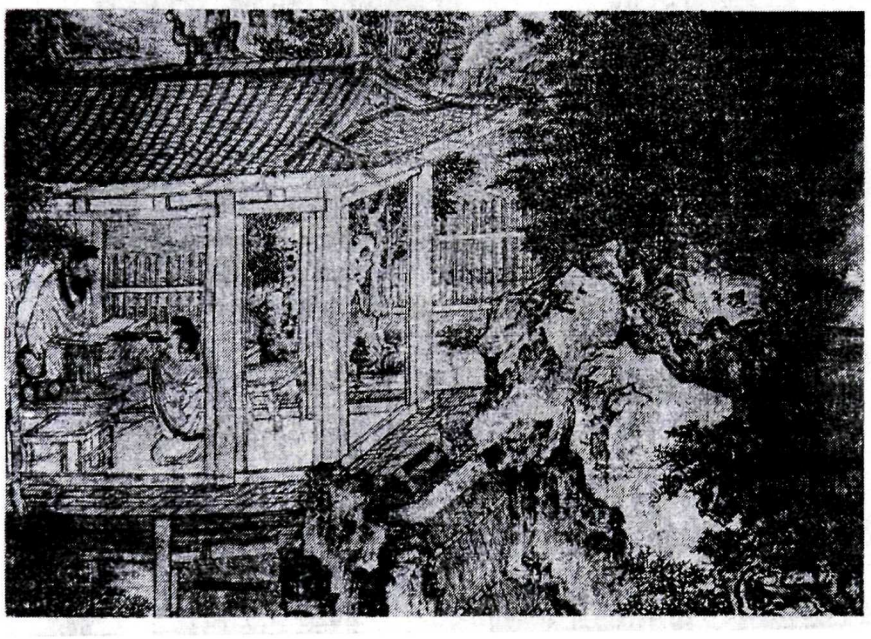


Figure 27 *Gaoshi tu*, Five Dynasties. [After Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 128]

The Chinese house is often seen as a place of ritual, of ancestral worship. This is because of the importance of the ancestral shrine, which occupies the center of the floor plan of the main hall. The importance of the hall as a ritual space, as the heart of the house, goes back to the writings of the twelfth-century ritualist Zhu Xi (1130-1200) (Bray 1997: 98-102). I am interested in the visual and representational practices of this space. Let us turn to the interior of the hall.

The following is a description of the main hall in the Rong mansion as seen through the moving gaze of Daiyu on her first visit to her uncle, Jia Zheng.

> High overhead on the wall facing her as she entered the hall was a great blue board framed in gilded dragons, on which was in large gold characters
>
> THE HALL OF EXALTED FELICITY
>
> with a column of smaller characters at the side giving a date and the words '...written for Our beloved Subject, Jia Yuan, Duke of Rong-guo', followed by the Emperor's private seal, a device containing the words 'kingly cares' and 'royal broach' in archaic seal-script.
>
> A long, high table of carved red sandalwood, ornamented with dragons, stood against the wall underneath. In the centre of this was a huge antique bronze ding, fully a yard high, covered with green patina. On the wall above the ding hung a long vertical scroll with an ink-painting of a dragon emerging from clouds and waves, of the kind often presented to high court officials in token of their office. The ding was flanked on one side by a smaller antique bronze vessel with a pattern of gold inlay and on the other by a crystal bowl. At each side of the table their backs to the wall; and above the chairs hung, one on each side, a pair of vertical ebony boards inlaid with a couplet in the characters of gold:
>
> (on the right-hand one)
>
> May the jewel of learning shine in this house more effulgently than the sun and moon.
>
> (on the left-hand one)
>
> May the insignia of honour glitter in these halls more brilliantly than the starry sky.
>
> This was followed by a colophon in smaller characters:
> With the Respectful Compliments of your Fellow-
> Student, Mu Shi, Hereditary Prince of Dong-an (Hawkes 1973: 95-96)

When we look at the organization of the objects and their arrangement, in which they are described, we can see the visual language, or practice of the display of objects in the representation of the main hall. Needless to say, the interior of the hall is formal and visually impressive. How was this achieved? This has to do with the use of the

background and the space which the ritual and decorative objects create. The discursive practice is in the treatment of the hall as a frontal image, which commands authority, facing south.

Wu Hung in *The Double Screen* explores the use of the screen as medium. He describes the screen as "a framework whose basic function is to distinguish space." He continues to explain that "it is difficult to find another object from ancient Chinese culture whose significance, practical or symbolic is so entirely bound up with the notion of space" (Wu 1996: 10). Wu Hung goes on to describe a painting by Ma Yuan (fl. 1190-1225), how he places the screen as a free standing object, without any practical function than proving significance to the psychological relationship between the person and the screen. Because the location is behind the person, the screen, according to Wu Hung 'blocks' unwelcome gaze from the outside and supplies a sense of privacy and security to the person. Therefore, it defines a place that is exclusively subjected to the person's vision (Wu 1996: 11). Worthy of our attention here is Wu Hung's consideration of the screen not solely as an object, but that it is an analytical instrument that has a role in discursive practice. Therefore, with the notion of the screen as an instrument that alters space, turning it into place, the screen behind the throne of the emperor enhances his authority over his place. Wu Hung explains:

> This place is both real (i.e., the ritual ground in the Bright Hall where the ceremony takes place) and symbolic (i.e., a miniaturization of a larger geographic and political sphere known as China). To the emperor, the screen is both an exterior object and an extension of his body. On the one hand, it encircles – it draws a boundary of ritual/symbolic place he claims as his domain; on the other, it seems part of himself (Wu 1996: 12).

Let us go back to Jia Zheng's main hall. Daiyu first sees the front elevation of the main hall from the outside as she approaches. She notices the name of the ancestor of Rong-guo, Jia Yuan, and the emperor's private seal on the front columns framing the entrance. Inside she finds the ritual objects, the table, the ornaments, and a bronze in the center of the arrangement. The interior elevation is composed of paintings hanging from the ceiling. On the floor, the space is framed by eight chairs, four on each side, all facing the entrance. Above the chairs, the interior elevations are formed by colophons. The

objects in the description function like the screen; they have both real and symbolic functions. The hall is both a real place for family rituals and as a miniaturization of the Rong-guo. The boundaries in this space are clearly marked both by the architecture itself, and by the objects that form another layer within the volume of the room. It is arguable in this case that the objects transform the space into a place.

The narrative continues to lead us into Lady Wang's room that is attached to the east of the main hall. This is her space; she spends most of her leisure time in this room. A smaller version of the hall we were in, Lady Wang's room is feminized, filled with "Kasmir rug," "a big red bolster above the kang," "long russet-green seating strip in the pattern of dragons," "cut flowers," and so on. Before Daiyu has met Lady Wang, we know that she is someone important. Daiyu, then, is led to meet her; this is what she sees—the room was "bisected by a long, low table piled with books and tea things. A much-used black satin black-rest was pushed up against the east wall. Lady Wang was seated on a black satin cushion and leaning against another comfortable back-rest of black satin somewhat farther forward on the opposite side" (Cao 1973: 96-97).

The side room next to the main hall is an extension of Lady Wang's body and persona. We are privy to her intimate space. This room is the exact opposite of the main hall. The juxtaposition of the two spaces not only reinforces the strength of the narration of Ji Zheng's and Lady Wang's personae, the two main persons of the household are simultaneously represented. The image of Lady Wang in her chair is a striking one because of the previous visual experience leading to her view.

This is a fine example of the implicit link between the subject and architectural space. Subject positionality is achieved through architecture and narration.

Conclusion

Chinese traditional halls of different uses might appear similar at a glance, but in comparison, there are distinctions in their architectural features, and distinctive period styles. Domestic halls are distinct from palatial and religious halls. The differences are subtle, residing in status and ritual as they are represented spatially and architecturally. The shift in the expression of ritual and status from plan to vertical plane creates a new expression of marking boundaries. And as attested by Wen Zhenheng's statement about the prohibition of the *gong*-plan for private residences, it must have been a well-talked about issue, well enough to have occupied his attention. As we have seen, the creation of boundaries in the Manchu capital city is another coherent expression, possibly a common spatial practice in eighteenth-century China. Arguably, it might very well be a Manchu spatial practice but this would require further investigation. The actual abandonment of the *gong*-plan for domestic architecture, and its reservation solely for the emperor's use and for religious architecture, indicates that architecture was a site of power, a cultural symbol of status as it reflected social formations in eighteenth-century Beijing. The use of portico is an interesting architectural device, for not only does it reinforce the boundary that separates the inside and outside, but it also attenuates the experience at the moment of entering the building.

An important point that was raised in this chapter is that for early- and pre-modern architecture in China, not only are the individual structures important, but they should be looked at as a group of structures. The different buildings within a compound are choreographed so to provide a unity in the architectural expression. The relationship between the hall and the palace was an important one. In domestic architecture this was the main hall and the inner quarters.

The narrative description of the main hall of the Rong mansion tells us much about Qing visual culture. Architecture worked as a framework in the support of the projection of the person associated with it. With this in mind, we can analyze architecture as a medium, the ways in which space was practiced in relation to the

historical formation of self. The discussion of Lady's Wang's room further supports the argument of discursive practice and the performance quality of narration and architecture.

CHAPTER 5

FAMILY, MASTER, WOMEN, AND SERVANTS: THE HOUSE REPRESENTED

Introduction

Often the traditional Chinese binary distinction *nei/wai* 內外 (inner/outer) is referred to as a dichotomy between private/public or as the difference between "private sphere" and the "public sphere," indicating separate realms—women's inner sphere and men's outer sphere. Yet the spheres *nei* 內 (inner) and *wai* 外 (outer) are less divided and conceptually different than the distinctions made in the discourse in Western civil society (Mann 1997: 15; Ko 1994), and it is only one part of the complex concept of *jia* 家 (family). The inner/outer construct does not "demarcate mutually exclusive social and symbolic spheres," instead the "two define each other according to a "shifting context" (Ko 1994: 13) that is not geometric, rather "more distinctions between states of being, expressed in the need for a dynamic balance" (Hay 1994: 63). They were welded by discursive concepts like the Qing revival of the Song discourse on the ethical relations between husband and wife, *yi* 義 (morality) (Ebrey 1984: 225). In Qing discourse the word *bie* 別 (separate spheres) "is invoked to stress that wives and mothers inside the home embody the moral autonomy and authority on which husbands and sons must rely to succeed outside" (Mann 1997: 15). This interrelatedness was part of a perceived unitary social order centered in the home, which extended to the whole of the imperium (Ko 1994; Mann 1997; Bray 1997; Mann 1991: 204-230), promoting the family and the home as the "site of exemplary of morals" (Ko 1994: 13).

The concept of family was complex, involving the everyday rituals of the elite male and female personae, the inner/outer spheres, and the conspicuous virtue and morality in eighteenth-century China. Because of this, I propose the use of the concept of "ritualized *jia*," as a means to encapsulate all the variables and intersections: an analytical tool. Ritualized *jia* is a term used by Patricia Ebrey (cf. after Makino 1949: 2-27) in her

study of the conception of family in the Song (Ebrey 1984: 219-243). The seamless ritualized *jia* correlates the different elements--*nei/wai*, elite male and female personae--in their interplay, as they formed the discursiveness of an architectural discourse. Through ritualized *jia*, elite families maintained "distinction" and "difference". The social history of the family in Qing China is complex. This study only gives hints of the elements that are implicit in the understanding of how the discourse of *jia* in the Qing period as a "well-regulated" system that relied on the mechanisms of (not exclusively) *nei/wai*, and male and female personae to create the familial enterprise and the house as a site of elite distinction as it relates to Qing architectural discourse.

Hence, this chapter argues that the complex implications of *nei/wai*, or inner/outer, and the ritualized *jia* are discursive practices that were part of the episteme, an architectural discourse on domestic architecture. Through an analysis of fiction, I also focus on narrative form as a horizon that organizes different components of the house. Again, boundaries connect the different frames as the subject moves through the space, transforming as he/she crosses the points of distinctions.

The following analysis of the different components of the house engages a diversity of sources--measured-drawings of an extant building, narrative descriptions, emperor's decree, and popular construction manual. We also use Zhou Juchang's imaginative sketch of the plan of the Rong mansion based on the narrative description in the great Qing novel *Honglou meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*). The extant example is the Yugong mansion, located in the old quarter of Beijing. The eminent Chinese scholar argues that the Rong mansion was located in the northwest corner of the Manchu Inner City. The textual sources are the *Lu Ban jing* and Hong Wu's decree on *Dizhai.*

Elite Personae in the Qing

In the complexity of the ritualized *jia* in the elite culture of the eighteenth-century, apart from the continuum of "inner" sphere and "outer" sphere, there were the conceptions of "constructedness" of "personae" based on gender, morality, status, and age. The elite had self-fashioned an individualistic personae. It is by centering personae within elite culture that the Qing discourse of "*bie*"—separate spheres--that means of analyzing the different levels of privacy in the components of a house is achieved. Moreover, it is working with the details of these pivotal concepts, at times when they were negotiated, which allows for a closer look at the architecture.

The daily life of an elite person in the Qing was comprised of balancing and negotiating many different personae. One of the strategies by which the elites distinguished themselves from the lower classes was by certain accepted practices that were deemed "elite," which gave them prominence and contributed to the creation of their identity. In the Qing dynasty, state policies and elite personae were intermingled, and in the words of Keith McMahon, as he explains the derivation of "gender" as historical and social construction, that "[t]he laws of kinship define the symbolic order, which is primarily structured by the paternal family—its rules of descent, incest prohibitions, and the binaries of male and female, senior and junior, and inner and outer" (McMahon 1995: 4-5). What is important here is exactly the "constructedness" of the personae, and in our case that of the elite in the "High Qing," and that creation of personae was completed by a pair of orders, or concepts: the ideological and the symbolic as he has employed them in *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists: Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (1995). The ideological order is part political and part economic, and the symbolic order is the "collective fantasy." [5] By using this stratified distinction of "constructed" personalities based on the normative and that of the symbolic, McMahon teases out the "subjectivities" found in the normative

[5] McMahon considers the symbolic order as the collective fantasy. According to him, the normative symbolic order is defined by the society, and that it is projected onto the individual and the collective subjects. In his analysis of Qing erotic fiction, he considers it as a representational system that registers the workings of conscious and unconscious fantasies. The fantasies act out the wishes based on the symbolic order (McMahon 1995: 7).

ideology in eighteenth-century novels. This method of analysis is similar to "ideology in practice" that many cultural historians employ as an analytical tool to go beyond the doctrinal rigidity of official ideology, discovering in it the birth of new discourses, especially on domesticity in Qing China. It is the link between the personae that were constructed through the ideology and the symbolic that we are interested in, and how this construction manifested itself in "practice" in daily life and in the architecture that surrounded them.

On the question of construction of persona in the person of Wen Zhengming, as it was related to property in the late Ming, Craig Clunas, in his discussion of the gardens of the Wen Family, looks at the construction of Wen's persona, discusses the link between the self that was important in the Ming ideal of the garden and as a potential model of good society (Clunas 1996: 104). Clunas points out the relation between the "ideal" in the Ming material culture that had its connection with the persona of the person associated with the production of the object, and his example is the Ming garden. The significance of the Ming garden existed in relation to the Ming self and model of good society.

Let us turn now to how the Qing persona and the family related to the architectural discourse and domestic environment in eighteenth-century China.

The Relation between Inside and Outside

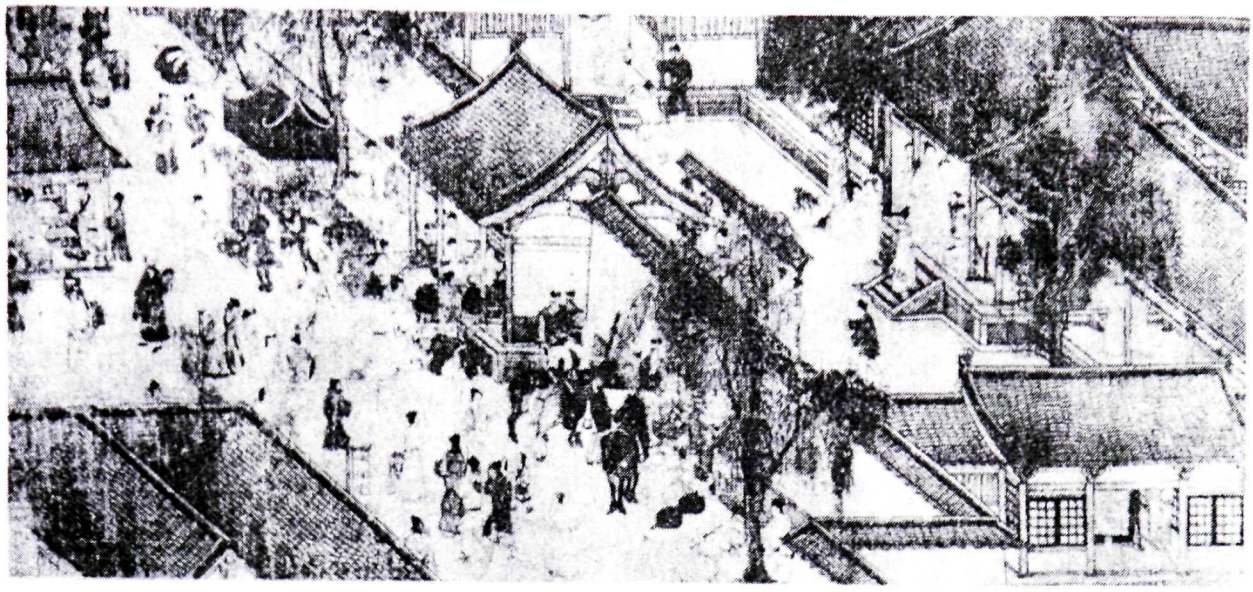


Figure 28 *Wenji gui Han tu* 文姬帰漢圖, Song dynasty. [Liu Dunzhen, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 2nd ed., p. 186]

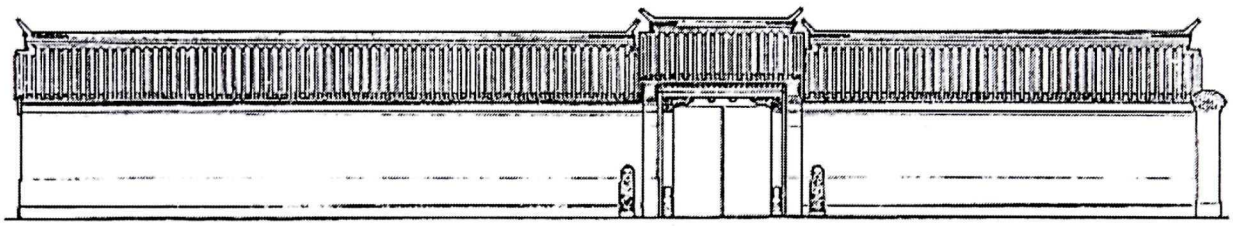


Figure 29 *Damen* (main gate), Yugong mansion, façade. [After Wang & Lu, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 179]

Along the Rongrong hutong 容容胡同 in the southern section of the Manchu Inner City, the 55 m (180 feet) long, 5 m (16 feet) high masonry wall was punctured with a higher *damen* 大門 (main gate), that staggered the roofline, marking the façade (fig.29). On both sides of the entrance, in the space of the *hutong*, there were two stone lions. The wooden double doors were recessed in the center of the one bay and five-purlin entrance gate, flanked by two stone *baogushi* 保鼓石—they were carved stone ornaments in the shape of drums. Still on the exterior side of the *damen*, the ambiguous space of transition, the ceiling was adorned with painted and carved wood panels. The location of the wood partition/double doors that separated the exterior space of the *hutong* from the

vestibule space of the *damen* did not have a set rule; it could be recessed just enough to indicate the two masonry sidewalls of the entrance structure.

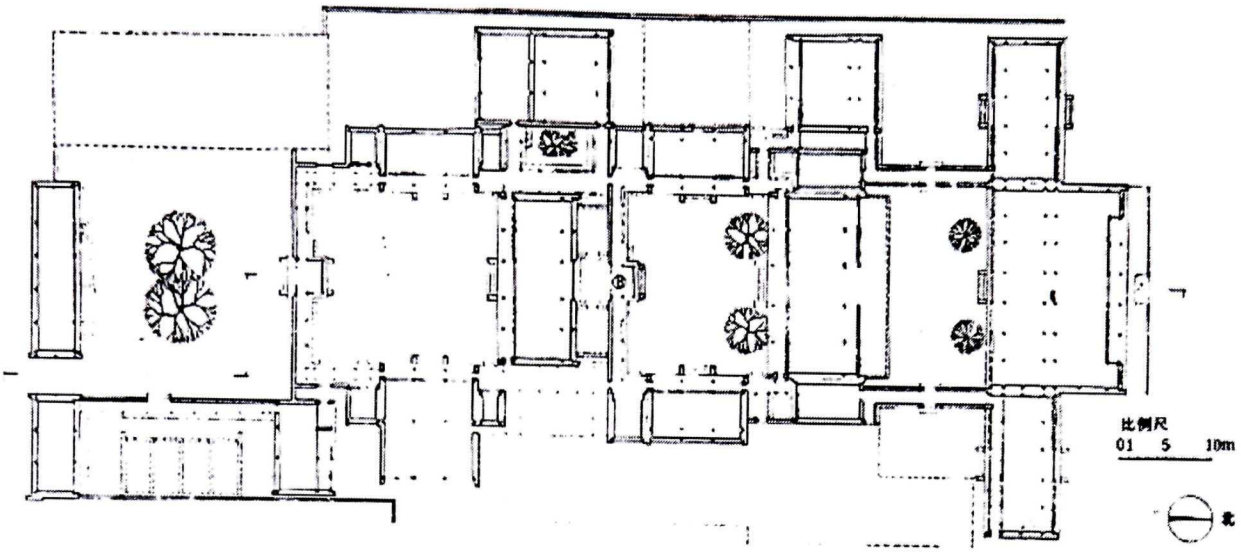


Figure 30 Yugong mansion, plan. [After Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 179]

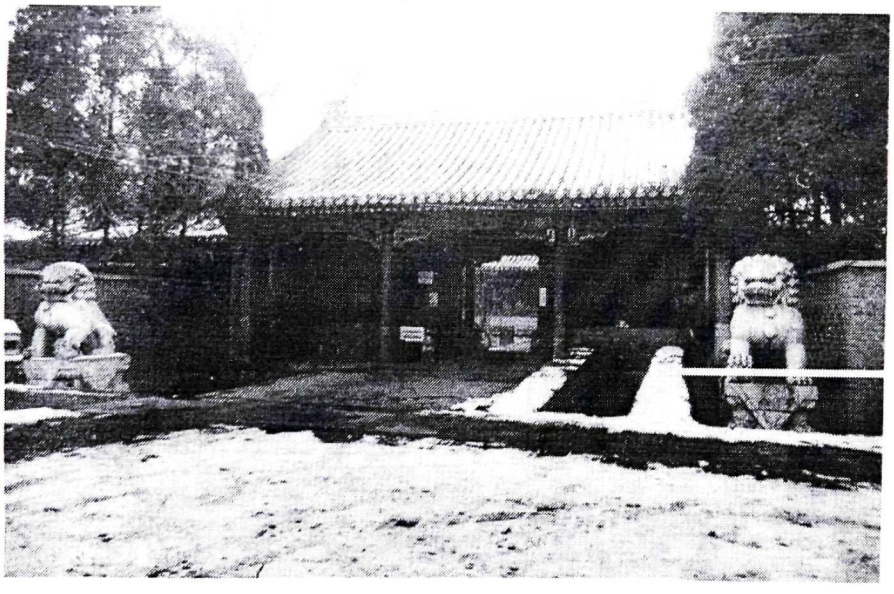


Figure 31 *Wangfu damen* (main gate), exterior photograph. [After Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 90]

At an even more impressive level of wealth and high-ranking household of the Rong mansion in *Honglou meng*, the entrance gate was spectacular. This was what Daiyu saw:

> Peeping through the gauze panel which served as a window, she could see streets and buildings more rich and elegant and throngs of people more lively and numerous than she had ever seen in her life before. After being carried for what seemed a very great length of time, she saw, on the north front of the east-west street through which they were passing, two great stone lions crouched one on each side of a triple gateway whose doors were embellished with animal-heads. In front of the gateway ten or so splendidly dressed flunkeys sat in a row. The center of the three gates was closed, but people were going in and out of the two side ones. There was a board above the center gate on which were written in large characters the words:
>
> NING-GUO HOUSE
> Founded and Constructed by
> Imperial Command
>
> Dai-yu realized that this must be where the elder branch of her grandmother's family lived. The chair proceeded some distance more down the street and presently there was another triple gate, this time with the legend
>
> RONG-GUO HOUSE,
> above it.
> (Hawkes 1973: 88-89).

The Jia is a powerful *jia* (family). The Jia family's close connection with the Emperor Kangxi is clearly indicated on their main gate. People unequivocally recognize the social status of the Jia family as high-ranking. The commoner Zixing remarks in conversation with Yucun:

> I passed by their two houses one day on my way to the Shi-tou-cheng to visit the ruins. The Ning-guo mansion along the eastern half of the road and the Rong-guo mansion along the western half must between them have occupied the greater part of the north side frontage of that street. It's true that there wasn't much activity outside the main entrances, but looking up over the outer walls I had a glimpse of the most magnificent and imposing halls and pavilions, and even the rocks and trees of the gardens beyond seemed to have a sleekness and luxuriance that were certainly not suggestive of a family whose fortunes were in a state of decline (Hawkes 1973: 73).

The coupling of the name Rong with *guo* 國 (state) has its signification to the "public" image or "persona" of the family. It is this labeling that pronounces the family's prominence. Patricia Ebrey makes the comparison of the *jia* 家 (family) to the *guo* (state), in the context of material culture in the Song, which was presumably the same in the Qing. She explains:

> A *jia* itself, like *guo*, was not normally said to do anything. But it had components, both material and immaterial, animate and inanimate. These a *jia* could be said to possess (*you*). A *jia* could have land and other productive property (*chan*), resources (*zu*), wealth (*cai*); slightly more abstractly, it could have a heritage *ye*, which ranged in meaning from tradition of scholarship to inherited land. At the human level a *jia* had a head (*zhang*), members (or merely "people," *ren*), dependents *shu*, and servants (*bipu*); it could also be said to have children, daughters-in-law, mothers, and so on. At the more abstract level, it had rules (*fa*), teachings (*xun*), and records (*pu*), and business (*wu* or *shi*) (Ebrey 1984: 223, romanization changed).

Therefore, both the family and the acquaintances looked upon the house and all its splendid things, grand halls, pavilions, gardens, etc., as components of the *jia*. In essence, material culture was tightly tied to the elite identity or persona. The connection of things to the owner as a signifier in the late Ming material culture and discourse had a self-conscious aesthetic, which marked their grounds for distinction (Clunas 1991: 71). The grounds for discrimination of "things" in the late Ming, as Clunas shows, "were being those of appropriateness to gender, geographical origin of the product and name of the craftsmen responsible" (Clunas 1991: 71). To this I add, that the name of the *zhang* 長 (owners), and the name of the *jia* were grounds for discrimination of appropriateness of things within domestic culture in the "public" eye. The extension of the "outer sphere" of the males and the "inner sphere" of the female members of the *jia* went beyond the confines of the wall enclosures.

The relatedness of *jia*, wealth, fame, and the house can be found in the libations that the carpenter's had to present to Lu Ban before the commencement of the work. Aside from the building magic that could bestow good fortune to the owners from the proper building of the house, the owners "public," "private," "familial," "house," were interrelated and interchangeable. Not only was there a continuum of the family and state,

the material culture went along with it. In chapter 1, the section "Request to present the prayer for the hoisting of the ridge-pole, made to the immortal master Lu Ban, Lord of the Earth, the second of the Three Worlds," is an excerpt starting from the third libation that reads:

> From now on, constant prosperity will attach to the house,
> From now on, sons and daughters will enjoy everlasting health.
> We hope that the holy sages will bestow landed property,
> As well as good fortune and luck.
> Rise high! The three libations are finished, the seven offerings are completed. We do not dare to exaggerate in our offerings.
> We humbly wish that after the pious gentleman/official so-and-so has built his house and raised the ridge-pole, his household will be magnificent and his work will be prosperous. May he have a thousand granaries, may he have ten thousand chests. First comes wealth, then comes long life. Private and public affairs will both be profitable. The family will enjoy great fame, the house will prosper (Ruitenbeek 1996: 165-166).

Coming back to the transitional space of the main gate, the glory and magnificence in the architectural detailing and the buildings behind it must have had carried great social prestige. In addition, no wonder the term *jia* was interchangeably replaced by *men* 門 (gate) or *men-hu* 門戶 (household); and from the point of view of the state, the *jia* was the *hu* (household) (Ebrey 1984: 224).

From the description of the main doors as they are related to rank of the *hu*, household, the *Lu Ban jing*, chapter 1, also relates the appropriate dimensions in accordance to building magic, but, nonetheless, the ranks of households have different size houses:

> The door of a high-ranking household (*shanghu men*) measures 6 *chi* 6 *cun*.
> The door of a middle household measures 3 *chi* 3 *cun*.
> The door of a small household measures 1 *chi* 1 *cun*.
> The door of a prefectural *yamen*, a district yamen, a Buddhist or a Taoist monastery is 11 *chi* 8 *cun* wide.
> (Ruitenbeek 1996: 184)

From the "Guanmin dizhai zhizhi" 官民第宅制止 (Regulations of official and folk dwellings), a decree from the Hongwu Emperor, in the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the great Ming) of 1587 (*Da Ming hui dian*: 1976), prescribes four different main entrances for officials of different ranks: for *gonghuo* 公侯, noblemen, the gate house shall be three *jian*, bays, by five *jia*, purlins; and the doors shall use gold *shoumian* 獸面 (a decorative metal ornament in the shape of a head of a beast) and *xihuan* 錫環 (knocker rings). For officials of first to second ranks, the main gate is three *jian* by five *jia*. The doors are painted green, with *shoumian* and iron ring knockers. Officials of third rank to fifth rank shall have a main gate of three *jian* and two *jia*. The doors shall be painted black and have iron rings. And finally, officials of sixth to ninth rank should have a main gate that is one *jian* and three *jia*; and the door is painted black and has an iron ring.

The "Guanmin dizhai zhizhi," describes the main gate as an important architectural feature where the social ranks of officials were displayed. It was also the site that communicated the identity of the residents to the public. The awareness of the social status of the *jia* inside necessarily required all visitors and clients to acknowledge the appropriate etiquette and behavior before crossing the threshold into the house.

Another use of the front façade as a space for the projection of the owner's persona and status into the public realm was by posting the virtues of the *jia*, for example, conspicuous filial piety or the cult of chaste women. The most famous Manchu policy on women was particularly supportive of *jiefu* 姐夫 (chaste women). It was a practice of projecting the owner's persona that originated from the Mongol Yuan, and continued to the Qing (Mann 1997: 23). During the Yuan period, nominated "chaste women" were honored with the construction of monuments, especially *pailou* 牌樓 (stone arches). The Qing dynasty continued the reward system where leaders of the local communities nominated exemplary women who had been widowed before the age of 30 and remained so into their 50's. Their biographies were then sent to the emperor in the capital. After they had gone through a review by the Board of Rites 禮部 and approved, their families

were rewarded with a commendation written by the emperor himself, which was displayed for all to see at the entrance of their homes. The women's virtue was publicly advertised, representing the honorable morality of her *jia*. The commendation was of importance in telling of the *jia*'s quintessential virtue and learning, being personally honored by the emperor and having this connection was in itself a powerful statement of great recognition and esteem. Also, conspicuous filial piety was much promoted by the Qing Emperors. In one of the six Southern Tours that the Emperor Kangxi undertook in December 1684, he visited the bereaved Cao family following the death of Cao Yin's father, Cao Xi. The Kangxi Emperor presented the family with imperial calligraphy and entered Cao Xi's name in the Nanjing temple of important elite officials (Spence 1966: 57).

The main triple gate in the houses of the high-ranking officials provided, architecturally, for the ceremony of receiving imperial visitors. In *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, Jia Zheng's birthday celebration is abruptly interrupted when the janitors from the main gate burst in to announce the arrival of the Eunuch, Xia Bingzhong, of the Imperial Bedchamber, with an announcement from His Majesty the Emperor. Alarmed by the unexpected visitation, Jia Zheng had the feast and musicians cleared away, burned incense, which was required for the reading of the Imperial Proclamation, threw open the centre of the three main gates, and knelt down in the entrance to receive their important visitor.

The arrival of the special guests required that the house had to be made ready to receive them. The central door of the main gate was opened. It was reserved for the emperor or his representatives. The announcement of the imperial presence prompted the burning of the incense to welcome the arrival of the imperial guest. Incense burning has an important significance. In village rituals, the ritual specialist circumambulates the boundaries of the village, burning incense to purify the place as a form of ritual cleansing (Johnson et al. ed., 1985: 273, notes).

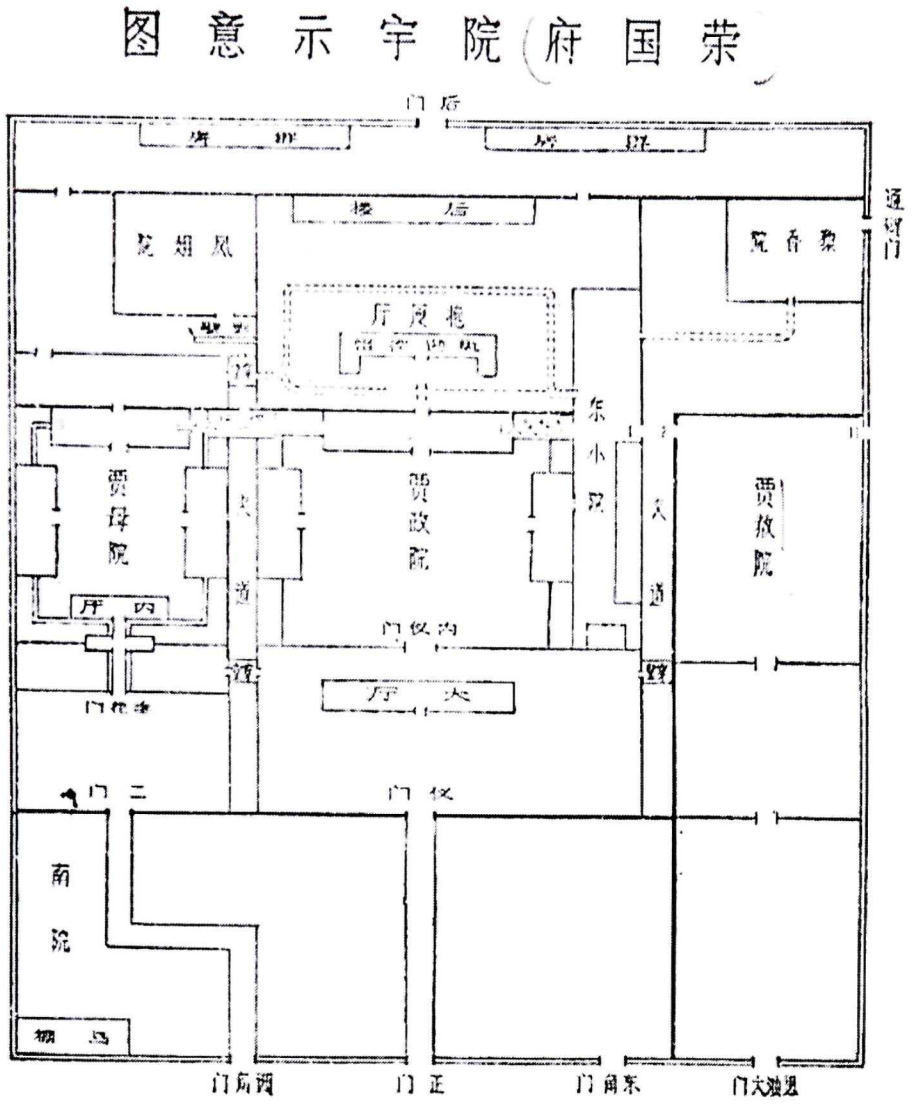


Figure 32 Sketch of the plan of the Rong mansion based on the narrative descriptions by Zhou Ruchang. [After Zhou Ruchang, *Honglou meng xinzheng*, p. 152]

Servants

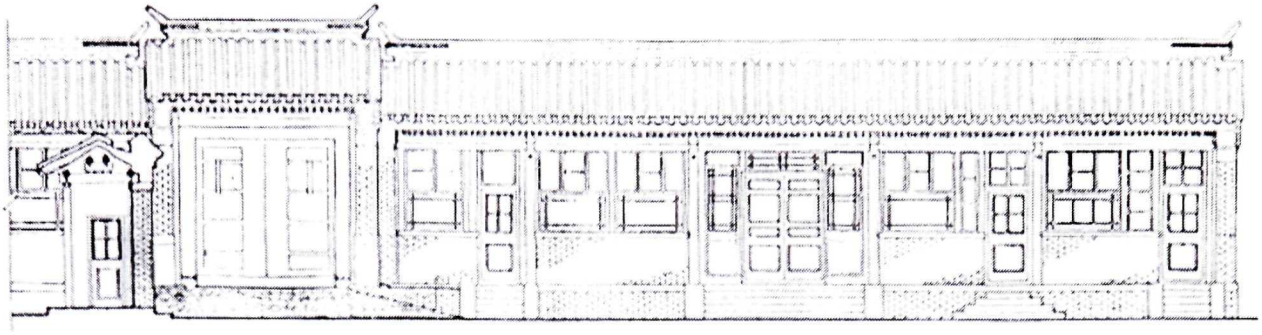


Figure 33 Yugong mansion, *daozuo* elevation (posterior side of the façade) in the first courtyard. [After Wang & Lu, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 180]

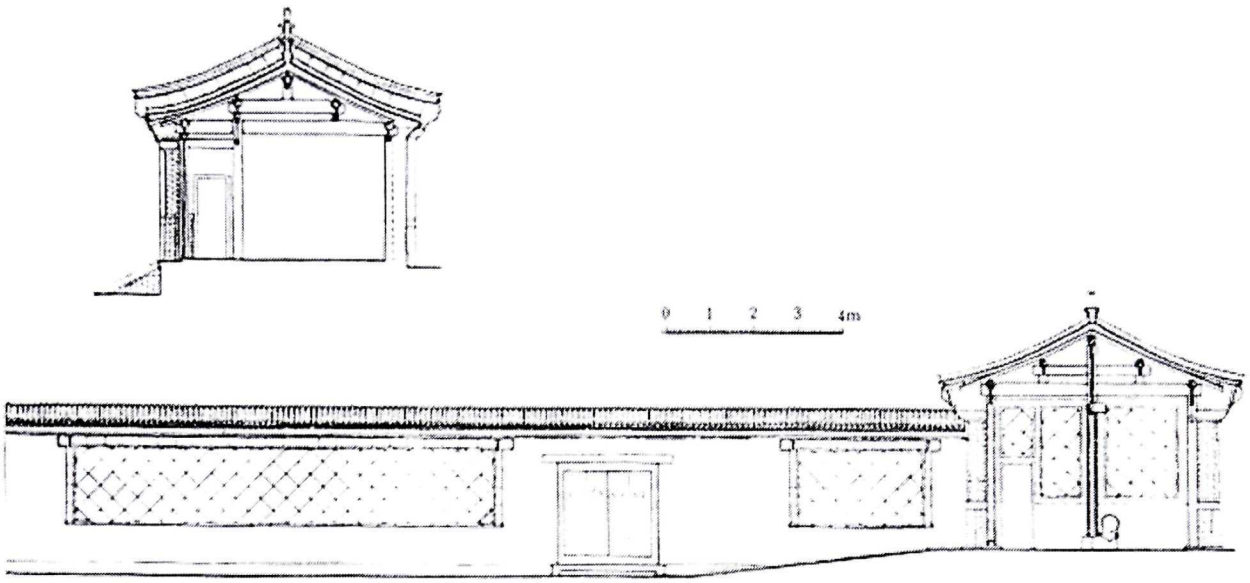


Figure 34 Yugong mansion, section through *daozuo* elevation. [After Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 180]

Zixing describes the wealth, and the size of the Jia family in *The Dream of the Red Chamber*:

> Although I say they are not as prosperous as they used to be in years past, of course I don't mean to say that there is not still a world of difference between *their* circumstances and those you would expect to find in the household of your average government official. At the moment the numbers of their establishment and the activities they engage in are, if anything, on the increase. Both masters and servants all lead lives of luxury and magnificence.

The *puren* 僕人 (servants) were considered part of the *jia* 家 (household), they were considered the *ren* 人 (people) in the household. In the Qing period, wealthy households employed many servants, who worked in "relationships of long-term dependency as virtual slaves" (Mann 1997: 37). If the servants--male and female--were considered part of the household then, how were the spaces differentiated among the different levels of intimacy of *ren* (people) in the household within the walls of the house? At this level of privacy within the house, we must look at the enclaves inside the houses that were for servants, and the areas they lived and worked in, and the restriction on their movements in the compound.

The *daozuo fang* 到座房 were the rooms that formed the exterior wall of the main façade, with their fronts facing the second gate, the *chuihua* gate 垂花門 and the side rooms along the east and west interior elevations of the front courtyard. The room nearest to the front gatehouse was the male servant quarters. In the case of the Yugong mansion, the room was accessible by a side door from the gatehouse. The three-bay room facing directly the *chuihua* gate was reserved for guests. The spaces along the west elevation were the washrooms. The rooms and possibly a small courtyard on the east side of the front courtyard were the *shu* 塾, the family school.

The front courtyard was a semi-private sphere, neither was it public, exposed to the on-lookers of the street, nor did it reach the level of intimate domestic sphere that existed behind the second gate. It was a "service" space that functioned to serve the main domestic spaces of the house. The front courtyard as a service space is also depicted in a Han funerary tile where the east side the front courtyard seems to be an area for domestic chores, such as food preparation. In a diagram, Lu and Wang show the movements of the male servants are restricted to the front courtyard only. This was so described when Daiyu first arrived to the Rong mansion, continuing from the main gate:

> Ignoring the central gate, her bearers went in by the western entrance and after traversing the distance of a bowshot inside, half turned a corner and set the chair down. The chairs of her female attendants which were following behind were set down simultaneously and the old women got

out. The places of Dai-yu's bearers were taken by four handsome, fresh-faced pages of seventeen or eighteen. They shouldered her chair and, with the old women now following on foot, carried it as far as an ornamental inner gate. There they set it down again and then retired in respectful silence (Hawkes 1973: 87-88).

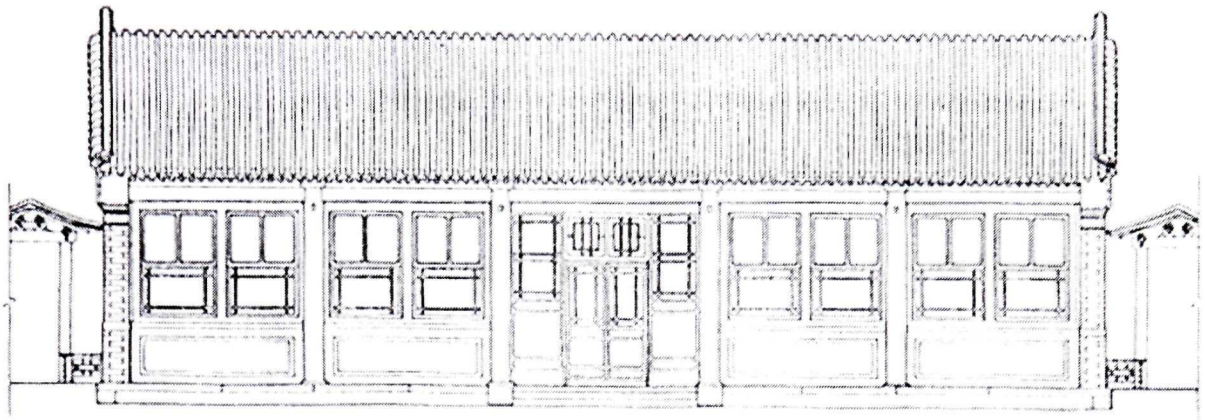


Figure 35 Yugong mansion, elevation of *zhengfang* (main hall) in the second courtyard. [After Wang & Lu, *Beijing siheyuan*, p.181]

Practiced Place

The whole sequence of events in the arrival of Lin Daiyu and her entourage at the Rong mansion is a representation of space, as it was practiced. Michel de Certeau makes the distinction between "spaces" and "places":

> A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper" (de Certeau 1984: 117). (Proper seems to imply a distinct location, having rules of place that signify elements and vice versa. It serves as an order of knowledge).

According to de Certeau, the narrative description in *Dream of the Red Chamber* describes a "practiced place," taking into consideration direction, speed, and time variables.

Consider this description from the *Lu Ban Jing*:

> Always when constructing an ancestral hall, which serves as a family temple, a triple gate (is made) at the front. Then follow the corridors to the east and the west, and next comes the main hall. Behind the main hall the bright tower and tea pavilion are situated, behind the pavilion is the rear hall. When making the joinery, one starts from the triple gate and ends with the rear hall (Ruitenbeek 1996: 197-197).

This description for the construction of joinery for an ancestral hall, like the description of Lin Daiyu, represents space in de Certeau's sense, as practiced place. De Certeau continues the argument:

> In short, *space is a practice place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs (de Certeau 194: 117).

Therefore, the representation of space in both descriptions not only transforms place into space by practice, the experience also involves the reader at the same time. The interaction is dynamic, in a symbiosis that gives life to space and architecture as the moment is being orchestrated. With the accompaniment of narrative, architecture no longer remains in the state of geometry, images, and lines in representations: representation of architecture becomes experiential, alchemical. The movement through space within narrative causality brings wholeness, a form of knowledge that serves the everyday in late imperial China. Thus far, we have seen, intertextually, the use of narrative descriptions to transform and organize structures and spaces within a homogeneous plane of existence. That is why the 1993 film *Raise the Red Lantern* (dir. Zhang Yimou) was so effective in showing the domestic environment of the house. The film medium has the function of linking images in a narrative causality that brings the spaces together within a unified whole. In the pre-cinematic Qing, the literary narrative

form articulates the simultaneity of vision and movement. Therefore, arguably, early-modern architecture in China was signified by the practice of space.

Furthermore, narrative descriptions as a strategy in spatial practice in literature, construction manuals, or ritual texts give the authors control of the way how they want us to read and perceive space. This control of experience and observation is important. As readers, we are not left to wander, but to be taken, in de Certeau's reference by mass transit, in *metaphori*. This power the author has on the reader forces the reader to experience space the way he wants it. Not only the subjectivities of the character are expressed, so are the authors. For both Lin Daiyu and the carpenter using the manual, and us the reader, are placed in the space, and made aware of the multiple boundaries and layering. Both experiences bring us closer to the center, or revealing something important, almost revealing some secret, similar to modern moving pictures.

On the use of literary texts as sources, Edward T. Hall explains:

> To do this, it was necessary to study literature not merely for enjoyment or to grasp the overall theme or plot, but self-consciously in order to identify the crucial components of the message that the author provided the reader to build up his own sensations of space (Hall 1982, 2nd ed.: 94)

What is interesting from this excerpt is how through narrative the "author provided the reader to build up his own sensations of space." When we look again closely at Lin Daiyu's journey, we are taken with her through the expression of the different layering of spaces and the sensations of being in the space. The author describes: "Dai-yu got into her chair and was soon carried through the city walls. *Peeping* through the gauze panel which served as a window, she could *see* streets and buildings more rich and elegant and throngs of people more lively and numerous than *she had ever seen in her life before*" (Hawkes 1973: 87) (emphasis added). She gets into the sedan (the first layer), then through the city wall (the second layer), then she is behind a screen (the third layer). In this short description there are three actual layers, and another, her never seen-in-her-life seclusion. Lin Daiyu, a woman of the upper class, thereafter, will continue her womanhood in the inner chambers. The screen prevents her from external gazes, whilst she sees the outside world, as through a window that separates her from the "here" and over "there". She is in a privileged position. The mask that

negotiates the subject with that of the symbolic order is attenuated and described at the moment she peeps into the outside world. She interiorizes this experience of being both an object and a spectator. Let us continue with Lin Daiyu's journey into the Rong mansion.

While we read the excerpt below, refer to Zhou Juchang's sketch (fig.32) of the Rong mansion, as Daiyu goes from Grandma Jia's residence to Lady Xing's residence, and then to the main residence of the head of the household, Jia Zheng.

After her visit with Grandmother Jia, Lin Daiyu accompanies Lady Xing to her residence. In a carriage, they are driven out of the west gate, eastwards pass the main gate of the Rong mansion and into another gate with big black lacquered doors, through an inner gate.

> Holding Dai-yu by the hand, Aunt Xing led her into a courtyard in the middle of what she imagined must once have been part of the mansion's gardens. This impression was strengthened when they passed through a third gateway into the quarters occupied by her uncle and aunt; for here the smaller scale quiet elegance of the halls, galleries and loggias were quite unlike the heavy magnificence and imposing grandeur they had come from, and ornamental trees and artificial rock formations, all in exquisite taste, were to be seen on every hand.

Daiyu takes her leave, in order to go and pay her Uncle Zheng a visit, and Lady Xing accompanies her to the inner gate.

> Presently they re-entered the Rong mansion proper and Dai-yu got down from the carriage. There was a raised stone walk running all the way up the main gate, along which the old nurses now conducted her. Turning right, they led her down a roofed passage-way along the back of a south-facing hall, then through an inner gate into a large courtyard.
> The big building at the head of the courtyard was connected at each end to galleries running through the length of the side buildings by means of 'stag's head' roofing over the corners. The whole formed an architecture unit of greater sumptuousness and magnificence than anything Dai-yu had yet seen that day, from which she concluded that this must be the main inner hall of the whole mansion.

The spatial logic is clearly represented in the narrative description. It is precise enough for Zhou Juchang to interpret the text and draw up a plan. It was possible

because of the narrative strategies used in both literary and architectural media. These two media are intertextually connected. The three main elements as specified by de Certeau are there—direction, speed, and time—that distinguish a space from a place. But in our case, in Qing China, there was another element that made the distinction, which was the persona that architecture helped to construct. All of the buildings in the compound in the narrative description are signified by the association they have with a person, architecture assist in the subject positioning of the characters, and vice versa.

The Chuihua Gate: Marking Boundary

The *chuihua men* 垂花門 (ornamental gate) with its impressive wood work, painting and ornamentation, is considered to be a symbol or sign of the status of the *zhuren* 主人 (master of the house), stating a direct link between subject and object. Yet, I argue, it is the most important interface between the home and the outside world, although alternatively called *ermen* 二門 (second gate). Along the lines of Angela Zito's argument that in ritual manuals, points of transition through surfaces and boundaries functioned as sites of "centering" the self, so is the working of the *chuihua men*. That means on both metaphysical level and in practice, this architectural device contributed to self-formation in the eighteenth century. Another argument presented here is that the *chuihua men* is a new representation in architecture. As discussed earlier, the shift from the expression of the boundaries in plan to the vertical expression of the *chuihua men* promoted a new visual culture that emphasized this threshold as a main façade, expressing what was inside to the outside face. This revolutionary change collapsed the spaces that were experienced in plan to a focused site. This also provided an unprecedented opportunity for self expression and playfulness in the decoration and ornamentation of the gate. Found in no other buildings except that of domestic architecture, the *chuihua men* gave definition to the style in domestic architecture. The *chuihua men* was a privileged site of signification, and as a representation, it reflects the self, ritual, and status.

Typically, the *chuihua men* has two main sets of columns, one facing the second courtyard, the *waizhu* (exterior columns), and on the other side facing the third courtyard,

the *neizhu* 内柱 (inner columns). In the eleven grades of *doukou* (brackets), in the Qing *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* 工程做法則例 (Engineering Manual for the Board of Works) (1734), the *chuihuamen* belongs to the eighth and ninth grade, the same as the architecture of a *ting* 亭 (pavilion). There are no examples of the first three grades, the fourth is for tall buildings, fifth and sixth are for *da dian* 大殿 (large halls) and the seventh is for *xiao dian* 小殿 (small halls like the ones in the *siheyuan*). (Liu Xujie 1996: 206-228).

Figure 36 *Chuihua men*. Seen from the outer courtyard. [Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 103]

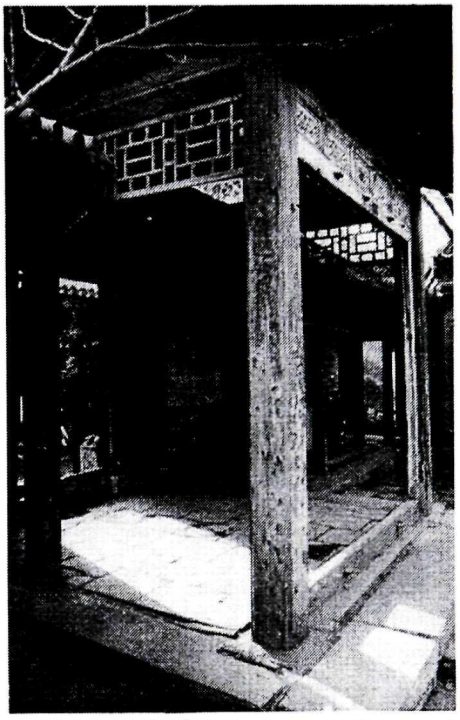
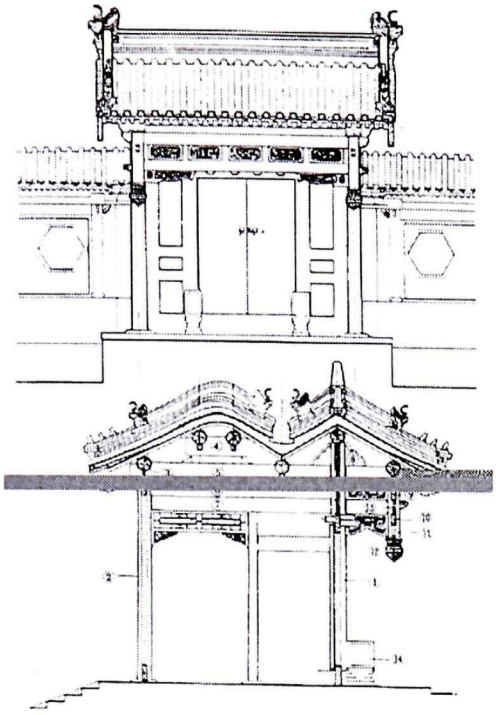
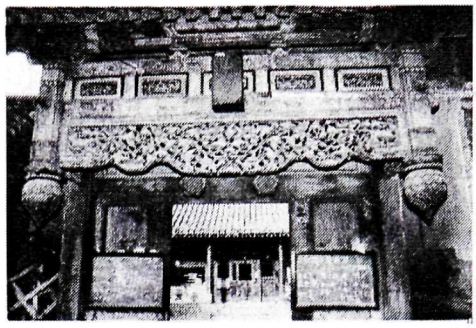


Figure 37 *Chuihua men*, seen from *nei* (inside) courtyard. [Lu & Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p. 103]





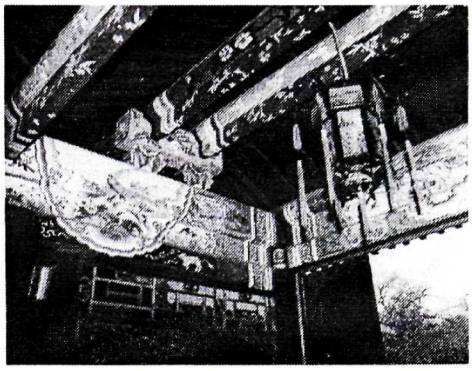


Figure 38 *Chuihua men*, front elevation (upper) & section (bottom). The left side of the section is the inner the courtyard. [Lu & Wang, *Beijing siheyuan*, p. 103]

Figure 39 *Chuihua men*, photographs of ornaments and ceiling details. [Lu & Wang, *Beijing siheyuan*, p. 104]

Guixiu and Her Inner Quarters

What follows is an analysis of the link between women and space, as it is related to the construction of the female gender and the *guixui* 閨秀 persona. The elite women were the idealization par excellence of the ritualized *jia*.

In Qing times, elite women had unique roles in the discourse of *bie* 別—separate spheres. The women's roles inside the house were to maintain the moral autonomy and authority on which men relied to succeed outside, constituting a "unitary order centered on the home and bounded by the outer reaches of the imperium" (Mann 1997: 15). As a wife, the woman would aid her husband to transcend worldly passions with her virtues. Susan Mann puts it like this:

> To men, they hold out the promise of an encounter with a divine woman, someone who will first inspire his passion but who will ultimately enable him to transcend worldly desire and passion. A passionate engagement with a woman was an ephemeral experience, not an all-consuming goal. Men poured their most powerful emotions into lifelong bonds with their mothers or into homosocial relationships with colleagues. Heterosexual passion was reserved for that rare and elusive encounter with the divine woman, someone who would "know the inner self" (*zhi ji*) or "know one's inner sounds (*zhi yin*) and, in the knowing, show a man how to transcend his worldly passions (Mann 1997: 15).

The allegoric feminine as the interiority of the masculine, is an image of a larger idealized sexual persona of women in the family, symbolizing the quintessential virtue and order in the self-fashioned elite-official household in the Qing. Women's conduct, in the eighteenth-century was a much-discussed topic, both the family and political orders were dependent on it. Susan Mann points out that the shift from women's culture in the seventeenth-century to the eighteenth-century was a move from the cult of *qing* to a familial moralism, promoted by the Manchu court. This does not mean that the massive changes in the economy that gave rise to urbanization, print culture and women writers, and the alterations of the social relation of the sexes in the late Ming (Ko 1997) were attenuated in the Qing; rather, the burgeoning urban culture continued after the Manchu conquest (Mann 1997). The obsession with gender escalated to new heights with the

state campaigns that promoted a return to Confucian family values that the Qing government and officials idealized. Therefore, women were the center of the Qing household, the epitome of an ideal ritualized *jia*. The elite woman as discursive object is pivotal to the understanding of women and space and the organization of the layout of the traditional elite house in the Qing times. The virtuous women were very much "public," in the sense that they had "public" personae in elite circles, extending the credentials of the *jia* in morality, virtues, and erudition, while dichotomously secluded from the "public" eye. The "carefully constructed self-presentation of elite women as *guixiu*--ladies in the inner apartments" in Qing discourse had a central place in official documents, writings by elite women and scholarly men (Mann 1997: 44). According to Susan Mann, the *guixiu* in Qing discourse, the descriptions of exemplary women and womanly conduct spread to the non-Han peoples as part of an acculturation campaign. She explains: "In other words, High Qing writers were inclined to judge the civilizing process in minority areas by the conduct of the women there" (Mann 1997: 44).

The *nei*, inner world of the family, the interiority of men, the inner quarters of the elite house, were modalities or different expressions on the same theme of literati domesticity: women and her quarters were a haven, the stable end of the thread of the ritualized *jia*, where men could find reclusion from the chaotic outer world.

In addition to the isolation of women to guard their chastity and purity, the segregation of men and women, the boundaries that were drawn between them were to maintain the order of things. Craig Clunas in *Superfluous Things* (a study of the discourse making on material culture in Ming China) puts it like this:

> Ming China was a society strictly segregated on gender lines, a segregation which extended even to close blood relations in the same family. Those whose dwellings were large enough to allow it divided them strictly into male part of the house (at the front) and female quarters, with very little crossing of the boundaries between except by the master of the house. This crossing of boundaries, potentially dangerous in its mingling of the male *yang* and the female *yin* principles, would most probably occur largely in the private quarters of the women, where sexual relations would be likely to take place (Clunas 1991: 54).

The anxiety of male/female separation in Ming and Qing periods resonate with the warnings in prescriptive texts of earlier dynasties. The *Li ji* and other Confucian classics establish codes of conduct for family life, and when it concerns the relations of the sexes, ritual and law deal with the establishment of boundaries and hierarchies (McMahon 1995: 34). "The most encompassing rule," Keith McMahon points out, "about boundaries between the sexes concerns the division between inner and outer precincts of the house."

> The crux of many Ming and Qing stories is precisely the boundary that is not well kept. Illicit relationships occur because women are accidentally or negligently allowed too much access or exposure, often through actual doorways, windows, and gaps in walls surrounding compounds. All boundaries can be reduced to the surface of the body itself, with its several "apertures," *qiao*, above and below. The rule for all such openings is that as long as they are properly contained, the family and the body will maintain a state of moral well-being. Good morality and good health are seen as parallel, since the prime causes of illness in traditional medical terms are excess invasions from without or discharges from within (McMahon 1995: 35-36).

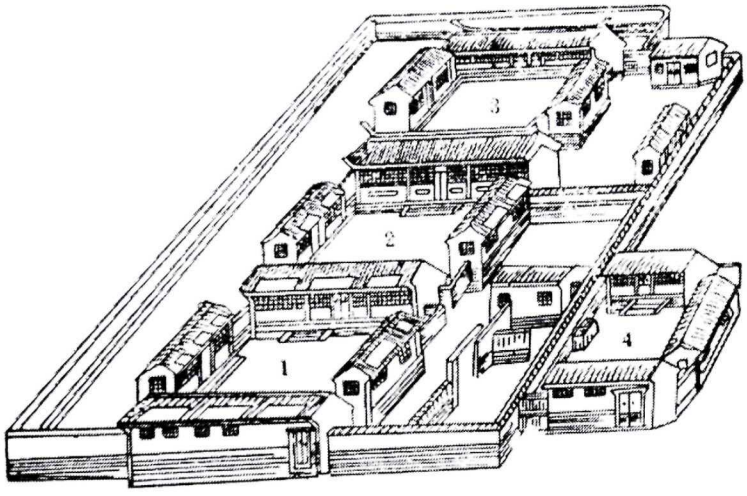


Figure 40 In the back of the compound, protected by gates and courtyards is the inner-quarters. [After Susan Mann, *Precious Records*, p. 50]

The *guige* 閨閣 (women's inner quarters) were the sphere of *guixiu* 閨秀 (cultivated ladies). Contemporary critics saw the women's inner quarters as a haven tucked away from the corrupted and dusty world (Mann 1997: 49). Located deep in the back of the house, behind walls, gates, and doors, the women's inner quarters were the

most guarded and segregated space in the house. In the inner quarters, cultivated ladies spent most of their lives. They were expected to be industrious with their weaving, which in the eighteenth century was considered to be noble women's work. Kept behind doors and gates, the elite women were kept chaste; it was the main focus of their grooming process (Mann 1997: 54). Their talents and erudition were something to boast about. The accomplished girls were symbolic capital in elite families, adding to the family scholarly credentials (Mann 1997: 35).

Space, Narrativity, and Criticism

The Separate Residence for the Visitation of the imperial concubine, Yuanchun, is described three times, sequentially in three separate sections in the *Honglou meng*. They are literally "double takes". The garden-residence is viewed from different angles, time, and authority, and is described in three different narrative techniques. Let us turn to the three scenes.

The first scene is about the design and construction of the new residence. The scene is described with efficiency and objectivity. Jia Rong and Jia Qiang from the Ning-guo mansion next door go over to Jia Lian at the Rong mansion to discuss the plans for the project.

> They have measured off an area just over a quarter of a mile square which takes in a part of our grounds, including the All-scents Garden, on the east side, and the north-west corner of your grounds on the west, to be turned into a separate Residence for the visitation. They've already commissioned someone to draw a plan, which should be ready tomorrow (Hawkes 1973: 315).

Jia Lian agrees with the plan for its economy and ease of construction, pointing out that it would be too difficult to build outside of the premises. Early next morning, Jia Lian, with the elders, servants, clients of the family and few friends, go over to the Ning-guo mansion next door to survey the site and also to survey the Rong mansion. The scene continues with technical aspects of the construction, how an alley-way is to be incorporated into the new residence. The building materials, and existing garden structures are surveyed and considerations

for new ones to be built. The description continues on to describe digging of ponds and raising of hills.

The second scene describes Jia Zhen's visit of the finished project in the company of literary scholars and Baoyu. Going around the premise, Baoyu is asked to name the different parts of the garden and structures.

Leaving the place of many fragrances behind them, they had not advanced much further when they could see ahead of them a building of great magnificence which Jia Zheng at once identified as the main reception hall of the Residence.

> Roof above roof soared,
> Eye up-compelling,
> Of richly-wrought chambers
> And high winding galleries.
> Green rafts of dark pine
> Brushed the eaves' edges.
> Milky magnolias
> Bordered the buildings.
> Gold-glinting cat-faces,
> Rainbow-hued serpents' snouts
> Peered out or snarled down
> From cornice and finial.

'It is rather a showy building,' said Jia Zheng. But the literary gentlemen reassured him: 'Although Her Grace is a person of simple and abstemious tastes, the exalted position she now occupies makes it only right and proper that there should be a certain amount of pomp in her reception. This building is in no way excessive.' (Hawkes 1973: 342).

The third scene is the arrival of the imperial concubine, Yuanchun. On the Festival of Lanterns, the imperial concubine, Yuanchun, with the emperor's permission for a family visitation, paid a visit to her childhood home, the Rong mansion. After an elaborate description of the spectacle of the procession with the accompanying ceremony and rituals, the palanquin arrives at the front gate. Cao Xueqin continues to describe what Yuanchun saw as she moves into the mansion:

> The courtyard she now stepped out into was brilliant with colored lanterns of silk gauze cunningly fashioned in all sorts of curious and beautiful shapes and patterns. An illuminated sign hung over the entrance of the principal building:

FILLED WITH FAVOURS BATHED IN BLESSING

> Yuan-chun passed beneath it into the room that had been prepared for her, then, having 'changed her clothes', came out and stepped back into the palanquin, which was now borne into the garden.
>
> Her first impression was a confused one of curling drifts of incense smoke and gleaming colours. There were lanterns everywhere, and soft strains of music. She seemed to be entering a little world wholly dedicated to the pursuit of ease and luxury and delight. Looking at it from the depths of her palanquin she shook her head a little sadly and sighed: 'Oh dear, this is all so extravagant!' (Hawkes 1973: 356-7)

She steps out of the palanquin on to a barge, carrying her across an expanse of clear water, and she sees the spectacular view that is like "fairyland of jeweled delights". The barge is drawn alongside the bank, where she gets on the palanquin again. She is brought to another part of the garden where the main hall of audience is located.

There are several things happening here with the juxtapositioning of the three scenes, the "double takes." Let us discuss them in turn.

The first representation is the persona and the space it inhabits in the narrative space. The space seems to be signified by the presence of the body, a subject within its spatial context. The space of the residence and garden is represented through the eyes of the characters at different times in the construction process to the final presentation of the architecture. The subject's gaze signifies the architecture. Subjectivity has a central role of giving architecture significance. The relation between persona and architecture is clear in these literary double takes. The "change of clothes" attests to the significance placed on the exterior skin from the clothes, to the screen, to the walls of the structures that contain the body. Every time a boundary has been crossed, a real change occurs to the subject, where she is redefined and re-presented. After having changed her clothes, she is led into the Rong mansion. She changes her clothes again, to enter the depths of the inner quarters. The body crosses gates, streams, in and out of palanquins, in and out of clothes. Each boundary she crosses, her persona changes. Therefore Baoyu, the hero of the story, is an exception. He defies gender separations, the real from the unreal, and any

boundaries that might confine him. Baoyu's persona does not respect the boundaries that link body and space. He has a privileged gaze.

The first scene is described with efficiency and can be identified as methodical. The items are listed; an inventory of the existing site conditions is made. The description is close to what we may call 'real' site conditions. In this scene there are no elements of space and ritual. The point of view is not perspectival either. It seems to be a bird's eye view of the new residence, looking at it from a distance.

The second scene is different. We see the same as what the imperial concubine sees, but without the ritual elements. Unlike the distanced view of the first scene, the subject is experiencing the space. Jia Zheng's and the scholars' body are within the narrative space. But compared to Yuanchun, the boundaries are neither emphasized, nor fetishized. So there is a degradation of degrees of intimacy that the subject has with the narrative space.

The second narrative device is the use of different modalities of the narrative form, using language as description, as critique, and as experiential or phenomenological. Arguably the first scene is objective. Jia Zheng's comment about the "showiness" of the hall is a critique. For Yuanchun, the narrative causality transports her to another space of other worldliness. But it is not seamless. A critique escapes from her: "Oh dear, this is all so extravagant!"

From both of these two narrative techniques, we find a process of subject positionality through narrativity and space.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the relationship of the members in an elite Qing family, and the ways in which they were represented in the different components of the house. The use of the concept "ritualized *jia*" replaces well the general term family, for it includes the various points that form the discourse on family in the Qing. Ritualized *jia* is a valuable analytic tool for looking at the different components of the house, while maintaining the ritual, social, cultural, and gender significations that regulated the Qing family. Architecture had a crucial role in subject positioning, where different members had their appropriate place within the house, and architecture further reinforced this connection. The Qing personae were social and cultural constructions. Therefore the representations articulate a level of self-reflexiveness that discloses the intentions in practice, as reflected in the images desired by the author. We have seen how architecture and the tactics in Qing spatial practice influenced literature. It would be interesting to pose the question the other way around, a question I have not considered here. Did the representations of architecture in literature actually influence the practice of architecture in eighteenth-century China?

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Recent trends in the art-historical practice of architectural history emphasize approach over methodology, a way of working that is politically committed and the questions are theoretically framed, rather than working with a hypothesis. Yet, in the process of writing this thesis, I have discovered that a study of pre- and early-modern architecture in China must start with an understanding of the canons and the methodology formulated by the Chinese architectural historians of the early-twentieth century. The significant texts and buildings and the way they were employed in the writing of history are indispensable prerequisites. Another important inclusion in the study of architecture is archaeology. The majority of the discoveries of early architecture were from the impressive quantity of archaeological digs in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The traditional disciplinary divide between art history and archaeology is tenuous.

The study of Chinese architecture is unlike that of Western architecture, building type can not be used as an analytic tool. This was what I have discovered in this thesis. I began this thesis research with an interest in domestic architecture; I was soon convinced that it was necessary to include in the study the community of buildings, such as temples, palaces, and tombs. We have seen that the discourse on the ranking of the houses and the status of the people expressed in the different building components had a correlation that was systemic and epistemic. Because of this common language, the different contemporaneous buildings shared a unity that formed the everyday life in eighteenth-century China. In other words, in the Qing, the interconnectedness of the architecture and the discursive practices that surrounded it served as a form of knowledge. The omnipotence of the Qing emperor was situated right in the center of the Qing architectural order. I have shown how all buildings within Beijing were signified by this relationship.

I argue that domestic architecture began to gain its autonomy partly because of a prohibition made on the use of the *gong*-plan in buildings outside of the court. The significance of this rupture in the history of architecture should be further researched, to fully understand the systemic and epistemic changes in domestic culture and architecture. I suggest that the shift brought about a new interest in the articulation of the ornamental gate in domestic architecture. Needless to say, the growth in the domestic arts and crafts also had much to do with the fascination with architectural decoration.

The Qing discourse of elite women was implicitly linked to the growth of domestic culture in the eighteenth century. We have noted that gender is constructed, primarily by the dominant ideology, representing contemporary desires and norms. Domestic culture within the historical context of the Qing was part of cultural production. Yet, by focusing on the practice in the production of space and the different strategies, it is possible to locate subjectivities. That is why narratives found in fiction are important representations for the reading of subjectivities. The main goal of studying subjectivities is arguably to reclaim human agency in the production of space. There is another interesting aspect to the analysis of narratives and their relation to architecture that is performance. The *Honglou meng* stories discussed above inform us about the subtleties in spatial practice, which we might not have gotten from other media of representation. As well, we have considered how architecture was a medium in manipulating and forming a Qing visual culture.

Much of the literature that has been written on eighteenth-century architecture in China continues the argument that the Qing marks the end of a long impressive building tradition; it is a waning period in architectural history. We have seen that the eighteenth century architectural history is the building practice of the Qing people. From the analysis of the architectural features of the Qing hall, we have isolated several of the details that are particularly Qing.

Identity through Architecture

The argument proposed is that eighteenth-century architecture was very much linked to identity and persona. The link between identity and space was more complex than architecture as an embodiment, or the materialization of identity. What I have argued was that the Qing architectural discourse was an episteme, a form of knowledge that was irreducible and autonomous, but could be subject to manipulation. The discursiveness of the Qing architectural discourse existed in intertextuality with other forms of representations and discourses. I have analyzed some of these discourses that concern the Qing everyday. As I have demonstrated, the Qing architectural discourse was not only implicitly linked with the historical formation of the self in the eighteenth century, it was also the homogeneous horizon that served as the everyday, that gave wholeness to the disparate discourses that were part of the episteme of Qing domestic culture. The different discourses that I have pointed out are dichotomies, but they do not necessarily have to be so. The most important point to note is that the different discourses on elite women, housing, etc. were related to space, and thus concern structures. Boundaries, screens, the real and the unreal, are elements that signify space and delineate structures. Subjectivity is the redemptive power that serves well to write against the plethora of historicist material on early-modern architecture in China. In short, architectural discourse can only be understood as a form of knowledge that obtains its discursiveness only within the context of other discourses, and within time and space.

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