

**The *Jing* of Line-Method:
A Perspective Garden in the Garden of Round Brightness**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the history of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden (Xiyang lou) located within the Chinese imperial Garden of Round Brightness (Yuanming yuan) of the Qing dynasty. As a “Western-like” garden designed and co-built by the European Jesuits in China, the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was unique in garden history. It provides a significant and unique case study of the cultural encounter between Chinese and European civilizations in the eighteenth century. The research reported in this thesis focuses on the communication between the visions of the Chinese emperor and the Western Jesuits during the construction of this European garden. The research demonstrates how Jesuit metaphysics fused with Chinese cosmology through the creation of the multiple *jing*, the bright views of the garden scenes, using the technique of the “line-method,” which embodied the Chinese transformation of Western linear perspective. This research differs from the usual approach in history and cross-cultural studies that treats buildings and gardens as secondary objects re-presenting a priori or a posteriori ideas. It goes directly to the material context to analyze how the creation of a garden framed the minds of individuals who came from different cultures and religions. Such a “materialist” approach not only acts as a reflection of the Western metaphysical approach, but also attempts to initiate a new interpretative perspective that is closer to the poetic essence of the Chinese culture. As the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden demonstrates, there does exist a way by which cultural and religious conflicts are dissolved into the “round brightness” of cultural fusion, which in turn makes cultural differences shine.

RESUMÉ

La présente thèse examine l'histoire de l'Edifice occidental du jardin à étages multiples (Xiyang lou) situé au sein du Jardin impérial chinois de Yuanming Yuan (l'Illumination Ronde/ Parfaite) de la dynastie Qing. En tant que genre occidental, le jardin à étages multiples, conçu et bâti en collaboration avec les jésuites européens de Chine, était unique dans l'histoire des jardins. Il constitue un cas signifiant pour une étude approfondie de la rencontre culturelle entre les civilisations chinoise et européenne au dix-huitième siècle. Cette recherche se concentre sur l'échange de vision qui eut lieu entre l'empereur de Chine et les jésuites occidentaux durant la construction de ce jardin européen. Elle a l'intention de démontrer comment les concepts métaphysiques jésuitiques se sont amalgamés à la cosmologie chinoise à travers la création de *jings* multiples, vues illuminées des scènes du jardin, en utilisant la technique de la "méthode de lignes", qui est la transformation chinoise de la perspective linéaire de l'Ouest. Différemment de l'approche usuelle des études historiques et inter-culturelles qui traitent les bâtiments et les jardins comme objets secondaires représentant des idées a-priori ou a-posteriori, cette thèse va directement au contexte matériel, pour analyser comment la création d'un jardin a structuré l'esprit d'individus provenant de cultures et religions différentes. Une telle approche "matérialiste", non seulement agit comme une réflexion sur l'approche métaphysique occidentale, mais elle tente aussi à initier une perspective nouvelle d'interprétation, qui est plus proche de l'essence poétique de la culture chinoise. Comme le démontre l'Edifice occidental du jardins à étages multiples, il y a bien un moyen où les conflits culturels et religieux sont dissouds dans l'Illumination Parfaite de la fusion culturelle, qui à son tour fait briller les différences culturelles.

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During my doctoral study, I did research as a Fellow of Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC. With this fellowship, I formulated the complete structure of the dissertation, which was published as an article: “The *jing* of a perspective garden,” *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22.4 (Oct-Dec 2002). My sincere thanks go to the director, Professor Michel Conan, whose discussions and comments on my writings greatly helped me establish the connection between European baroque gardens and eighteenth-century Chinese imperial gardens with the Jesuit perspective as a medium. At Dumbarton Oaks, I

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During my research, the following libraries provided important sources: the libraries of McGill University, the library of Canadian Centre for Architecture, the garden collections of Dumbarton Oaks, the U.S. Library of Congress, the library of Georgetown University, the Chinese painting collection of Freer Gallery, the University of Florida libraries, Beijing Guojia Tushuguan 北京国家图书馆 (National Library of Beijing), and Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan 中国第一历史档案馆 (The First Historical Archives of China).

I would like to thank my entire family for their help and understanding throughout my doctoral studies.

INTRODUCTION

In modern-day China, when people hear the term *yuanming* 圆明 (literally “round brightness”), they would probably think of two wonders: one is the bright full moon appearing at the middle of each month; another is the Garden of Round Brightness (Yuanming yuan 圆明园), which only exists in their minds. On the night of the eighth full moon, the moonlight is the brightest of the year, which is the traditional Mid-Autumn Festival. This festival is celebrated by each family remembering its family members who live a great distance away. The memory of the dearest under the “round brightness” somehow echoes the nostalgia for the lost Garden of Round Brightness.

The Garden of Round Brightness was an imperial garden during the Qing dynasty. This garden is unique in the history of Chinese imperial gardens because of its grandness as well as an enclosed small European garden. For most Chinese during the 1980s, including myself as an architectural student, the memory of this lost garden was typically composed of two pictures: the first was of the huge fire burning down the garden; the second was of those white marble stones of the Western buildings scattering among the grass. Regarding the name of the garden, Round Brightness, there is not a clear and unified understanding in both the public and scholarship. What causes confusion is the question of how a poetical Chinese name, which recalled the full moon, could be connected with the exotic images of Western buildings.

The Garden of Round Brightness was built by Emperor Yongzheng, the third emperor of the Qing dynasty.¹ In a record for the garden, he attempted to interpret the meaning of Round Brightness, which was named by his father Emperor Kangxi in 1709:

I have tried to research ancient books for the moral meaning of Round Brightness... I do not seek leisure for myself but rather long for happiness

¹ Refer to a brief chronology of Chinese dynasties in appendix 3.

for all the people, so that generation after generation can step on the spring terrace and wander in the happy kingdom.²

After “research[ing] ancient books,” Yongzheng expressed what he found with two historical allusions. The first was the “spring terrace,” which, indicating a beautiful touring place, was quoted from the Daoist sage Laozi;³ the second was the “happy kingdom,” which, indicating a fish pool, was quoted from another Daoist sage Zhunagzi.⁴ Both sages lived during the Warring States period, some two thousand years before Yongzheng’s time. He utilized these two historical allusions to express his ideal of a model nation and identified it with his Garden of Round Brightness.

In another record of the same garden, Emperor Qianlong, Yongzheng’s fourth son, reiterated the same historical allusions and went on to say: “During leisure hours between court audiences, an emperor must have his own place for roaming around and appreciating expansive landscapes.”⁵ The term “an emperor” here indicated not only Qianlong himself but also all the previous emperors in Chinese history. When he gave this statement, he was putting all the imperial gardens throughout history in his mind. Such a diachronically comparative perspective was further demonstrated when he stated that the Garden of Round Brightness accumulated “the blessings of the land and heaven [which] offers a touring place that nothing can surpass.”⁶

These two records of the Garden of Round Brightness demonstrate a strong historical dimension in interpreting the meanings of this garden. By referring to how other emperors functioned in their gardens throughout history, the Qing emperors tried to build up their own meaningful existence in the garden. The historical

² Yongzheng (Qing emperor), “Shizong xianhuangdi yuzhi Yuanmingyuan ji 世宗宪皇帝御制圆明园记” (1725), in *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tushi* (Tianjing: Shiyin shuwu, 1887). See my annotated full translation of this record in section 1.1. Following the Chinese scholarly tradition, for a historical author in Chinese history, the dynasty in which he lived is marked within the parentheses after his name.

³ See Laozi (Warring States), chapter 20, *Laozi*, in *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, anno. Fu Yunlong & Lu Qin (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2000), 27.

⁴ See Zhuangzi (Warring States), chapter “Qiu shui,” *Zhuangzi*, in Wang Fuzhi (Qing dyn.) anno., *Zhuangzi jie* (Xianggang: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 148.

⁵ Qianlong (Qing emperor), “Yuanmingyuan hou ji 圆明园后记,” in *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tushi*. See my annotated full translation of this record in section 1.1.

⁶ Ibid.

dimension in their interpretations helped them define the historical horizon, the historicity, for their “roaming around” in the garden. The historical allusions in their records imply the importance of the historical dimension in an interpretation of the Garden of Round Brightness. The historical dimension can be first drawn through diachronic comparison where this garden is observed within the historical context of Chinese imperial gardens. The diachronic comparison as part of this introduction is not a simple listing of what happened in the past along the chronological time-line; rather, it attempts to pinpoint some key aspects of imperial gardens which helped define the historicity of this specific Qing imperial garden.

The “terrace” (*tai* 台), e.g. the above mentioned Laozi’s “spring terrace,” as a type of garden building, can be traced back to the earliest imperial gardens in the Western Zhou dynasty where a square terrace was used for looking into the distance and observing the sky and celestial divinities. A famous example is King Wen’s (周) 文王 “sacred terrace,” which was recorded in the *Shijing* (late Warring States period):

King Wen began to build the “sacred terrace” [*lingtai* 灵台], plan it and construct it... He was in the “sacred enclosure” [*lingyou* 灵囿] where female deer were resting. The colored skins of the female deer were bright, and the feathers of birds were pure white. He closed by the “sacred pool” [*lingzhao* 灵沼] where water was full and fish were jumping.⁷

Citing the same story, the Confucian saint Mengzi (3rd cen. BC) emphasized the ethical importance of King Wen and his people working together to build the sacred

⁷ Section “Ling tai,” in chapter “Da ya,” *Shijing*, in Nie Shiqiao ed., *Shijing xing zhu* (Ji’nan: Qilu shushe, 2000), 503. A published translation of this part is as follows:

When he built the Magic Tower,
When he planned it and founded it.

.
The king was in the Magic Park,
Where doe and stag lay hid.
Doe and stag at his coming leapt and bounded;
The white herons gleamed so sleek.
The king was by the Magic Pool,
Where the fish sprang so lithe.

(See Poem 242 “The Magic Tower,” chapter “The Major Odes,” in *The Books of Song*, trans. Arthur Waley [New York: Grove Press, 1996], 239-240).

garden that they ultimately enjoyed together.⁸ Yongzheng's allusions to the "spring terrace" and "happy kingdom" certainly hinted at the ethical importance of King Wen's "terrace," that was, his own living in the Garden of Round Brightness was to "long for the happiness of all the people."⁹ He identified his living in the garden with his moral administration of the nation.

Embodying the belief of a "happy kingdom," the Garden of Round Brightness needed to be large enough for the emperor to "roam around and appreciate expansive landscapes." It is the size of the imperial garden that is of importance in this sense as it was traditional and characteristic for the imperial garden to be very large. During the Spring and Autumn period, the imperial garden Zhanghua Terrace (c. 535 BC) of the Chu Kingdom made use of the natural lakes, called Water of Cloudy Dream (Yunmeng ze 云梦泽), to procure an expansive view. As recorded by the Han scholar Sima Xiangru 司马相如 in his rhapsody, "the Cloudy Dream has nine hundred *li* on each side. There are mountains in it."¹⁰ Such an expansive view was characteristic in imperial gardens but impossible in small literati gardens.

To understand the difference between the expansive view in an imperial garden and the close view in a literati garden during the Chu Kingdom, we can refer to the romantic poem, "Goddess of the Xiang River," by the great poet Qu Yuan 屈原:

Build a house in the middle of water, 筑室兮水中,

Lay lotus leaves on the roof. 葺之兮荷盖。

Purple shells are paved in the court, 荪壁兮紫坛,

Aromatic grasses are woven into the wall.¹¹ 播芳椒兮盈堂。

⁸ Mengzi (Warring States), *Mengzi*, in *Lunyu, Mengzi*, anno. Liu Hongzhang & Qiao Qingju (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2002), 158.

⁹ Yongzheng's "Record of the Garden of Round Brightness" was included in the Qing-court print, *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tuiyong* (1887). In the postscript of this book, the editors and annotators, who were court officials, specifically mentioned King Wen's "terrace" and "pool" as well as his "happiness" (*le* 乐) and "brightness" (*guangming* 光明) in the garden (See the postscript, in Qianlong, *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tuiyong*, anno. E Er'tai et al [Tianjing: Shiyin shuwu, 1887]).

¹⁰ Sima Xiangru (Han dyn.), "Zixu fu," in Xiao Tong (Southern Dynasties), *Wenxuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 49-50.

¹¹ Qu Yuan (Warring States), "Xiang furen," in *Chuci*, anno. Wu Guangping (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2001), 62. No published translation of this part is available yet.

Qu Yuan tragically died as a political martyr. His student Song Yu 宋玉 wrote in the poem "Summoning the Soul:"

Sit in the hall and lean on the balustrade, 坐堂伏栏,

Look down on the winding pool. 临曲池些。

Lotus flowers begin to bloom, 芙蓉始发,

They decorate lotus leaves.¹² 杂芰荷些。

Both poems told of the building of a beautiful place in the water for the arrival of an immortal being.¹³ The "winding pool" in a literati garden was certainly different from the lake that contained mountains in an imperial garden.

Continuing the tradition of "massiveness" of imperial gardens, the "expansive landscapes" in the Garden of Round Brightness showed their uniqueness in the fact that they were completely artificially made, which differed from other imperial gardens where the landscapes were primarily natural. The huge scale of such an artificially-made imperial garden was unprecedented. The Shanglin Park (3rd cen. BC) of the first Chinese emperor Shi Huangdi of Qin 秦始皇帝 was located between the Wei River and the Zhongnan Mountain. The garden was expansive but its largest part was, in fact, natural landscapes. He depended upon the double-floor passageways to pass through the wilderness and move from one palace to another. The covered passageways, according to the history book *Shiji* (Western Han dynasty), were intended to hide the emperor's movement from the public so that he could "act mysteriously to avoid devils and meanwhile embrace virtuous individuals" and his spirit would "remain a secret, and panacea will be obtained."¹⁴

¹² Song Yu (Warring States), "Zhao hun," in *ibid.*, 282. A published translation is as follows:

Seated in the hall, leaning on its balustrade,
You look down on a winding pool.
Its lotuses have just opened;
Among them grow water-chestnuts.

(See David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* [England: Penguin Books, 1985], 227).

¹³ For an analysis of the building and landscape descriptions in both poems, refer to Feng Jizhong, "Qu Yuan, chuci, ziran," *Shidai jianzhu* 2 (1997): 11.

¹⁴ Sima Qian (Western Han), *Shiji* (Beijing: Jinghua chubanshe, 2002), juan 6: 38.

As stated in the emperors' records, the Garden of Round Brightness symbolized the "happy kingdom" of the whole nation. Such a symbolic relationship between a garden and the macro world can be traced back to the pattern—"one pool, three [island] hills" (*yichi sanshan* 一池三山) in imperial gardens which first appeared in the Orchid Pool, east of Shi Huangdi's Xianyang Palace. The pattern symbolized the legendary three islands in the East Sea to which he repeatedly sent Daoists for panaceas. The *Shiji* records:

Each previous king was unwilling to give up the fantasy. When Shi Huangdi of Qin united China, he journeyed to the sea and heard the legend from many Daoists who were talking about the divine [island] hills... He sent an official with [three thousand] boys and girls to seek these island hills. When their ships were out to sea, all were returned by wind.¹⁵

The symbolic relationship between the huge water body in a garden and the sea was further developed in the imperial Shanglin Park of the West Han dynasty where the huge lake, Kunming, was symbolically taken as a sea for exercising the emperor Wudi of Han's 汉武帝 naval fleet. The symbolic relationship between the garden water and the sea continued into the Qing imperial gardens where an expansive lake was typically called a "sea."

Although the lake symbolized the sea, for the most part, Shanglin Park remained in wilderness without symbolization. Sima Xiangru's 司马相如 rhapsody "Shanglin fu" says:

Gaze around and look about, 周览泛观,
[The scenes are] so plentiful and miscellaneous, 缤纷轧芴,
[You feel] dizzy and dazed [when viewing them]. 芒芒恍忽。
Look at it [Shanglin Park] and it has no beginning, 视之无端,
Examine it and it has no end. 察之无涯;
The sun rises from its eastern pond, 日出东沼,

¹⁵ Ibid., juan 28: 130. Refer to a published translation of this record in Burton Watson, "The Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices," *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shi chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2: 26.

Sets at its western pool. 入乎西陂。

.....

Retreat palaces and remote lodges, 离宫别馆,

Scattered among the mountains and straddle the valleys. 弥山跨谷。

Tall covered-passageways pour out in four directions, 高廊四注,

Double decks with angled multistoried-pavilions.¹⁶ 重坐曲阁。

The excerpts here tell us of the enormity of the Shanglin Park. Sima's descriptions of landscapes were in awe of mystical nature. Buildings in the park were diminished by the grandness of the landscapes and appeared dwarfed by their surroundings.

Besides the expansive Shanglin Park, Wudi had smaller gardens at his palaces near the capital Chang'an. In the northwestern corner of the Jianzhang Palace (104 BC) was the Lake of Primary Liquid where three islands were set up to symbolize the three fairylands: Penglai, Fangzhang and Yinzhou. According to the *Shiji*, the same names of these three fairylands were given to the three hills in the garden.¹⁷ By giving the same names, the emperor reinforced the symbolic relationship between his garden and the fairylands. Wudi even built watchtowers (*guan* 观) on the shore of the East Sea to wait for the arrival of immortal beings, because "immortal beings always prefer a multistoried residence."¹⁸

¹⁶ See Sima Xiangru, "Shanglin fu," in Xiao Tong, 52-53. A published translation of this part is as follows:

Gazing round, broadly viewing,
One sees such plentiful profusion, such a vast vista,
He becomes dizzy and dazed, confounded and confused.
Look at it and it has no beginning;
Examine it and it has no end.
The sun rises from its eastern pond,
Sets at its western dike.

.....

Detached palaces, separate lodges,
Stretch over the mountain, straddle the valleys;
Tall corridors pour out in four directions,
With double decks and twisting passageways.

(See Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, trans. and anno. David Knechtges, 2 vols. [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987], 1: 87, 89).

¹⁷ Sima Qian, *juan* 12: 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

An expansive lake began to be formally called a “sea” (*hai* 海) in the imperial gardens during the Southern and Northern Dynasties period. There was a sea, named Pool of Heavenly Deep-Water, in the imperial Hualin Garden in the capital Luoyang of the Northern Wei. According to the *Luoyang qielan ji* (Northern Wei), in the pool there was an island named Penglai on which there was the Celestial Lodge and the Fishing Terrace, both of which were connected by a rainbow sky-walk, where walking was like flying to and fro.¹⁹ The *Shuijing zhu* (Northern Dynasties) recorded that visitors moved about in this garden like celestial birds, up and down in “a divine residence.”²⁰ Both records left us with an impression that the imperial Hualin Garden was intentionally designed to imitate a fairyland.

The capital of the Southern Dynasties was Jiankang, where there was another imperial Hualin Garden (the same name as that of the Northern Wei). When Emperor Jianwen 简文帝 of Eastern Jin entered this garden, he announced: “To meet my heart, [I] do not need to go far. The shady woods and cool water have made me feel like being between the Hao and Pu Rivers; birds, beasts, poultry and fish all come to be intimate with me.”²¹ The “Hao and Pu Rivers” allude to the story that the Daoist sage Zhuangzi fished by the Pu River and roamed around on a bridge of the Hao River. This classic historical tale signified delight in nature.²² Jianwen’s expression was significant, as it demonstrated his longing for remoteness in the garden which was typical in literati gardens but rare in previous imperial gardens. It shows that imperial gardens in the Southern Dynasties had been influenced by private gardens.

In later dynasties, such as the Sui and Tang dynasties, the original capital, Chang’an, was located southeast of the Chang’an of the Han dynasty. Between the Wei River and the capital was the expansive area known as the Forbidden Park. In addition to

¹⁹ Yang Xuanzhi (Northern Wei), *Luoyang qielan ji*, anno. Han Jiegen (Ji’nan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2001), 57.

²⁰ Li Daoyuan (Northern Dynasties), *Shuijing zhu*, anno. Tan Shuchun et al (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995), 246.

²¹ See Liu Yiqing (Southern Dynasties), *Shishuo xinyu*, quoted in Zhou Weiquan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* (Beijing: Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999), 97.

²² See chapter “Qiu shui,” *Zhuangzi*, in *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, 272-273.

providing entertainment and hunting for the emperor, the park acted as a buffer zone between the Wei River to the north and the capital to the south. Strategically important for the defense of the capital, the park was also the place where the imperial troops were based. In consideration of provisions, the Sui and Tang dynasties adopted a two-capital system, with the western capital Chang'an and the eastern capital Luoyang. West of Luoyang was another Forbidden Park, which was planned around an artificial lake called Northern Sea in which the three sacred hills named Penglai, Fangzhang, and Yinzhou were built. In addition, five lakes were created to symbolize, for the first time in history, the geographical feature of China—"five lakes and four seas [huwu sihai 五湖四海]." Sixteen groups of buildings were scattered about on the northern side of the Northern Sea. These building groups were in fact gardens within a garden. The strategic importance for defense and the pattern of "gardens within a garden" had significant influences upon later imperial gardens.

The influence of *fengshui*, the ancient environmental philosophy that was connected with cosmology, was clearly manifested by the imperial garden Genyue (1122) of the Northern Song dynasty. The name Genyue literally means "Gen hill." A Daoist *fengshui* master told the emperor Huizong (Zhao Ji) 徽宗 (赵佶) that the northeastern corner of the inner city of the capital was too low and needed to be raised for the prosperity of the royal family. Huizong was convinced and decided to build a hilly garden in that part of the city and personally took part in the design of the garden. Due to the Daoist cosmological diagram of *bagua* (Fig. 50), the northeast was called *gen* 艮; therefore the garden was named "Gen hill." The whole garden was composed of artificial landscapes that included three main hills, three lakes, and some gorges connecting the lakes. No previous imperial gardens throughout history had been constructed with artificial landscapes on such a huge scale. There were over one hundred recorded "spot scenes" (*jing* 景), most of which were named in two or three Chinese characters in accordance with the views of the scenes. Huizong's "Record of the Genyue" states: "The [beautiful landscapes] in this country are distant and different to each other; each of them only owns one side of the

beauty. Unlike them, the [Gen] Yue contains all of their beauties.”²³ The idea that the emperor’s garden should be an epitome of the beauties of all other gardens in the country was strongly expressed. This idea was continued into the Garden of Round Brightness.

Following the Song dynasty, the Yuan and Ming imperial gardens continued the pattern of “one pool, three [island] hills.” It was during the Yuan dynasty that the capital of China moved to Beijing, where it continued to be located. Both the Yuan and Ming imperial gardens were located within the city. The gardens were arranged around the Lake of Primary Liquid where water originated from a spring on the Jade-Spring Hill, which was located in the northwestern suburb that was outside of the city. A parallel water source in the same suburb, Lake of Urn-Hill, led into the Lake of Collected Water within the city, just north of the imperial gardens. During the Yuan dynasty, these two watercourses paralleled each other from the northwestern suburb to the west of the Inner City, yet they were strictly separated. The water from the Jade-Spring Hill was used to provide irrigation for the imperial gardens, while the water from the Lake of Urn-Hill was used as a method for food transportation. The separation of watercourses showed the importance of water quality in the imperial gardens. It was during the Ming dynasty that these two watercourses merged. The Lake of Collected Water, initially used for food transportation, was now connected to the Northern Sea (part of previous Lake of Primary Liquid) for the purpose of irrigation of the imperial gardens. Thus, the water of the imperial gardens now came from both the Jade-Spring Hill and the West Lake (previous Lake of Urn-Hill). The imperial gardens in both Yuan and Ming dynasties showed the importance of the water sources in the northwestern suburb.

Later, during the Qing dynasty, an emperor began to perform administrative duties in his garden. Due to the serene environment of the Southern Sea (which was part of the Ming imperial gardens within the city), Emperor Kangxi engaged in numerous activities within this portion of the garden, including processing national affairs,

²³ See Zhao Ji (Song emperor), “Genyue ji,” in Sun Xiaoli ed., *Zhichi shanlin* (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1999), 65.

receiving officials and performing agricultural activities on an “imperial plot.” At the midpoint of his reign, following the suppression of the internal riots and stabilization of the whole country, Kangxi began to shift his attention to the northwestern suburb to make new gardens. The site was selected for a myriad of reasons, including weather conditions, its being close to the beautiful landscape of West Mountain as well as the wilderness. The Qing emperors’ ancestors, the Manchu people, originated from northeast China and were not accustomed to the hot summers in Beijing and sought places that provided coolness. The first Qing emperor Shunzhi 顺治 once commented: “Because Beijing has been the national capital for a long time, its environment is not clean and its water is salty; although it is acceptable to live here in spring, autumn and winter, its summer heat is unbearable.”²⁴

The dominant landscape in the northwestern suburb of Beijing is the West Mountain (Fig. 46), which is described as the “right arm of the divine capital.” The mountain range moved from the south to the north and one of its branches turned east at the Fragrant Hill and surrounded a plain to the south and east where most of Qing imperial gardens were located. Traditionally, the capital of China was located in the north to “look upon” the land towards the south; therefore the imperial throne always faced to the south. Since West Mountain was west of the capital, it looked like the “right arm” of the imperial throne. West Mountain served as a buffer zone between the capital and the northern frontier; therefore the northwestern suburb held a strategic importance.

The first imperial garden of the northwestern suburb, known as the Garden of Uninhibited Spring (Changchun yuan 畅春园), was built by Kangxi in 1687 during the Qing dynasty.²⁵ In 1684, he visited the Jiangnan region for the first time and was extremely impressed by its beautiful landscapes and private gardens. Upon his return to Beijing, he immediately built the Garden of Uninhibited Spring on the ruined

²⁴ The Chinese text is in *Dong hua lu*, cited in footnote 1 in Zhou Weiquan, “Yuanmingyuan de xingjian jiqi zaoyuan yishu qiantan,” in Wang Daocheng ed., *Garden of Round Brightness: lishi, xianzhuang, lunzheng*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 1: 149.

²⁵ Refer to my annotated translation, Emperor Kangxi’s “Record of the Garden of Uninhibited Spring,” in appendix 2.

garden site of a Ming-dynasty royal family member. The water source for the garden was the spring water from the Village of Ten-thousand Springs (Wanquan zhuang 万泉庄) to the south. At that time, the western water sources from West Lake and the Jade-Spring Hill were not yet used for the imperial gardens in this area. Kangxi spent much time in the garden, where he occasionally received an audience and began to perform administrative duties.

In 1703, Kangxi began to build a retreat garden, Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness (Bishu shanzhuang 避暑山庄),²⁶ which was located in Chengde, north of the capital. The location of the garden was directly related to the emperor's "northern patrol" where he received Mongolian aristocrats regularly in order to establish a stable state of affairs in the northern territory. Within the garden, he named thirty-six *jing* 景, each with a title of four Chinese characters. Each *jing* indicated a specific garden scene. After naming the thirty-six *jing*, Kangxi ordered a court painter to create a painting of each *jing* for which he wrote a poem. The pairing of painting and poetry for the representation of a *jing* in imperial gardens was continued by later Qing emperors.

One year after the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness was built (1709), Kangxi turned his attention back to the northwestern suburb of the capital. He granted a piece of land north of his Garden of Uninhibited Spring to his fourth son, Prince Yinzhen 胤禛. On this site, Yinzhen built the Garden of Round Brightness. After Yinzhen took the throne and became Emperor Yongzheng, he expanded the Garden of Round Brightness and used it as his permanent residence and a place for receiving an audience. This garden had continuously served as the permanent residence for five Qing emperors: Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiaqing 嘉庆, Daoguang 道光 and Xianfeng 咸丰 before being destroyed by fire in 1860 by foreign powers.

²⁶ Refer to my annotated translation, Emperor Kangxi's "Record of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness," in appendix 2.

The Garden of Round Brightness during the Qianlong reign in fact consisted of four gardens: three Chinese ones— Garden of Round Brightness, Garden of Eternal Spring (Changchun yuan 长春园), and Garden of Gorgeous Spring (Qichun yuan 绮春园) which was later called Garden of Ten-thousand Springs (Wanchun yuan 万春园)— and a small European garden called Western Multistoried-Buildings (Xiyang lou 西洋楼), which was designed and co-built by the European Jesuits, who served as painters and clock-makers in the imperial court (Fig. 2). Although the title of Round Brightness was originally given to the first garden in this compound, it later was used by the public to signify the totality of the whole compound; thus, all four gardens combined came to be known as the Garden of Round Brightness. To avoid confusion, I will apply the name “Garden of Round Brightness” to the first garden, namely Yongzheng’s garden, and apply the term “Garden of Round Brightness compound” to the totality of four gardens.

Qianlong expanded the Garden of Round Brightness into a compound. Like his grandfather Kangxi, he visited Jiangnan six times and was impressed by the private gardens there. For each garden that he liked, he would ask a court painter to produce a painting and bring it back to Beijing for his reference to create new gardens. He made his first expansion of the Garden of Round Brightness by 1744. In that expansion, there was no great increase in land size, but he formally established the so-called Forty Jing, at least twenty-eight of which were built by Yongzheng. In 1751, he built the Garden of Eternal Spring, which was located east of the Garden of Round Brightness. Meanwhile, he was building the European garden, Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, on the northern edge of the Garden of Eternal Spring. In 1772, the Garden of Gorgeous Spring was built south of the Garden of Eternal Spring.

While expanding the Garden of Round Brightness, Qianlong’s garden construction spread westward. He expanded the camping-palace garden on the Fragrant Hill, which was founded by Kangxi, and renamed it Garden of Tranquil Pleasure (Jingyi

yuan 静宜园) in 1747.²⁷ In 1750, he expanded the Garden of Tranquil Brightness (Jingming yuan 静明园) on Jade-Spring Hill.²⁸ In the same year, he began to build the Garden of Clear Ripples (Qingyi yuan 清漪园) based on the newly created landscapes of the Kunming Lake and Longevity Hill.²⁹

During the Yongzheng reign, the water from the Jade-Spring Hill was utilized as a secondary water source because the original water source of the Village of Ten-thousand Springs was no longer sufficient for the needs of the Garden of Round Brightness. The combined water sources entered the garden at its southwestern corner, flowed north to the northwestern corner, then from there diffused through the whole garden. The need for water increased as many more gardens were built; thus Qianlong made a thorough reconstruction of the water system in the northwestern suburb. When the spring water from the Village of Ten-thousand Springs no longer sufficiently supplied the gardens, most of the water had to come from Kunming Lake. Kunming Lake collected water from the Jade-Spring Hill, but the Jade Spring was the original water source for the Tonghui River, which was used for transporting food to the capital. This created a problem because as water was diverted and used for the gardens, the ferrying of food would be influenced. To solve the problem, Qianlong decided to use Kunming Lake as a reservoir, which collected water from the Jade-Spring Hill, West Mountain, and Fragrant Hill, which served the needs of the gardens while also providing water for ferrying food.

During the Qianlong reign, the five well-known gardens in the northwestern suburb were: Garden of Round Brightness, Garden of Uninhibited Spring, Garden of Tranquil Pleasure on the Fragrant Hill, Garden of Tranquil Brightness on the Jade-Spring Hill, and Garden of Clear Ripples on the Longevity Hill. They were usually

²⁷ Refer to my annotated translation, Emperor Qianlong's "Record of the Garden of Tranquil Pleasure," in appendix 2.

²⁸ Refer to my annotated translation, Emperor Qianlong's "Record of the Best Spring of China [in the Garden of Tranquil Brightness] of the Jade-Spring Hill," in appendix 2.

²⁹ Refer to my annotated translations, Emperor Qianlong's "Record of the Garden of Clear Ripples of the Longevity Hill" and "Record of the Kunming Lake of the Longevity Hill," in appendix 2.

described as “three hills and five gardens” (*sanshan wuyuan* 三山五园) (Fig. 3).³⁰

Because of their bond with West Mountain and their affinity with natural landscapes, these five gardens are categorized by modern scholars as “landscape gardens,” which are differentiated from “palace gardens” and “urban gardens,” and are praised as the highest achievement of Qing imperial garden design.³¹

There are continuing debates among Chinese scholars on exactly what the phrase “three hills and five gardens” indicated during the Qing dynasty. A prevalent explanation is that the “three hills” were, from west to east, Fragrant Hill, Jade-Spring Hill and Longevity Hill, while the “five gardens” were, from west to east, Garden of Tranquil Pleasure, Garden of Tranquil Brightness, Garden of Clear Ripples, Garden of Uninhibited Spring and the Garden of Round Brightness.³² Because the Garden of Tranquil Pleasure was located on the Fragrant Hill, the Garden of Tranquil Brightness, on the Hill of Jade-Spring, and the Garden of Clear Ripples, on the Longevity Hill, there is a certain overlapping in terms of sites in the above definition of “three hills and five gardens,” which creates some debate and confusion. Some scholars have attempted to prove that the “five gardens” were in fact those of the Garden of Round Brightness compound in its most prosperous time.³³ In fact, the co-existence of the five gardens in the Garden of Round Brightness compound lasted only a short period. Moreover, this second explanation excludes the Garden of Uninhibited Spring, the first Qing imperial garden in the northwestern suburb. Comparatively, the first explanation sounds more convincing

³⁰ Zhou Wei-quan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi*, 338. Hou Renzhi, “Garden of Round Brightness,” in Wang Daocheng ed., 1: 120. Zhao Xinghua, *Beijing yuanlin shihua* (Beijing: Zhongguo linye chubanshe, 2000), 110. Zhang Cheng’an ed., *Zhongguo yuanlin jishu cidian* (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1994), 52.

³¹ Zhou Wei-quan, 338. Chen Congzhou, *Zhongguo yuanlin jianshang cidian* (Shanghai: Huadong shifan chubanshe, 2001), 202.

³² Zhou Wei-quan, 338. Zhao Xinghua, 187-189. See also *Beijing zhi: shizheng juan: yuanlin luhua zhi*, ed. Beijingshi difangzhi bianzhuan weiyuanhui (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 15. Ma Hongtu, “Ye tan ‘sanshan wuyuan,’” in *Jinghua yuanlin congkao*, ed. Beijing yuanlinju shizhi bangongshi (Beijing: Beijing kexue jishu chubanshe, 1996), 87.

³³ See Zhang Enyin, “‘Sanshan wuyuan’ bianxi” and “Zai xi ‘sanshan wuyuan,’” in *Jinghua yuanlin congkao*, 84, 89. Zhao Xinghua, 187. The “five gardens” of the Garden of Round Brightness compound were: the Garden of Round Brightness, Garden of Eternal Spring, Garden of Gorgeous Spring, Garden of Cheerful Spring and Garden of Spring Cheerfulness. This definition of “five gardens” first appeared in the archives of the Imperial Households after 1780 when the Garden of Spring Cheerfulness was included within the Garden of Round Brightness.

and its seeming redundancy can be understood as an emphasis of the compelling images of the three hills, which were intrinsically related to the five gardens. The debate itself demonstrates that there has been and continues to be a historical and physical context which is important for understanding the Garden of Round Brightness.

The scholarly review of the Garden of Round Brightness began after the compound was destroyed by fire in 1860. The earliest poems and prose on the lost garden were written by late-Qing scholars such as Wang Kaiyun 王闳运 and Xu Shujun 徐树钧, who wrote to express their deep melancholy in wandering through the ruins. Some Westerners, e.g., Ernst Ohlmer, Thomas Child and Théophile Piry, photographed the ruins in the 1870s. The first peak of the scholarship took place in the 1920-30s. A Swedish scholar, Osvald Sirén, photographed and wrote about this garden in his book *Les palais impériaux de Peking* (1926). In 1928, a Chinese scholar, Chen Yanshen 陈演生, photographed the original paintings of the Forty Jing which were located in the National Library in Paris and published the pictures in his book *Yuanmingyuan kao*. Another Chinese scholar, Teng Gu 腾固, discovered Ohlmer's negatives of the ruined Western Multistoried-Buildings garden in Berlin and published them in his book *Yuanmingyuan oushi gongdian canji* in 1933. One year later, an American scholar, Carroll Brown Malone, who taught at Tsinghua University, which was adjacent to the ruined garden, published a monograph on the Garden of Round Brightness. In 1931, the first public exhibition on the ruins of the Garden of Round Brightness compound was held by Beiping Library (today's National Library) in Beijing, where a set of working drawings of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, made by the Qing-court contractor Lei family (Yangshi Lei 样式雷), were exhibited. Two years later, the journal of Beiping Library, *Guoli Beiping tushuguan guan kan*, published a special issue on the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, which included some of the Lei drawings.

Among the publications on the Garden of Round Brightness during the 1930s, Maurice Adam's book, *Yuen Ming Yuen: L'Oeuvre Architecturale des Anciens Jésuites au*

XVIIIe Siècle (Beijing, 1936), was special, because it was the first monograph on the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. In writing the book, Adam met a Chinese scholar, Jin Xun 金勛, whose ancestors took part in the construction of the European portion of the garden. Mr. Jin drew most of the illustrations for Adam's book based on his own research and memory.

In his research, Adam referred to both Chinese and Jesuit sources. His Chinese sources were primarily based on Jin's oral descriptions and pictorial illustrations. Before talking about the "Palais Européens" (namely, the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden), he devoted the first chapter to describing the broad context of the garden, such as the "Physionomie géomantique de Pékin," "Situation des Jardins à l'ouest de la Capitale," and "Les Maisons de Plaisance des Ts'ing."³⁴ Although his descriptions were brief, his approach of starting from the context of the garden was quite Chinese-like. He attempted to interpret the significance of the northwestern suburb through the perspective of Chinese cosmology.

Adam's descriptions of the Chinese portion of the garden depended exclusively on the Jesuit Jean-Denis Attiret's (Chinese name, Wang Zhicheng 王致诚) letter from Beijing to M. d'Assaut de Dôle in Paris on November 1, 1743. Fr. Attiret served as a court painter in the Garden of Round Brightness during the Qianlong reign. The letter played a key role in introducing the beauty of Chinese imperial gardens to the European public. It was first published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, volume 12 (1819). Adam simply cited the whole part in this letter which was related to the Garden of Round Brightness without adding any of his own analysis, yet it was a very early case in the scholarship to present Jesuit sources.

As for the key individuals in the construction of the European portion, Adam's attention was focused on Qianlong and the French Jesuit Père Michel Benoist (Chinese name, Jiang Youren 蒋友仁), who designed the fountains in the garden. Adam's introduction of Qianlong was through a story about how an Italian Jesuit Fr.

³⁴ Maurice Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen: L'Oeuvre Architecturale des Anciens Jésuites au XVIIIe Siècle* (Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936), 1.

Joseph Panzi (Chinese name, Pan Tingzhang 潘亭璋) painted a portrait for the emperor.³⁵ In the story, Father Benoist acted as the translator between Qianlong and Panzi in their dialogue on the issues of shadow, posture, and truthful depiction in the portrait.

The second peak of the scholarship in the West occurred during the 1950s-60s. The chief designer of the European portion was an Italian Jesuit, Giuseppe Castiglione (Chinese name, Lang Shining 郎世宁). The sinologist, George R. Loehr, published a biography on Castiglione in 1940. Hope Danby published the book *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* in 1950. In 1966, a German scholar, Alexander Schulz, published his doctoral dissertation, *His Yang Lou: Untersuchungen zu den "Europäische Bauten" des Kaiser Chien-lung*, which was the second monograph on the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. Schulz's research emphasized the European connection of this garden and he accessed additional Jesuit sources in Latin to clarify the construction timetable of this garden. Although he attempted to find European sources of the garden in terms of its architectural forms and garden layout, his comparisons were almost completely based on morphological similarities without presenting any historical evidence. His garden building descriptions were redundant, as he attempted to use language to describe objects in a way that photography would have done in a superior and more succinct manner, thus rendering his analysis of little force and interpretative focus.

Schulz's research, however, provided some clues for future studies on the connection between the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden and European garden design, such as Andrea Pozzo's linear perspective, Vignola's garden design, Guarino Guarini's architecture, and Georg Böckler's fountain illustrations. His research also impels us to move beyond formalist analysis to achieve an in-depth historical interpretation. The drawbacks of his formalist approach can be seen, for example, in his discussion regarding the issue of perspective. He quickly mentioned multiple names such as Pozzo, Castiglione, Nian Xiyao 年希尧 (who published the first Chinese treatise on Western linear perspective in 1729) and the Bibiena family

³⁵ Ibid., 17-19.

without providing any critical analysis of any of them. One encouraging point was that he attempted to find how the Chinese gardens influenced the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden in its spatial organization where a garden scene should be viewed as a painting from a clearly defined point of view.³⁶ Unfortunately, Schulz did not extend his thinking any further into the Chinese context, and, in his bibliography, not a single Chinese source was mentioned.

In the late 1980s, there began a cooperative project between the Chinese and French governments, led by the sinologist Michele Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, to study the restoration of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. They studied the garden from the multiple perspectives of general history,³⁷ architecture,³⁸ garden history, photography,³⁹ and botany.⁴⁰ The study from the perspective of garden history was published by Vincent Drogue in his article "Les Palais Européens de l'empereur Qianlong et leurs sources italiennes."⁴¹ Although this research team was more sensible and knowledgeable in regards to the Chinese context through collaboration with Chinese scholars, Drogue's research continued Schulz's formalist approach. Based on the hypothetical clues from Schulz, Drogue attempted to make a more detailed comparison between the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden and its possible Italian sources, juxtaposing the images of both sides to show their similarity. The article proposed some valuable points, one of which was that more attention be paid to the organization, articulation, and thematic repertoire of the garden as a whole, rather than to individual buildings.⁴² It echoed Schulz's analysis in that the design of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was a collection of separate spaces that were designed to create a picturesque sequence, closely related to the tradition of Chinese gardens. Although mentioning the "théâtre d'eau," "théâtre de

³⁶ See Alexander Schulz, *His Yang Lou: Untersuchungen zu den "Europäische Bauten" des Kaiser Chien-lung* (Isny: Schmidt Schulz oHG, 1966), 76.

³⁷ Michele Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "A Pluridisciplinary Research on Castiglione and the Emperor Chien-lung's European Palaces," in *National Palace Museum Bulletin* (Taipei) 24.4 (1989).

³⁸ Antoine Durand, "Restitution des Palais Européens du Yuanmingyuan," *Arts Asiatique* 43 (1988).

³⁹ Régine Thiriez, *Barbarian lens: western photographers of the Qianlong emperor's European palaces* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1998).

⁴⁰ Gilles Genest, "Les Palais européens du Yuanmingyuan: essai sur la végétation des jardins," *Arts Asiatiques* 49 (1994).

⁴¹ Vincent Drogue, "Les Palais Européens de l'empereur Qianlong et leurs sources italiennes," *Histoire de l'Art* (May 1994).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 18.

verdure,” and the model of “*bosco avec une colline plantée*” in Italian gardens, Drognet did not explore the role of linear perspective along these aspects in both Italian gardens and the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden.

After the scholar Wang Wei 王威 published the short book *Yuanming yuan* in 1957, Chinese scholarship stalled during the Cultural Revolution. The Renaissance of Chinese scholarship began with the restoration map of the Garden of Round Brightness compound made by the scholars He Chongyi 何重义 and Zeng Zhaofen 曾昭奋 in 1979 (Fig. 1). This detailed map provided a significant reference for all later research. The resurgence of this research finally led to the founding of the Academy of the Garden of Round Brightness in 1984, that published five influential issues of the journal, *Yuanmingyuan: xueshu lunwen ji*, from 1981-1992. These five issues included some important papers on the history of the garden compound, concentrating more on the Chinese portion of the garden than the European one. Meanwhile, in 1991, an important anthology of Qing-court archives regarding the Garden of Round Brightness compound, *Yuanmingyuan: Qingdai dang'an shiliao*, was published. This anthology is the only published imperial archive of the garden to date. It was edited based on the Qing-court archives stored in The First Historical Archives (Diyi lishi dang'an'guan 第一历史档案馆).

In 2000, Che-Bing Chiu published the book *Yuanming Yuan: Le jardin de la clarté parfaite*, which included his translations of Qianlong's poetry on the Forty Jing. This scholarly effort provided the French-speaking public to access some Chinese primary sources related to the garden. Moving in the same direction and intending to introduce a broader picture of the historical context, I include my twelve annotated full translations of the emperors' records of the Qing imperial gardens (Four records related to the Garden of Round Brightness compound are in sections 1.1 and 1.2, and the others are in appendix 2 of this research). Except for the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness, all the gardens recorded in my translations were located in the northwestern suburb. None of these records has been completely translated into English before. I first presented these translations and their classic Chinese texts

under the title “The Emperors’ Records of Qing Imperial Gardens” at the symposium “Readings on Chinese Gardens: An Anthology (4th meeting)” at the Asia Center of Harvard University in January, 2003. I presented these translations with the title “The Water Intention in the Emperors’ Records of Qing Imperial Gardens” at the “Washington Area Traditional China Colloquium” in Washington, DC in April, 2003.

It was a national loss when the Garden of Round Brightness compound was suddenly destroyed by fire. It is said that the year before the arson, the god of the garden (*yuanshen* 园神) visited the emperor in a dream and asked for a leave.⁴³ There is a pervasive melancholy about the ruins that recalls the perfect brightness that the garden once enclosed. Thousands of people have visited the site attempting to retrieve the lost garden in their minds. A moving essay states:

In front of the ruins, I can only gaze distractedly. Wind whistles in tears in the nearby groves. A voice of “remain, remain...” echoes over the ruins. In the twilight, the white marbles tend to talk to me. Do they want to tell how they experienced the huge fire and how time was measured?... Wind, waving over the ruins, is calling.⁴⁴

With the ambiguity of “a garden in mind,” the identity of the Garden of Round Brightness keeps splitting apart. Its split identity originated from the fact that both the garden compound and the original garden were called Round Brightness. It was further accentuated because the garden was not pure Chinese, but also partly European. The tension between the Chinese and European portions was exposed by the fire. Before the fire, the European portion was hidden within the Chinese portion. After the fire, the Chinese portions were burnt to cinders, while the ruins of the European portion remained. Presently, the ruins of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden are now well known, often identified as the Garden of Round Brightness.

⁴³ Bo Ti (Qing dyn.), “Ji yuanmingyuan,” in *Huiyizhai bicheng*, Qingdai yeshi congshu (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1999), 76.

⁴⁴ Zong Pu, “Feixu zai zhaohuan,” in Shu Mu et al ed., *Yuanmingyuan ziliaoji* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1984), 306-309.

Since the garden was an imperial residence, common Chinese people had no chance to view it, but the Jesuits, working as clock-makers, painters, and garden designers for the emperor, had unparalleled and repeated opportunities to view the entire garden.⁴⁵ For the two different groups of people, the Chinese and the Jesuits, the name of the garden did not remain unified and consistent. Though the Chinese called the garden Round Brightness, the Jesuits originally called it “maisons de plaisance.” The popular translation in current scholarship, Garden of Perfect Brightness, originated from the Jesuit translation “jardin de la clarté parfaite,” which did not include the vision of roundness contained in the original Chinese term.

The Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was once called by the Chinese the Palace Halls of Water-Method (Shuifa dian 水法殿) during its construction, while the Jesuits referred to this garden in their letters as “un palais européen.” For example, Father Florian Bahr called the garden the “Lust-Pallast;” Father Simon Gumb called it the “Europäischen Sommer-Pallasts.”⁴⁶ The use of the term “multistoried-building” (*lou* 楼) in the Chinese name of this European garden indicated the exoticism of the buildings for the Chinese eye. Qianlong was said to be amazed by the height and thickness of Western buildings when he observed the engravings in European books.⁴⁷ The term “multistoried-building” not only indicated the secret exoticism of the European portion but also hinted at the contrastive feature of openness and expansiveness of the Chinese portion.

The split identity of the Garden of Round Brightness, like Jorge Luis Borges’s Garden of Forking Paths, maintains a sense of mysterious materiality, which eludes the appropriation of monolithic ideas. In some recent research discussing cultural fusion, abstract concepts such as “hybridity” were frequently used to generalize the

⁴⁵ Jean Denis Attiret, “A Particular Account of the Emperor of China’s Gardens near Pekin,” translated from the original letter of November 1, 1743 by Joseph Spence, in John Dixon Hunt ed., *The English Landscape Garden* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), 47-48.

⁴⁶ Schulz, 21.

⁴⁷ Attiret, 34, 36.

scenes of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden.⁴⁸ Such a conceptual interpretation suggests a contemporary horizon of historical understanding, but it fails to account for the original sense of the garden at the time of its creation. We must acknowledge that the sense of the garden came first; and that it is the basic condition from which any further interpretation, such as hybridity, can be proposed.⁴⁹ The Jesuit painter Attiret commented: “The only way to conceive it [the Garden of Round Brightness] is to *see* [my italic] it.”⁵⁰ In the present Western scholarship, this primordial sense of the original vision of the garden, Round Brightness, is hardly given a chance to emerge.

As Yongzheng stated in his record of the garden, the meaning of the Round Brightness had to be traced in ancient books. To trace the original visions implied by the term “round brightness,” an etymological analysis becomes a necessary and effectual step. For example, in the Southern Dynasties, the moon, the brightness in a full circle, was once signified by the term “round *jing*” (*yuan-jing* 圆景).⁵¹ The term *jing* is a classic concept of Chinese gardens. According to the first Chinese garden treatise, *Yuan ye*, “when [eyesight] touches a *jing*, wonder will emerge; when emotion is contained [in viewing a *jing*], the *jing* will become fruitful [触景生奇, 含情多致].”⁵² A *jing* can integrate a garden scene and the mind into one unity where the

⁴⁸ See Victoria M. Siu, “China and Europe Intertwined: A New View of the European Sector of the Chang Chun Yuan,” *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 19.3/4 (Jul-Dec 1999).

⁴⁹ For a philosophical discussion on the concept of “sense,” refer to Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Sense of the World*, trans. S. Librett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). His idea of “sense” is based on Martin Heidegger’s idea of “Dasein.” My concept of “sense” is based on a historical interpretation of the mode of Chinese perception, which is unfolded through this research. The modern Chinese phrase “sense of history,” *lishi gan* 历史感, echoes Heidegger’s concept of “historicity” (*Geschichtlichkeit*) (See Ch. V of Part Two, in Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie & Edward Robinson [New York: Harper & Row, 1962]). The concept of “sense” is defined by Maurice Merleau-Ponty as “sensation,” which is “the living relation of the perceiver to his body and to his mind” (See Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith [London: Routledge, 1962], 208).

⁵⁰ Attiret, 6.

⁵¹ According to *Hanyu da cidian* (The encyclopedic dictionary of the Chinese language) (Shanghai, 1989).

⁵² Ji Cheng (Ming dyn.), *Yuan ye*, in *Yuanye zhushi*, anno. Chen Zhi (Taiwan: Mingwen shuju, 1983), 163. In a published translation of *Yuan ye*, the same part is translated as “interesting thoughts can be aroused by a sudden vista, and inner feelings can be better expressed” (See *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. Alison Hardie [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988], 92-93). There are some questions about this translation. Firstly, the *jing* here is not simply a vista. Secondly, the original Chinese sentence emphasizes the active involvement rather than a passive role of the viewer in forming a *jing*.

diffusion of brightness is the very flow of passion. The etymological and theoretical explanations of the *jing* lead to the issue of how the diffusing brightness was bounded in the Garden of Round Brightness.

The existence of *jing* was deeply rooted in Chinese gardens and well embodied by the Garden of Round Brightness. This thesis explores how the diffusion of round brightness was defined by its most remote boundary (physically and culturally), the European portion, into the existence of *jing* in which minds were attracted and enlightened.⁵³ The *jing* can be a large-scale bird's-eye view in the Chinese portion or a small-scale perspective view in the European portion. My central argument is that it was through the *jing* that Jesuit metaphysics fused into Chinese cosmology rather than the *jing* representing pre-existing ideas. It is hard to find a direct causal relationship between Jesuits' religious norms and their architectural and gardening activities in China.⁵⁴ The fact is that garden creation enabled the Jesuits to accommodate their body and mind within an unfamiliar context. As Father Pedrini's letter recorded, "I have continually incurred expenses, renovated it [the Xi Tang church in Beijing] from top to bottom... I've planted trees in the garden, and flowers and even vines which this year have begun to give some grapes" (Fig. 49).⁵⁵

My approach to *jing* with regard to the history of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden originates from the fact that before any idea can be imposed on a garden scene, the mind has to be opened to and involved in a certain way with that scene. The *a priori* opening of the mind towards the materiality of a garden provides the ground for historical interpretation. It is therefore more meaningful to study how the *jing* of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden influenced the minds of the emperor and Jesuits in that specific time and space than to arbitrarily claim that the mixed view of the garden represents *a posteriori* ideas.

⁵³ The "boundary" here means that from which brightness begins its presencing. This definition refers to Martin Heidegger's concept of "boundary" which is "that from which something begins its presencing" (Heidegger cited in, Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997], 63).

⁵⁴ Refer to norm 179, *The Constitutions of The Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts* (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 241.

⁵⁵ W. Devine, *The Four Churches of Peking* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1930), 74.

Being a whole, the *jing* must be approached as a whole. The philosophical perspectives of subjectivism and objectivism conflict with the pursuit of *jing*. Marx's material dialectics (which dominates the ideology of modern China) can only provide a nominal synthesis of object and subject without being able to grasp the momentum of a *jing*, which can be sensed through analyzing what a scene is and how it is viewed. This is especially true in how the beholder's emotion and intention are projected into the garden scene. More precisely, the central question is how the Jesuits projected their intentions into the "round brightness" and how the emperor empathized with the "Western multistoried-buildings." The approach of *jing*, from the very beginning, cannot treat any garden scene as an object external to the sense of the garden. To the contrary, all the visual and linguistic sources are carefully organized in order to preserve and present that sense where the mind dwells.

Starting from a study on Jesuit contributions in Western architectural history and extending the obtained perspective into the Chinese context, my preliminary research on the *jing* of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden uncovered the importance of linear perspective, which the Chinese called "line-method" (*xianfa* 线法), in creating the *jing*. The general structure of this thesis was developed from my study of the representation of the twenty copperplates (1786) of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden and its comparison with the representation history of Chinese gardens. To conduct this research, the garden collections at Dumbarton Oaks, the Chinese rare-book collection at U.S. Library of Congress, and the Chinese landscape-painting collection at Freer Gallery were consulted. Meanwhile, twelve annotated translations of the emperors' records of Qing imperial gardens including the Garden of Round Brightness were completed.

A field and archive research in Beijing during October-November 2002 explored further the emperor's emotions toward the *jing* and the ruined site of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. It was discovered through the research that it was Emperor Jiaqing rather than Emperor Qianlong that wrote poems on the *jing* of the European portion of the garden. Some of these poems have been published in

Chinese sources, but none in Western sources. The detailed imperial archives about the emperors' activities in the Garden of Round Brightness are stored in The First Historical Archives in Beijing. These unpublished archives provided valuable information about the emperor's daily activities in the garden, especially some of his edicts on the construction of the European portion, from which his comments on details of the Jesuit design could be found. Such information is extremely important, as it helps us understand how the emperor and the Jesuits exchanged ideas during the construction of the garden.

The thesis that follows consists of four chapters. Chapter 1 explores the emperors' vision of round brightness and its cosmological and virtuous meanings. Section 1.1 includes my annotated full translations of both Yongzheng and Qianlong's records of the Garden of Round Brightness. Chapter 2 studies the meaning of *jing* from the aspects of Chinese garden and landscape literature, Chinese painting theories and the Forty Jing. Chapter 3 investigates the transformation of Western linear perspective in China—line-method (*xianfa*). The analysis starts from the traditional perspective in Chinese paintings, then moves to the Jesuit perspective, and finally focuses on the interweaving of the representation of two cultures. Section 3.3 includes the author's annotated full translations of the two prefaces (1729, 1735) of the first Chinese book on linear perspective, *Shixue*. Chapter 4 studies the application of the line-method in the design of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. The study includes its general plan, buildings, and theatrical settings. The author's annotated full translations of Emperor Jiaqing's poems of the European portion are also presented. In the conclusion, a critical perspective of the *jing* of line-method is established.

The most comprehensive literature source for this research is the *Qing linchao yuzhi shiwen ji* 清六朝御制诗文集 (Anthology of imperial poems and prose of six Qing emperors) including all the poems and prose written by Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang and Xianfeng, which are available in the Wenjing Branch of the National Library in Beijing. Yongzheng's poetry focuses on specific areas within the early years of the Garden of Round Brightness. These poems can be found in a briefly annotated and punctuated anthology, *Yongzheng*

shiwen zhuji (1996). All of Qianlong's poems and prose are about the Garden of Round Brightness and Garden of Eternal Spring. Although he committed the construction of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, he wrote little about it. Comparatively, Jiaqing wrote the greatest number of poems on the European portion.

The most comprehensive imperial record on the painting and building activities in the Garden of Round Brightness compound is the “Neiwufu zaobanchu ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang” 内务府造办处各作成作活计清档 (Archives of each built work by the Department of Construction of the Imperial-Household Ministry). The Imperial-Household Ministry was in charge of the construction of imperial gardens and other imperial constructions. The original archives are now stored in The First Historical Archives, but they are not systematically catalogued and are preserved as papers tied up in bunches and scattered in various archival envelopes. These records are partially reprinted in the anthology, *Yuanmingyuan: Qingdai dang'an shiliao* (1991). In this anthology, there are many descriptions of the painting activities of the Jesuits in the Garden of Round Brightness during both the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns. It also gives clues about the building procedures of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden.

The most comprehensive pictorial source of the construction of the Garden of Round Brightness is the collection of the Lei family's drawings in the National Library of Beijing. The Lei family is also called Model Lei (Yangshi Lei 样式雷), which is the popular name of the official title “Head of the Division of Model Construction—Lei family.” Six generations of this family held the position in the Qing court. After the Qing dynasty ended, the descendants of the family sold the drawings and models for economic reasons. The largest part of the collection was purchased by Beiping Library (today's National Library) in the summer of 1930, and a small part of the Lei drawings were purchased by the former Zhongfa University (Beijing).

The total number of Model Lei's drawings in the National Library is approximately 2,200 of which over 1,700 concern the Garden of Round Brightness compound. Although the collection is currently closed to researchers with the excuse of not being catalogued, some Chinese scholars have reportedly examined all of these drawings, one by one, during the 1990s. According to a publication, approximately 300 drawings were originally dated, ten drawings respectively belonging to the Jiaqing and Guangxu reigns and the rest to the Daoguang, Xianfeng and Tongzhi reigns. There is not a single drawing marked under the Qianlong reign.⁵⁶ There is a general plan of the internal watercourses of the garden compound and two general plans of the external watercourses, which I have viewed at the National Library. A small part of the Lei collection contains the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. Fortunately, ten such drawings were published in *Guoli Beiping tushuguan guankan* 7.3/4 (May-Aug, 1932) (Fig. 12-21). The Zhongfa collection of the Lei drawings was catalogued in the *Zhongfa daxue rucang Yangzi Lei gongcheng tuyang mulu* in four volumes, which are now stored in the Wenjin Branch of National Library. The first volume marks five drawings of the European portion. Except for this catalogue, nothing is known about the drawings themselves.

The most comprehensive and detailed representation of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden is the set of twenty copperplates (Fig. 22-41), drawn by Yi Lantai 伊兰泰, and engraved in 1786 by multiple Chinese craftsmen who were under the supervision of the official Shu Wen 舒文. All of the copperplates were drawn in the line-method, namely a one-point central perspective. According to an imperial archive, over one hundred prints, five complete sets, were first printed from these copperplates.⁵⁷ A set, which is said to be original, is housed in the Getty Research Center in Los Angeles. A high quality reprint in original size is published in *Palais, pavillons et jardins construits par Giuseppe Castiglione: dans le domaine impérial du Yuan Ming Yuan au Palais d'Été de Pékin: 20 planches gravées, de 1783 à 1786* (1977). According to

⁵⁶ Zhang Enyin, *Yuanmingyuan bianqianshi tanwei* (Beijing: Beijing tiyu chubanshe, 1993), 178-179.

⁵⁷ "Neiwufu zaobanchu ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang," in *Yuanmingyuan: Qingdai dang'an shikao*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an'guan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 2: archive 820. END OF INTRODUCTION FOOTNOTES.

my observation, there is no noticeable difference between the Getty set and the French reprint.

Since the various gardens in the Round Brightness Garden compound held different names for both the Chinese and the Jesuits, the issue of translation becomes important in my comparative study on the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. Prior to the inception of the modern Chinese language at the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese texts were written in classic Chinese, so-called *wenyan wen*. The translation from classic Chinese into English includes two basic steps: the first step is from classic Chinese into modern Chinese, and the second step is from modern Chinese into English. The translation from classic Chinese into modern Chinese requires intense research and interpretation. It is at this step that differences of understanding among scholars emerge.

Many works have been translated from classic Chinese to English by sinologists, but these published translations are only a small part of Chinese literature. As for the literature related to the Garden of Round Brightness, few have been translated, which is one of the primary reasons for presenting my own translations in the research. Another is that I may have the opportunity to engage in Chinese classic texts without being too far removed from the original texts. This will allow me to gain the greatest understanding from what the author intended as well as to develop my own interpretation. The third reason for presenting my own translations is based on my observation that in many Western translations, a clear sense of the Chinese context is absent, especially when the original “visions” implied by Chinese works were lost or overlooked. From the perspective of sinology, the political context and rhetorical structure might be more important than an implied vision, but for a study of garden history, such a loss is disastrous. In Chinese poetry of gardens and landscapes, a significant aspect consists of the expression of the relationship between the view and the viewer, which is interwoven by an implied vision. For example, the term *yuan* 园 can be simply translated as “garden” in English, but a vision of “enclosure” is also implied by the Chinese character. To maintain implied visions, I will adopt a strategy which I call “literal translation.” For example, the name

“Yuanming Yuan” is usually translated as “Garden of Perfect Brightness.” For the purpose of this research, I translate it more literally as “Garden of Round Brightness” to draw attention to the original vision of “roundness,” which is so crucial for retrieving the primary sense of this garden.

For the cited Chinese classics, translations refer to the published translations as much as possible, presenting my own translations within the text and noting the major published translations within the footnotes. Unless otherwise stated, all the translations are that of the author. All the Chinese terms that are relevant for the English audience to understand the general context or details of the concerned gardens are translated into English; otherwise, they are transliterated into *pinyin*. For the special Chinese terms (e.g., names of places, gardens, scenes, buildings, rivers, trees, and animals) whose meanings are helpful to the English audience in understanding the original context of the concerned topics, I translate them into English in order to provide a comprehensive picture. The names such as Yuanming (Round Brightness) and Xiyang Lou (Western Multistoried-Buildings), for example, have to be translated into English because their meanings are essentially related to the understanding of the gardens, although these Chinese names have become increasingly familiar to Western scholars. In another example, the town in the northwestern suburb where most of Qing imperial gardens were located is called Haidian 海淀. I translate it into Shallow Lakes, because this area was famous for plentiful lakes and springs. If it is not translated, the audience will not easily understand the geographical context of the gardens and why water was so important to the creation and evolution of gardens. If there is no real advantage for the English reader to have a specific word or name translated, no translation was made and a transliteration was given in *pinyin*. For those important concepts, both the *pinyin* and their English translations are co-presented. For those who know both English and Chinese, I provide both *pinyin* and Chinese characters for some terms and names which are important in my analyses. All my translations of Chinese poetry and major essays by Qing emperors are co-presented with the original Chinese texts (see appendix 4) in order for the same audience to compare both texts. Some concepts like *jing* 景 have rich meanings and their meanings have changed over

time and specific historical contexts. In this thesis, the *jing* is a key concept whose meanings need to be explored. In order to maintain an open sense of this concept in each semantic context, the author would rather not translate this concept until later in the thesis.

My translations of the names of the Forty Jing and the multiple *jing* of the European portion are included in appendix 1. In appendix 2, my annotated full translations of the emperors' eight records of Qing imperial gardens, not including the Garden of Round Brightness compound, are included. These records provide references for understanding the broad context of the Garden of Round Brightness and the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. A brief chronology of Chinese dynasties is presented in appendix 3. The major Chinese prose, written in classic Chinese, which I translated and annotated are attached in appendix 4.

CHAPTER ONE ROUND BRIGHTNESS

If a Qing emperor used an imperial garden as his primary residence, the garden was known as the “emperor’s garden” (*yuyuan* 御园), which was differentiated from other imperial gardens that he only visited occasionally. In this sense, Emperor Kangxi’s “emperor’s garden” was the Garden of Uninhibited Spring; for Emperors Yongzheng to Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang, and Xianfeng, the emperor’s garden was the Garden of Round Brightness. An emperor spent most time of a year in his residential garden. After the ritual of praying for grains in the first moon (month) of a new year, he moved from the Forbidden City to the Garden of Round Brightness on the fifteenth day of this month, that was the first full moon of a year, until the winter solstice.

1.1 Vision of Round Brightness

The Garden of Round Brightness was named by Kangxi, granted to Yongzheng and expanded by Qianlong. Before a prince was assigned his own garden by the emperor, he would be assigned a residence in the emperor’s garden; thus the memory of living in his father’s garden was closely related to the meaning of living in his own garden. While living with his father Kangxi in the Garden of Uninhibited Spring, Prince Yinzhen, the future Emperor Yongzheng, wrote poetry about his feelings for this garden. In the poem “On the Blooming Peonies in the Garden of Uninhibited Spring,” he wrote:

Dainty peonies look so pretty in the breeze, 更怜芍药临风好,

Fragrance teases the studio curtain and flowers heap up like brocades.⁵⁸ 香袭
书帷锦作堆。

The phrases hint that he was looking through the window of his reading room while appreciating the beauty of the outside peonies. The connection in the prince’s mind between peonies and the Garden of Uninhibited Spring was later transformed into

⁵⁸ Yongzheng (Qing emperor), “Changchunyuan shaoyaohua kai zuo 长春园芍药花开作,” in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, anno. Wei Jianxun (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996), 5.

the connection between peonies and the memory of his father in the Garden of Round Brightness. In the poem “Peony Terrace” (at the fourth *jing* of the Forty Jing), Yongzheng described:

In overlaid clouds layered rocks appear elegant, 叠云层石秀,
 Winding water surrounds the slant terrace. 曲水绕台斜。
 There is no comparison in the world, 天下无双品,
 This is the best flower in the human world. 人间第一花。
 Its gorgeous look was appreciated in the Garden of Golden Valley. 艳宜金
 谷赏,
 Its fame was highly spoken of in Luoyang. 名重洛阳夸。
 Who can compare with this national beauty? 国色谁堪并,
 She wears celestial clothes whose fabric is like rosy clouds.⁵⁹ 仙裳锦作霞。

Peony was traditionally called the “king of flowers.”⁶⁰ The Garden of Golden Valley, owned by the powerful official, Shi Chong 石崇, in the Western Jin dynasty, was located in Luoyang, which was famous for peonies. The close view of the peonies was compared to the distant view of rosy clouds, and the present view was merged into the memory of the past. The Peony Terrace was the place where the three generations, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, appreciated the peony blossoms together. Such a picture of “being together” was part of the vision of Round Brightness for both Yongzheng and Qianlong in their minds. Qianlong’s poem of the same place recalled:

I still remember the days when I was a teenager, 犹忆垂髫日,
 My receiving favors [from my ancestors] started from here.⁶¹ 承恩此最初。

Yongzheng’s love of his garden was demonstrated through his eagerness to return to the garden immediately following the ritualistic three-year mourning for his deceased

⁵⁹ Yongzheng, “Mudan tai 牡丹台,” in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, 87-88.

⁶⁰ Wang Lu (Ming dyn.), *Huashi zuo bian*, 1615, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*: v. 1117 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 7.

⁶¹ Qianlong (Qing emperor), “Louyue kaiyun 楼月开云,” in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985), 13.

father. According to an imperial record, several princes and officials suggested to Yongzheng that “the landscape of the Garden of Round Brightness is fresh and clean, please go to reside there as you wish.”⁶² Yongzheng soon decided to perform administrative duties from his residential garden. An imperial record states:

In the eighth moon of the third year [1725] of the Yongzheng reign, the emperor arrived in the Garden of Round Brightness... He decreed to the Ministries of Officials and Military Affairs: “I live in the Garden of Round Brightness and this is not different from [my living in] the Palaces [of the Forbidden City]. All the daily administrative affairs [in the garden] should follow the regular procedure. You should report to me without any delay.”⁶³

Subsequently, he observed that officials did not report to him about national affairs as frequently as before and thought it must be related to his living in the garden. In yet another imperial record, it was recorded:

I [Yongzheng] sit in the Hall of Diligent Administration [in the garden] today waiting for officials’ reports, but none of them arrive. They might think that the reason that I live in the Garden of Round Brightness is for leisure, thus, intently simplify the reports. The reason I live here is simply because the landscape and air of the suburb is fresher than the city. In terms of daily administration, there is no difference between the palaces and the garden. I do not want to relax at any time.⁶⁴

Yongzheng regarded the garden as both his home and his working place. A reason that he wanted to live and work here was because of the “pretty landscape and fresh air.” The record also demonstrated that the garden made him feel “relaxed” and “leisure.” This “leisure” (*xian* 闲) sentiment, as he admitted in his other writings, went through his life.

The “landscape and air of the suburb” described the environment of the northwestern suburb. Surrounded by the West Mountain range, the northwestern suburb was rich with water sources (Fig. 46). In contrast to the south of China, the

⁶² Yongzheng, “Shizong xianhuangdi shilu 世宗宪皇帝实录” (1741), in *Qing shilu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), v. 7: 435.

⁶³ Ibid., 536.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 596.

north traditionally lacked plentiful water sources. In his “Record of the Garden of Round Brightness,” Yongzheng explained why his father selected the site: “[He] drank the spring water which tasted sweet... [and thought] if the residence was located here, how peaceful and auspicious [the garden would be].”⁶⁵ It can be said that the intention of the Garden of Round Brightness was preliminarily formed in accordance with water and by borrowing the view, or *jing*, of the West Mountain.

There were the so-called Forty *Jing* in the garden during the Qianlong reign, but about thirty *jing* were already established from the Yongzheng reign. The third *jing* was titled Peace for All China. In the poem “Looking Far into the West Mountain from the *Jing* of Peace for All China,” Yongzheng described the relationship between the distant view of West Mountain and the garden:

Raindrops strike reed leaves, 蒹葭叶上雨声过,
 I suddenly feel exceptionally fresh and cool. 乍觉新凉飒飒多。
 The misty mountains look high and covered with one thousand layers of greenery. 山色崔巍千叠翠,
 The light of the lake is brilliant with ten thousand layers of waves. 湖光潋滟万重波。
 Swimming fish avoid fishhooks and depend upon cold aquatic plants, 游鱼避钓依寒藻,
 Flying birds dash to hide under green ivy. 翔鸟惊弦就碧萝。
 Don't be surprised that golden wind hastens to change the order, 莫讶金风催改序,
 Autumn sunlight has a predilection for a quick return to warmth and brightness.⁶⁶ 秋晖偏好快晴和。

The distant West Mountain was a “borrowed *jing*” for the garden. The lake mentioned in the poem was Back Lake and the *jing*, or view, for Peace for All China

⁶⁵ Yongzheng, “Shizong xianhuangdi yuzhi Yuanmingyuan ji 世宗宪皇帝御制圆明园记,” in *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tushi* (Tianjing: Shiyin shuwu, 1887), 2, 4.

⁶⁶ Yongzheng, “Yuhou Jiuzhou qingyan wang Xishan 雨后九洲清宴望西山,” in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, 150.

was located on its southern bank (Fig. 1). Through observing the raindrops, reed leaves, misty mountains, reflection of lake, swimming fish, flying birds, and autumn light, he sensed the “order” of nature.

Yongzheng connected the order of nature with autumn brightness. He also observed the “round brightness” in the garden, which was a reflection of his feelings between his heart and the full moon. In the poem “Hall of Wonderful Height,” he stated:

Inherent character and heaven mix together without differentiation of present and past, 性天融会无今古,
Heart and moon in *round brightness* [my italic] brighten through the deep sky.
心月圆明彻太虚。

Get up and shout through the northern window, 睡起北窗时一啸,

Thousands of mountains echo to me smoothly.⁶⁷ 千山答响自如如。

This is the only poem in which Yongzheng used the phrase “round brightness [*yuanming* 圆明],” which clearly stated that in the unity of round brightness, the heart and the moon echoed each other. In the Chinese language, the origin for thinking within the body is usually called the “heart” (*xin* 心), which is the most remote and most opaque place in the human body. If the heart can be brightened, it means the human being is fully integrated with the surrounding world. The vision of round brightness unified not only the heart and the moon but also the human being with heaven, the present and the past, as well as the individual and the landscape.

The relationship between the moon and the vision of Round Brightness can be witnessed in Yongzheng’s other poems. In the poem “Hall of Reading in Deep Willows” (at the thirty-first *jing* of the Forty Jing), Yongzheng described how the moonlight slipped into the room and fused with his mind while he was reading on an autumn night:

Thousands of thriving willows, 郁郁千株柳,

⁶⁷ Yongzheng, “Miaogao tang 妙高堂,” in *ibid.*, 57.

Shades [from willows] cover the thatched hall. 阴阴覆草堂。
 Waving silks caress the ink-slab and ink-stone, 飘丝拂砚石,
 Flying wadding touches the bed for playing music. 飞絮点琴床。
 Orioles chant and [willow's] spring branches get warmed up, 莺啭春枝暖,
 Cicadas chirp and autumn leaves get cool. 蝉鸣秋叶凉。
 During the night the moon shadows come to the window, 夜来窗月影,
 They mix with the fragrance of books.⁶⁸ 掩映简编香。

The “silks” indicate slim willow twigs. His eyes kept shifting between the interior and the exterior where the vision and smell interwove with each other into an atmosphere of “reading” under moonlight. The deep willows indicated a quiet place where the heart became tranquil, and it was at such a silent moment that the moonlight penetrated into the window and fused with the heart.

The fusion of view and the mind is an important phenomenon for understanding Yongzheng's vision of Round Brightness. In the poem “Golden-Fish Pool” (at the thirteenth *jing* of the Forty Jing [Fig. 8]), he demonstrated how both his vision and mind merged under the moonlight:

The brick ground is in the form of the Buddhist swastika, 甃地成卐字,
 The pool is filled with water to raise brilliant fish. 注水蓄文鱼。
 Underwater grass looks very green, 藻映十分翠,
 Balustrades define the pool on each side. 栏围四面虚。
 Fish swim freely after the tide of the brook, 泳游溪涨后,
 They strike the water under the nascent bright moon. 泼刺月明初。
 Their carefree character fits well within the environment, 物性悠然适,
 Watching them closely my mind feels leisure too.⁶⁹ 临观意亦舒。

The “fish pool” alluded to the Daoist sage Zhuangzi's “happy kingdom of fish.” Yongzheng first described in detail the physical characteristics of the fish pool, then depicted the activities of the fish under the moonlight. The final two sentences tell

⁶⁸ Yongzheng, “Shenliu dushu tang 深柳读书堂,” in *ibid.*, 86.

⁶⁹ Yongzheng, “Jinyu chi 金鱼池,” in *ibid.*, 88.

us that the carefree characteristics of the fish were also the state of the garden and of his mind. As he gazed at the fish pool under moonlight, both his view and his mind became unified. The same site was transformed into Qianlong's thirteenth *jing*, Universal Peace, on which he stated: "Whenever at a moon night in high autumn, the brilliant moon in the clear sky [appears like] the *round spirit* [my italic] in the mirror."⁷⁰ He tried to express that in the round brightness the full moon was so close to him.

In another poem, "Calm Lake under the Autumn Moon," Yongzheng expressed his notion that the circle of his heart could identify with that of the moon:

The top of the tree disappears into dusk mists, 树杪暮烟收,
Clear light chases the water flow. 晴光逐水流。
Laid-back herons stand on shallow sands, 浅沙闲立鹭,
Peaceful gulls float on light waves. 轻浪稳眠鸥。
The heart and the moon are two round mirrors. 心月双圆镜,
The lake and the sky are unified into the monochrome of autumn. 湖天一
秋色。
It seems like being in heaven, 恍疑星汉里,
An illusion of strolling in the Daoist paradise.⁷¹ 缥缈玉京游。

The symbolic connection between the heart and the full moon was established based on the round form. The term "mirror" means that the heart and the full moon corresponded to and brightened each other. The inter-reflection between the sky and the lake enhanced the unity of the heart and the moon.

The round moon and the round heart met at the surface of the calm lake. The essential relationship among tranquility, brightness, and the mind originated from writings by the Neo-Confucianist Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 of the Northern Song dynasty. According to him, tranquility and void leads to brightness, and brightness

⁷⁰ Qianlong, "Wanfang anhe 万方安和," *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 31.

⁷¹ Yongzheng, "Pinghu qiuyue 平湖秋月," in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, 158.

leads to thorough understanding. He connected the tranquility of water with Dao of the world:

A spring comes out of the mountain feet. It is tranquil and clear. If it gurgles, it will be disorderly. The disorder will have no smoothness. [That is why] one should be careful, and can only take [Confucius's] timely middle way as the principle... Tranquility means a stop. The stop means no behavior. Behavior means no tranquility. The Dao here is too deep [to understand].⁷²

山下出泉。静而清也。汨则乱。乱不决也。愔哉。其维时中乎... 静，则止。止，非为也。为，不止也矣。其道也深乎。

By describing the tranquility of water, Zhou Dunyi was proposing the tranquility of the heart, where only a tranquil heart could approach Dao of the world.

The vision of round brightness in Yongzheng's mind was best described by his "Record of the Garden of Round Brightness" (1725).⁷³ The full translation of this record is as follows, with my annotations in brackets (For the original Chinese text, see text 1 in appendix 4):

North of the Garden of Uninhibited Spring, the Garden of Round Brightness was granted to me as my residence garden. During his leisure time, after a court audience, my father, the majestic emperor [Kangxi], strolled along the shore of the Lake of Red Hill [Danlin pan]. After tasting the spring water and finding it sweet, he decided to change a ruined villa from the Ming dynasty, reduced its site and built the Garden of Uninhibited Spring for his residence in high spring and summer. Accompanying him, I was granted an area here with clear elegant forested-hills and still, deep and expansive waters. I built pavilions and houses following the lay of the land, rising with hills and diving with the waters. I chose to delight in nature and

⁷² Zhou Dunyi (Northern Song dyn.), chapter 40, *Tongshu*, in *Taiji tushuo, tong shu*, (Shao Yong's) *guanwu pian* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 48.

⁷³ ⁷³ The translation is based on the punctuated and annotated version in Chen Zhi et al ed. and anno., *Zhongguo lidai zhaoyuan wenxuan* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1992), 194-195. It also refers to the punctuated version "Shizong xianhuangdi yuzhi Yuanmingyuan ji" in *Yuanmingyuan: xueshu lunwen ji*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui 4 (1986): 102, and the un-punctuated version in *Yuzhi yuanmingyuan tushu* (1887), 1-19.

spare myself the vexations of construction. Flowers by the balustrades and trees on the dike flourished without watering. Flocks of birds enjoyed soaring; schools of fish dove freely. The place was bright, high and dry, fertile soil and abundant springs promised prosperity. How peaceful and auspicious it was to reside here! When the garden was built, thanks to my father's benevolence, it was granted the name Round Brightness.

[The Red Hill is also the name of the birthplace of the legendary emperor Yao. The name therefore implied a blessed imperial land. The Garden of Uninhibited Spring was located on the site of the former Garden of Delicate Brilliance of the Ming dynasty.⁷⁴ Besides springs on the site, the water of the Garden of Round Brightness came from the Hill of Jade-Spring in the west and the River of Ten-thousand Springs in the south. During the construction of the garden, earthworks from digging watercourses were used for creating many hillocks. The phrase of "chose to delight in nature" alludes to Zhuangzi's ideas of *ziqu* 自取, literally "choose by oneself."⁷⁵ In the garden, birds and fish enjoy their own nature. Such a self-enjoyment alludes to Zhuangzi's another idea *zide* 自得, literally "obtain by itself"⁷⁶].

I waited respectfully for my father's arrival, enjoyed his kindness, celebrated with him the heavenly joy, and expressed how sincerely I cherished this moment. Flowers and trees, forests and springs, all bathed in his glory and philanthropy. After inheriting the throne, I mourned day and night and fasted to pay respect to my departed father. Although the summer was hot and muggy, I did not mind it. Three years passed and the rite of mourning was over. Because of all the administrative affairs now waiting for me, I should calm down to be blessed with good fortunes and keep away from disturbances. For a clear and beautiful atmosphere, a garden residence is the best. I therefore ordered the Bureau of the Imperial Households to restore the garden with great care. All the pavilions, terraces, hills and gullies were

⁷⁴ It was owned by Li Wei, the father of the Ming emperor Shenzong's mother.

⁷⁵ See chapter "Qi wu lun," *Zhuangzi*, in Guo Qingfan (Qing dyn.) anno., *Zhuangzi ji shi*, 4 vols. (Rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1: 50.

⁷⁶ See chapter "Xiaoyao you," *Zhuangzi*, 24-26.

returned to their original appearances. A wing was added for various administrative departments, so all the retinues and on-duty officials could have workplaces. A hall was built in the south of the garden for audiences. [In the third moon of 1722, Prince Yinzhen invited his father Kangxi to the garden twice. A famous place for appreciating flowers in the garden is the Peony Terrace at the fourth *jing*, Carving the Moon and Unfolding Clouds, where hundreds of peonies were planted. The three generations of the Qing emperors, Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, liked to appreciate peonies together in the spring. Such an activity was taken as a symbol of peace and prosperity of the country. The “garden residence,” *yuanju* 园居, is a significant concept developed in Qing imperial gardens, implying a multiple function of imperial residence, entertainment and administration. According to the Qing imperial system, all national projects were administrated by the Ministry of Construction [Gong bu] and had to abide by the unified building regulations. The construction of imperial gardens was under the charge of the Bureau of Imperial Households [Neiwu fu], especially, the Garden of Round Brightness had its own specific building regulations without being subject to any others].

When the first rays of the morning sun appear and the shadow of the sundial is still long, I call officials for consultation. I frequently change my diurnal schedule in order to spend more time with my officials. Plots were planted for crops and vegetables. The flat farmland is fertile and crops are abundant. With a casual glance into the distance, my reverie extends to the whole country, as well as wishes for a good harvest. When I lean on a balustrade inspecting the crops or stand beside the field watching the clouds, I wish for a good rain to come during the right time and hope for a climate responsive to sturdy seedlings. Images of assiduous and tired peasants and of the toil of tilling the land suddenly seem to appear in the garden. When the forest light shines bright and clear, the pools are crystal clear and tranquil; the distant peaks break into this mirror. The morning sun and the evening moon; greenery is reflected and the sky is contained [by the water]. [Hence,] magic

effects of Dao emerge unconsciously and the bosom of heaven suddenly becomes bright.

[The sundial is on the southern façade of a clock tower at the seventh *jing*, Mercy Clouds Protecting All. It can be watched clearly from the third *jing*, Peace for All China, where the emperor usually lived. The agricultural field in the emperor's garden alluded to Confucius's thought that a country must have sufficient provisions.⁷⁷ The emperor's intention towards the mirror-like water surface alluded to Zhuangzi's idea of *zhi-shui* 止水, literally "still water," which meant that only when water was still was the world most clearly reflected and collected⁷⁸].

During short breaks from my administration, I study the classics to shape my character. I explore rhythm for poems, practice calligraphy and dedicate myself to the study of the classics. My life follows a strict routine, enlightened by my father's holy model, which I respectfully observe all the time and dare not surpass. The ceilings, columns, walls and doors of the buildings are in a simple form without superfluous ornament, following the lead of my father's simple life. I communicate with vassals during the day, review their reports and propositions at night, collate texts while standing on a front step and watch archers in a practice field. At leisure or on duty, I follow the same rule of conduct, following the lead of my father's diligence. In the fine days of spring and autumn, when the scenery is fresh and fragrant, and birds sing a harmonious chord and limpid dew congeals on flower petals, I sometimes invite princes and ministers to appreciate the scenes at their own pace, to boat and enjoy fruits. We give a free rein to our feelings, displaying accordingly our sense of well being, looking up and gazing down and roaming at leisure. Nature discloses itself to the fullest; heart and mind exults with joy, following the lead of my father's openness to worthy and virtuous people, and his consideration for his courtiers and ability to avail himself of circumstances.

⁷⁷ Zhang Dainian ed., *Kongzi da cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1993), 280.

⁷⁸ See chapter "De chong fu," *Zhuangzi*, in *Zhuangzi ji shi*, 193-194.

[Studying the classics was based on the Confucius' thought that a virtuous man should have extensive knowledge of the classics and that diligent study could enhance virtue.⁷⁹ The phrase "looking up and gazing down" alludes to the sentences "look up at the bigness of the cosmos, gaze down at the flourishing of categories of things 仰观宇宙之大，俯察品类之盛" from the prose "Recount of the Orchard Pavilion" (*Lan ting xu*), by Wang Xizhi, a calligraphy artist of the Eastern Jin dynasty.⁸⁰ The phrase "roam at leisure" originated from Zhuangzi's idea of *xiaoyao you* 逍遥游, which meant that when the heart was not burdened by things and expectations, it could move to infinity.⁸¹ The phrase "nature discloses itself to the fullest; heart and mind exults with joy" expressed the vivid experience of the Round Brightness].

Round Brightness, the name granted by my father, has a deep and far-ranging meaning, not easily perceived. I have tried to research ancient books for the moral meaning of Round Brightness. "Round" means the perfection and concentration of the mind, implying the timeliness and moderation of the behavior of a virtuous man. "Brightness" means to illuminate all things to reach human perspicacity and wisdom.⁸² Round Brightness is used to highlight the meaning of the residence, stimulate the body and mind, piously experience the idea of heaven, cherish forever [my father's] holy instruction, propagate all creatures and maintain harmony and peace. I do not ask for peace for myself but rather wish it for the whole country. I do not seek leisure for myself but rather long for happiness for all the people, so that generation after generation can step on the spring terrace and wander in the

⁷⁹ Zhang Dainian, 259, 261.

⁸⁰ See Wang Xizhi (Eastern Jin), *Lan ting ji* (Shanghai: Guanyu shuju, 1915).

⁸¹ See chapter "Xiaoyao you," *Zhuangzi*, 1. Refer to a published translation of this chapter of *Zhuangzi* in A. C. Graham, part two: 1 "Going rambling without a destination," *Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2001).

⁸² A published French translation of Yongzheng's explanation of Round Brightness is: "Le parfait atteint le divin, comme l'homme pénétré de vertu est à l'exact milieu du jour; la clarté se répand en tous lieux, telle l'intelligence pénétrante d'un sage accompli" (See Che-Bing Chiu, *Garden of Round Brightness: Le Jardin de la Clarté Parfaite* (Paris: Les Éditions de L'Imprimeur, 2000), the loose page). The English translation of this French translation is: "The perfection reaches the divine, as the man who is fully immersed in virtue stands at the very center of day; brightness spreads over all places, as would the penetrating mind of a perfectly wise man." What is missing in this translation is the primary form of "roundness," which needs to be preserved.

happy kingdom. I stabilize the mighty foundation of the country to make people's good fortune and well being last into the future. If [what I have done] can show my gratitude to the blessing my father bestowed upon me, my heart at this moment might feel a little relieved. I therefore write this record to express my deep feelings.

[In chapter "Xici shangzhuan" of the ancient cosmological book *Yizhuan* [c. 4th cen. BC], it says, "Therefore, the virtue of *shi* becomes round and divine; the virtue of *gua* becomes square and intelligent ... Thus, the Dao of heaven is brightened [是故蓍之德圆而神, 卦之德方以知... 是以明于天之道]."⁸³ This quote is probably the oldest source that can be found about the original meaning of "round brightness." The "concentration of the mind" alluded to Zhuangzi's idea "condensation of the mind," *ningshen* 凝神.⁸⁴

According to a Qing scholar Wang Fuzhi's 王夫之 interpretation, in such condensation of the mind, the world is fully occupied by an individual's spirit.⁸⁵ The phrase "timeliness and moderation," *shi-zhong* 时中, literally "timely middle," was a central idea of Confucius. The "middle" echoed with the "round" form. The connection between "timeliness and moderation" and "a virtuous man" was established by Confucius, who said in the book *Zhongyong*, "A virtuous man acts timely and moderately."⁸⁶ Yongzheng alluded to two Daoist terms to compare his garden to a model of the ideal nation, where "happiness" was shared by "all people." The first term "spring

⁸³ See chapter "Xici shangzhuan," *Yizhuan*, in Tang Mingbang ed. & anno., *Zhouyi pingzhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 216.

⁸⁴ See chapter "Xiaoyao you," *Zhuangzi*, in Guo Qingfan (Qing dyn.) anno., *Zhuangzi ji shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 28. I translate the term *shen* 神 as "mind." According to Guo's interpretation, when the mind is condensed, one can accomplish anything without being conscious of it; once the mind is condensed, all other things will be obtained without effort. So, Zhuangzi's "condensation of the mind" does not simply mean to draw attention. To the contrary, at the precise moment when the mind is condensed, there is nothing on the mind in which to focus and true freedom is thus released. Such a seemingly paradoxical Daoist idea is quite close to French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre's concepts of "consciousness" and "nothingness." In a published translation of *Zhuangzi*, the term *shen* is translated as "daemonic" (See A. C. Graham, *Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapter* [Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2001], 46). I translate the *shen* as "mind" or "spirit," because Zhuangzi's ideas are basically about human existence.

⁸⁵ See Wang Fuzhi (Qing dyn.) anno., *Zhuangzi jie* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 7.

⁸⁶ See *Zhongyong*, in Zhen Xuan (Han dyn.), *Daxue, Zhongyong* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 1.

terrace” was from Laozi’s saying “Lustily, the people seem enjoying a feast or ascending a terrace in springtime” and signified in general the beautiful place for touring.⁸⁷ The second term “happy kingdom” was from Zhuangzi who used it to describe the freedom of fish. He said, “To wander leisurely is fish’s happiness”⁸⁸].

In 1744, Yongzheng’s son, Qianlong officially named the Forty Jing of the Garden of Round Brightness. Three years later, the construction of the Garden of Eternal Spring and the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden began. Although Qianlong’s garden expansion moved eastward, he maintained the view towards the distant West Mountain, which his father so enjoyed. In the poem of the twenty-seventh *jing*, *Elegant View of West-Mountain Peaks*, Qianlong stated:

On the terrace a high wood pavilion was built, 埧地高轩架木为,
In summer the wind is invigorating as if in autumn. 朱明飒爽如秋叶。
The western windows face right towards the West Mountain, 西窗正对西山启,
The distant peaks were connected to feel like they were several feet away.⁸⁹
遥接峣峰等尺咫。

In the poem of the thirty-third *jing*, *Cottage with a View of Pretty Mountains*, he stated:

The door is connected with the elegant West Mountain, 户接西山秀,
The window is bordered with the northern islets in the clear water. 窗临北渚澄。
The *qin* [a musical instrument] and books are my hobbies, 琴书吾所好,
The pines and bamboo are my friends.⁹⁰ 松竹古之朋。

⁸⁷ See chapter 20, *Laozi*, in *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, anno. Fu Yunlong & Lu Qin (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2000), 27. Also refer to *A Translation of Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching and Wang Pi’s Commentary*, trans. Paul J. Lin (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1977), 35.

⁸⁸ See chapter “Qiu shui,” *Zhuangzi*, in Wang Fuzhi, 148.

⁸⁹ Qianlong, “Xifeng xiuse 西峰秀色,” in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 59.

⁹⁰ Qianlong, “Jiexiu shanfang 接秀山房,” in *ibid.*, 71.

The view of the West Mountain acted as a “borrowed *jing*” that was framed by the window of a garden building. In the borrowed *jing*, the West Mountain appeared as part of the garden.

Compared with his father, Qianlong certainly held a larger picture in his vision of Round Brightness. His intention was witnessed by his ordering the court painters (Lang Shining 郎世宁 [Castiglione], Tang Dai 唐岱, Sun Hu 孙祜, Shen Yun 沈源, Zhang Wanbang 张万邦 and Ding Guanpeng 丁观鹏) to paint a huge panorama of the Garden of Round Brightness in 1737. For the painting, he penned the title, “Grand View [*daguan* 大观],” which was poetized later by a Qing scholar Wang Kaiyun 王闳运 as “moving the sky and reducing the earth into the imperial bosom [移天缩地在君怀].”⁹¹ The cosmos was integrated with the emperor’s mind into the diffusing perfect brightness which was best experienced as a whole.

The diffusion of brightness in the “grand view” was observed by the Western Jesuits who worked in the garden. The most complete description was made by the French Jesuit painter, Jean-Denis Attiret (Chinese name, Wang Zhicheng 王致诚), in a letter he wrote in 1743. Regarding the watercourses in the garden, he wrote:

They go from one of the valleys to another, not by formal straight walks as in Europe; but by various turnings and windings... The sides of the canals are not faced with smooth stone, and in a straight line; but look rude and rustic... [They are] the work of nature.⁹²

The changing views along the winding path in the garden also impressed him, because “these paths too are irregular,” winding along the banks of the water.⁹³ As far as the buildings in the garden, he noted that they had “a beautiful disorder,” “seldom run on in straight lines; but make a hundred turns and windings.”⁹⁴ In Attiret’s eyes, the watercourses, footpaths, and buildings in the enclosure of the

⁹¹ Wang Kaiyun (Qing dyn.), “Yuanmingyuan ci,” in *Qingren shuohui* (Shanghai, 1928), 260.

⁹² Jean-Denis Attiret, “A Letter from a French Missionary in China, Peking, Nov. 1, 1743,” in John Dixon Hunt ed., *The English Landscape Garden* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), 8-9.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38, 42.

garden collectively contributed to the “beautiful disorder” through their “hundred turns,” which physically defined the diffusion of brightness.

While the Jesuits’ accounts present a different perspective, one of the best sources for us to understand the vision of Round Brightness in Qianlong’s mind is his “Later Record of the Garden of Round Brightness” (1770). The full translation of the record is as follows, with my annotations in brackets (For the original Chinese text, see text 2 in appendix 4):

In the past, my father [Emperor Yongzheng] repaired and improved a garden that my grandfather [Emperor Kangxi] granted him. Basic administration space was added so that he could issue decrees at will, establish new policies and keep close to his worthy officials. For the administration buildings, garden buildings, the jutting hillocks and receding pools arranged behind them, plainness rather than magnificence, seclusion rather than conspicuous display were valued. When planting is enjoyed, shrubbery and flowerbeds excitedly burst open into bloom. When agricultural activity is conducted [by experienced people], fields and vegetable gardens are managed as if weather was under control. The wind through the pines and the moon [reflected] deep in the water penetrated his bosom and magic Dao surges by itself. He carefully protected the country, communicated frequently with learned officials and studied classics to shape his character. Here he could thoroughly enjoy himself, sing or recite poems, have all his senses in full alert or at ease.

[The “plainness” [pū 朴] is a key concept of Laozi’s thought, which indicates the primordial materiality that was raw, opaque and unnamable. When it dispersed, useful tools were born.⁹⁵ In Chinese, the term “seclusion” [yōu 幽] means in general deep and concealed. Laozi first used this word to describe

⁹⁵ See chapter 28, *Laozi*, in Liu Dianjue ed., *Laozi zhuzi suoyin* (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996), 10.

Dao that was obscure and active.⁹⁶ The same concept was used in the Daoist book *Huainan zi* to describe Dao as “concealed, deep and dark”⁹⁷].

The concerns for the welfare of the country that both my father and grandfather placed ahead of their own pleasure surrounded all things and thus came to form the “round brightness.” The meaning of “round brightness” indicates the timeliness and moderation of behavior of a virtuous man. My grandfather gave this name to the garden he granted to my father, who accepted it respectfully as an uplifting of his own person and spirit, and as an ever-present memory of his father in the garden. Rather than expecting peace for himself, he wished it for the whole country. Rather than seeking leisure for himself, he longed for all the people to live a merry life. It was my father’s intention to make [the people’s] well being and wealth last forever.

I, as his son, revere the ancestors’ palaces and gardens and am often afraid of demeaning them. How could I dare add to or modify them? Therefore, after inheriting the imperial throne, when the construction department submitted a proposal to build a new garden, I refused. Since then, out of mourning, I have resided in the old garden of my father. During leisure hours between court audiences, an emperor must have his own place for roaming around and appreciating expansive landscapes. If a balance of work and leisure is obtained, the garden will foster good personality and shape the character. If balance is not achieved, he will indulge in futility and confuse his sense of purpose. If he pays too much attention to palace buildings, riding and archery, rare skills and curiosities, his attention to worthy officials and their propositions, his diligent administration and his love of the people will grow thin. The damage is really beyond description.

[The original phrase “surrounded all things and thus came to form the round brightness” literally means “encircle the cosmos and things into the round

⁹⁶ See chapter 21, *Laozi*, in Yin Zhenhuan, *Boshu laozhi shixi* (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1995), 331.

⁹⁷ Liu Dianjue, 1.

brightness [周宇物而圓明也].” It is a key sentence for understanding Qianlong’s own interpretation of the meaning of Round Brightness. The Fairy Lodge in Eternal Spring, the twelfth *jing* in the garden, was where Qianlong as a prince used to live. To commemorate this place, he named a new garden in the east with the same name Eternal Spring. The original term of “a balance of work and leisure” is *yi* 宜, which means in general calm and appropriate. The Daoist sage Zhuangzi thought that each thing had its own appropriate place in the world; only when everything became appropriate was infinity reached;⁹⁸ when heart roams in indifference, the world will be governed⁹⁹.

My father did not reside in the Garden of Uninhibited Spring [of his father], because he already had the Garden of Round Brightness. By turning down carvings and decorations, he was of one mind with the pure and simple inclinations of his father. However, the spacious and open scale, deep gullies and quiet hills, bright and beautiful landscapes, and high and remote buildings [of this garden] are beyond imagination. Such a place accumulating the blessings of the land and heaven offers a touring place that nothing can surpass. [For the same reason,] my offspring should certainly not give this garden away and waste people’s wealth to build another one. This matches deeply with my desire of following my father’s diligent and frugal inclinations. Although ancient books say an emperor should not live in his parents’ houses, this imperial taboo cannot be compared with the smart praise made by Zhang Lao of the Jin Kingdom. It is worth meditating [on this].

[Zhang Lao 张老, named Zhang Meng 张孟, was a court official in the Jin kingdom of the Spring Autumn period. The prince of the Jin kingdom, Wen

⁹⁸ See chapter “Da zongshi,” *Zhuangzi*, in Guo Qingfan, 232. Research has revealed that the German philosopher Martin Heidegger once interpreted the meaning of Dao with two German terms, *eignen* (being suitable) and *Ereignis* (appropriation), which can be related to the concept *yi* (See Reinhard May, *Heidegger’s Hidden Sources: East Asian Influences on His Work*, trans. Graham Parkes [London: Routledge, 1996], 40-41).

⁹⁹ See chapter “Ying diwang,” in *ibid.*, 294.

Zi 文子 [Zhao Wu 赵武], built a new residence, and the grand officials went to visit it. Zhang Lao praised, “How sublime and beautifully ornamented it is! Here, you can sing for rites, cry for mourning and celebrate with friends and relatives.” Wen Zi then realized that Zhang Lao pretended to praise the building but rather in fact criticized its extravagance in order to prevent him from doing this again. Virtuous men therefore acclaimed Zhang Lao for his “smart praise.”¹⁰⁰ Qianlong used this story to allude to the fact that he preferred living in his father’s garden to building a new one].

My father has accounted in his record the history of building the garden and his intention to avail himself of circumstances, increase his scholarly wisdom and military courage, multiply all life under the sun, protect the harmonic and peaceful world, let the people step on the spring terrace and wander about the happy kingdom. How dare his son restate them here!¹⁰¹

[The phrase “protect the harmonic and peaceful world” alluded to the phrase “protect peace for universal harmony” [*baohé taihé* 保和太和] in the ancient cosmological book *Yizhuan*¹⁰²].

A major expansion made by Qianlong to the Garden of Round Brightness was the creation of the Garden of Eternal Spring, of which he wrote many poems. A full translation of his “Poem of the Garden of Eternal Spring with a Preface” is as follows, with my annotations in brackets (For the original Chinese text, see text 3 in appendix 4):

¹⁰⁰ See the Chinese text in Sun Xidan (Qing dyn.) anno., “Tan gong xia,” *Liji ji jie*, 2 vols. (Rpt., Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1990), 1: 299. For a published translation of this story, see James Legge, Book II “The Than Kung”: Section II : Part III, *Li chi : Books of Rites*, 2 vols. (New Hyde Park, NY : University Books, 1967), 1 : 196. A French translation is in *Mémoires sur les bibenséances et les cérémonies*, Tome 1, Première Partie (Paris: Cathasia, 1950), 252-253.

¹⁰¹ The translation is based on the punctuated and annotated text “Yuanmingyuan houji” in Chen Zhi, 200-201. It also refers to the punctuated version “Yuanmingyuan houji” in *Yuanmingyuan: xueshu lunwen ji*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui 4 (1986): 185, and the un-punctuated version in *Yuzhi yuanmingyuan tushi* (Tianjing: Shiyin shuwu, 1887). An incomplete translation of this record is in Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch’ing Dynasty*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 19.1-2 (Urbana: The University of Illinois, 1934): 64-65.

¹⁰² See chapter “Yuan zhuan,” *Yizhuan*, in Gao Heng, *Zhouyi daxhuan jinzhu* (Ji’nan: Qilu shushe, 1980), 55.

[Foreword:] Mountains and waters symbolize joy and longevity, and a pleasant mood follows that which is encountered. The sun and the moon bring out scenes from fairylands. Springtime thus becomes eternal. I opened up an unused field in the imperial garden [Garden of Round Brightness] and named it after the good title of my former residence [in the Garden of Round Brightness], Eternal Spring. Reflecting on this title, given by my father [Emperor Yongzheng] in the past, I happen from time to time to get close to the principle of the whole. Wishing for a peaceful residence in the future, I begin to arrange it beforehand.

[When in his teens, Qianlong's residence in the Garden of Round Brightness was called Fairy Lodge in Eternal Spring. The name Eternal Spring itself thus became the connection between the two gardens as well as between the two generations of Qing emperors. The "principle of the whole" indicated the unity of history, which integrated past and present].

The water is connected to the Lake of Good Fortune [in the Garden of Round Brightness], and an unused field to the east is covered with magnificent sacred mulberry trees. The wall winds along the banks of the Clear River, and sweet smells of corn float over the northern fields. Glancing at ancient books entertains my spirit; a hall is used for storing them. I wield the brush in writing poems to enjoy myself; a gallery of Unsophisticated Transformation is used [for storing stone tablets]. The longing for diligence is everlasting and it is modeled after a chapel. With my bosom opened to spectacular views, I climb this tower. Views of any hill and any valley are pretty enough to delight my heart. Pavilions along the water or on top of a hill offer views that attract my eyes.

[The water of the Garden of Eternal Spring came from the Fortunate Lake in the Garden of Round Brightness through a five-arch floodgate in the northwest, which was nearby the entrance of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. The mentioning that the water source of the Garden of Eternal Spring was from the Garden of Round Brightness was intended to demonstrate the close relationship between these two gardens. The sacred

mulberry tree, *fusang* 扶桑, is well known in Chinese mythology. It is said the sun rises from the foot of the tree. The Gallery of Unsophisticated Transformation was built for storing the stone tablets from the Tower of Unsophisticated Transformation of the Song dynasty].

Strolling and resting here during moments snatched away from public affairs, I think of staying forever in good health and in peace into my eighties and nineties. If a reign should last for sixty years [before retirement as my grandfather did], I am afraid my long hoped for wish will turn out to be extravagant. Up to now I still have twenty-five years to fulfill, how could I dare feel tired already?

I compose a poem to go along the above foreword:

[The Garden of] Eternal Spring dares not compare to [the Garden of] Uninhibited Spring,

[Qianlong's] note: The Garden of Uninhibited Spring is south of the Garden of Round Brightness. It was built by my grand father and is now the residence of my mother.

[I] imitate the *jing* of the famous gardens [in Jiangnan] for a certain reason. My past residence [in the Garden of Round Brightness] was named Fairy Lodge in Eternal Spring,

[Qianlong's] note: The Fairy Lodge in Eternal Spring is one of the Forty *Jing* of the Garden of Round Brightness. It was named by my father Emperor Yongzheng and now I use the same name for the new garden.

When getting too old to work I will seek a residence for retirement.

[Qianlong's] note: I have a long cherished wish that in the sixtieth year of my reign, namely at the age of eight-five years old, I should retire. I therefore prepare a garden east of the Garden of Round Brightness for my future residence. Although this might be an extravagant hope, if the garden is really built, it could also be seen a good fortune for my country and as a celebration of my people.

I plant pine tree saplings and observe their growth,

I collect [precious] rocks and wait peacefully for a future reward.
 The remaining twenty-five years still requires prudence.
 [Qianlong's] note: I am sixty years old now and still need another twenty-five years to retire. Nevertheless, I dare not relax at all and my will is for diligence in public affairs. Only after retirement can I enjoy myself.
 In my late eighties and nineties I shall stroll about leisurely and joyously.¹⁰³
 [Although Qianlong said he imitated the *jing* of the famous gardens in Jiangnan "for a certain reason," he did not point out what that reason was. He also claimed that his Garden of Eternal Spring dared not to compete with his grandfather's Garden of Uninhibited Spring. In fact, in the Garden of Uninhibited Spring, Kangxi had already asked the craftsmen from Jiangnan to imitate the *jing* of literati gardens. Qianlong possibly learned this from his grandfather].

Qianlong's major strategy for constructing this garden was to imitate the famous gardens in Jiangnan, one of which was the Lion Grove garden in Suzhou (Fig. 70), which was famous for its rocks. The Lion Grove had been replicated at least twice in Qing imperial gardens. One example was the Lion Grove located in the retreat garden, Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness; another example was the Lion Grove located in the northeastern corner of the Garden of Eternal Spring, which bordered the Square River in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. The Lion Grove in the Garden of Eternal Spring not only imitated the model in Suzhou but also replicated some of the well-known landscape buildings of Ni Zan's 倪瓒 (the proposed designer of the Lion Grove garden in Suzhou) villa in his hometown, such as the Hall of Cloudy Forest and the Pavilion of Aloof Remoteness.

To the east of the Garden of Lion Grove was the seven-arch exit floodgate of the watercourse of the Garden of Eternal Spring (Fig. 1). In the poem "Water Gate," Qianlong wrote:

¹⁰³ The translation is based on the punctuated text "Qianlong sanshiwunian yuzhi Changchunyuanyuan tiju you xu" in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001), 3: 1379-1380.

The water flows through a gate beyond the garden wall, 墙外林园水作门,
Boating here tastes like being at the water source of Wulin. 泛舟雅似武陵
源。

Though it [the water source of Wulin] was recorded by [Tao] Yuanming, 羸
他祇有渊明记,

It cannot match the old man's [Ni Zan] painting scroll.¹⁰⁴ 不及迂翁画卷
存。

Although the water gate was the exit of the watercourse of the garden, it was still regarded as a “water mouth” which evoked a mystical feeling to the emperor. He connected the mystical feeling of a watercourse with the mystical feeling of a painted garden scroll.

Qianlong was impressed by the Lion Grove in Suzhou during his multiple visits to the Jiangnan. A Qing record of this garden says:

The Lion Grove is the famous *jing* in the garden of the Huang family in Suzhou. In the *renwu* year [1762], Emperor Qianlong came to the Jiangnan and revisited this garden. He painted the *jing* of the garden and inscribed a poem within the painting. He then compared his painting with Ni Yunlin's 倪云林 [Ni Zan] which he specifically brought with him from Beijing. Upon return to his home, he decided to build a Lion Grove in the Garden of Eternal Spring. When the garden was built, he asked a court painter to paint a scroll of the garden in Ni's style. He wrote a poem on the scroll and stored it in the Pavilion of Aloof Remoteness in the new Lion Grove. Meanwhile, he hung Du Qiong's 杜琼 painting of Lion Grove on the wall. In the garden, Emperor Qianlong first obtained eight *jing*... Later on, he obtained another eight.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Qianlong, “Shuimen 水门,” in Zhu Jiajin et al ed., “Qing wuchao yuzhiji zhong de Yuanmingyuan shi,” in *Yuanming yuan* 4 (1985): 66.

¹⁰⁵ See the Chinese text in Wu Zhenyu (Qing dyn.), *Yangjizhai conglu*, juan 18 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1983). Also rpt. in Wang Daocheng ed., *Yuanming yuan: lishi, xianzhuang, lunzheng*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 2: 880.

The record demonstrates the cohesive relationship between paintings and the gardens (of both the new and old). Qianlong recorded the *jing* of the old garden with a painting and recreated the *jing* of the new garden for a painting. In the colophon of his Lion Grove scroll (1373), the Yuan painter Ni Zan stated: “I and Mr. Zhao Shanchang 赵善长 discussed creating a painting of the Lion Grove garden with intentions [*yi* 意], which would inherit the intentions of Masters Jing [Hao] 荆浩 and Guan [Tong] 关仝.”¹⁰⁶ This statement shows that the painting was not a mere representation of the garden, but rather an expression of the painter’s intention towards the garden. Following Ni Zan’s intention, Qianlong shifted between the old garden, the new garden, and their pictorial representations.

Qianlong wrote poetry in regards to his Lion Grove at least six times. In the foreword of the poem “On the Jing of the Lion Grove,” he wrote: “The fame of the Lion Grove evolves from Pedant Ni’s [Ni Zan] painting scroll. The bamboo, rocks, hillocks and gullies here [in my own Garden of Lion Grove] all imitate the *jing* in his painting.”¹⁰⁷ In the foreword of the poem “Artificial Hill,” he wrote: “The Lion Grove [garden] is famous for its rocks. It is said that it was sited by [the great Yuan painter] Ni [Zhan]. I now order the masters from Suzhou [in the Jiangnan] to make some small *jing* and try their best to imitate [the original garden].”¹⁰⁸ These descriptions demonstrate the cohesive relationship between the old and new Lion Groves in Qianlong’s mind. In the foreword for a group of poems titled “Other Eight Jing of the Lion Grove Once Again,” he stated:

In the colophon of his painting, Ni Zan stated that he discussed with Zhao Shanchang on creating a painting of the Lion Grove [garden]... The painting did come from Ni’s hand, but whether the laid rocks and buildings also came from him is not certain. Furthermore, it has been over four hundred years [since the building of the garden] and the owner has changed several times, with the current owner being the Wang family. Although today’s pavilions,

¹⁰⁶ Ni Zan in Chen Chuanxi et al, “Ni Zan,” in Zhu Boxiong et al ed., *Zhongguo shubua mingjia jingpin dadian*, v. 1 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 415. Jin Hao and Guan Tong were painters in the Five Dynasties period.

¹⁰⁷ Qianlong, “Shizi lin 狮子林,” in Zhu Jiajin, 65.

¹⁰⁸ Qianlong, “Jiashan 假山,” in *ibid*.

terraces, peaks and pools [of my own Lion Grove garden] can be similar to the Lion Grove of Suzhou, it cannot be completely similar to what Ni's painting depicts. Though I chant poems to express my admiration, my intention goes to Ni rather than Huang. People like to keep talking about that which is worth talking about, therefore I [continue to] carry on what can be chanted in the other eight *jing* for the Lion Grove.¹⁰⁹

It is clear that Qianlong admired not only the garden of the Lion Grove in Suzhou but also the painting of the garden created by the famous painter Ni Zan. The emperor's intention of replicating the Lion Grove and building a new one in his Garden of Eternal Spring was to imitate the painter's intention. As his poem "Lion Grove" in 1773 said,

The painting of the Lion Grove was created by [Ni] Yunlin [namely, Ni Zan],
狮子图迹创云林,

The spirit of the whole scroll flows through to today. 一卷精神直注今。

[I.] however, imitate it by building a garden, 却以墨绳为肖筑,

It is like painting a copy of the original painting.¹¹⁰ 宛如粉本此重临。

For the emperor, making the Lion Grove garden was like recreating the painting. It can even be inferred that the garden was built only because of that famous garden painting.

The activity of replicating a famous garden from the Jiangnan within an imperial garden in Beijing unavoidably raises the question of truth. In the poem "Studio of Exploring the Truth," Qianlong stated:

I want to ask about the *bounded environment* [my italic] of the Lion Grove, 试问狮林境,

Which one is fictional and which one is truthful? 孰为幻孰真。

The She Garden [of today's Huang family, namely previous Lion Grove] is in fact an imitation [of Ni's old painting], 涉园犹假借,

¹⁰⁹ Qianlong, "Xuti Shizilin ba jing 续题狮子林八景," in *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Qianlong, "Shizi lin 狮子林," in *ibid.*, 67.

The real image is actually in the Treasure Box of the Stone Ditch.¹¹¹ 宝笈实源津。

The Treasure Box of the Stone Ditch was the imperial place specifically for storing paintings. Among the Lion Grove in Suzhou, the Lion Grove in the Garden of Eternal Spring and Ni's painting of Lion Grove, which one was more truthful? For Qianlong, the answer was the last one. This does not mean the painting was more valuable than the actual gardens, rather it demonstrates that the "intention" expressed by the pictorial representation of the garden was as important, if not more important, as the garden itself. As long as the pictorial intention was preserved, it did not matter if the garden was a replica or not as that was a secondary consideration.

A famous feature in both the old and new Lion Grove gardens was their rocks. The hill made of rocks was called an "artificial hill" in Chinese gardens. In the poem of the "Artificial Hill" of the new Lion Grove, Qianlong stated:

The Lion Grove of Suzhou, 吴中狮子林,
Is structured by [Ni] Yunlin. 结构云林者。
Today, the resembling imperial garden, 即今肖御园,
Is not much different from the original model. 岂异粉本把。
Think about that in the Stone Ditch collection, 又思石渠藏,
There are many works by this old man. 颇多斯翁写。
Un-scroll and look at them, they are so real, 展观皆似真,
Why should we say this one [of my Lion Grove] is not? 何独此云假。
The painting is so vivid that it even lets you walk around, 历历况可步,
It certainly is better than [Ni's] other paintings. 谓胜一筹也。
But in a long or short time, 然而久暂间,
The reason cannot be understood by many.¹¹² 其理悟者寡。

¹¹¹ Qianlong, "Tanzhen shuwu 天真书屋," in *ibid.*, 68.

¹¹² Qianlong, "Jiashan 假山," in *ibid.*, 75-76.

With a topic on rocks, Qianlong was thinking about the issue of truthfulness and the relationship between the original garden and the replica garden. For him, it did not matter whether it was a replica garden or the pictorial representation of the original garden; if they looked “real” and “vivid” in the mind, they would be perfect. The “real” (*zhen* 真) here does not necessarily mean exactly how much the replica garden physically resembled the original garden, but rather that the former “seems to let you [your mind] walk around” in the same way as in the painting of the latter.

Through reviewing the various representations of the old Lion Grove, Qianlong attempted to verify the true designer of this garden. In 1786, the same year that the twenty copperplates of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden were engraved, he wrote the foreword for a grouping of poems entitled “Chanting on the Sixteen Jing of the [New] Lion Grove:”

I originally thought the Lion Grove was created by Ni [Zan], 初谓狮林始自倪,

But who knows that [the monk] Weize had taken the title [of the designer of the garden]. 谁知维则早拈题。

It was appreciated that he did not forget his [Buddhist] master, 怜他不忘本师处,

Whom he put in his heart. 者个犹存方寸兮。

[Qianlong's] Note: The Lion Grove in Suzhou was always said to be Ni Zan's garden. During my visit to the south in the *jiachen* year [1784], I obtained twelve paintings of the Lion Grove by Xu Bi 徐贲. Yao

Guangxiao's 姚广孝 colophon [for those paintings] says: “[Xu] Bi painted for Ruhai 如海, the third-generation disciple of the Yuan monk Weize 维则.” I thus know that the hearsay that the Lion Grove was Ni's garden is wrong. Furthermore, Lu Shen's 陆深 colophon [for those paintings] says that Weize obtained his Buddhist principles from Benzongfeng who lived then by the Lion Crag of the Tianmu Mountain. It is most likely that [by

building the garden] Weize intended to recognize where he learned [his Buddhist principles] from without forgetting his master.¹¹³

During the Ming dynasty, two painters created paintings of the Lion Grove in Suzhou: the first one was Xu Bi and the second, Du Qiong 杜琼. In the colophon of Du's painting, the painter wrote: "Xu Youwen 徐友文 [Xu Bi] once created the paintings of the Lion Grove for the Buddhist master Ruhai. There are twelve sections each of which was paired with a poem."¹¹⁴ In his foreword, Qianlong expressed his high appreciation of the moving friendship between the monk Weize and his master Benzhongfeng 本中峰. By emphasizing this historic friendship that evolved around the Lion Grove garden, Qianlong tried to express the memory of his father and grandfather "whom he put in his heart."

There were other gardens within the Garden of Eternal Spring which imitated the famous literati gardens in Jiangnan. Qianlong intended to include all the beautiful *jing*, even the exotic *jing* from the West, into his vision of Round Brightness. The Lion Grove is important to this research, as its location is near the eastern end of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden and also controls the exit of the watercourse in the garden. Three commonalities are quite clear in both the replica garden (Lion Grove) and the European garden (Western Multistoried-Buildings): both were "gardens within a garden;" both evoked the issue of truth; and in both cases, garden representation played a significant role.

¹¹³ Qianlong, "Ti Shizilin shiliu jing 题狮子林十六景," in *ibid.*, 84.

¹¹⁴ For Xu and Du's paintings, see fig. 29, 30 in *Yuanlin minghua tezhan tulu* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1986).

1.2 Cosmology of Round Brightness

The vision of Round Brightness mediated between the physical garden and the emperor's intentions in the garden. The emperor's garden intentions of Round Brightness can be further related to the cosmological orders of the typical symbolism of cosmos in Chinese imperial gardens. The connection between heaven, the round form, and brightness was first mentioned in the ancient book of rituals, *Da dai li* (Zhou dyn.). It says: "The Dao of heaven is called round; the Dao of earth is called square. The square is called remote; and the round, bright."¹¹⁵ This ancient theory is important, because it established the direct symbolic connection between Dao, roundness, and brightness. Liu An 刘安 (Western Han), the author of *Huainan zi*, compared the round form of the human head with the round form of heaven. Through the similarity of forms, he attempted to establish the essential connection between the human being and the natural world. He wrote:

Tranquility and indifference is the house of spiritual brightness; void and nothingness is the dwelling of Dao... The head is round and like the heaven; the feet are square and like the earth... The gallbladder is clouds; the lung is *qi*; the liver is wind; the kidney is rain; the spleen is thunder; so that [the human body] corresponds to heaven and earth, and the heart is the master [of the world]. Therefore, the ear and eye are the sun and moon; the blood and *qi* are wind and rain.¹¹⁶

静漠者，神明之宅也；虚无者，道之所居也... 头之圆也象天，足之方也象地... 胆为云，肺为气，肝为风，肾为雨，脾为雷，以与天地相参也，而心为之主。是故耳目者，日月也；血气者，风雨也。

In both quotes, the "round brightness" was clearly related to heaven, the Dao of the world. Liu An established the connection between tranquility and brightness as well as between the round head and the round heaven. Because the origin of thinking was traditionally called heart, a tranquil heart was therefore related with "round brightness," which embodied the cosmos.

¹¹⁵ According to *Peiwen yunfu* (Qing dyn.) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1937).

¹¹⁶ Liu An (Western Han dyn.) et al, *Huainan zi*, in *Huainanzi quanyi*, anno. Xu Kuangyi (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 2001), juan 7 "Jingshen": 367.

The ancient philosophical thought that “the heart is the master of the world” was discussed by Yongzheng in his essay “Discourse on Inherent Character and Reason” (Xing li lun 性理论). A full translation of this essay is as follows, with my annotations in brackets (For the original Chinese text, see text 4 in appendix 4):

The relationship of inherent character to reason is like, at the high level, non-ultimate-pole [*wuji* 无极] to ultimate pole [*taiji* 太极]; or at the low level, *yin* to *yang* within ultimate pole. Inherent character is established in accordance with reason; reason emerges from inherent character. As for the emergence of reason, we usually only know about reason rather than inherent character. As for the establishment of inherent character, we usually only know about inherent character rather than reason. Reason means appropriateness [*yi* 宜] of things. All things in the world have their own appropriateness in nature, which is not imposed by human beings.

The inherent Dao and the discourse on merciful character cannot be reached without ultimate sincerity. The so-called sincerity means one [individual] that is always sincere without being fake. If there are two parts [in the individual], then that [sincerity] can only be fake. The Dao of sincerity means, for the relationship between an emperor and officials and between father and son, loyalty and filiality. In other words, all things have their own appropriateness. Is there any other loyalty and filiality besides that of the emperor-official and father-son? For the same reason, all things and all reasons can be *brightened* [my italic] within the same unity and become autonomously clear. Following and applying appropriateness is the heart of Dao; being against and not applying appropriateness is the human heart. This is why ancient sages lead later scholars from the low to the high, from the concentrated one to the adherence at the middle. If later scholars cannot reach the concentrated one and the adherence at the middle, it is better to let them follow the instruction of the heart of Dao instead of the human heart.

[The central ideas in the above paragraphs are: all things in the world have their own appropriateness in nature, and all things and all reasons can be “brightened within the same unity [一体照而自明矣]” and become autonomously clear. The situation of this *bright unity* was further described by Yongzheng as the “ultimate sincerity”].

Although there are *yin* and *yang* at ultimate pole, they do not appear at ultimate pole. It is impossible to gain *yang* from *yin*, or vice versa. Therefore, if we seek ultimate pole from *yin* and *yang*, it would be even more impossible. It means that inherent character cannot be obtained if based on the heart of Dao, let alone based on the human heart. As for the theories that *yin* has *yang* and *yang* has *yin*; that *yin* and *yang* are contained by ultimate pole; and that ultimate pole cannot be separated from *yin* and *yang*, if they are concerned with inherent character, they are certainly right. But what is the reason for this argument? It is the same as the theories that day has night and night has day, that masculinity has femininity and femininity has masculinity, and that water has fire and fire has water.

Furthermore, can the human heart be the heart of Dao? It is worse that somebody adamantly takes his arbitrary view as the heart of Dao. By selecting and giving away, one by one, from thousands of clues [about the relationship between Dao heart and human heart], he takes mediocre and hackneyed expressions as rules. Following such a way of seeking boughs and leaves without seeing trunks is as difficult as counting sand grains in the sea to reach upwards to the Dao of unified *yin*, *yang* and ultimate pole, namely the origin of inherent character and reason.

Chengzi stated: “Once a thorough understanding is obtained, the outer and inner and the essence and appearance of things are easily reached and the entirety of my heart is completely enlightened.” His discourse really reaches the inherent characters of ultimate pole, *yin* and *yang* and the reason of deliberating things to gain knowledge. Later scholars should understand why

ancient sages left those words, eliminate their own lusts, always maintain the heavenly reason and follow it devoutly. They should work hard day by day, one month after another. Once the thorough understanding is reached, the Dao can be met. Zengzi stated: "If our intention is only to seek superficial ideas, how can we talk about the Dao of inherent character and reason?" It is no wonder that ancient sages emphasized this repeatedly, while common people cannot be insistent [on these principles].¹¹⁷

[Chengzi 程子 named Cheng Hao 程颢. He and his younger brother Cheng Yi 程颐 were two leading Neo-Confucian philosophers in the Northern Song dynasty. Zengzi 曾子 named Zeng Shen 曾参, Confucius' student. The Neo-Confucianism advanced that the "thorough understanding," the bright unity, could only be reached through "deliberating things to gain knowledge," *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知.¹¹⁸ Yongzheng followed the Neo-Confucianism thought that only in the "thorough understanding" was "the entirety of my heart completely enlightened." He sought for that primordial unity that made any differences possible].

There are many philosophical concepts in Yongzheng's discourse. How he defined each concept is less important than his seriousness to understand what a human being was. His answer is: all things in the world have their own appropriateness in nature, and all things can be "brightened within the same unity" and become autonomously clear; a human being living in such a *bright unity* can reach his "ultimate sincerity" where "the entirety of my heart is completely enlightened." Within the same bright unity, the human heart identified with the heart of Dao and it was unnecessary to differentiate them. Yongzheng did not isolate the inside of a human being in order to understand the human being; rather, he looked for that bright unity that could unify the human being with the cosmos.

¹¹⁷ See Yongzheng (Qing emperor), "Xing li lun 性理论," in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, anno. Wei Jianxun (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996), 228-29.

¹¹⁸ The Neo-Confucian idea "*gewu zhizhi*" was developed from the classic book *Daxue* and analyzed by the Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhi Xi in his book *Shishu jizhu*.

According to ancient thoughts, the cosmos could be integrated with human-built constructions. In the earliest Chinese treatise on constructions, *Kao gong ji* (Records of thinking on constructions), of the late Warring States period, any masterwork of human beings was considered to be connected with divinity. It states:

Works made by craftsmen are all committed by saints. Wrought metal to make a knife; congeal clay to make a household utensil; make a cart to travel on land; make a boat to travel on water. [All these utensils] are committed by saints. Heaven has its timeliness; earth has its *qi*; each material has its beauty; and craftsmanship has its ingeniousness. When these four aspects come together, a masterwork can be produced.¹¹⁹

百工之事，皆圣人之作也：铄金以为刃，凝土以为器，作车以行陆，作舟以行水，此皆圣人之所作也。天有时，地有气，材有美，工有巧。合此四者，然后可以为良。

A masterwork by human beings was the integration of heaven, earth, materials and craftsmanship. The traditional Chinese term for “cosmos” was *tiandi* 天地, which literally meant “heaven and earth.” A saint was a human being with high wisdom and great virtues, and works created by a saint were related with the cosmos. An imperial garden could be regarded as a work made by a saint with whom the emperor usually identified.

China was traditionally called Nine States, as the term “nine states” appeared in the chapter “Yu gong” of the ancient book *Shangshu* (c. 5th cen. BC) (Fig. 51). It is said that during the Zhou dynasty, the world was divided into Nine States according to constellations in the sky.¹²⁰ In Yongzheng’s Garden of Round Brightness, the front portion was composed of nine islands surrounding a circular lake, which echoed the full moon that enveloped the peaceful world into its universal brightness. The layout of nine islands surrounding a circular lake was intended to symbolize that the full

¹¹⁹ See chapter 6 “Dongguan kaogong ji,” *Kao gong ji* (late Warring States), punctuated, in *Zhouli*, anno. Qian Xuan et al (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2001), 387-388; also an un-punctuated version, in Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonglu: jishu juan: juan 5* (Zhenzhou: He’nan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), 15.

¹²⁰ Yu Minzhong (Qing dyn.) et al ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001), 1: 1. In ancient China, the concept of “nation” (*guo*) was not differentiated from the concept of “world” (*tianxia*). It is said that it was the legendary emperor Ku 嚳 that founded the system of “nine states” (See Wang Qi [Ming dyn.] ed., *San cai tu hui*, 1607 [Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1974], 458).

moon unified the whole nation. The emperor sat in the hall of Peace for All China at the third *jing* (Fig. 6), the southernmost island, and looked north across the Back Lake, viewing the other eight islands with the clear and tranquil water surface as the central “round brightness.”

The relationship between the round form of the full moon and perfect brightness had been established as a Chinese mindset long before the Qing dynasty. In his poem “The Moon at the Mid-Autumn Day,” Han Qi 韩琦 of the Song dynasty wrote:

The moon is full during the Mid-Autumn night, 月满中秋夜,

Everybody cherishes this perfect brightness.¹²¹ 人人惜最明。

On the Mid-Autumn night, the eighth full moon, the brightest of the year, appears. The “perfect brightness” suggested the brightness from the circle of the full moon and in this respect, the Round Brightness as perfect brightness can be understood.

On describing the moonlight of a Mid-Autumn Day, Yongzheng wrote a poem:

“One vast sheet of enclosing light in which all things look the same [一片光含万象同].”¹²²

The existence of Round Brightness was related not only to the full moon but also to the desire for perfect brightness in the garden. In order for buildings to receive the perfect brightness, they had to face towards the south for full sunlight to emanate throughout the building. The orientation to the south was also connected to the bright mindset and management needed by the emperor. Confucius stated: “The master of the nation should face south during his administration.”¹²³ This means that the emperor should physically face to the south in order to receive brightness on his face and in his mind for the management of the country. This symbolism was clearly embodied by the audience hall at the first *jing*, Uprightness and Brightness (Fig. 5).

¹²¹ Han Qi (Song dyn.), “Zhongqiu ye,” in Wu Zhizheng (Qing dyn.) ed., *Song shi chao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 107.

¹²² Yongzheng, “Zhongqiu 中秋,” in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, 85.

¹²³ See chapter six “Yong ye,” *Lunyu*, in *Lunyu zhengyi*, anno. Liu Baonan, Zhuzi jicheng edition (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1992), v. 1: 111.

One way a person perceived the diffusing brightness was to stand high while looking into the distance. In *Huainan zi*, Liu An (Western Han) wrote: “Standing high makes a person desire to look into the distance; being close to the deep distance makes the person desire to peer at it. It is the place itself that makes a person act like this.”¹²⁴ By standing high, the spectator borrowed the view of distant landscapes into the garden. Scholars in the Ming dynasty had already written about the unique view of West Mountain. In the poem “Watching the West Mountain from the Town of Shallow Lakes” (Fig. 3), Wang Jiamo 王嘉謨 proclaimed the West Mountain as “my old friend.”¹²⁵ A famous Ming dynasty garden, Dipper Garden, located in the northwestern suburb and well known for its water views, was owned by the painter Mi Wanzhong 米万中. In the poem “Pass by the Dipper Garden of Mi Zhongzhao [Mi Wanzhong],” Ye Xianggao 叶向高 wrote:

[In] the high tower under the night of bright moon, 高楼明月夜,

I smile at the West Mountain.¹²⁶ 莞尔对西山。

The Ming poems demonstrate how the view of West Mountain was a characteristic that was frequently borrowed in the gardens in the northwestern suburb. The borrowed view of West Mountain expanded the spectator’s bosom.

The borrowed view of West Mountain was intensely maintained in the Garden of Round Brightness. In the poem of the fifteenth *jing*, High Mountain and Long River, Qianlong stated:

[Foreword:] In the southwestern corner of the garden, the topography is flat. Therefore, a multistoried building with several bays was built. Whenever I look over [from the building], the distant mountains [West Mountain] look like women’s piled-up hairs, and the near suburbs appear as interwoven embroideries.

[Poem:]

¹²⁴ Liu An, juan 16 “Shuo shan”: 971.

¹²⁵ Wang Jiamo (Ming dyn.), “Haidian wang Xishan,” in Liu Dong & Yu Yizheng (Ming dyn.), *Dijing jingwu lue*, anno. Sun Xiaoli (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 322.

¹²⁶ Ye Xianggao (Ming dyn.), “Guo Mi Zhongzhao Shao yuan,” in *ibid.*, 325.

The multistoried building rests upon the flat land, 重构枕平川,

The ten-thousand *jing* of lakes and mountains become complete.¹²⁷ 湖山万景全。

The high place in the garden brought about a complete view of the world while the borrowed view of West Mountain extended the emperor's vision of Round Brightness to the cosmological scale. It was at this high place that fireworks were periodically viewed as they brightened the whole garden at night. From the thirteenth to nineteenth days of the first moon, there would be splendid firework displays at this *jing*. The emperor would often invite many guests to view the fireworks, including tribal leaders and foreign ambassadors; thus, the artificial brightness from fireworks and lanterns became a means for the emperor to unify the loyalty of foreign tribes.¹²⁸ In describing the fireworks in the garden, the Jesuit painter Attiret praised in his letter: "I have never seen anything of that kind, either in France or Italy."¹²⁹

Height was often symbolized through an artificial hill, or rock art, in Chinese gardens. An example of an artificial hill, which "lured people to wander spiritually," in the Garden of Round Brightness was the Longevity Hill, located behind the audience hall at the first *jing*, Uprightness and Brightness (Fig. 5). In his poem of this *jing*, Qianlong stated:

The spacious cave [in the rocks] often makes [my] heart open, 洞达心常豁

,

The cool environment blocks the dusty world.¹³⁰ 清凉境绝尘。

The symbolism of rock art had been well established by the Song dynasty. In the Ming pattern book of rocks, *Suyuan shipu*, the author Lin Youlin 林友麟 stated:

The wonderfulness of a rock completely lies in its elegance, leak and transparency. If a rock is just a block of mass without any singularity,

¹²⁷ Qianlong (Qing emperor), "Shan'gao shuichang 山高水长," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985), 35.

¹²⁸ Yu Minzhong, 3: 1349.

¹²⁹ Jean-Denis Attiret, "A Letter from a French Missionary in China, Peking, Nov. 1, 1743," in John Dixon Hunt ed., *The English Landscape Garden* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), 21.

¹³⁰ Qianlong, "Zhengda guangming 正大光明," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 7.

although it is very old, it is not worth record... A rock has its own form and spirit. Now, a drawing can only record its form, but at its wonderful place there are varied postures of dancing and changing, which lure people to wander spiritually there and let the fascinated viewer thus obtain the wonderfulness of his own accord.¹³¹

一石之妙,全在玲珑透漏。设块然无奇,虽古弗录...一石有形有神。今所图,止形耳。至其神妙处,大有飞舞变幻之态,令人神游期间,是在玄赏者自得之。

In this example, the rocks not only provide an opportunity to stand high but also present the voids in which the spectator's mind can "wander spiritually [*shenyou* 神游]," as in the mountain caves in nature. For Qianlong, the openness of his heart was identified with the openness of rocks.

The cosmological dimension of height was also embodied in the topography of the garden. For example, a Buddhist temple containing the portraits of previous emperors was built on the northwestern hill in the garden. The purpose of placing the temple at the highest point within the garden was to provide protection (i.e. by ancestors) that would permeate throughout the entire garden along the course of *qi*. In the preamble of his poem on the seventeenth *jing*, Great Kindness and Eternal Blessing, Qianlong stated: "The northwestern portion of the garden is the brightest and highest. I build the temple here for worshipping my grandfather and father in order to extend their endless solicitude."¹³² In Qianlong's mind, the brightness of the ancestors' blessing certainly flowed down in accordance with the topography. The combination of the ancestors' portraits and the Buddhist temple in the garden manifested the fusion of Confucianism and Buddhism, which was a typical phenomenon in Chinese religions. With the same gesture of the extended bosom, the border of the garden was identified with the range of West Mountain and the blessing of the ancestors was spread over the whole garden.

¹³¹ Ibid., 42.

¹³² Qianlong, "Hongci yonghu 鸿慈永护," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 39.

In addition to West Mountain, another environmental characteristic of the northwestern suburb was the rich water sources, which constituted a significant part of the Garden of Round Brightness. The symbolism of water in Chinese cosmology can be traced to some religious thoughts of nature. The *Mengzi* recorded:

Zhongni 仲尼 [Confucius] praised water and said: "Alas, water! Alas, water!"

Why did he do so? Mengzi [Mencius] explained: The original spring gurgles without stopping day and night. It fills hollows and moves forward into the four seas. The origin [of the world] is like this [spring].¹³³

Guanzi 管子, an ancient political philosopher during the early Spring and Autumn period, proposed that a virtuous man, such as an emperor, must have knowledge about the natural movement of water in order to cultivate his virtues. He described water as the "blood and *qi* of earth. It is like blood flowing through the veins."¹³⁴ According to him, a virtuous man can cultivate his virtues by "roaming in the suburb to stimulate the *qi* of earth."¹³⁵ The brilliance created by reflecting water was considered a visual demonstration of the omnipresent, formless Dao. Liu An analyzed in *Huainan zi*:

The origin of things has no form... Its son is light; its grandson, water. Were they not born from the formless? Light can be seen but cannot be held.

Water can be followed but cannot be destroyed. Therefore, among images, water is most respectable... Therefore, what is clear and tranquil is the ultimate virtue.¹³⁶

夫无形者，物之大祖也... 其子为光，其孙为水，皆生于无形乎？夫光可见而不可握，水可循而不可毁，故有像之类，莫尊于水... 是故清静者，德之致也。

¹³³ See chapter "Lilou xia," *Mengzi*, in *Lunyu, Mengzi*, anno. Liu Hongzhang & Qiao Qingju (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2002), 271. A published translation of this part is as follows:

Confucius expressed his admiration for water by saying, "Water! Oh, water!" What was it he saw in water? "Water from an ample source," said Mencius, "comes tumbling down, day and night without ceasing, going forward only after all the hollows are filled, and then draining into the sea. Anything that has an ample source is like this."

(See Part B, Book IV, in *Mencius*, trans. D. C. Lau [London: Penguin Books, 1970], 130.)

¹³⁴ Guanzi (Spring and Autumn), chapter 39 "Shui di," *Guanzi*, in *Guanzi quanyi*, anno. Xie Haofan et al (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1996), v. 2: 529.

¹³⁵ Ibid., chapter 41: 556.

¹³⁶ Liu An, juan 1 "Yuan dao": 30.

The northwestern suburb was already famous for its rich water sources as far back as the previous Ming dynasty. According to the book, *Dijing jingwu lie* (Brief history of landscapes of the capital Beijing), written by Liu Dong 刘同,

The gathering of water is called “shallow lake” [*dian* 淀]. Ten miles northwest of the Sorghum Bridge, springs gush out onto the level ground. They gurgle in all directions and water grass and trees... The northern portion is called Northern Shallow-Lake; the southern portion, Southern Shallow-Lake, or the Bagou River. The river originates at the Bridge of Green-Bluish Dragon and enters the Southern Shallow-Lake from the southeast. Five miles south of the Shallow-Lake is the Lake of Red Hill [Danlin Pan]... To the West [of Lake of Red Hill] there is an extensive water surface available for paddling. It is the place of a Ming imperial relative's, Li Wei 李伟, [official title] Wuqinghou 武清侯, garden... At the intersection of hills and water [in the garden], a high tower stands up. There is a deck on the tower from which one can see with level eyesight the Fragrant Hill and overlook the [distant] Hill of Jade-Spring. These two hills become so intimate and stand so close that [they] almost touch your eyelids... East of Li's garden is the Dipper Garden of Mi Taipu 米太朴 [Mi Wanzhong]. It has only one hundred *mu*. If you look at it, it appears deep; if you walk in it, it feels remote... A bridge is higher than the building. Standing on the bridge and looking over the garden, water is everywhere.¹³⁷

In Li Wei's garden, a deck on the tower made it possible to “see with level eyesight” the West Mountain. In Mi Wanzhong's garden, the water made the small garden appear big and remote.

The cosmological consideration of water was not only related to the regional environment surrounding the garden but also to the topography within the garden. In 1724, a government official, Zhang Zhongzi 张钟子, was invited by Yongzheng to survey the site for appropriate *fengshui* features. According to him, the northwest portion of the garden was the head of the dragon, and the water flowed towards the

¹³⁷ Liu Dong, 320.

tail in the southeast corner of the garden, thus simulating the topographical characteristics of the country where the major mountains and rivers began in the northwest, undulated and meandered toward the southeast.¹³⁸

The use of *fengshui* for site selection and physical planning is a tradition in Chinese imperial gardens, such as Huizong's 徽宗 Genyue of the Northern Song dynasty and Yongle's 永乐 Jing Hill of the Ming dynasty. The role of *fengshui* was crucial in the planning of imperial gardens, yet it was not elevated to the level of importance in garden theories of scholar gardens. This is attested in ancient garden records and the first garden treatise, *Yuan ye*. As early as in the Southern Dynasties, the landscape poet Xie Lingyun 谢灵运 had proposed not to use the *fengshui* system of traditional astrology for site selection, but rather count on the wonderful and unique views of the landscape itself.¹³⁹

To match the *fengshui* concept, the water source of the Garden of Round Brightness was redirected. The water in the southwest corner of the Garden of Round Brightness was first led to the northwest part of the garden to form a new water entrance so that all water could flow eastward into the Fortunate Sea and flow out of the garden from the southeast corner. Following this watercourse, auspicious *qi* was supposed to diffuse throughout the garden. Because the water surface reflected light, the diffusion of *qi* can also be understood as the diffusion of brightness.

The water entrance was called *shuikou* 水口, which literally means "water-mouth." According to a landscape-painting theory, the "water-mouth" was the most difficult to paint.¹⁴⁰ The reason it was so difficult was because the water-mouth was the most sacred and secret part of the natural watercourse. It was also a key concept of the

¹³⁸ See the imperial archive "Shandong Depingxian zhixian Zhang Zhongzi deng chakan Yuanmingyuan fengshui qi 山东德平县知县张钟子等查看圆明园风水启," in *Yuanmingyuan: Qingdai dang'an shiliao*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an'guan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 1: 6-7.

¹³⁹ Xie Lingyun (Southern Dynasties), "Shanju fu," in Sun Xiaoli ed., *Zhici shanlin: yuanlin yishu wencui* (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1999), 13.

¹⁴⁰ Huang Gongwang (Yuan dyn.), "Lun shanshui shushi," in Shen Zicheng ed., *Lidai lunhua minzhu lubian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 165.

understanding for watercourses in gardens and human dwellings. When Qianlong added the Garden of Eternal Spring to the Garden of Round Brightness, the original water exit of Yongzheng's Garden of Round Brightness was relocated to the northeast corner and became the water entrance of the Garden of Eternal Spring. The entrance of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was also close to the water entrance of the Garden of Eternal Spring, and from here the *qi* of perfect brightness flowed into both gardens. Often, the watercourses in imperial gardens flowed into larger bodies of water, which were lakes which provided the illusion of a "sea" in the garden.

The largest lake in the Garden of Round Brightness was Fortunate Lake (Fig. 1). The Chinese term for "lake" in this case was *hai* 海, which literally meant "sea" and hinted at the legendary story of the fairylands in the East Sea. Qing emperors devoted much of their poetry to this huge lake that appeared like a round mirror. On the fifth day of the fifth moon, at the Duanwu Festival, the emperor and the imperial family would watch a show of dragon boats from the western bank of the lake. Only Qianlong's mother had the privilege of watching the show from the central island, which was known as Immortal Abode on Fairy Penglai Island. The name of the island alluded to the legendary story of the fairylands in the East Sea. In "Chanting on Antiquity on the Penglai Island," Yongzheng wrote:

The ancient kings wasted energy to build the Towers for Watching the Fairyland, 唐家空筑望仙楼,

In the Qin and Han dynasties, nobody ever reached the tenth state. 秦汉何人到十洲。

Outside the dusty world I chant and sing at the evening red-trees, 尘外啸歌红树晚,

Within the pot I sit and recline under the autumn blue-sky. 壶中坐卧壁天秋。

Temples and halls wait for the accompaniment of mists and rosy clouds, 庙堂待起烟霞侣,

Springs and stones look at the wandering cranes and deer. 泉石还看鹤鹿游。

The weak water could not be crossed by three-thousand persons [in the past],
弱水三千休问渡，

[However,] the [present] imperial family has its own boat for crossing it.¹⁴¹

皇家自有济川舟。

China is traditionally called Nine States and the “tenth state” is known as the fairyland. The “pot,” originating from a Daoist legend, indicated the garden enclosure where the emperor would “sit and recline under the autumn blue-sky.” Yongzheng stated that his garden was like the legendary Daoist pot that contained all the beautiful landscapes. As in all the previous imperial gardens, the legendary story of the fairyland was used to establish the cosmological dimension of the huge body of water.

The last *jing* of the Forty *Jing* was named In Depth of the Remote Dwelling, which was related to the Daoist tradition of seeking remoteness in the presence of nature. According to Daoist thoughts, Dao is connected to remote darkness. In *Huainan zi*, Liu An described vividly:

The physical soul [*po*] asks the spiritual soul [*bun*]: “What kind of body does Dao have?” [The latter] answers: “Its body is nothingness.” The former asks: “Does the nothingness have a physical form?” The latter answers: “None.” [Question:] “How do you know?” [Answer:] “I have encountered it. I looked at it and it had no form; I listened to it and it had no sound. This is the so-called remote darkness. The remote darkness can demonstrate Dao but is not Dao itself.” [The physical soul says:] “After listening [to you], I understand that: [Dao] is to look inward and reflect on myself.”¹⁴²

魂问于魄曰：“道何以为体？”曰：“以无有为体。”魄曰：“无有有形乎？”魄曰：“无有。”“何得而闻也？”“吾直有所遇之耳。视之无形，听之无声，

¹⁴¹ Yongzheng, “Penglaizhou yonggu 蓬莱洲咏古,” in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, 173.

¹⁴² Liu An, juan 16 “Shuo shan”: 939.

谓之幽冥。幽冥者，所以喻道而非道也。”“吾闻得之矣：乃内视而自反也。”

The poetical journey along the meandering pathway of the Forty Jing, which ended at the last *jing*, In Depth of the Remote Dwelling, can be understood as a journey of searching for Dao and reflecting on oneself. The Dao of Round Brightness lay in the remote depth of the mind towards which the diffusing brightness moved.

Given the consideration of *fengshui* in the Garden of Round Brightness, one can question if the issue of *fengshui* existed in the European portion, known as the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. Although the imperial archives regarding the *fengshui* arrangement of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden have not been located, we can guess that the emperor and the Chinese planners exhibited great apprehension about the influence of this exotic garden on the *fengshui* of the imperial garden. One can look at other examples where Jesuits in other cities built their Baroque style of architecture within the *fengshui* of local customs. For example, residents of Hangzhou (the city where the famous West Lake was located) were upset over the height of the façade of a Jesuit church because they thought the vertical height projecting in straight lines was inauspicious as it unbalanced the harmony of nature by plunging into the earth's flesh. As a compromise, the church had a courtyard in front to allow the *qi* to penetrate the building.¹⁴³ Even after the catholic missionary was allowed to buy properties freely in China, in an agreement signed with a French minister in 1865, the Chinese authorities specifically added, "The local officials should, previous to any acquisition by the church, decide if it were acceptable to the neighborhood and if it would not take away the *fengshui*."¹⁴⁴ According to the *fengshui* survey committed by Yongzheng, multistoried pavilions should be built in the northeast corner to correspond to Saturn.¹⁴⁵ It is in the northeastern corner of the Garden of Round Brightness compound where the European portion was built. Hidden near this corner with a separate watercourse,

¹⁴³ D. E. Mungello, *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 38.

¹⁴⁴ W. Devine, *The Four Churches of Peking* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1930), 155.

¹⁴⁵ "Shandong Depingxian zhixian Zhang Zhongzi deng chakan Yuanmingyuan fengshui qi," 6-7.

the shadows of the Western multistoried-buildings were cautiously considered so as not to affect the diffusion of brightness, yet correspond with the *fengshui* arrangement.

When Qianlong expanded the garden, he developed the idea that the emperor's garden should include the *jing* of other beautiful gardens of the country. This idea was best expressed by his creation of the Garden of Eternal Spring, which contained many replicas of the famous gardens in Jiangnan. Previous research has pointed out that the re-building of the Jiangnan gardens was concentrated in imperial gardens, especially in the Qing dynasty. The form of the new garden differed from the original one, but the subject remained unchanged and the re-creation was in accordance with the local context.¹⁴⁶ The same phenomenon seldom happened in literati gardens where an owner always strived to establish his own ideal subject while avoiding duplication.

One of the replica gardens was an imitation of the Garden of Little Heaven in Hangzhou. The full translation of Qianlong's "Record of the Garden of Little Heaven within the Garden of Eternal Spring" is as follows, with my annotations in brackets (For the original Chinese text, see text 5 in appendix 4):

With the Temple of Pure Benevolence to the left, facing the West Lake and comprising pretty landscapes, the best garden near the Mountain of Southern Screen is no other than the Wang family's Garden of Little Heaven, which was named in the year of *xinwei* [1751] when I toured in the south. In the last year *dingchou* [1757], I revisited the garden, lingering and praising its beauty in poems.

[Leaning against the Mountain of Southern Screen and facing the Pagoda of Leifeng, the Temple of Pure Benevolence was a famous scenic spot nearby the West Lake, southwest of Hangzhou. The name Little Heaven expressed the desire of being close to the cosmos through the existence of the garden. The garden was physically small, but its symbolical existence was as extensive as the universe].

¹⁴⁶ Yang Hongxun, "Luelun Yuanmingyuan zhong biaotiyuan de bianti chuanguo," in Wang Daocheng ed., *Yuanming yuan: lishi, xianzhuang, lunzheng*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 1: 192-193.

Coming back and contemplating how a painter could possibly include a vast landscape into a small painting, I fortunately found a site with woods and a building east of the Chapel of Longing for Eternity. The room is ten *hu* big and the window half the size. The uncultivated field outside the window is ten *hu* too. I ordered craftsmen to overlay rocks to make artificial peaks, which, to my surprise, looked like the Peak of Illuminating Wisdom. The models of buildings were made of tin, but still looked like the Thatched House in Gully. Water is agitated to make a waterfall. With sweet sounds and cool feeling, the setting is not different from the grotto of secluded residence that I heard about. However, the saplings of the Yellow-Mountain pine are only one foot high, but suddenly give a sense that they are reaching for the clouds. Exquisite and twined, high and low, they stick out in a disorderly fashion among stalagmites and trailing plants on cliffs. Coming back to the scene of the Music Terrace with its slim and elegant old trees and green cliffs, there is no possible comparison.

[The Chapel of Longing for Eternity was in the western part of the Garden of Eternal Spring. In ancient times, the *hu* 笏 was a hand-board held by an official in the reception by the emperor. People used such phrases as “ten *hu*” or “five *hu*” to describe a very small place. The Peak of Illuminating Wisdom was in Hangzhou. The Thatched House in Gully was the old name of the Wang family’s property. The “grotto of secluded residence” was located at a higher spot than Wang’s garden on the Mountain of Southern Screen. One Chinese foot, *chi*, in the Qing dynasty was equal to 32 centimeters and a little more than one foot in Western linear measure. West of the Peak of Illuminating Wisdom, the Music Terrace was famous for its extraordinary rocks].

How can I say they are different? I thus realize that scenes in the world are infinite and that the human heart is also infinite. Landscapes, however, display variety, but to the human heart they can be understood in the same way. These galleries, pavilions, stone steps, pools, woods and springs, cliffs

and valleys [in my Garden of Little Heaven] cannot be climbed with my hands and tramped upon with my feet, but when experienced by eyesight the Dao appears immediately and meets the heart's understanding, cannot all of them become vividly accessible? New fledging chickens and dogs can identify their respective homes. This would be an extravagance [for us human beings].

[The original phrase of “meet the heart's understanding” literally means “meet the heart which is not far away.” It alludes to the well-known phrase “The place of meeting the heart should not be far away,” which was said by Emperor Jianwen of the East Jin dynasty when he strolled in his Hualin Garden in the capital Jiankang.¹⁴⁷ The phrase was frequently cited in history to express appreciation of the natural view in a garden].

The scenes of Li Deyu's 李德裕 [garden of] Mountain Hamlet of Open Springs look like the Gorges of the Ba Kingdom and the Lake of Dongting. But one need not attempt to emulate his ways and means for achieving infinite distance, rich forms and utmost prettiness. Only his intention [yì] can be imitated. However, my intention [in the Garden of Little Heaven] is not to draw near the remote beautiful landscapes, but rather to remind myself of the administration of officials and the compliance of common people in the Jiangnan area. I therefore write this record.¹⁴⁸

[The Mountain Hamlet of Open Springs garden was in the suburb of Luoyang of the Tang dynasty. The original term of “open springs” is *pingquan* 平泉, literally “flat springs,” which means springs well up on a flat and open field. This feature was similar to the springs of the Village of Ten-thousand Springs where the Qing imperial gardens were nearby. Compared with Li's garden that imitated the famous landscapes in China, Qianlong's Garden of Little Heaven was quite small. For Qianlong, the size of the garden was not a problem, because “scenes in the world are infinite and the

¹⁴⁷ See the introduction.

¹⁴⁸ The translation is based on the punctuated text “Yuzhi Xiaoyoutian yuan ji” in Yu Minzhong (Qing dyn.) et al ed., *Rixia jinwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001), 3: 1384.

human heart is also infinite.” If a scene of the garden could be met with the heart, the truth, Dao, would emerge].

Qianlong’s Little-Heaven Garden was actually a small-scale garden model (Fig. 1), which was viewed through a house window. The symbolic window view evolved from his contemplation on “how a painter could possibly include a vast landscape into a small painting.” This macro-micro relationship was further expressed in his poem “A House in the Woods [of the Little-Heaven Garden]:”

Rapids throw out a snow-like waterfall, 激水飞来雪瀑,

Overlaid peaks tower aloft out of cloud roots. 叠峰耸出云根。

There is no dusty place in the pot, 壶里绝无尘处,

But there is a garden of little heaven in the window.¹⁴⁹ 窗中小有桃园。

Indicating the window-framed view of the garden, a “dusty place in the pot” continued the Daoist idea that the whole world, including mountains and rivers, could be contained in a magic pot. Both the pot and the window provided a clear border which framed the magic view of the garden scene and enabled the micro-scale view to symbolize the macro-scale cosmos. Such a framed view is physically small and finite but symbolically big and infinite where “Dao meets the heart’s understanding.”

¹⁴⁹ Qianlong, “Lin wu 林屋,” in “Qing wuchao yuzhiji zhong de Yuanmingyuan shi,” ed. Zhu Jiajin et al, in *Yuanming yuan* 2 (1983): 69.

1.3 Virtue of Round Brightness

In both their records of the Garden of Round Brightness, Yongzheng and Qianlong expressed respect in regards to their ancestors and this tradition was continued by later generations. In the poem “Stating My Will in the Garden Residence,” Emperor Jiaqing 嘉庆 (son of Qianlong) expressed his feelings when he first moved into the garden after mourning dead father:

Live in mourning for twenty-seven months, 居忧廿七月,
The ceremony is over and I face the garden. 守制罢临园。
Recollect my father's remote words and face, 缅怀音容远,
I look blank at the extant buildings. 空瞻堂构存。

.

To govern the country [I need to] first administrate diligently, 图治首勤政,
To console the people [I] must put virtuous men in important positions. 抚
民必用贤。

Reside in the garden and follow the old principles, 驻园缘旧则,
My heart is not in forests and springs.¹⁵⁰ 心岂在林泉。

He first expressed how sad he was when he faced the garden where his father had resided for such a long time. He decided that residing in the same garden and following the old principles would enable him to maintain a good administration and perform his duties well. It is important to note that for Jiaqing, by living in the same garden, he was attempting to maintain the same virtues as his ancestors in his administration.

The relationship between living in a garden and enhancing virtues can be traced back to Confucius's famous sentence: “An intelligent man delights in water; a kindhearted

¹⁵⁰ Jiaqing (Qing emperor), “Yuanju shuzhi 园居述志,” *Renxiong yuzhi shi chuj*, juan 30, in *Qing lincun yuzhi shiwen ji* (Anthology of imperial poems and prose of six Qing emperors), ed. Yi Xin (Qing dyn.) et al, 542 vols. (Beijing: 1876). A copy is now in the Wenjin Branch of the National Library of Beijing.

man delights in mountains.”¹⁵¹ The Confucian analogy between nature and virtue is described as the “analogical virtue,” *bide* 比德.¹⁵² In the book, *Shuijing zhu* (Annotations of canons on water), Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (Northern Dynasties) wrote: “The bosom of bamboo and cypress compete with the divine heart for remoteness; the nature of humane intelligence competes with mountains and rivers for depth.”¹⁵³ The idea that remoteness of the human heart was linked to the deep depth of the view of natural landscapes was well developed through Chinese gardens where brightening the view was to reveal the heart. During the Han dynasty, the connection between moonlight and human virtues was already established. A rhapsody of the Han dynasty says:

The moon comes out and is so bright, 月出皎兮,
It is the light of a virtuous man.¹⁵⁴ 君子之光。

Yongzheng wrote many poems about the moonlight in his garden. In the poem “Face toward the Moon at the Mountain Cottage of Circling Prettiness,” at the thirty-seventh *jing* of the Forty Jing, he stated:

The summer heat has withdrawn and the garden is fresh, 暑退林泉爽,
In the new autumn the scenes are pretty. 新秋景物佳。
.....
Lay down the brush and comment on the [distant] mountain colors, 搁笔评
山色,
Grip a wine cup and face toward the moon brilliance.¹⁵⁵ 擎杯对月华。

The “fresh garden,” “pretty scenes” and “mountain colors” showed that his sight was gradually brightened and finally his heart was opened into the moonlight.

¹⁵¹ See chapter 6 “Yong ye,” *Lunyu*, in *Lunyu, Mengzi*, anno. Liu Hongzhang et al (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2002), 51.

¹⁵² Confucius said, “Water, is the analogical virtue of a virtuous man” (See *Lunyu zhengyi*, anno. Liu Baonan, in *Zhuji jicheng*: v. 1 [Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1992], 127.

¹⁵³ Li Daoyuan (Northern Dynasties), *Shuijing zhu*, anno. Tan Shuchun et al, juan 9 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995), 133.

¹⁵⁴ Gong Suncheng (Han dyn.), “Yue fu,” in Fei Zhengang et al ed., *Quan hanfu* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1993), 40.

¹⁵⁵ Yongzheng, “Huanxiu shanfang duiyue 环秀山庄对月,” in *Yongzheng shiwen xuhui*, anno. Wei Jianxun (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996), 166.

Yongzheng related his leisure stroll in the garden with the atmosphere of the moonlight. In the poem “Leisurely Strolling under the Moon,” he wrote:

Leisurely walk along the meandering shore, 闲行曲岸边,
 The western peaks look deep green at the sunset. 西岭暮苍然。

 Move, rest and look at the woods top, 徙倚看林杪,
 In the clouds the shadow of the moon shifts.¹⁵⁶ 云间月影迁。

The “western peaks” indicated the West Mountain and implied that the garden was located in the northwestern suburb. The movement of his body through the garden synchronized with that of the moon.

For Yongzheng, the leisure situation in a garden was his conscious way to approach Dao of the world. In the poem “Beside the Pool,” he stated:

The colors of the mountain come from the west, 山色从西来,
 The sounds of the spring flow daily to the east. 泉声日东注。
 Quietly observe why things [in nature] are so leisure, 静观物何闲,
 In a detached situation I get a brilliant enlightenment.¹⁵⁷ 超然得妙悟。

The descriptions of the first two sentences match with the features of the northwestern suburb. The enlightenment which he received is the “leisure” situation in which all things had their appropriate positions. The “detached situation” defines such a leisure situation in the garden where he could “observe quietly” with his mind enlightened.

Yongzheng’s “leisure” in the garden was not a demonstration of his avoiding administrative duties. To the contrary, it enhanced the efficiency of his work. In the poem “Writing at the Place where My Heart Is Met,” he stated:

My spirit meets the magic delight in the garden, 神会园林妙趣,

¹⁵⁶ Yongzheng, “Yuexia xianbu 月下闲步,” in *ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵⁷ Yongzheng, “Chi bian 池边,” in *ibid.*, 65.

My heart is diligent for processing daily thousands of affairs.¹⁵⁸ 心勤一日万机。

The desire to meet his heart has already meant that the heart could not be met easily. The place where his heart was met was the garden. When his spirit was delightful in the scenes, his mind became diligent. Yongzheng usually processed administrative affairs at the Hall of Diligent Administration, a part of the second *jing* of the Forty Jing. In the poem “Observe the New Moon at the Hall of Diligent Administration in the Summer,” he stated:

By chance the deep-blue sky just spit out a new moon, 恰好碧天新吐月,
The half circle reminds me to be vigilant against a satisfied heart.¹⁵⁹ 半轮为
启戒盈心。

He was using the circle of the full moon and the half circle of the crescent as metaphors. He cautioned himself that he should be a modest man like the crescent. In a different situation, the circle of the full moon was related to the eternity of the cosmos. In the poem “Facing toward the Moon after a Rain,” he stated:

In the dark-blue sky a circle is undulating, 碧天一轮荡漾,
It is so bright that spreads ten-thousand *li* of clear brilliance. 皎洁万里晴
辉。

The night clock echoes among the soundless courts and buildings, 夜漏沉沉院宇,

Silently I attempt to understand the ceaselessly circulating principle.¹⁶⁰ 寂然
默会圆机。

The “ceaselessly circulating” hints at the circle of the full moon and meanwhile indicates the eternity of the cosmos. Under either the full moon or the crescent, the moonlight evoked his contemplation and sharp observation.

¹⁵⁸ Yongzheng, “Huixin chu shibi 会心处试笔,” in *ibid.*, 146.

¹⁵⁹ Yongzheng, “Xiari Qinzhengdian guan xinyue zuo 夏日勤政殿观新月作,” in *ibid.*, 149.

¹⁶⁰ Yongzheng, “Yuhou duiyue oucheng 雨后对月偶成,” in *ibid.*, 178.

The relationship between Yongzheng's leisure in the garden and his enhancement of virtue was closely related to his religious contemplation. Yongzheng greatly enhanced the status of Confucianism during the Qing dynasty while writing many articles to interpret Confucian classics. After taking the throne, he granted Confucius' fifth-generation descendent the title of King. He also believed in and studied Buddhism and Daoism. Before taking the throne, he had been in close contact with monks. He named himself the Buddhist Resident of Round Brightness (Yuanming jushi 圆明居士) and took part in the debates among various Buddhist schools.

In the preface of his *Yongdi shiji* (Poem anthology of the Palace of Prince Yong), Yongzheng wrote (with my annotations in brackets; for the original Chinese text, see text 6 in appendix 4):

In the past when I lived in the Palace of Prince Yong, I regarded myself as the greatest leisure man in the world. But the so-called "leisure" [*xian* 闲] is not a repetition of the [ancient story of] Ji Mountain and Ying River or the kind of flaunting wills and ambitions in bamboo groves. I was born in the prosperous age of this country when the three rebels were suppressed and peace was everywhere. I was affected by my respected father [Emperor Kangxi] and spoiled myself under his knees. I was granted a prince palace. After closing the door and resting in the palace, I have nothing to do. The territory of my residence is so leisure. Furthermore, my personality does not like ostentation. I am not keen on wealth and nobility, nor do I worry about being poor and lowly. I only expect to spend time and thus feel joyful anywhere. Where my emotion projects itself is so leisure. Although I have lightheartedly strolled [*youyou* 优游] and been a leisure man for over forty years, if there had not been my father's great kindness of teaching me, I would have no achievements.

[The famous hermits Xu You 许由 and Chao Fu 巢父 in the time of the legendary emperor Yao 尧 were said to live at the feet of the Ji Mountain. It was said Xu You once lived by the Ying River. The later generations use the

Ji Mountain and Ying River to signify hermitage. The “bamboo groves” signify the “seven virtuous men in bamboo groves” of the Jin dynasty. They liked to speak on mystical things in bamboo groves. It is interesting to note Yongzheng repeatedly emphasized that he was a “leisure” man and enjoyed the joy of being leisure. He linked his leisure with his filiality to his father and indifference to ostentation].

I am often not good at poems. When I accompanied my father to the northern territories or the Jiangnan, my father sometimes ordered me to write a poem under the title given by him. I reluctantly responded in order to make him happy. At the beginning, I did not pay attention to the rhythm of words and sentences. As for the occasions when I attended a banquet or climbed high to look into the distance, or when things evoked my emotion, I would write poems based on my feelings or record events with poems so as to mold my temperament. How could it be said that my poems intended to compete with literati's? With the passing of time, poems get larger and larger.

[Yongzheng expressed here the close relationship between his emotions and his poetry].

In the winter of the *renyin* year [1722], I inherited my father's will and took the administration of the country. Reviewing documents one after another, my work is busy and onerous. Eating late and dressing up early, I care about everything of the country. Getting up early and sleeping late, I dare not seek a rest. The past lightheartedly wandering has changed into the present vigilance, diligence and caring. The poetizing on morning flowers and evening moon has changed into the present contemplation in bleak winters and summer rains.

[Yongzheng expressed in this passage his missing of the “lightheartedly wandering” in the garden when he was young. He did not put the leisure situation in the garden opposite to his busy administration, rather he

attempted to express that his current diligence evolved from his long-time self-cultivation of leisure].

Reviewing these old poems, how much I feel lost. Recalling the past “leisure territory and leisure emotion” [*xianjing xianqing* 闲境闲情], they seem too far away from me now. I write this preface for my *Poem Anthology of the Palace of Prince Yong* to express my intentions.¹⁶¹

[The search for a “leisure territory and leisure emotion” continued throughout his life].

Yongzheng expressed a central idea of his life philosophy— “leisure.” He regarded himself as the “greatest leisure man in the world” and connected his “leisure emotion” with his modest personality and his indifference to both “wealth and nobility” and “poor and lowly.” Importantly, such a leisure situation was not nihilism but rather a kind of emotion evoked by beautiful garden scenes. His poems, mostly on morning flowers and the evening moon over the garden, were completely based on his leisure feelings rather to compete with literati’s. He pointed out the close relationship between his “leisure territory and leisure emotion” and established the connection between this leisure situation and the virtues of integrity and sincerity.

The Palace of Prince Yong was his residence within the city prior to residing in the Garden of Round Brightness. The palace had its garden. In the preface of his *Yue xin ji* (Anthology of delightful heart), Yongzheng wrote (with my annotations in brackets; for the original Chinese text, see text 7 in appendix 4):

My life always takes simple elegance as its principle. My personality is quiet, self-appreciative, satisfied with my own fate, peaceful in accordance with circumstances. When I lived in the Palace of Prince Yong, although it was located in the bustling area, in my sleep I felt tranquil, remote, at leisure and open and seemed to transcend the dusty world. However, I did not let my

¹⁶¹ Yongzheng, “Yongdi shiji xu 雍邸诗集序,” in *ibid.*, 235-36.

body and heart idle, and browsed many anthologies edited by others in my spare time of studying classics and historical books. If I found those wonderful articles and sentences that can provoke my interest, expel my leisure or express my desire of transcending, I collected them and simply compiled them. These texts, as the bright moon hangs in the clear sky, or as cool wind expels summer heat, or as seasonal flowers brighten eyes, or as birds sing in woods, or as springs flow melodiously in deep mountains, or as clocks strike at midnight, can eliminate stagnancy and wash away uneasiness and noises. They make me feel open-minded, spiritually delightful and extremely free and comfortable. I therefore selected some of these texts at will and put them on my table for casual reading.

[Yongzheng described his life principle as seeking “simple elegance” and differentiated his “leisure” attitude from “idling.” It is interesting to note that he used a series of metaphors from garden scenes to express the enlightenment that he obtained from his readings; for example, the phrase “the bright moon hangs in the clear sky” indicated the enlightenment in his mind].

Since being in charge of national affairs, I have been working day and night and cannot help missing the past delightful things, which are not available anymore. However, the control of tranquility is not influenced by motion of things; and the extreme of simple elegance cannot be changed with the change of environments. This is certain and I believe it. I therefore compile what I collected into a book and named it *Anthology of Delightful Heart*.

The heart is the human being’s divinity. It is the origin of all transformations and things. If the heart is burdened, it will feel bitter; if bothered, uneasy; if hidden, opaque; and if suffocated, stagnant. Hence, ancient sages teach us clearly to pacify and clean our hearts. Buddha has talked about the bright heart [*mingxin* 明心] and the tranquil heart [*jixin* 寂心]. The principle is no

more than the void and subtlety of the self-restraint heart. If such a heart is not burdened and completely fused with the primary *qi* of the harmonic heaven and earth, any place can be reached and anything can be obtained. It is the same as Confucians' sitting in spring breeze and bathing in the Qi River, or as Daoists' inhaling dew and eating rosy clouds, or as Buddhists' wisdom rains and fragrant flowers, or as ancient sages' talks of rain, moon, light, wind, the root of heaven and the cave on the moon. Since their principles are the same, aren't their purposes and interests the same?

Therefore, in this anthology there are words of Zhuangzi, words for leisure, words for freshening up, interesting words, words which are easy to understand and without signifying anything. The persons who touched the texts are officials, hermits, Confucians and Buddhists who are famous or autonomous, or non-experts.

[The "bright and tranquil heart" echoed with the brightness and tranquility of the Round Brightness. If a heart was completely fused with the primary *qi* of the harmonic heaven and earth, the ultimate perfection could be reached. Such a situation implied the fullness of the Round Brightness. The Qi River flowed through Qufu, the hometown of Confucius. For Yongzheng, no matter what religious connection could be made, this "bright and tranquil heart" was the fundamental existence].

Generally speaking, we need to be vigilant against greed and arrogance, avoid worrying and open up contemplation, inhabit the clear and tranquil heart, wander the happy land, talk freely about the far and near, and use simple expression while meaning deep significance. By doing so, between looking down and up we meet our hearts all the time. Although the environment can be bustling and noisy, what is not bustling and noisy can only be at the heart. Somebody seeks to live in remote and quiet landscapes but still cannot avoid the disturbance of anxiety; somebody lives in a noisy environment but feels peaceful and carefree. This is the difference of observing and not-observing the Dao. In the past, a Chan master, Mr. Lang 朗, wrote to another Chan master, Yongjia 永嘉, to invite him to live in the mountain. But Yongjia

answered: “If one does not observe Dao before dwelling in a mountain, he sees only the mountain rather than Dao. If one observes Dao before dwelling in the mountain, he sees Dao but certainly forgets he is in the mountain. For the one who sees Dao but forgets the mountain, he feels peaceful even in the dusty world; for the one who sees only the mountain but forgets Dao, he feels restless even in the mountain.” These words are exactly what I intend to say. Only those who understand this meaning can begin to read my *Anthology of Delightful Heart*.¹⁶²

[The situation of “see Dao but forget the mountain” did not mean that the mountain was not important, but rather that the heart was completely fused with the view of the mountain and they became one. In order to reach the fusion of one, the emperor had to “inhabit the clear and tranquil heart, wander the happy land,” and “look down and up,” just as he did in the garden. Such activities, as he said, improved his “vigilance against greed and arrogance”].

Yongzheng also interpreted the ultimate unity of one from the Confucian perspective. In the essay “A Teaching Text for the Court Lectures on Classics” (Jingyan jiangyi 经筵讲义), he explained his understanding of the Confucian idea “timely middle” (*shizhong* 时中). A partial translation of this essay is as follows, with my annotations in brackets (For the original Chinese text, see text 8 in appendix 4):

... “What is called ‘middle’ is the ultimate principle of the world. What is called ‘harmony’ is the ultimate Dao of the world.” The “middle” and the “harmony” belong to the same principle. They cannot be regarded as a distinctive two, nor can they be taken as an ambiguous one. The principle of the “middle” already contains the “harmony.” If the “middle” has reached the ultimate, but the “harmony” still remains separate, this “middle” must not be ultimate. The Dao of the “middle” already contains the “middle.” If the “harmony” has reached the ultimate but the “middle” remains separate, the “harmony” must not be the ultimate. Only if each of them has its

¹⁶² Yongzheng, “Yuxin ji xu 悦心集序,” in *ibid.*, 258-59.

function reach the ultimate can they converge into the essential one. If so, the heaven and earth will be positioned and all things will be raised; the profitable function can be ready.

“When the ultimate middle and harmony is reached, the heaven and earth will be positioned and all things will be raised.” The inherent character [*xing* 性] is called the heavenly fate, which heaven, earth and all things share together. The “middle” is the essential one, and the “harmony” dissolves differences.

[The idea that if “the ultimate middle and harmony is reached, the heaven and earth will be positioned and all things will be raised” is quite similar to the idea that if a heart was “completely fused with the primary *qi* of the harmonic heaven and earth, any place could be reached and anything could be obtained,” which was stated in his preface of the *Anthology of Delightful Heart*].

When the ultimate middle-harmony is reached, everything is positioned and raised. This is the so-call nature [*ziran* 自然], but sages don’t claim it as their credits. It is therefore said: “Heaven and earth have no intention but can create nature; sages have intentions but do nothing purposefully [*wuwei* 无为].

“A virtuous man’s middle way [*zhongyong* 中庸] is his being timely and on the middle [*shizhong*].” As for the word “middle” of the term “timely middle,” many teaching texts interpret its tone of pronunciation as the fourth one, but this does not exhaust the essence of its meanings. The “middle” of a virtuous man is to respectfully unify all his behaviors towards the middle. The “behavior” of a virtuous man is to sincerely implement the middle in his behaving. Otherwise, the “timely middle” cannot be realized. This is my interpretation.

[There are basically four tones in the Chinese language. The character *zhong* 中 has in fact two tones: the first and the fourth, each of which indicates

different meanings. The first-tone character means “middle;” the fourth-tone, “appropriate or exactly.” Yongzheng preferred the first-tone meaning, namely “middle,” in his interpretation of the concept *shi-zhong*. This detail is quite significant, because it shows that for him the Confucian concept “timely middle” should first be understood based on the vision of “middle” rather than its metaphorical meanings. As he explicated, “the ‘middle’ of a virtuous man is to respectfully unify all his behaviors towards the middle.” This virtue of “unifying all behaviors towards the middle” was vividly expressed by his vision of Round Brightness].

[As the book *Zhongyong* states,] “only the ultimate sincerity shared by the whole country can let us establish the highest principle for administrating and stabilizing the country and know the transformation of nature.” The usual interpretation thinks that establishing the principle and knowing the transformation are applications of ultimate sincerity. I rather think that they are the very body of ultimate sincerity. Ultimate sincerity is the universal heavenly truth that is true without absurdity. The highest principle and essence of the world and the transformation of nature all are contained in inherent character. Beyond the highest principle, essence and transformation, there is no ultimate sincerity; or vice versa. The whole body of ultimate sincerity contains everything, and this is so natural and simple as such [*ziran er'ran* 自然而然]. If we take these sentences [from classics] literally and understand them as the applications of ultimate sincerity, I am afraid such an understanding is not thorough yet...¹⁶³

[The connection between virtues and the ultimate one was further developed into the idea that “the whole body of the ultimate sincerity contains everything.” The model of interpreting classics in the court started with the emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty. In the Qing, there was a seminar on classics at the Wenhua Palace each spring and summer. After the lecturer’s instruction, Yongzheng would give his own interpretation. It is clear from

¹⁶³ Yongzheng, “Jingyan jiangyi 经筵讲义,” in *ibid.*, 267-68.

the above text that Yongzheng extended the definition of the Confucian concept “middle” into the Daoist concept “harmony.” For him, the ultimate integration of middle and harmony meant “nature” [*ziran*]; the transformation of nature was not an application of the “ultimate sincerity;” rather, it was the “whole body [embodiment] of the ultimate sincerity”].

Compared with his father’s philosophical exploration of the virtue of Round Brightness, Qianlong’s reflection on this issue was frequently expressed in his poems of the Forty *jing*. In the first *jing*, Uprightness and Brightness, he stated:

A blue-green grass reminds me of showing frugality, 青草思示俭,

A still mountain makes my body close to humaneness.¹⁶⁴ 山静体依仁。

The title of the *jing* itself, Uprightness and Brightness, expressed the cohesion of the heart and appearance intended by the emperor. In the poem of the twenty-first *jing*, Orchid Fragrance over the Water, Qianlong stated:

How is the garden residence only to serve [my] touring and gazing? 园居岂
为事游观?

In the whole day, I watch the agricultural activities from my window.¹⁶⁵ 早晚
农功倚栏看。

These sentences expressed his concern in regards to agriculture and the life of common people. With such a symbolism, an agricultural field was a typical setting in the Qing emperor’s gardens. In the poem of the twenty-third *jing*, Lian Xi’s Wonderful Place for Study, he stated:

The water gallery looks upon clear waves, 水轩俯澄泓,

Skylight spreads over the water surface of several *qing*. 天光涵数顷。

.....

The virtuous man [i.e., the lotus flower] here has been my mentor, 君子斯
我师,

Who needs that huge lotus flower in heaven?¹⁶⁶ 何须求玉井。

¹⁶⁴ Qianlong, “Zhengda guangming 正大光明,” in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985), 7.

¹⁶⁵ Qianlong, “Yinshui lanxiang 印水兰香,” in *ibid.*, 47.

The “virtuous man” signified the lotus flower. This metaphor was based on Zhou Dunyi’s 周敦颐, a Neo-Confucian philosopher of the Northern Song dynasty, famous essay “Writing on [My] Love of Lotus,” which said, “Lotus, the virtuous man of flowers.”¹⁶⁷ Although Qianlong claimed the lotus flowers in the garden had already satisfied his need for virtues, he in fact implied that the lotus flowers in his garden had no difference from the legendary lotus flower in heaven.

For Qianlong, living in the garden was an effectual way for enhancing virtues. In the poem of the thirty-sixth *jing*, Bathing Body and Increasing Virtue, he stated:

The autumn water is in harmony with the skylight. 秋水长天色。

[It is] neither exhausted nor overfilled, 不竭亦不盈,

Only such [a situation] is the virtue of a virtuous man. 是惟君子德。

I look upon the empty brightness [of the water], 我来俯空明,

In this mirror I recognize myself silently.¹⁶⁸ 镜以默相识。

The water in the poem indicated the huge lake, Fortunate Sea, whose mirroring surface produced a “round brightness.” As the title of the *jing* expressed, bathing the body in the brightness of the round lake could enhance virtues. Reflecting the brilliant moonlight, the brightness of the round lake enlightened his consciousness—“I recognize myself silently.”

Some titles of the Forty *Jing* clearly indicate both the view and the virtue. In the poem of the thirty-seventh *jing*, Boundless Openness, he stated:

[Foreword:] The northern window is widely open in the long summer. The fragrance of water keeps on wafting to me. [The view] really opens up my bosom.

[Poem:]

A mountain won’t let earth slip away, 有山不让土,

Therefore, it becomes so high. 故得高峨峨。

¹⁶⁶ Qianlong, “Lian Xi lechu 廉溪乐处,” in *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* See the third annotation by the editor.

¹⁶⁸ Qianlong, “Zaoshen yude 澡身浴德,” in *ibid.*, 65.

A river won't be picky of any small streams, 有河不择流,
 Therefore, it becomes so wide. 故得宽弥弥。
 This is so-called boundless openness, 是之谓大公,
 I therefore use it to name [this *jing*]. 而我以名此。
 Whenever I feel fresh, peaceful and leisure, 偶值清晏闲,
 I lean [on the window sill] and look over [the lake] honestly, delightfully and
 respectfully.¹⁶⁹ 凭眺诚乐只。

The concept of “boundless openness” came from Cheng Hao’s 程颢, a Neo-Confucian philosopher of the Northern Song dynasty, statement “The knowledge of a virtuous man is no other than the boundless openness.”¹⁷⁰ For Qianlong, the boundless openness of the view identified that of his bosom.

Another issue which connected the view and the virtue is depth. In the poem of the fortieth *jing*, In Depth of Remote Dwelling (Fig. 10), Qianlong stated:

Rattling bamboos in the autumn, 瑟瑟竹簌秋,
 Standing pine trees under a moon night. 亭亭松月夜。
 If [I] seldom stay here [to study], 队此少淹留,
 How can [I] sense the passing of time? 安知岁月流?
 [I] am willing to be a Confucian virtuous man, 愿为君子儒,
 Rather than do a leisure stroll [as a Daoist].¹⁷¹ 不作逍遥游。

Because the fortieth *jing* was the place where teenage princes, including Qianlong, studied, it is at this place that Qianlong attempted to emphasize the traditional connection between scholarly diligence and Confucian thoughts. The title of the *jing* and the last sentence expressed the connection between a deep view and the deep heart; especially this *jing* is the last stop of the journey of the Forty *Jing*.

¹⁶⁹ Qianlong, “Kuoran dagong 廓然大公,” in *ibid.*, 79.

¹⁷⁰ Cheng Hao, cited in an annotation in *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Qianlong, “Dongtian shenchu 洞天深处,” in *ibid.*, 85.

END OF CHAPTER-ONE FOOTNOTES.

CHAPTER TWO *JING*

The vision of Round Brightness with its cosmological and ethical meanings was embodied by the multiple *jing* of the garden. The brightness not only diffused along the route of the Forty Jing but also was composed by each *jing*. One of the principle questions asks: is the transcendental round brightness essentially related with the physical *jing* in this garden? To answer the question, a historical analysis of the concept of *jing* is necessary to demonstrate the essence of the relationship. Through focusing on multiple *jing* in this garden, the vision of Round Brightness can be intentionally obtained.

2.1 Meaning of the *Jing* in Garden and Landscape Literature

The *jing* as the unity of both mind and scene has gone through a historical evolution. The earliest known discussion of *jing* was in the Moist canon, *Mozi* (5th cen. BC), which defined *jing* as “what is static; when sunlight comes, it will disappear.”¹⁷² Here, the *jing* hints at “shadow.” The similar meaning of *jing* can be found in the *Kao gong ji* (Records of thinking on constructions, 3rd cen. BC), which states, “Observe the sun and the *jing* to know directions.”¹⁷³ The *jing* here means the “shadow emanating from sundial with sunlight projecting down” (The quotation marks here and hereafter in other similar situations indicate my interpretations). It is clear that around the Warring States period the two characters: *jing* 景 and *ying* 影 (shadow) were not differentiated, and the understanding of shadow was closely related to sunlight.

During the Han dynasty, the *jing* as a bright existence was emphasized and its connection with cosmology was established. In the *Huainan zi*, Liu An wrote:

The Dao of heaven is called the round; the Dao of earth is called the square. The square is in charge of the deep and remote; the round, the bright. What is the bright is something that spits out *qi*. Therefore, fire is called the

¹⁷² Mozi (Mo Di, Spring & Autumn), *Mojin*, in *Mojin jiaoshi*, anno. Liang Qichao, in Yan Lingfeng ed., *Mozi jicheng*: v. 19 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1977), 112.

¹⁷³ *Kao gong ji* (late Warring States), in Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonglu*: jishu juan: juan 1 (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), 193.

external *jing*. What is the deep and remote is something that contains *qi*.

Therefore, water is called the internal *jing*.¹⁷⁴

天道曰圆,地道曰方。方者主幽,圆者主明。明者,吐气者也,是故火曰外景,幽者,含气者也,是故水曰内景。

The *jing* was defined as the flowing brightness—*qi*. There was a cosmological connection between Dao, a round form, brightness and *jing*.

In the “Rhapsody of the Western Capital,” Zhang Heng 张衡 described:

The curving-up roof, 反宇业业,

The flying eaves. 飞檐猷猷。

The flowing *jing* brightens the interior, 流景内照,

And draws the light of sun and moon.¹⁷⁵ 引曜日月。

The *jing* here indicates a “moving bright view,” which could be brightened by either the sun or the moon. Since the *jing* could “brighten” an interior, the concept of *jing* was now differentiated from shadows and emerged as an independent phenomenon.

In the “Rhapsody of Lingguang Palace of Lu,” Wang Yanshou 王延寿 stated:

A high terrace is at the center of a pool; 渐台临池,

It circulates up to nine levels. 层曲九成。

.

[On the top of the terrace, I] sit at the center under the falling *jing*; 中坐垂景,

And overlook the shooting stars.¹⁷⁶ 俯视流星。

¹⁷⁴ Liu An (Western Han) et al, *Huainan zi*, in *Huainanzi quanyi*, anno. Xu Kuangyi, (Guiyang: Guizhou chubanshe, 1993), juan 3 “Tianwen”: 107. A published translation of this part is as follows:

The Dao of Heaven is called the Circular; the Dao of Earth is called the Square. The square governs the obscure; the circular governs the bright. The bright emits *qi*, and for this reason fire is the external brilliance of the sun. The obscure sucks in *qi*, and for this reason water is the internal luminosity of the moon.

(See John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi*. [Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993], 64-65).

¹⁷⁵ Zhang Heng (Eastern Han), “Xijing fu,” in Xiao Tong (Southern Dynasties), *Wen xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 12.

¹⁷⁶ Wang Wenkao (Wang Yanshou) (Eastern Han), “Lu Lingguangdian fu yishou,” in Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan*, in *Wenxuan quanyi*, anno. Zhang Qicheng et al (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1994), 645.

The “falling *jing*” is a vivid description of moonlight. Because he was “overlooking the shooting stars,” the *jing* must be moon related.

In the poem “Movement of Time,” the writer Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (Western Jin) stated:

[Foreword:] The poem “Movement of Time” is for touring in late spring. Spring clothes have been worn, and the *jing* and things are in harmony. I wander solitarily in an occasional *jing*, and happiness and emotion interweave with my heart.

[Poem:] The distant *jing*, carries my happiness and my gaze.¹⁷⁷ 邈邈遐景, 载欣载瞩。

.....

The first *jing* indicates sunlight; the second, “a place under sunlight;” the third, “a distant view in sunlight.” It is important to note that the *jing* began to be related with an individual’s emotion and held multiple meanings. In the “Rhapsody of Leisure Emotion,” he wrote:

I wish to be a shadow in daytime, 愿在昼而为影,
Follow tangible forms here and there. 常依形而西东。

.....

I feel sad for a shining *fusang* tree, 悲扶桑而疏光,
When a *jing* is over its [the tree’s] brightness is hidden. 奄灭景而藏明。

.....

The sun carries its shadow all the time, 日负影已偕没,

The moon flatters the *jing* at the end of clouds.¹⁷⁸ 月媚景于云端。

In Chinese mythology, the *fusang* tree stands at the place where the sun rises. The first *jing* means sunlight; the second, a “distant bright view.” The Chinese term of “shadow” here is *ying* instead of *jing*. It is clear that the term “shadow,” *ying*, was completely differentiated from the term *jing* at that time.

¹⁷⁷ Tao Yuanmin (Eastern Jin), “Shi yun,” in *Tao Yuanming quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 1-2.

¹⁷⁸ Tao Yuanmin, “Xianqing fu,” in *Tao Yuanming quanji*, 31.

In the poem “Watching the Late Guest from the Southern Tower,” Tao Yuanming’s peer, the landscape poet Xie Lingyun 谢灵运, wrote:

The round *jing* has been full for a long time, 圆景早已满,

My friend has not arrived.¹⁷⁹ 佳人殊未适。

In this case, the “round *jing*” signifies the full moon. His concern for his friend, his desire for a reunion and his despair over waiting were fused with the round brightness of the full moon. In the preamble of the poem on the Prince of Wei, Xie wrote: “In the world, a good time, a beautiful *jing*, an appreciative heart and a happy event are hard to be together in the meantime.”¹⁸⁰ The *jing* here indicates the “view of a beautiful landscape.” It can be argued that the concept of *jing* in the Southern-Northern Dynasties period began to indicate a view of a landscape, which was brightened by the projection of sunshine or moonlight. Furthermore, the *jing* surprised the spectator and was beyond the control of his intention.

The meaning of *jing* as a specific garden or landscape view began to emerge in the Tang dynasty. In the poem “Enjoying Coolness in a Buddhist Temple,” Wei Yingwu 韦应物 wrote:

The mountain *jing* is quiet and obscure, 山景寂已晦,

The temple in wilderness becomes vast and hazy.¹⁸¹ 野寺变苍苍。

The *jing* here indicates a “view of mountain landscapes.” Although there was no emphasis on the brightness of the *jing*, it can be imagined that the *jing* should have been bright in order to be a view. In the poem, “Presenting to the Official Wei for His Promotion,” the landscape painter and poet Wang Wei 王维 wrote:

The cold pool reflects feeble grasses, 寒塘印衰草,

Phoenix-tree leaves scatter on a high lodge. 高馆落疏桐。

At such a late time of the year, 临此岁方晏,

¹⁷⁹ Xie Linyun (Southern Dynasties), “Nanlou zhong wang suo chi ke,” in the appendix of *Tao Yuanming quanji*, 101.

¹⁸⁰ Xie Linyun, “Ni Wei daizi ye zhong jishi ba shou bing xu,” in *ibid.*, 105.

¹⁸¹ Wei Yingwu (Tang dyn.), “Jingshe naliang,” in *Quan Tang shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), v. 6: 1980.

I look at the *jing* and sadly chant for the old man. 顾景咏悲翁。

My old friend can no longer be met, 顾人不可见,

Solitude falls on the eastern woods.¹⁸² 寂寞平林东。

The *jing* was the view of what the first two sentences described. The “cold pool,” “feeble grasses,” “phoenix-tree leaves” and “a high lodge” indicated that the *jing* was a garden scene. In the “Deer and Firewood,” a poem on one of the twenty *jing* of his famous Wangchuan Villa, Wang wrote:

There is nobody in the empty mountain, 空山不见人,

But I seem to hear echoes of human voices. 但闻人语响。

The returning *jing* penetrates into the dense forests, 返景入森林,

And brightens up again the green mosses.¹⁸³ 复照青苔上。

The *jing* here means sunlight which brightened the view of landscapes.

The concept of *jing* as a view of a beautiful landscape was fully developed through Tang poetry. In the poem “Living Overnight at the Cuiwei Temple on the Zhongnan Mountain,” the poet Meng Haoran 孟浩然 stated:

Although Confucianism and Daoism are different religious schools, 儒道虽
异门,

As for clouds and forests they are the same. 云林颇同调。

Two hearts delight in meeting with each other, 两心喜相得,

[We] exhaust the *jing* in an enjoyable talk and laugh.¹⁸⁴ 毕景共谈笑。

In this case, the *jing* indicates an “appreciable view of landscapes.” In yet another poem, “Paddling at Yupu Lake in the Morning,” he wrote:

Paddling expels my depression, 舟行自无闷,

At this moment a clear *jing* opens up.¹⁸⁵ 况值晴景豁。

¹⁸² Wang Wei (Tang dyn.), *Wang Wei quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 6.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 70.

¹⁸⁴ Meng Haoran (Tang dyn.), *Meng Haoran ji*, in the appendix of *Wang Wei quanji*, 154.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 158.

The *jing* here means “a bright view of landscapes.” The phrase “*jing* opens up” demonstrates that a *jing* did not always exist and was different from the mere view of things. The opening-up of the *jing* was also the enlightenment of the heart.

In the Tang dynasty, a *jing* could be big or small. In the poem “Watch in Spring at Linling,” the landscape writer Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 wrote:

Gathering my emotion, I look admiringly at the expansive *jing*, 凝情空景
慕，

The ten-thousand-mile shady Cangwu Mountain.¹⁸⁶ 万里苍梧阴。

The *jing* here indicates the “the expansive view of the Cangwu Mountain range.” A similar expansive *jing* was experienced by Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡, who stated in a poem: “Ten-thousand *jing* gather up toward me [万景坌来].”¹⁸⁷ In this example, the larger *jing* was composed of multiple individual *jing*, each of which designated a specific scene of the landscape. For both the authors, the gathering of *jing* was a moment in time for the gathering of emotion.

Once the *jing* could be formulated on a small scale, the attention was shifted from landscape views to garden scenes. The meaning of *jing* as a specific view of a landscape, which emerged in the Tang dynasty, was solidified and transformed into a specific view of a garden scene during the Five Dynasties. In the poem “Wandering of Aristocrats,” Liu Jian 刘兼 wrote:

Playboys in embroidery clothes are having a banquet by the pool, 绣衣公子
宴池塘，

The pretty *jing* fuses with fragrances of ten-thousand flowers.¹⁸⁸ 淑景融融万
卉芳。

¹⁸⁶ Liu Zongyuan (Tang dyn.), “Linling chun wang,” in *Liu Zongyuan ji*, anno. Yi Xinding (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2000), 623.

¹⁸⁷ Liu Yuxi (Tang dyn.), “Xixin ting ji,” in Sun Xiaoli, *Zhichi shanlin: yuanlin yishu wencui* (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1999), 29.

¹⁸⁸ Liu Qian (Five Dynasties), “Gui you,” in Li Diaoyuan (Qing dyn.) ed., *Quan Wudai shi* (Chengdu: Bashu shudian, 1991), 333.

The *jing* here means “garden scenes.” Once the *jing* began to indicate a specific view, which appeared near the spectator, the term was frequently used for what the viewer observed in a garden. In addition, the *jing* of a garden was connected to the development of virtues. In the poem “Courtyard Reeds,” Li Zhong 李中 connected the *jing* with the aesthetic and poetic feelings of human beings:

The moral character is clear in bamboo, 品格清於竹,

The *jing* in a poet's eyes is the remotest.¹⁸⁹ 诗家景最幽。

In this case, the *jing* was defined as “a garden scene” which was connected with a deep heart. With the clarification of the individual *jing*, attention began to be paid to the depth of such a *jing*, which echoed with the remoteness of the heart.

During the Five Dynasties, a clear idea that a *jing* was typically beautiful was established. In the poem “Residing in the Chishui Temple on Qingming Day,” Luo Gun 罗衮 wrote:

Turbid wine cannot bear the *jing* beyond clouds, 浊酒不禁云外景,

Green peaks cool off springtime in front of the temple.¹⁹⁰ 碧峰犹冷寺前春。

The *jing* here indicates “a view of a distant landscape.” In Chinese culture, wine was a poet's friend, but a *jing* could be more attractive than wine. In the poem “Residing at the Qixian Temple in Autumn and Missing a Friend,” Du Xunhe 杜荀鹤 wrote:

Only after chanting poems again and again do I see the *jing*, 苦吟方见景,

It is pitiful that I cannot share it with my friend.¹⁹¹ 多恨不同君。

In this case, the *jing* is an example of “a pretty view of landscape in the mind.” It is interesting to note that the *jing* could be obtained only through a poetical perspective. In the poem “The West Garden in Early Spring,” Wang Zhou 王周 stated:

How to take this *jing*? 如何将此景,

Adjust and bring it into a painting.¹⁹² 收拾向图中。

¹⁸⁹ Li Zhong (Five Dynasties), “Ting wei,” in *ibid.*, 709.

¹⁹⁰ Luo Gun (Five Dynasties), “Qingming Chishuishi ju,” *ibid.*, 16.

¹⁹¹ Du Xunhe (Five Dynasties), “Qiusu Qixianshi huai youren,” in *ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹² Wang Zhou (Five Dynasties), “Zhaochun Xiyuan,” in *ibid.*, 164.

The *jing* here means “a view of garden scene.” It is interesting to read that the *jing* was connected with a garden and could be recorded by a painting. It can be said that the concept of *jing* as a pretty view of landscapes or garden scenes was established during the Five Dynasties, a politically unstable period in Chinese history.

In the Song dynasty, the definition of *jing* was more connected with its objective existence. In the poem “A Spring for Common People,” Wang Yuanzhi 王元之 wrote:

Delight in things is like being created by heaven, 物趣同天造,

The *jing* of things has no end.¹⁹³ 物景不自尽。

The *jing* in this poem points to a meaning of “views of things.” The “thing” was an important concept of the Neo-Confucianism in the Song dynasty. In yet another poem “Chanting at the Tower of Waves-under-Moon,” the same author wrote:

If a good *jing* is not encountered by people, 好景不遇人,

How can its fame last?¹⁹⁴ 安得名存留!

The *jing* here means “a pretty landscape.” The differentiation between *jing* and an individual demonstrated that the *jing* was taken more as an objective existence than before. In this case, the observer’s own emotions were not as blended with the view as would eventually occur in later dynasties.

Once the *jing* was kept as an objective existence, the spectator’s subjective influence over the *jing* was more controlled. In the poem “Writing at the West Pavilion to Respond to the Official Youshengpushe,” Xu Xuan 徐铉 stated:

A *jing* follows what a viewer likes, 景皆随所尚,

A thing seeks its own appropriateness.¹⁹⁵ 物各遂其宜。

In this poem, the *jing* denotes “a view of landscape perceived by the spectator from a particular position.” People in the Song dynasty began to realize that a *jing* could be selected and began to build structures within a garden to include an intended *jing*. In

¹⁹³ Wang Yuanzhi (Song dyn.), “Shuzi quan,” in Wu Zhizheng (Qing dyn.) ed., *Song shi chao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 21.

¹⁹⁴ Wang Yuanzhi, “Yuebolou yonghuai,” in *ibid.*, 28.

¹⁹⁵ Xu Xuan (Song dyn.), “Fenghe Youshengpushe Xiting gaowo zuo,” in *ibid.*, 95.

the “Record of a Tower for Distant Jing in Meizhou,” the great writer Su Shi 苏轼 wrote:

The official [Li Xisheng] thus expanded his residence based on the northern wall [of the original residence], and the Tower for a Distant Jing was built. He wandered with his guests and other officials on the tower everyday... In order for such a delight of standing on the tower gazing broadly and the beauty of landscapes, I shall retire back to my hometown [Meizhou], dressed in plain clothes, serve my friend [Li Xisheng] on this tower. Drinking to the full and feeling joyful to write, I lift the pen brush to write this record to praise the official Li's kind heart.¹⁹⁶

因守[黎希声]居之北墉而增筑之,作远景楼,日与宾客僚吏游处其上... 若夫登临览观之乐,山川风物之美,轼将归老故丘,布衣幅巾,以帮君于其上,酒酣乐作,原笔而赋之,以颂黎侯之遗爱。

The *jing* here signifies “a distant view of beautiful landscapes.” A tower was built in the garden for the purpose of viewing a distant *jing*. It is interesting to note that the tower was not located within the garden, but rather on the garden wall, on the border between the inside and the outside. The location on the border demonstrated a strong desire to bring the distant *jing* that is outside the garden into the garden's boundary. The borrowed view demonstrated the observer's attempt to control the depth of the *jing*, which was a cultural characteristic of the Song dynasty.

Once the control over the view was strengthened, more attention began to be paid to details of the *jing*. In his “Record of the Pavilion of a Drunk Old Man,” the historian Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 stated: “I go there in the morning and return in the evening. The *jing* of four seasons are different, and my delight has no end.”¹⁹⁷ The *jing* here represents “a seasonal view of the landscape.” The *jing* changed in accordance with the different seasons and these changes brought pleasure to him. On a privately owned stone screen, an Ouyang's poem says:

¹⁹⁶ Su Shi (Northern Song), *Su Shi wenxue sanwen xuan* (Taiyuan: Shanxi gaoxiao lianhe chubanshe, 1991), 140.

¹⁹⁷ Ouyang Xiu (Northern Song), “Zuiwengting ji,” in Li Jing et al ed., *Xingu qingyun: shanshui sanwen jingxuan* (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 1995), 116.

In the empty woods there is nobody except birds [which] are happily singing,
空林无人鸟声乐,

Ancient trees block the sky and boughs bend and stretch. 古木参天枝屈
盘。

There is a strange rock standing among the trees, 下有怪石横树间,
It is buried by smoke and hidden by grasses and is full of mosses. 烟埋草没
苔藓斑。

Could I ask who painted this *jing*? 借问此景谁图写,

It is the stone screen of the Wu family.¹⁹⁸ 乃是吴家石屏者。

An interesting observation of this poem is that he compared a *jing* to a painting. The *jing* here represents “a picturesque view of a landscape which centers on a unique stone screen.” The phenomenon that a unique rock could become a *jing* demonstrated that the distance between the view and viewer was being shortened.

The scholar Li Gefei 李葛飞 wrote an essay, “Record of Famous Gardens in Luoyang,” where a garden, Fuzheng’gong Garden, was discussed. A portion of the essay is as follows: “A visitor walks out of the house, turns to the east, passes through the Pavilion of Exploring Spring and climbs up to the Hall of Four Jing, then the whole *jing* and beauty of the garden can be viewed and obtained.”¹⁹⁹ The first *jing* means “a garden scene during a particular season.” The second *jing* indicates “a panoramic view of the garden.” On yet another garden named Encircling Brook discussed within the same essay, he wrote: “South of the water pavilion is the Tower of Multiple Jing.”²⁰⁰ The *jing* here is “a specific view of a landscape” and each *jing* was different from the other and all the *jing*, one after another, were appreciated from a tower.

¹⁹⁸ See Ouyang Xiu’s poem in Lin Youlin (Ming dyn.), *Suyuan shi pu*, in Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonglu: dili juan*: juan 3 (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 109.

¹⁹⁹ Li Gefei (Northern Song), “Luoyang minyuan ji,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi ed. & anno., *Zhongguo lidai minyuan xuanzhu* (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983), 39.

²⁰⁰ Li Gefei, “Huan xi,” in *ibid.*, 41.

It is clear that in the Northern Song dynasty, each *jing* became a singular entity and one *jing* was distinctively different from another. An important criterion for judging the singularity of a *jing* was its *shi* 势 (propensity). According to a recent study, at the end of the Northern Song dynasty, the *shi* became impressionistic and expansive, and only after that did the symbolic approach of “seeing the big in the small” (*xiaozhong jianda* 小中见大) in later gardens become possible.²⁰¹ One of the methods of creating an expansive *jing* was to extend the view from the inside of the garden into the outside distance. The scholar Sima Guang 司马光 specifically made a terraced house in his garden to see the three distant mountains outside the garden.²⁰² At the same time, Emperor Huizong 徽宗 erected a hill pavilion which he named Nest in Clouds within his magnificent garden Genyue. The purpose of the hill pavilion was to provide a place for viewing the distant peaks in the distance that were outside the garden. He wrote, “It seemed the mountains were on my hand.”²⁰³ By equating the size of the mountains with his hand, he appeared to delete the distance by integrating the distant landscape into a unified *jing*.

In the Southern Song dynasty, the concept of *jing* began to emphasize the interactive relationship between the view and the viewer. Greater efforts were invested in analyzing and controlling a *jing*. In the “Record of the Panzhou Villa,” Hong Shi 洪适 wrote: “When the window curtain is rolled up, all the things of the *jing* come up to me together and it is impossible to appreciate them one by one.”²⁰⁴ The *jing* here means “a view framed by a window.” The author wanted to emphasize that the *jing* was composed of various components, which were arranged, one by one, for appreciation and analysis. He paid attention to each compositional element of the *jing*. In the “Record of the Yanshan Garden,” Feng Duofu 冯多福 stated: “Drink my fill and feel well. Meditate the present and miss the past. I pick up the surrounding things and imbed them into a *jing*. Rivers, mountains, grass and woods

²⁰¹ Feng Jizhong, “Mutual Nutrition of Man and Nature,” *Spazio e società: Space & Society* 15.57 (Jan.-Mar., 1992): 66-67. See also the Chinese version of this article, “Ren yu ziran: chong bijiao yuanlinshi kan jianzhu fazhan qushi,” *Jianzhu xuebao* 5 (1990): 41.

²⁰² Sima Guang (Northern Song), “Dule yuan ji,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi, 55.

²⁰³ Zhao Ji (Northern Song), “Genyue ji,” in *ibid.*, 63.

²⁰⁴ Hong Shi (Southern Song), “Panzhou ji,” in *ibid.*, 66.

thus all fit my chanting.”²⁰⁵ This time the *jing* means “an inclusive view of natural phenomena.” Again, the viewer’s attention was drawn to the components of the *jing*.

In literature from the Ming dynasty, the *jing* was more frequently connected to paintings. The poet Zhu Sheng 朱升 stated: “The *jing*, when perceived at that moment, looked like a painting [当时历视景如画].”²⁰⁶ The *jing* here indicates “a picturesque view of the landscape.” Like a landscape painting, the *jing* began to be completely controlled by the viewer and became the full expression of the viewer’s emotion. Wang Mian 王冕 expressed in a poem: “Ten-thousand *jing* return to my two eyes [万景都归两目中].”²⁰⁷ Thus *jing*, in this case, indicates “multiple views of landscapes.” Without a deep bosom, the author would not be so certain that thousands of *jing* could be included into his eyes. In another poem, he expressed: “Facing the *jing*, I wrote poems lightheartedly.”²⁰⁸ It shows that the *jing* could be poetized in an easy and enjoyable way. In his poem “Facing to the *Jing*” (*duijing* 对景), he stated: “If a *jing* is beautiful, the poet’s bosom will be vast [景胜诗怀旷].”²⁰⁹ This sentence expressed the interactive relationship between a *jing* and the human heart; specifically that a beautiful *jing* could enhance a viewer’s virtue or, in other words, could expand his bosom. In the poem “In a Boat,” he wrote: “Facing the *jing*, I seem to be drunk by my emotions [对景情如醉].”²¹⁰ The *jing* and the viewer’s emotion were inherently connected.

In the “Record of the View of Snow and Moon,” the painter Shen Zhou 沈周 stated:

On this night, the moon came out and competed with the snow for prettiness. I sat by a window covered by paper, feeling extremely clear and tranquil. I thus added a cloth and climbed to a small tower west of a

²⁰⁵ Feng Duofu (Southern Song), “Yanshanyuan ji,” in *ibid.*, 79.

²⁰⁶ Zhu Sheng (Ming dyn.), “Ciyun Wang Bogong zhongguan yilan,” in *Quan Ming shi*, ed. Quanmingshi bianzuan weiyuanhui (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 63.

²⁰⁷ Wang Mian (Late Yuan & early Ming dyn.), “Deng zhu feng,” in *ibid.*, 88.

²⁰⁸ Wang Mian, “Ci Shen Tuzi di yun,” in *ibid.*, 119.

²⁰⁹ Wang Mian, “Dui jing,” in *ibid.*, 132.

²¹⁰ Wang Mian, “Chuan shang,” in *ibid.*, 140.

brook... Considering that such a *jing* cannot be encountered frequently in my life and it is easy to forget something day by day, [furthermore,] my mind wanders for several days but I cannot remember what I thought, I therefore write them down.²¹¹

是夜月初, 月与雪争烂, 坐纸窗下, 觉明彻异常。逐添衣起, 登溪西小楼... 念平生此景亦不屡遇, 而健忘日, 寻改数日, 则又荒荒不知其所云, 因笔之。

The *jing* here indicates “a particular view of a landscape observed from a particular place at a particular time.” It is interesting to note that even a great painter like Shen Zhou was attempting to record the *jing* through writing. Shen Zhou’s student, Wen Zhengming 文征明, also used writings to record a *jing*. In the “Record of the Wang Family’s Garden of an Unsuccessful Politician,” he wrote: “I pick up the things of the *jing* in the garden and write poems on all of them. Meanwhile, I also write this record.”²¹² The *jing* here means “beautiful views of the garden scenes.” A total of thirty-one *jing* was described from this garden, about which he wrote poems and created paintings. Such a format of pairing painting and poetry of the *jing* into a couplet influenced recordings of *jing* in the Qing imperial gardens.

During the Ming dynasty, the *jing* became a central concept of Chinese gardens. In the “Record of the Garden of Harmonic Appreciation,” Gu Dadian 顾大典 wrote:

When being looked upon, the *jing* of the garden can be obtained eighty to ninety percent... A door faces a square pool... At the center of the pool, a pavilion with three bays was built. The windows of the pavilion are open in order to receive *jing* from the four sides... When my heart meets the *jing*, fish and birds appear intimate.²¹³

The first *jing* means “a panoramic view of the garden;” the second *jing* indicates “a specific view of a garden scene from a particular direction;” and the third “a beautiful garden scene.” From these three concepts of *jing*, it can be observed that a *jing* can

²¹¹ Shen Zhou (Ming dyn.), “Ji xueyue zhi guan,” in Li Jing, 228.

²¹² Wen Zhengmin (Ming dyn.), “Wangshi Zhuozhengyuan ji,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi, 101.

²¹³ Gu Dadian (Ming dyn.), “Xieshangyuan ji,” in *ibid.*, 108-109.

be big or small, general or specific, but the key for a beautiful *jing* is that it touches the viewer's heart.

The view of a distant landscape could be “borrowed” and integrated into a *jing* within a garden. This is the so-called “borrowed *jing*.” In the “Record of the Yugong Valley,” Zou Diguang 邹迪光 wrote:

As for the relationship between a garden and its surroundings, if a mountain is too distant from the garden, it will look aloof; if it is too close, it will lack the distant rhythm. Only for that which is neither far nor close, or seems to come while it seems to leave, its *jing* is easy to be included and its beauty can be composed and accessed.²¹⁴

The *jing* in this case is “a view of a distant mountain observed from the inside of a garden.” For the author, a *jing* could be created just as a painting was fashioned and the key for this control was the expression of distance.

Zou's discussion about the “borrowed *jing*” was from the perspective of a painter. Meanwhile, the “borrowed *jing*” as a meaningful method of garden design was analyzed in details in the garden treatise *Yuan ye*, written by Ji Cheng. He devoted the last chapter to the discussion of “borrowed *jing*,” but he had already pointed out the importance of “borrowed *jing*” in the first chapter, which said:

The ingeniousness of garden design lies in borrowing, and the quintessence lies in appropriating... The so-called ‘borrowing’ means: Although there is a difference between the inside and outside of a garden, obtaining a *jing* is not limited to such a distance... Extending the eyesight as far as you can. If [the view] is vulgar, block it; if [it] is good, include it [into a *jing*].²¹⁵

园林巧于因借, 精在体宜... 借者: 园虽别内外, 得景则无拘远近... 极目所至, 俗则屏之, 嘉则收之。

In chapter ten, he stated: “Constructing a garden has no fixed pattern, but borrowing a *jing* has its principle... Borrowing a *jing* has no other principle than this:

²¹⁴ Zou Diguang (Ming dyn.), “Yugonggu cheng,” in *ibid.*, 189.

²¹⁵ Ji Cheng (Ming dyn.), “Xingzao lun,” *Yuan ye*, in *Yuanye zhushi*, anno. Chen Zhi (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1997), 47-48.

when a *jing* is perceived, emotion will emerge [构园无格, 借景有因... 因借无由, 触景生情].”²¹⁶ In the preface of the treatise, Ji Cheng discussed the Garden of Solitary Joy owned by Sima Guang 司马光 of the Song dynasty.²¹⁷ According to Sima’s “Record of the Garden of Solitary Joy,” he built up a terraced pavilion in the garden in order to look over the mountains in the distance.²¹⁸ The “borrowed *jing*” was already typical in Song gardens and frequently appeared in garden records (*ji*) prior to the time of *Yuan ye*. Ji Cheng’s theorization of the “borrowed *jing*” as a “pattern” of garden design demonstrated the designer’s increasing control in the creation of a *jing*.

On the Pavilion of Selecting Scenic Beauties in the “Annotations of the Resided Mountain,” Qi Biaoja 祁彪佳 wrote: “The pavilion does not take itself as a scenic beauty but rather gathers multiple *jing* as scenic beauties. It is not necessary to put all scenic beauties onto the pavilion, but rather let the pavilion show why they can be scenic beauties.”²¹⁹ In this case, the *jing* means “multiple scenes of landscape.” The author emphasized the active role of the pavilion in “gathering” and “selecting” the *jing*. Although being a receptor of *jing*, the pavilion itself was not the focus, but rather worked as an agency for stimulating the *jing*.

In Tang Xianzu’s 汤显祖 classic opera, *The Pavilion of Peony*, the heroine, Du Liniang 杜丽娘, sang from the backyard garden: “I occasionally come to the backyard garden where various flowers are blooming. Looking at the *jing*, I feel sad.”²²⁰ The *jing* here was “the beautiful garden scenes.” The *jing* in a garden was usually connected with the feeling of appreciation and happiness. By the paradoxical sentence of “looking at the *jing*, I feel sad,” the author expressed the young lady’s deep melancholy in regards to love. When her mother vigilantly asked her: “Why did

²¹⁶ Ibid., 243, 244.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 42.

²¹⁸ Sima Guang (Song dyn.), “Dule yuan ji,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi, 26.

²¹⁹ Qi Biaoja (Ming dyn.), “Yushan zhu,” in *ibid.*, 272. For an English translation of this essay, see Duncan Campbell, “Qi Biaoja’s ‘Footnotes to Allegory Mountain’: introduction and translation,” *Studies in the History of Garden & Designed Landscapes* 19. 3/4 (Jul-Dec 1999).

²²⁰ Tang Xianzu (Ming dyn.), *Mudan ting* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998), 56.

you go to the garden?” She answered cleverly: “Because there are good *jing* in the garden.”²²¹ Again, the *jing* here was “the beautiful garden scenes” but played a different role in semantics. By stating that she went to the garden for the beautiful *jing*, which was so easily understandable and acceptable to her mother, she tried to hide her real intention, which was that she longed for her lover from the garden. The use of the concept of *jing* in the two distinctive semantic contexts demonstrates the role of the *jing* of a garden in the domestic relationship (mother/daughter), affectionate relationship (lovers), and the individual’s sentiment in the Ming dynasty.

In the record of the Pavilion of Jade Lotus in his prose book *Xihu mengxun* (Seeking a dream at the West Lake), Zhang Dai 张岱 wrote: “There is a tower in the garden. Looking to the south from its window, there is a clear view of the beach and water where hundreds of water birds usually bathe, appearing and disappearing among the waves. This *jing* is so remote and perfect.”²²² The *jing* in this scene signifies “a specific view of the distant water landscape observed from a particular place.” The tower was high; the landscape was distant; and the *jing* viewed through the window was “remote and perfect.” The “distance” of the landscape echoed with but was different from the “remoteness” of the *jing*. The latter was the extension of the viewer’s bosom. Once the depth of bosom identified with the distance of landscape, the *jing* became perfect.

The relationship between a building and its surrounding landscapes was also described in the writings of the landscape traveler Xu Xiake 徐霞客. On the White Mountain (Bai Yue) in Huizhou, he wrote: “Although this Chan temple looks very clear and tidy, it has no extraordinary *jing*,”²²³ because there was a lack of a supporting landscape. The *jing* here indicates “a unique view of the surrounding landscapes.” The author implied that a Chan temple should provide a beautiful *jing*; otherwise it was such a pity. On the Rooster Mountain, he wrote: “The *jing* of a

²²¹ Ibid, 62.

²²² Zhang Dai (Ming dyn.), *Xihu xunmeng*, in *Taoan mengyi, Xihu xunmeng*, anno. Xia Xianchun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 158.

²²³ Xu Hongzhu (Ming dyn.), *Xu Xiake youji*, ed. Ding Wenjiang, juan 1 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), 8.

mountain is usually marked by its peaks and caves. If the *jing* is encountered by the eye, the *jing* will be formed; if it is projected by emotion, its singularity appears.”²²⁴ The *jing* in this situation describes “a view of mountain landscape.” The author advanced an important point that although a *jing* was formed visually, its singularity lay in the viewer’s emotional correspondence with the landscape, thus each individual created his own *jing*.

The close relationship between *jing*, a garden and a painting became typical in the Ming dynasty and continued into the Qing dynasty where the spectator’s subjective control of a *jing* was dominant. In his essay “On the Painting of the Shui Garden,” the writer Yuan Mei 袁枚 of the Qianlong reign wrote:

Climb up to the Tower of Green Dawn. The sunrise, waking greenery and the white pagoda of Tender Green all gather into the *jing* in front of the window... The Southern Terrace, with over one hundred *chi* high, stands at the middle of the garden. Look over the various territories [from the terrace], extend the view and receive multiple *jing*... If you reach the end of the passageway and walk up on the slope, the *jing* of the garden will completely appear.²²⁵

The first *jing* is “a view of natural landscapes framed by a window;” the second *jing* indicates “multiple garden scenes;” while the third *jing* has yet another meaning, which is “a panoramic view of the garden.” From these definitions, it is apparent that the *jing* changed with the shift of the viewer’s position.

A famous novel, *Honglou meng* (Dream of a red mansion), was written by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 in the Qianlong reign. It has been debated whether the Garden of Grand View in the book was actually based on the Garden of Round Brightness. The reason for this debate is that within the Garden of Round Brightness, there was a panoramic painting, which was named Grand View by Qianlong.²²⁶ In chapter seventeen, when the Garden of Grand View was just finished, Jia Zheng 贾政, the

²²⁴ Ibid., 10.

²²⁵ Yuan Mei (Qing dyn.), “Shuiyuan ji,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi, 363, 365.

²²⁶ Zhang Enyin, *Yuanmingyuan daguan hua shengshuai* (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1998), 138-39.

father of the hero of the story, Jia Baoyu 贾宝玉, was leading a group of people to tour the garden. During the tour, the group tried to name each *jing* that impressed them. Jia Zheng first said, “The garden scenes should be named by the Noble Imperial Concubine [who is Jia’s relative]. If she does not personally see the *jing* of the garden, how could I dare to do it for her?”²²⁷ The *jing* here means “the garden scenes.” However, he decided to attempt naming scenes for the future reference of the Noble Imperial Concubine. After entering the gate, he encountered an artificial hill, which blocked the visitor’s view to the inside. He commented: “If without this hill, all the *jing* of the garden will appear to us and there will be no curiosity anymore.”²²⁸ Once again, in this context, the *jing* are the “garden scenes.” It is interesting to ascertain that the *jing* had to be intentionally blocked in order to provoke the viewer’s curiosity. The curiosity towards a *jing* also demonstrated the viewer’s projection of his intention towards the *jing*. While the group was discussing how to name this hill, Jia Baoyu said: “Because the hill is not a frontal *jing* facing to the main hall, it is actually not necessary to name it. However, the hill can be named for leading to exploring the further *jing*.”²²⁹ Here, the first *jing* means “a frontal garden scene facing directly to the main hall of the garden;” yet the second one is “the prospective garden scenes hidden behind the hill.” These two uses of *jing* clearly demonstrate that a *jing* was carefully positioned for the appreciation by the viewer’s mind.

Once the subjective control of a *jing* became complete, all the objects in the garden had to be perceived through the structure of the *jing*. In the Qing imperial gardens, even flowers and tress were called “ground *jing*” (*dijing* 地景).²³⁰ This implies that flowers and trees in a garden were observed from the perspective of a *jing* rather than taken as objective items. This also demonstrates that flowers and trees were planted on the ground to be appreciated as a *jing*. In another sense, if something was connected to the *jing* of a garden, it must exist for appreciation. Such a concept helps us understand why the Western-like scenes created in the imperial gardens

²²⁷ Cao Xueqin & Gao E (Qing dyn.), *Hong lou meng* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2002), 104.

²²⁸ Ibid., 105.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ *Yuanmingyuan damuzuo dingli* (Qing dyn.): v. 3: juan 10 (Beijing: Transcript of the Qianlong reign).

were called the “Western *jing*” (*xiyang jing* 西洋景). At the very least, they were for appreciation in some context. An imperial archive recorded that on the ninth day of the fifth moon of the twelfth year of the Qianlong reign (1747), the Jesuit painter, Giuseppe Castiglione, was ordered to paint the “Western *jing*” on the windows of a “Western multistoried-building” at the place called Provident Cultivation and Longing for Eternity, which was later renamed Lian Xi’s Wonderful Place for Study as the twenty-third *jing* in the Garden of Round Brightness.²³¹

²³¹ See *Zhaobanchu: huoji ku: ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang* (1747), archive 3415. A copy is now in The First Historical Archives, Beijing.

2.2 Meaning of the *jing* in Painting Theories

In the history of Chinese painting, the painting on a fan was a traditional type of painting, first originating from various paintings on the surface of round fans. In her poem “Chanting on a Fan,” a female courtier of the Han dynasty, known as Ban Jieyu 班婕妤, wrote:

The gossamer fan is like the round moon, 纨扇如圆月,

It is made of silk on machine.²³² 出自机中素。

This is an early record where the ancient Chinese compared the round fan with the round moon. Probably made by Ban herself, the fan was most likely an intimate belonging of hers. Her comparing the painted fan to the full moon demonstrates that the latter had been intimate to her also. Besides the same geometrical round form, the light reflected from the gossamer, which was made of silk, was also similar to the moonlight. During the Han dynasty, other authors also made comparisons between the round fan and the full moon. For example, in the “Rhapsody of the Round Fan,” Xu Gan 徐幹 wrote:

Look up at the bright moon to obtain an image, 仰明月以取象,

[Then] formulate the [obtained] form of the circular body [into a fan].²³³ 规
圆体之仪度。

In this passage, the author expressed how the round form of the fan was borrowed from the round form of the full moon. The author also noted that the moon was bright and this brightness of light in nature was an important quality noted in Chinese painting.

Observations as to shades of light, or brightness, within nature were recorded quite early in Chinese painting theories. The painter and painting theorist, Gu Kaizhi 顾恺之 (Southern and Northern Dynasties) wrote: “A mountain has its face and flank.

²³² Ban Jieyu (Han dyn.), “Yong shan,” in Xiao Tong (Southern Dynasties), *Wen xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 249.

²³³ Xu Gan (Han dyn.), “Tuanshan fu,” in Fei Zhengang et al ed., *Quan Han fu* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1993), 628.

Its back has a shadow.”²³⁴ The observation of shades of light was the beginning of painters exploring the concept of truth (*zhen* 真), i.e., how painting could truthfully represent nature. During the same period, Yan Zitui 严子推 wrote: “Prince Wulie is good at painting portraits [*xiezhen* 写真]. He painted his guests in a casual way and could finish several portraits in a short while. All the children could recognize which figure was whom.”²³⁵ It is important to point out that the original Chinese term of “portrait” is *xie-zhen*, which literally means “write the truth.” In this example, *xie* meant “to inscribe and record intentionally” where *zhen* meant “the real face.” During those early Chinese painting theories, there had been discussions about the relationship between representation and truth.

During the Tang dynasty, the understanding of truth in painting was further developed. In his “Record of Painting,” the poet Bai Juyi 白居易 stated: “Painting needs no other skill than resemblance. To learn how to paint has no other teacher than truth [*zhen*] itself.”²³⁶ The author emphasized the importance of depicting truth in the painting by having an object in the painting appear real. The resemblance with truth in painting was not a simple imitation of an existing object; rather, the higher the level of concentration from the artist, the greater level of truth would be reached. Zhu Jingxuan 朱景玄 wrote:

In painting, portraits rank the highest, then animals, then landscapes, and buildings are the lowest. Why? ... Because people and animals have mutable qualities and endless changes of complexion. [A painter has to] highly concentrate his mind [*ningshen*] to fix their images. Therefore, they are quite difficult.²³⁷

夫画者以人物居先，禽兽次之，山水次之，楼殿屋木次之。何者？
... 皆以人物禽兽，移生动质，变态不穷，凝神定照，故为难矣。

²³⁴ Gu Kaizhi (Jin dyn.), “Hua Yuntaishan ji,” in Yu Jianhua ed., *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, 2 vols. (1957. Rpt., Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000), 1: 581.

²³⁵ Yan Zitui (Northern Qi), “Yanshi jiaxun lunhua,” in *ibid.*, 15.

²³⁶ Bai Juyi (Tang dyn.), “Hua ji,” in *ibid.*, 25.

²³⁷ Zhu Jingxuan (Tang dyn.), “Tangchao minghua lu xu,” in *ibid.*, 22.

During the Tang dynasty, landscape paintings did not rank high in painting categories. The ranking was decided upon how much concentration of the mind was needed to grasp the resemblance of truth. For the artist, the resemblance was difficult to obtain in painting a human face, thus portraits were ranked the highest. It is interesting to note that the concept of “concentration of the mind,” *ningshen*, was more connected with portrait painting rather than landscape painting. Zhang Yanyuan 张彦远 wrote: “As for terraces, pavilions, trees, carts and utensils, no liveliness can be imitated and no *qi* or rhythm can be equated. What is required for painting them is simply [finding] their locations and positions.”²³⁸ It is quite clear that what was highly valued in “resemblance” was the imitation of “liveliness.” In the Tang dynasty, paintings of landscapes and buildings were not yet supposed to contain such “liveliness.”

In his discourse on landscape paintings, the poet and painter Wang Wei 王维 stated:

A small painting in a few square *chi* can depict a *jing* one thousand *li* deep. [In the painting,] the east, west, south and north all seem to be in front of [your] eyes... The distant *jing* appears misty and vague, and remote crags are always blocked by clouds.²³⁹

This is one of the earliest records where the concept of *jing* began to appear in painting theories, as the *jing* was connected to the deep depth of view. A distant *jing* was appreciated for its misty and vague look. He then continued depicting details in the time-related change of *jing*:

In the spring *jing*, fogs and mists block the view... In the summer *jing*, old trees hide the sky... In the autumn *jing*, the sky and water are the same color... In the winter *jing*, the ground is covered with snow.²⁴⁰

The *jing* here means “a specific view of landscape in a particular season.” It is important to note that these *jing* were observed for the purpose of painting. The emergence of the concept of *jing* in Wang’s painting theories demonstrates the elevation of landscape painting in ranking of painting categories.

²³⁸ Zhang Yanyuan (Tang dyn.), “Lidai minghua ji xulun,” in *ibid.*, 32.

²³⁹ Wang Wei, “Huaxue mijue,” in *Wang Wei quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 149.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.

Jing Hao 荆浩 of the Five Dynasties period advanced the famous “six essentials” of landscape painting, one of which was *jing*. He defined the *jing* as “seeking the wonderfulness and creating the truthfulness in accordance with time.” For him, a truthful *jing* in a painting must contain *qi* as well as other qualities.²⁴¹ He said, “if you work hard on painting and reach the level of forgetting the brush and ink, the truthful *jing* will be obtained.”²⁴² The *jing* here means “what truthfully presents in a landscape painting.” In another article on landscape painting, he stated clearly: “Landscape painting stands on the top of all the thirteen categories of painting.”²⁴³ It can be said that the value of landscape painting began to be fully appreciated in the Five Dynasties and this change was demonstrated by the increasing importance of the concept of *jing* in painting theories.

Song Di 宋迪, of the Northern Song dynasty, created eight paintings of varied level-distant landscapes of Xiaoxiang (in today's Hunan Province) and named them the Eight Jing of Xiaoxiang. Through these eight paintings, a new custom emerged of using a certain number of *jing* to characterize regional landscapes. For example, another work that followed this work was titled Eight Jing of Yanjing (old name of Beijing) in the Jin dynasty.²⁴⁴ Other works included the number of *jing* as part of the title of the work of art. In Song Di's case, each *jing* was a painting, and vice versa. The regional *jing* of an area became famous because of the paintings of the specific *jing* in that region. For example, the Xiaoxiang area became famous for the “eight *jing*” because they were depicted in Song's paintings.

In his well-known essay *Linquan gaozhi* (The sublimity and elegance of landscapes), Guo Xi 郭熙 stated:

²⁴¹ Jing Hao (Five Dynasties), “Bifa ji,” in Yu Jianhua, 605-606. Borrowing Jing Hao's concept of *jing* 景, Edward S. Casey defines the meaning of *jing* as “a genuine scene—a complex of places—constitutes the essence of a landscape; scenery is its mere appearance” (See Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002], 99). The English word “scenery” is in fact close to the Chinese term *feng-jing* 风景, which indicates large-scale landscapes, and should not be taken as an opposition to the concept of *jing*.

²⁴² Ibid., 608.

²⁴³ Jing Hao, “Shanshui jieyao,” in Yu Jianhua, 614.

²⁴⁴ *Beijing shi*, ed. Beijing daxue lishixi (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 99.

When composing a painting, it must correspond to heaven and earth. What are heaven and earth? It means that within a painting surface, with one and half *chi* on each side, the upper part should be left for the sky and the lower part for the earth. The middle part is for establishing the intention to build up the *jing*.²⁴⁵

凡经营下笔, 必合天地。何谓天地? 谓如一尺半幅之上, 上留天之位, 下留地之位, 中间方立意定景。

In this case, Guo Xi described *jing* as “an intended view of landscape.” The division of the three parts: the bottom for earth, the middle for the *jing*, and the top for heaven, expressed the depth of a painting, especially in a vertical scroll. Moving from the bottom up within the painting was a method to perceive from near to far. The control of distance in a painting was crucial. He continued:

The painting of a landscape has its own appropriateness: spreading the landscape into a big painting without wasting space; condensing it into a small *jing* without sacrificing anything... Rivers and mountains are big objects and need to be observed from a distance so that their topographies and propensity in general can be obtained.²⁴⁶

画山水有体: 铺舒为宏图而无余, 消索为小景而不少... 山水大物也, 人之看者须远而观之, 方见得一障山川之形势气象。

The *jing* here means “a painted landscape.” The author brought out the important concept of “propensity” of landscapes, *shi* 势; as in each *jing*, there was its specific propensity. Keeping the distance in a painting helped the expression of the momentum where the propensity of the landscape could be inherently fused with the projection of the viewer’s intention.

In the Southern Song dynasty, attention to details of a *jing* was advanced and the size of a *jing* became miniaturized. It was the concentration of those details that forced the size to be smaller. Li Chengsou 李澄叟 commented: “Wang Sheng’s 王晟 landscape paintings contain many detailed *jing*. His brush strokes are cohesive and

²⁴⁵ Guo Xi (Northern Song), “Linqan gaozhi,” in Yu Jianhua, 642.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 632.

worth being appreciated.”²⁴⁷ The *jing* in this case means “varied views of landscapes within the same painting.”

In the Southern Song dynasty, the framed *jing* in paintings became very popular. The etymological origin of *jing* hints at the existence of bounded brightness. Such a vision could be experienced in a fan painting, for example, the painting, Plum Blossom by Moonlight, by Ma Yuan 马远 (Fig. 56), where the moon circle and the frame of the round fan corresponded to each other. As the fan symbolically enclosed mountains and waters, the full moon unified the whole world. The traditional connection between the round fan and the full moon within the Han dynasty was now developed into the round *jing* of a fan painting.

In Chinese landscape painting, the symbolic round form was related not only to the full moon and the round fan but also to the painter's bosom. The painter Huang Gongwang 黄公望 of the Yuan dynasty stated: “When an ancient painter made a painting, his bosom was very broad and his composed *jing* was very natural. If we follow the ancient intentions, the principles [*fa*] of painting will be complete.”²⁴⁸ The *jing* here indicates “a landscape painting composed in the mind.” The author clearly stated that a landscape painting was a “composed *jing*,” which should be composed with a broad bosom.

In the Yuan dynasty, the building-dominated *jing* began to emerge in paintings, such as Xia Yong's 夏永 work, Yellow Pavilion, where distance was expressed through the idea of hiding, such as peaks hiding behind clouds and objects in the distance being hidden behind objects nearby. In this way, the depth of the *jing* was gained through atmospheric perspective. Rao Ziran 饶自然 stated:

Building paintings [*jiehua*] ranks the lowest in the painting [category].

However, among measures of multistoried buildings and overlaid pavilions there is the differentiation of face and back. Although roof corners are

²⁴⁷ Li Chongsou (Southern Song), “Hua shanshui jue,” in *ibid.*, 622.

²⁴⁸ Huang Gongwang (Yuan dyn.), “Xie shanshui jue,” in *ibid.*, 702.

connected to complicated brackets, the view should not appear mixed and disorderly and should be in accordance with regularity. This is the most difficult.²⁴⁹

界画虽末科,然重楼叠阁方寸之间,向背分明,角连拱接,而不杂乱,合乎规矩绳墨,此为最难。

The original Chinese term of “building painting,” *jiehua*, literally means “border painting” indicating the use of a ruler in drawing borderlines of building elements. According to the author, building paintings still ranked the lowest in the Yuan dynasty, but the increased depiction of complex building details was valued and appreciated. In a building-dominated *jing*, the depth of the *jing* still depended upon traditional atmospheric perspective.

In the painting theories of the Ming dynasty, paintings from previous dynasties were critiqued in greater detail. The painter Wang Shizhen 王世贞 commented: “Wang Wei 王维 [of the Tang dynasty] could evoke interest outside the *jing* but seemed not to exhaust it yet. Guan Tong 关仝, Dong Yuan 董源 and Ju Ran 巨然 [of the Song dynasty] could produce real interest with sublime and distant qualities.”²⁵⁰ The *jing* here means “a painted landscape,” and the “sublime and distant qualities” indicates the depth of the *jing*. These comments confirmed that the depth of the *jing* was much more explored in the Song dynasty rather than the Tang dynasty. The attention to the depth of *jing* was also demonstrated by Gao Lian 高濂: “Vivid magic is obtained by looking into the distance, and this is a heavenly interest. Morphological resemblance results from perceiving [the landscape] closely, and this is of human interest.”²⁵¹ For him, the depth of *jing* was more important than morphological resemblance and was related to the magic force of heaven.

In the painting theories of the Ming dynasty, increasing emphasis was placed on the painter’s intention (*yi* 意) that was projected into a *jing*. Li Rihua 李日华 stated:

²⁴⁹ Rao Ziran (Yuan dyn.), “Huizong shi’er ji,” in *ibid.*, 697.

²⁵⁰ Wang Shizhen (Ming dyn.), “Yiyuan bayan lunhua,” in *ibid.*, 116.

²⁵¹ Gao Lian (Ming dyn.), “Yanxian qingshang jian lunhua,” in *ibid.*, 121.

Painting has three aspects in order: first, the position of the painter's body... from which multiple *jing* can be included; second, the scenes on which the eyesight is projected;... third, the places where the intention can wander about. [At such a place,] though the force of eye becomes exhausted, the vein of emotion continues... When a distant *jing* is depicted, it usually happens that the intention comes out but the brush cannot correspond to it. The brush is swallowed by spiritual *qi*. It is not that attention is not paid to the brush rather that the brush has to be so.²⁵²

凡画有三次第: 一曰身之所容。凡处身者... 多景所凑处是也。二曰目之所瞩... 三曰意之所遊。目力虽穷, 而情脉不断处是也... 写长景必有意到笔不到, 为神气所吞处, 是非有心于忽, 概不得不忽也。

The first *jing* here means “multiple views of landscapes,” and the second *jing* means “a vista.” The place where “the intention can wander about” and “the vein of emotion continues” indicates the depth of *jing*. In a distant *jing*, where the depth of *jing* was deep, the intention even overwhelmed the skill of brush. The overwhelming intention towards the *jing* was vividly confirmed by the painter, Shen Zhou 沈周.

He stated:

The beauty of landscape is obtained by the eye but resides in the heart. Between the physical form [of landscape] and the painting, there is no other thing than enthusiasm. This painting was created under the artificial light in a room. Because it resulted from my enthusiasm, I did not have time to seek for precision.²⁵³

山水之胜, 得之目, 寓诸心, 而形于笔墨之间者, 无非兴而已矣。是卷于灯窗下为之, 概亦乘兴也, 故不暇求其精也。

It can be seen that the artist consciously let his enthusiasm overwhelm the form of a *jing*.

Once a *jing* could be controlled on a small scale, the expression of depth became more symbolic of the macro-world and more garden related. Mo Shilong 莫是龙

²⁵² Li Rihua (Ming dyn.), “Zhulai lunhua,” in *ibid.*, 131.

²⁵³ Shen Zhou (Ming dyn.), “Shitian lun hua shanshui,” in *ibid.*, 711.

stated: “I painted a small *jing* in level-distance on a fan... whose meaning was endless with one significance after another.”²⁵⁴ The *jing* here is “a painted landscape framed by a fan.” The round boundary of the fan framed the small *jing* “whose meaning was endless.” Although the fan painting was not a new creation in the Ming dynasty, the *jing* in landscape painting on a small scale became the norm. This trend was confirmed by the emergence of garden painting, where small details were exemplified in the *jing*, which was differentiated from traditional landscape painting. Mo continued:

Trees have different forms in different paintings. For example, in the Paintings of Xiaoxiang, which were intended for the distant and misty view, there are no big trees. While in a close *jing* or a *jing* in a garden, willows, phoenix trees, bamboo... can be painted. If trees in a [*jing* of a] garden are transplanted into a [*jing* of] mountain dwelling, it will be unsuitable.²⁵⁵

画树木各有分别。如画潇湘画意在荒远灭没,即不当作大树。及近景丛木如园亭景,可作杨柳,梧,竹...若以园亭树木移之山居,便不称矣。

The *jing* here means “a garden scene.” It is worth noting that the author advanced the concept “*jing* of a garden,” *yuanjing* 园景, and defined it as a “close *jing*,” which depicted details of plants; the *jing* of a garden was definitely different from the *jing* of a big landscape, in that a garden *jing* was a more detailed painting. The visibility of details in a garden *jing* expressed, in another sense, the controllability and regularization of the *jing*. The control of the visibility of the *jing* became a conscious activity in paintings during the Ming dynasty. As Tang Zhiqi 唐志契 stated, “the more a *jing* is hidden, the bigger its intentional field [*jingjie* 境界] is. The more obvious a *jing* is, the smaller its intentional field is.”²⁵⁶ In this way, a small *jing*, especially a garden *jing*, could appear big and deep through being partially hidden.

Chinese woodcut artistry, used for reproducing multiple paper prints, became highly developed during the late Ming dynasty, with many of the artists originating from

²⁵⁴ Mo Zhilong (Ming dyn.), “Hua shuo,” in *ibid.*, 716.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 717.

²⁵⁶ Tang Zhiqi (Ming dyn.), “Huishi weiyan,” in *ibid.*, 745.

Huizhou (in today's southern Anhui Province). A famous work was the Drawing of the Garden-Jing of the Hall Encircled by Jade, drawn by Qian Gong 钱贡 and carved by Huang Yingzu 黄应祖.²⁵⁷ The Hall Encircled by Jade was also the name of a publishing workshop owned by the official Wang Tingne 王庭讷 in Jinlin (today's Nanjing) who originally came from Huizhou. The *jing* in this piece of artwork describes "multiple garden scenes," which was composed of various and separate *jing* with the entire scroll measuring 14.86 meters. The scroll appears to unfold as if a flow of consciousness within a dream, so there is doubt as to whether such a garden called Hall Encircled by Jade truly existed. One *jing* flows into a completely different *jing* with such a smoothness and inability to discern one *jing* from the next, that the viewer might forget he is viewing separate, very different *jing*. The connection of the various *jing* was made by a continuous path that the observer's eyes could travel along throughout the whole scroll.

Such a scroll drawing was just one type of format used to combine various *jing* within a work of art. Another method of combining various *jing* within works of art was through the depiction of multiple *jing* through a set of paintings with the same theme. For example, during the Wanli 万历 and Chongzhen 崇祯 reigns of the Ming dynasty, there were two versions of the woodcut set titled Ten Jing of the West Lake in the suburbs of Beijing. The title of this work indicated that there were ten separate *jing*, or paintings, in this collection. As would be expected, each *jing* indicates "a painted unique landscape."

During the Ming dynasty, the *jing* was completely driven by intention and emotion. It has been asserted that once the *jing* was created with emotion, no matter the difficulty, any painting could be easily completed as long as the intention and emotion flowed.²⁵⁸ An extension of this concept was that of the "borrowed *jing*," where the intention and emotion were demonstrated by mixing near and far views at

²⁵⁷ See this woodcut scroll at the Dumbarton Oaks website: www.doaks.org/scroll/scrollable.html.

²⁵⁸ Kong Yanshi (Ming dyn.), "Hua jue," in Shen Zicheng ed., *Lidai lunhua mingzhu lubian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 272.

the same time to include multiple *jing* into a single picture. An example of the borrowed *jing* in a garden is the window-framed *jing* on which the *Yuan ye* says:

The cliff-like rocks are arranged against a wall. It is to rely on the white wall as the painting paper and take the rocks as what is painted. Lay the rocks according to their textures. Imitating the method of ancient paintings, plant Yellow-Mountain pines, cypresses, old plum trees and elegant bamboo. Include them into a round window and it seems you are wandering within a mirror.²⁵⁹

峭壁山者，靠壁理也。籍以粉壁为纸，以石为绘也。理者相石皱纹，仿古人笔意，植黄山松柏，古梅，美竹，收之圆窗，宛然镜游也。

This “wandering within the mirror” (*jingyou* 镜游) vividly described the state of mind that was concentrated into the round bounded window *jing* where the effect was quite similar to that of viewing a fan painting. At this point, the symbolic connection between the full moon, the round fan painting, and the round window view in a garden was finally established and integrated into the existence of *jing*.

Although *jing* had been a typical concept in garden records and landscape painting theories, the actual representation of the *jing* from within a garden did not appear until the Ming dynasty. In the Jiangnan region where many scholar gardens were concentrated, garden representation became popular, and a *jing* began to be composed from a point of view from the ground instead of a bird’s-eye, or aerial view. The *jing* therefore began to appear more humanized and artificially controlled; viewing a *jing* was like looking at a painting, and vice versa. Wen Zhengming 文征明, a representative of the Ming garden painters, painted all thirty-one *jing* of the Garden of an Unsuccessful Politician in Suzhou.²⁶⁰ In these paintings, the rocks, plants, buildings and human figures were carefully arranged, yet the building remained opaque, half-hidden and lacking in details (Fig. 57).

²⁵⁹ Ji Cheng (Ming dyn.), *Yuan ye*, in *Yuan ye zhushi*, 213.

²⁶⁰ For Wen Zhengming’s paintings and poems of this garden, see Kate Kerby, *An Old Chinese Garden: A Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy & Painting* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1922).

During the Qing dynasty, it became a cliché that “when people see a beautiful landscape, they will always say it is like a painting.”²⁶¹ An example of the early Qing dynasty was Li Yu’s 李漁 concept “mountains and waters of a fan-face” (*bianmian shanshui* 便面山水) where the window-framed landscape was equated to a fan painting. In yet another of his concepts, “window of painting” (*chifu chuang* 尺幅窗) created a painting on a wall that merged with a small round opening where the distant scenery, such as a mountain in the distance, allowed the onlooker to see the wall-painting and the distant landscape as a bounded unity— a *jing*.²⁶²

Echoing the concept of “borrowed *jing*” in *Yuan ye*, Li Yu explicated his concept “mountains and waters of a fan-face:”

The knack of making a *jing* lies in borrowing... The wonderfulness of the opening of a window is to borrow a *jing*... Make a wood window-frame, whose top and bottom are arched and the flanks are vertical. This is the so-called “fan face” [*bianmian*]. When a boat is moving, each paddling will bring a new image and each poling will bring a new *jing*. Even when the boat is tied, because of the wind waves and the water fluctuating, [the *jing*] changes at any moment. Within a day, there become thousands of pretty landscape paintings and all of them are gathered by the fan-face window... Not only the external endless *jing* is taken into the boat, but also all the people, furniture and decorative wares are projected out of the window for a passerby’s appreciation... Looking inside out, there will be a fan-face landscape painting; looking outside in, there will be a fan-face portrait.²⁶³

The “mountains and waters of a fan-face” established the connection between the fan painting and the window-framed *jing* based on their commonality of the bounded view.

As for the framed *jing*, he continued,

²⁶¹ Wang Jian (Qing dyn.), “Ranxiang’an ba hua,” in Shen Zicheng, 295.

²⁶² Li Yu (Qing dyn.), *Xianqing ouji*, in *Liyu quanji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang giji chubanshe, 1992), v. 3: 170, 178.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 170.

Before a window is set up, the view is just of things; once there is the window, no need to say, everybody will look at the view as a painting... A real mountain can be a painting, which in turn can be a window... I once made a window for watching a mountain and named it “window of painting” [*chifu chuang* 尺幅窗] or “unintentional painting” [*wuxing hua* 无心画].²⁶⁴ ... The room with such a window needs to have a big depth so that the viewer can look at the mountain far from the window. The outer part of the window is the painting and the inner part is the real distant mountain. The mountain is connected with the painting without any separation. If the viewer does not ask, he might think it is a natural painting.²⁶⁵

The “window of painting” best demonstrates the fusion between painting and *jing* in the early Qing painting theories.

A popular phenomenon in the Qing painting theories was analysed through the perspective of religions, especially Daoist thoughts. The painter Shi Tao 石涛 was a monk and his painting theories explained the origin of brush strokes from a Daoist perspective:

The primary antiquity had no principle [*fa*]. The primary opacity was originally not dispersed. Once the primary opacity was dispersed, the principle would stand up. Where does the principle stand? It stands on “one” brush stroke. This one stroke is the origin and root of everything.²⁶⁶
太古无法, 太朴不散, 太朴一散, 而法立矣。法于何立? 立于一画。一画者, 众有之本, 万象之根。

Using the Daoist idea of “primary one” to explain the origin of brush strokes demonstrated the theoretical trend of painting theories from the Qing dynasty.

Another important development of the *jing* during the Qing dynasty was how time was expressed. The importance of expressing temporality in a *jing* was discussed by Tang Yifen 汤贻汾: “A *jing* appears in accordance with time, and time is known

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 171.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 178.

²⁶⁶ Shi Tao (Yuanji) (Qing dyn.), “Gugua heshang huayu lu,” in Yu Jianhua, 147.

because of a *jing*. Therefore, the importance of creating a painting lies in establishing a *jing*. Before discussing a painting, one must know of its time.”²⁶⁷ For the first time in the painting theories of *jing*, time was clearly presented as a concept, which became inherent in a *jing*.

In the Qing dynasty, the *jing* was oriented fully by the painter's internal feelings. The painter Wang Yuanqi 王原祁, who was the teacher of the court painter, Tang Dai 唐岱 (who painted the Forty *Jing*), stated: “When painting a landscape, attention should be paid to its momentum of *qi* and contour. It is not necessary to seek out a pretty *jing* or be limited by an old composition.”²⁶⁸ The *jing* indicates “a view of pretty landscapes which focus on details.” It is interesting to note that the expression of emotion through painting requested an accent on the visibility of the landscape on a large scale rather than that of a small one. For Wang Yuanqi, attention to details seemed to stagnate the synchronic movement of the heart and view.

Of the Qing painting theories, there was a paradox between expression of emotion and the typified *jing*. On one hand, the individual's emotion became dominant; on the other hand, the means of expressing emotion became typified and dull. It became a cliché that a figure in a landscape should fit into the particular scene. For example, a figure should seem to be contemplating the mountain; the mountain, in turn, should seem to be bending over and watching the figure.²⁶⁹ In the mutual corresponding of the viewer and landscapes in the propensity (*shi*) of landscapes, when the *jing* was not present, it could be implied by the posture of the figure.

The relationship between the *jing* and a human face was discussed by Ding Gao 丁皋:

When painting a *jing* on the margin or at the center, their colors are certainly different. When the sun revolves slightly, the complexion [of the figure] will

²⁶⁷ Tang Yifen (Qing dyn.), “Hua quan xi lan,” in *ibid.*, 831.

²⁶⁸ Wang Yuanqi (Qing dyn.), “Yuchuang manbi,” in *ibid.*, 170.

²⁶⁹ “Renwu wuyu pu,” *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (1679), whose English translation is in Mai-Mai Sze, *The Way of Chinese Painting: Its Ideas and Techniques* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), 234.

be different... If it is in front of a multistoried pavilion, floating light will easily sweep in. If it is in a round pavilion with open sides, it will be hard to find a starting point. If a boat pavilion has three open sides, where can the spirit [of the figure] be grasped?²⁷⁰

画景方中, 颜色自然各别; 日轮微转, 神情便不相同... 高楼对起, 易掠浮光。园亭四面全空, 无从着笔; 船舫三边俱敞, 何处追神?

The *jing* here are “features of a human face.” It is very interesting to note that the features of a human face were called a *jing*. This demonstrates the metaphorical relationship between landscapes and the human figure in a *jing*. In the Ming dynasty, the features of the physiognomy were actually signified by landscape and constellation terms (Fig. 53). In regards to portraits painted by Ding Gao, his peer Li Dou 李斗 commented:

Recently Mr. Ding painted twelve portraits of me, each of which had an individual *jing*. Each spectator was surprised at these portraits and thought each painted face so resembled [my real face] and the complexion was so smoothed out and solemn that it completely met with its *jing*. I suspected Mr. Ding had an innate capability of painting, which could not be reached by mere learning. He answered, “It is not so, rather it is because of the principles [*fa*]. Principles can be learned, but the intention beyond the principles must be understood by heart.”²⁷¹

Li Dou confirmed the phenomenon that a portrait was usually composed with a *jing* and that both sides needed to match each other. The resemblance of a portrait was not simply an imitation, but rather needed to be understood by the heart.

Compared with previous dynasties, there were more discussions in the Qing dynasty about the relationship between *jing* and buildings, yet building paintings still ranked low and were looked down upon in comparison to landscape paintings. Xu Qin 徐沁 confirmed:

²⁷⁰ Ding Gao (Qing dyn.), “Xiezhen mijue,” in Yu Jianhua, 559.

²⁷¹ Li Dou (Qing dyn.), *Yangzhou huafang lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 53.

Ancient painters painted buildings with precise measures without error. Their strokes all looked deep, distant and spatial... The present painters are keen on mystical strokes and look down upon building paintings as a mere craft. Therefore, the status of building paintings is getting lower and lower.²⁷²

昔人谓屋木折算无亏, 笔墨均壮深远空... 近人喜尚玄笔, 目界尺者鄙为匠气, 此派日就湮灭矣。

The brush strokes of a high-quality building painting appeared “deep, distant and spatial.” It is interesting to read that scholars of the Qing dynasty repeatedly acclaimed the “precise measure” of ancient building paintings while at the same time pointed out that such a “precise measure” did not follow the rule of carpentry’s lines. Therefore, the painter’s understanding of precision was not based on mathematical scales.

On the ruler for a building painting, Zheng Ji 郑绩 explicated:

As for [painting] a literati painting, besides the brush, ink, form and *jing*, we should know that the ruler is intended to [guide] the method, border and scale. It does not mean the wood ruler used by a carpenter for drawing a grid and straight lines... Such a ruler for the literati painting implies the principles [*fa*] and measures of the front and back, distant and near, big and small.²⁷³

文人之画, 笔墨形景之外, 须明界尺者, 乃画法界限尺度, 非匠习所用间格方直之木间尺也... 此文人作画界尺, 即前后, 远近, 大小之法度也。

According to the author, the rules of building painting did not mean the carpenter’s straight lines but rather a clear principle and measuring within the mind. He continued:

To compose a deep *jing* lies in no other way than in meandering, dense forests with one layer after another. The knack is to be able to see from the front through the rear and imagine from the high and fall to the low... Only

²⁷² Xu Qin (Qing dyn.), “Minghualu lun hua gongshi shanshui,” in Yu Jianhua, 804.

²⁷³ Zheng Ji (Qing dyn.), “Menghuanju huaxue jianming lun shanshui,” in *ibid.*, 972.

by roaming the eyesight and opening the bosom can the real intention of the distant *jing* be obtained.²⁷⁴

布景欲深,不在乎委曲茂密,层层多叠也。其要在于由前面望到后面,从高处想落低处... 遊目骋怀,必如是方得深景真意。

The depth of *jing* identified with the opening of the bosom. It is important to note that he also observed that one way of expressing the depth in a painting was “to be able to see from the front through to the rear.” Although he did not specify more details about this approach, his observation had certainly been closer than ever to the view of Western linear perspective.

Between the trends of willful “mystical strokes” and rigid craft-like building painting, there was another trend, which explored the depth of *jing*, but lay somewhere in the middle of the other two; this trend was most developed through the court paintings of the Qing dynasty. One of its representatives was the court painter, Tang Dai 唐岱, who painted the Forty Jing. He stated:

A mountain looks [just] so from its front; it looks respectively different from its side and back. Each turn and undulation of the frontal mountain should match the posture of the frontal mountain in a moving-though *jing* [*tongjing*]... If there is a bit of discrepancy, a mistake will have been made.²⁷⁵
故看正面山如此,看侧面山不同,看背面山又不同。正面山之转折起伏,要通景中合正面山之形势... 少有不合,便成背谬。

The *jing* here means “a straight and distant view.” In his famous work, the forty paintings of the Forty Jing, Tang Dai adopted a bird’s-eye view but clearly differentiated the front from the side in order to depict the buildings in great detail. He continued:

Landscape painting is different from figure painting. In the latter, only a cliff, crag or a single piece of landscape is painted. This is the so-called spot

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 958-959.

²⁷⁵ Tang Dai (Qing dyn.), “Huishi fawei,” in *ibid.*, 863.

jing. As for the complete *jing* of mountains and rivers, it is necessary to go to see real mountains.²⁷⁶

山水家与人物家不同。画人物者只画峭壁,或画一岩,以至单片山是点景而已。至山水之全景,须看真山。

The first *jing* means “a spot view of a single landscape,” where the second one means “a panoramic view of multiple landscapes.” The “spot *jing*” (*dianjing* 点景) and the “complete *jing*” (*quanjing* 全景) were two typical ways of depicting gardens in the Qing dynasty.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 867.

2.3 Bounded Brightness

The previous discussions on the meaning of *jing* in garden and painting theories have provided a historical perspective for understanding the *jing* of the Garden of Round Brightness. The *jing* as a meaningful existence in both gardens and paintings enables us to explore the embodiment of the vision of Round Brightness in the emperor's garden as well as its representation. The commonality of *jing* and Round Brightness can be described as the "bounded brightness," where brightness exists as the origin of *jing* and the "bounded" implies the frame of the *jing* and the border of brightness. The study of *jing* helps us to understand how brightness was framed in the Chinese portion of the garden, which will lead to another question: how was brightness framed in the European portion of the garden?

The end of the construction of the Garden of Round Brightness was marked in 1744 by a set of forty paintings, created by the court painters Tang Dai 唐岱 and Shen Yuan 沈源. They painted all forty *jing* and called their works of art the Forty Jing, because those *jing* were already known by that name. Each *jing* was named by the emperor with a four-character poetical phrase. Such an activity in Chinese gardens is called "thematicizing a *jing*" (*tijing* 题景), which is intended to "brighten up the *jing*,"²⁷⁷ as each painting was paired with a poem by the emperor. The pattern of pairing the forty paintings and forty poems for the Forty Jing at the Garden of Round Brightness was intended to follow the model established at the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness. In the postscript of the court print *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tuyong* (Imperial paintings and poems of the Garden of Round Brightness), the annotators confirmed that "[This print] imitated the poetical example of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness, marking out a scenic *jing* and painting it according to its title. [The emperor then] prefaced and poetized it. There were thus forty poems in total."²⁷⁸ It is interesting to note the procedure of the imperial pattern of poetizing a *jing*: first, the emperor established a *jing* through

²⁷⁷ Chen Congzhou, *Shuo yuan* (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 1984), 46.

²⁷⁸ See the postscript, in Qianlong, *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tuyong*, anno. E Er'tai et al (Tianjing: Shiyin shuwu, 1887).

entitling it; second, a court painter or painters painted the titled *jing*; third, the emperor wrote a poem for the same *jing*; and finally, the court compiled the paintings and poems of the multiple *jing* into a print for appreciation. An earlier case in history of pairing poems and paintings for a garden was offered by the twenty *jing* of poet Wang Wei's 王维 garden, Wangchuan Bieshu, during the Tang dynasty.²⁷⁹ Wang Wei and his friend Pei Di 裴迪 wrote poems on each of the twenty *jing* of his garden, although these poems were not entitled with a four-character poetical phrase. Furthermore, except for Wang Wei's famous painting, Wangchuan Tu, with a general view of the garden, it is unknown whether a painting was made for each of the *jing*.

Like the traditional landscape painting, the forty paintings of the Forty Jing presented no shadows and were in the bird's-eye view in which brightness flowed to and fro. One of the first Westerners to observe the Chinese inclination for brightness in their gardens and garden representations was the first British ambassador to China, Lord Macartney, who visited the Garden of Round Brightness in 1793. To him, cheerfulness was a principal feature of this garden that "lights up the face of the scene."²⁸⁰ His secretary George Staunton concluded that the Chinese considered shadows an accidental circumstance that ought not to be carried from nature to picture, since it took away a part of the *éclat* and uniformity of coloring.²⁸¹

The eighth *jing*, Oneness of Sky and Water, was located on the northern bank of the Back Lake where the emperor would look upon the expansive water from a two-floor pavilion. In his poem on this *jing*, Qianlong stated:

[Foreword:] The falling rainbow strides over the lake and meanders one hundred *chi*... I look over [the water] from the air and see the universal green with ten-thousand *qing*. My bosom cannot help swallowing the clouds like in a dream.

[Poem:]

²⁷⁹ Sun Xiaoli, *Zhichi shanlin: yuanlin yishu wencui* (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1999), 23-24.

²⁸⁰ George Macartney, *An Embassy to China: Lord Macartney's Journal 1793-4*, ed. J. L. Cranmer-Byng (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1962), 272.

²⁸¹ George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1797), 309.

Above and below, the sky and the water are one color, 上下天水一色,
The water and the sky, above and below, are interconnected.²⁸² 水天上下相
连。

Referring to Tang Dai's painting of this *jing* (Fig. 7), it is understood that the "falling rainbow" indicated the meandering walkway built over the water. The place where "I look over [the water] from the air" was a double-floor pavilion on the lakeshore. The "universal green," unifying the sky and water, depicted the far distance of the atmospheric perspective of the *jing*. The Chinese term of "atmosphere" is *fenwei* 氛围, which literally means the "enclosure of *qi*" where *qi* flows with one's mood. The *jing* described by the poem was the view which the emperor saw when he stood in the multistoried pavilion; while the *jing* depicted by the painting was the place where he stood. These two *jing* were unified under the same title, Oneness of Sky and Water, and fused into each other. The fact that the titled *jing* included both the view of a place and the view which was perceived from that place reminds us that the interpretation of the painting of a *jing* should consider how that depicted *jing* was used in the garden.

The poem about a *jing* provides a good reference for understanding the use of that *jing*. By comparing a painted *jing* and the same titled *jing* described in the poem, the connection between the brightness of the painting and the emperor's perception mode can be found. On the first *jing*, Uprightness & Brightness, Qianlong poetized:

Poetical books are as many as the trailing plants in the courtyard; 义府庭萝
壁,

Grace is as extensive as silvery water waves. 恩波水泻银。

A green grass reminds me of being thrifty, 草青思示俭,

Still mountains recall benevolence.²⁸³ 山静体依仁。

His perception shifted among different things, which in turn brightened his mind.
His rambling perception, shifting to and fro, matched with the bird's-eye view of the

²⁸² Qianlong (Qing emperor), "Shangxia tianguang 上下天光," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985), 21.

²⁸³ Qianlong, "Zhengda guangming 正大光明," in *ibid.*, 7.

painting of this *jing*. The buildings in this painting were arranged obliquely in a single-point perspective, but the focal point fell far beyond the up-right corner of the painting (Fig. 5). The absence of the focal point, as in traditional landscape paintings, reinforced the back and forth movement of the view. But the perspective convergence, unlike the parallel projection in traditional landscape paintings, probably resulted from the influence of the Jesuit painters in the court.

In addition to the multiple views depicted in the poem of a single *jing*, the rambling perception also unveiled itself along the path of the Forty Jing. There is a debate on the locations of the thirtieth and thirty-sixth *jing*, specifically which one of these two *jing* came first on the emperor's poetical route of the Forty Jing. According to an anthology of Qianlong's forty poems of the Forty Jing, *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tuyong* (1887), the thirtieth *jing* is Open-Mind and Enlightened, and the thirty-sixth *jing* is Bathing Body and Increasing Virtue. While in a modern edition of the similar anthology, *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong* (1985), the Bathing Body and Increasing Virtue becomes the thirtieth *jing*; the Open-Mind and Enlightened, the thirty-sixth. If connecting the spot of one *jing* with the spot of the next *jing* with a straight line, a clear pattern of the emperor's path will be revealed. In the 1887 version, the path will be a clear zigzag pattern without any overlap of lines (Fig. 4-a); in the 1985 version, the path will become overlapping around the area of the Fortunate Sea (Fig. 4-b). The first pattern guarantees that the emperor's poetical journey did not overlap and would be a continuous process of curiosity and discovery.²⁸⁴

The first pattern reveals the hidden order of the seemingly disordered path of the Forty Jing. Along the path, the Forty Jing were opened up to the emperor's mind which in turn was brightened by each *jing*. Such a continuous, zigzagging path created the most expansive vision of Round Brightness within the enclosure of the garden. The journey of the Forty Jing satisfied Qianlong's need for "roaming around

²⁸⁴ As for the debate about the sequence of the thirtieth and thirty-sixth *jing*, I had a communication with Zeng Zhaofen, a leading Chinese scholar in the study of the Garden of Round Brightness, who supported the second pattern.

and appreciating expansive landscapes” and “bright and beautiful landscapes... that nothing can surpass.”²⁸⁵

The concept that *jing* is a unity of mind and scene was also due to requirement that each scene had to be recomposed in the mind to become a *jing*, as in the Forty *Jing*. Just because a name board of each *jing* was hung on the eave of a specific building, it did not mean the *jing* was specifically focused only on that building, but rather a group of buildings and their surroundings. A distant scene, for example, the West Mountain, was borrowed into the emperor’s mind to compose a *jing*. In the poem “The Garden of Round Brightness after a Rain,” Qianlong wrote:

The frontal *jing* [*duijing*] is so fine, 对景真佳矣,

I look upon the mountain, which always looks flourishing.²⁸⁶ 看山总沃如。

“The mountain” indicates the distant West Mountain. The “frontal *jing*” here describes a straight framed view through which the image of the West Mountain was borrowed into the garden.

The impressive borrowed *jing* of West Mountain had repeatedly appeared in Yongzheng’s poetry of the garden. In the poem “Looking from the Pavilion of Chanting Aloud on an Autumn Day,” he wrote:

Misty distant peaks bathe in sunset light, 缥缈遥峰带夕曛,

Clear rays open up one after another through my watching. 晴光历历望中分。

The bridge strides its rainbow-like shadow over the brook, 桥移虹影当溪卧,

Wind passes by, cicadas chirp across the river. 风度蝉声隔岸闻。

Several patches of rosy clouds and three paths of chrysanthemums, 数片晚霞三径菊,

²⁸⁵ See my annotated full translation of Qianlong’s “Later Record of the Garden of Round Brightness [Yuanming houji 圆明园后记]” in section 1.1.

²⁸⁶ Qianlong, “Yuhou Yuanmingyuan 雨后圆明园,” in Zhu Jiajin et al ed., “Qing wuchao yuzhiji zhong de Yuanmingyuan shi,” in *Yuanming yuan* 2 (1983): 61.

One pool of autumn water and half a bed of clouds. 一潭秋水半床云。

No sooner have I chanted and had summer coolness at the high pavilion, 高高避暑才吟罢,

Than I hear the golden storm wind send the flock of wild goose away.²⁸⁷ 又听金飊送雁群。

The first sentence certainly indicates the West Mountain was included in the *jing*, yet the West Mountain was not within the garden boundary. While standing on a high pavilion in the garden and looking into the distance, Yongzheng was deeply impressed by the distant view of West Mountain.

It can thus be said that, for the Garden of Round Brightness, the *jing* is a collection of garden scenes within the mind. In forming a *jing* within the mind, the emperor made historical allusions. In the poem “Jing of the Sunken Peach-Flower Bed,” Yongzheng wrote:

The imperial garden is good for rainy and clear days, 禁园宜雨复宜晴,
The bamboo pillow and mat are cool in the remote lodge of the deep spring.
别馆春深枕簟清。

Several falling petals wake my noon dream up, 数片落花惊午梦,
A song from a fisherman arouses my leisure emotion. 一声鱼唱惹闲情。
When temporarily moving around the couch and sitting in a pine grove, 暫
移榻向松间坐,

I just heard birds chanting in the bamboo groves. 恰听禽来竹里鸣。

Only the eastward wind knows my intention, 惟有东风知我意,

The pool full of tender green produces ripples.²⁸⁸ 满地新绿浪纹生。

By the *jing* of the sunken peach-flower bed, Yongzheng alluded to the famous “Record of Peach-Flower Garden,” an essay written by Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 of the Jin dynasty. The poem shows Yongzheng’s true intention in the garden was to

²⁸⁷ Yongzheng (Qing emperor), “Qiuri deng Langyin’ge yumu 秋日登朗吟阁寓目,” in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, anno. Wei Jianxun (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996), 172.

²⁸⁸ Yongzheng, “Taohuawu jijing 桃花坞即景,” in *ibid.*, 145.

enjoy his “leisure emotion” and let it flow among the objects of the *jing* of the sunken peach-flower bed.

The allusive *jing* frequently appeared in Qianlong’s poems of the garden. In the poem “Hall for Receiving the Jing [of the Lion Grove garden]” in 1775, he wrote:

I come here occasionally for the purpose of stealing a short leisure, 一时偶
涉惟偷暇,

It has been one year since my last poem at this same spot. 七字成吟又隔年

。

A person like me hastens to ask for a *jing*, 似此匆忙问景者,

How could I be as lofty and leisure as the pedantic celestial?²⁸⁹ 安能高逸学
迂仙。

The “pedantic celestial” alludes to the painter Ni Zan 倪瓒 of the Yuan dynasty who was said to have participated in the design of the Lion Grove garden in Suzhou, which was the inspiration for the Lion Grove garden in the Garden of Eternal Spring. In the poem, Qianlong expressed his longing for a *jing*, like the Lion Grove in Suzhou. By “receiving” the *jing* of the Lion Grove, he was seeking the same “lofty and leisure” state of the painter Ni Zan.

In the poem “Window of Colored Painting,” Emperor Jiaqing 嘉庆, son of Qianlong, wrote:

The area of ten *bu* is big enough to accommodate my body, 十笏容膝安,

The small window receives remote prettiness. 小窗纳幽秀。

Overlaid rocks are made into artificial hills, 叠石作假山,

The spare land is used in accordance with the *jing*. 隙地因景就。

The rugged peaks are the most singular, 巖峰最奇,

The sound of spring is like the music of *qin*. 淅沥泉琴奏。

Pine boughs stick out of the stream valley, 松枝出涧阿,

²⁸⁹ Qianlong, “Najing tang 纳景堂,” in Zhang Enyin, *Yuanmingyuan bianqianshi tanwei*, 220.

Winding water runs though the cloudy cave. 曲水穿云窦。

The wonderful *bounded view* [my italic] is like a painting, 妙境若画成,

In my imagination crags and mountain caves are lined up. 想象列岩岫。

Sitting in front of the window can substitute for grand wandering, 坐对代壮游,

Whether it is true or not needs extensive study.²⁹⁰ 真伪漫研究。

The title of the poem “Window of Colored Painting” echoed the same concept of Li Yu 李渔 and was a metaphor of a specific *jing*. What is significant is that the “wonderful bounded view is like a painting” and sitting in front of the window was like wandering through nature as if it were real. It is clear that this “wonderful bounded view” was actually the *jing*. Looking into the *jing*, the emperor was not sure whether he was looking at a painting or wandering through a real garden scene.

Besides the emperor’s poetry and the pictorial representations of the Forty Jing, another reference for us to understand these *jing* is the literature left by the Western missionaries who worked in the garden. Father Matteo Ripa served as a painter in the courts of both Yongzheng and Qianlong. He contrasted Chinese gardens and European gardens:

For whereas we [Europeans] seek to exclude nature by art, leveling hills, drying up lakes, felling trees, bringing paths into a straight line, constructing fountains at a great expense, and raising flowers in rows, the Chinese on the contrary, by means of art, endeavor to imitate nature.²⁹¹

He thought that creating gardens in a natural way, as the Chinese so skillfully accomplished, was to imitate nature by means of art; the natural way was to respect the original topography as much as possible.

Ripa’s “natural way” echoed with William Chambers’ concept of “nature.” In his book, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, Chambers criticized that although English

²⁹⁰ Qianlong, “Yanhua chuang 罨画窗,” in *ibid.*, 229.

²⁹¹ Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years Residence at the Court of Peking* (London: John Murray, 1846), 62.

gardens were intended to imitate nature, they embraced raw nature without artistic creation. The Chinese artists had nature for their general model, but they were not so attached to her as to exclude all appearance of art. He argued, "Art must be employed not only to produce variety, but also novelty and effect: for the simple arrangements of nature are... too familiar to excite any strong sensation in the mind of the beholder, or to produce any uncommon degree of pleasure."²⁹² Chambers' criticism of "simple arrangement of nature" was given to his peer English garden designers. To support his argument for the "novel effects" in gardens, he referred to the letter of the Jesuit Father Attiret about the Garden of Round Brightness: "We are told by Father Attiret, that in one of the imperial gardens near Peking, called Yuanming Yuan, there are... four hundred pavilions, all so different in their architecture."²⁹³ Not only impressed by the variety of buildings, Chambers was also impressed by the role of buildings in composing a distant *jing*. He observed that buildings were arranged according to perspective by "giving grayish tints to the distant parts of the composition."²⁹⁴ His observation of the depth of *jing* was based on his knowledge of linear perspective, but he also noted the effects of atmospheric perspective. He found that the winding path helped introduce varied *jing* and that a *jing*, which he called "a new arrangement," could "occupy the mind agreeably."²⁹⁵

While Chambers referred to the Chinese gardens in order to express his concept of English gardens, Father Attiret was referring to European gardens in order to understand the Garden of Round Brightness. A comparative perspective was adopted in both their observations. As Attiret stated, "[In the Garden of Round Brightness,] they go from one of the valleys to another, not by formal straight walks as in Europe; but by various turnings and windings."²⁹⁶ He described these pathways as a "beautiful disorder" and thought the Chinese liked "a wandering as far as

²⁹² William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: W. Griffin, 1772), 14.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁹⁶ Jean-Denis Attiret, "A Letter from a French Missionary in China, Peking, Nov. 1, 1743," trans. Joseph Spence, in John Dixon Hunt ed., *The English Landscape Garden* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), 8.

possible from all the rules of art.”²⁹⁷ Being “struck” and “pleased” by the “beautiful disorder,” he even said that “my eyes and taste are grown a little Chinese.”²⁹⁸

The same *jing* impressed the French Jesuit, Michel Benoist (Chinese name, Jiang Youren 蒋友仁), who designed the fountains of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. In a letter he commented:

In Chinese gardens, the view is not strained at all, because it is set up in a space proportional to the field of perception. You look at a beautiful scene that strikes and enchants you; and after a few hundred feet, new objects appear to you and evoke new admiration.²⁹⁹

In the letter, he observed that in European gardens, though the path was straight and extended to a far distance, there were many magnificent things to see and the visitor’s imagination could not focus on any one of them. By contrast, in Chinese gardens, each view was well proportioned and the beauty came from the changing views.

Another reference regarding the *jing* of the Garden of Round Brightness came from the first British ambassador, George Macartney, who visited the garden in 1793. As for the Chinese approach of conquering while improving nature, he gave detailed descriptions:

It is indifferent to a Chinese where he makes his garden, whether on a spot favored or abandoned by the rural deities. If the latter, he invited them or compels them to return. His point is to change everything from what he formed it, to explode the old fashion of the creation and introduce novelty in every corner. If there be a waste, he adorns it with trees; if a dry desert, he waters it with a river or floats it with a lake. If there be a smooth flat, he varies it with all possible conversions. He undulates the surface; he raises it in hills, scoops it into valleys and roughens it with rocks. He softens

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 38.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 36.

²⁹⁹ Michel Benoist, “Lettre, du père Benoist, à M. Papillon d’Auteroche, Pekin, 16 November, 1767,” *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, tome 13, mémoires de la Chine (Nouvelle édition, Lyon: J. Vernarel Libraire, 1819), 178.

asperities, brings amenity into the wilderness, or animates the tameness of an expanse by accompanying it with the majesty of a forest.³⁰⁰

It is not true that Chinese gardens, as Macartney described, were indifferent to the issue of site. To the contrary, a correct selection of site was a priority for Chinese gardens. However, there is truth that in Chinese gardens, especially imperial gardens, everything could be changed in order to “introduce novelty in every corner.” The “novelty” was related to the uniqueness of each *jing* and a primary consideration in the site of Chinese gardens is the location of each building within the garden. As Macartney witnessed, “proper edifices in proper places is the style which they [the Chinese] admire. The summer-house, the pavilion, [and] the pagoda have all their respective situations.”³⁰¹

The panoramic view of the garden was very important and appreciable to the emperor. As observed by Macartney, “several hundreds of pavilions scattered through the grounds... and yet contributed to the general purpose and effect intended to arise from the whole.”³⁰² The “general effect intended to arise from the whole” could only be observed from a bird’s-eye view. This was verified by the paintings of the Forty Jing.

Through writings, the Jesuits, Chambers, and other Europeans brought their impressions of the *jing* in Chinese gardens, especially the Garden of Round Brightness, back to the European continent. In the late eighteenth century, an important visual resource for Europeans to learn about the *jing* of the Garden of Round Brightness was Le Rouge’s engraved garden encyclopedia, *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode*.³⁰³ This garden encyclopedia provided very detailed copperplates of French, English, and Chinese gardens throughout the world. The thirteenth volume outlined “Jardins anglo-chinois.” The fourteenth to sixteenth volumes focused on “Jardin chinois,” which included the complete set of the forty copperplates of the

³⁰⁰ Macartney, 271.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 272.

³⁰² Ibid., 95.

³⁰³ George Louis Le Rouge, *Détails des Nouveaux Jardins à la Mode* (Paris, 1776-1788). A copy is in the Dumbarton Oaks collection.

Garden of Round Brightness, which were engraved in 1786. In addition to those forty copperplates, twenty copperplates of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden were engraved in Beijing during the same year. It is interesting to note that the Europeans were interested in the Chinese portion of the garden while the Chinese were projecting their interest in the European portion.

In Le Rouge's book, the sequence of the forty copperplate engravings did not follow the original sequence of the Forty Jing established by Qianlong. In contrast to the original sequence of the Forty Jing, the appearing sequence of Le Rouge's forty copperplate engravings is: (in volume 15) *jing* 20, 19... 2, 1, 40, 39... 34, 33; (in volume 16) *jing* 32, 31... 22, 21. For example, the twentieth *jing*, Simple Life in Peaceful Surroundings, appeared as the first engraving; while the first *jing*, Uprightness and Brightness, became the twentieth engraving in Le Rouge's book. The discrepancy between the two sequences demonstrates that the poetical path of the Forty Jing was unknown by Le Rouge.

On the first plate of volume 15, Le Rouge noted: "Les faire graver a Paris pour servir aux progres de l'art des Jardins; puisque tout le monde sait que les Jardins Anglais ne sont qu'une imitation de ceux de la Chine."³⁰⁴ The note expressed his idea that the so-called English garden was an imitation of Chinese gardens. It might be for the sake of proving this idea that he edited these two volumes on the Garden of Round Brightness. On the second plate, he noted: "Dans les Batimens de mes Planche on a suivi le gout des Originaux gravés à Pekin. C'est à dire qu'on a donné que le trait. Le Paysage est mieux traité dans les miennes. On a laissé les lointains en blanc comme dans les Originaux."³⁰⁵ He admitted that his copperplates were intended to imitate the original Chinese woodcuts of the same garden, but he thought that landscapes would be better depicted in his copperplates. He also noted that he followed the Chinese way of using whiteness of paper for expressing distance in a *jing*.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., cahier 15: plate 1.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., cahier 15: plate 2.

The Chinese woodcuts that Le Rouge imitated can be found in the Qing transcript, *Yuzhi Yuanmingyuan tuyong* (1887). The woodcuts were drawn by the court painters Sun Hu and Shen Yuan and carved by unknown Chinese craftsmen. When comparing the woodcuts of various *jing* with Le Rouge's copperplates, for the most part, all the details appear to match. For other *jing*, there are some discrepancies between the Chinese woodcuts and Le Rouge's copperplates. For example, in the woodcut of the fortieth *jing*, In Depth of Remote Dwelling, the bottom border was depicted as flowing clouds that hinted at the Daoist fairyland (refer to the colored painting in Fig. 10), but in Le Rouge's copperplate the same portion was presented as a lake and the original Daoist implication was lost.

In Le Rouge's encyclopedia, there was a high frequency of the presence of Chinese elements within European gardens. These Chinese elements included buildings such as Jardin Chinois, Pavillon Chinois, Petit Pavillon, Palais Chinois, Maison Chinoise, Pont Chinois, Temple Chinois, pagoda, Barque Chinoise, voliere Chinoise, belvedere Chinois, Sallon Chinois, Galleries Chinoise, Maison du Philosophe, grottes Chinoises and kiosq (Fig. 67). This interest in Chinese garden characteristics demonstrated the Europeans' attention to the unique form of buildings in Chinese gardens during the eighteenth century. However, in most cases, as demonstrated in the sixth plate of volume 21, these buildings existed as isolated objects in the *vue* in European gardens. This isolation did not bring about the cohesive *jing*, where the *jing* required that the elements of the scene and the observer's bosom were combined into a depth of view.

CHAPTER THREE LINE-METHOD

The Garden of Round Brightness integrated the vision of round brightness and the Forty Jing. A question is: how was this unity applied to the European portion of the garden? The fact that the Chinese portion enclosed the European portion has demonstrated that the Round Brightness acted as the immediate context of this exotic garden. In the Chinese portion, the embodiment of the Round Brightness is the multiple *jing*, which can be analyzed through their representations. The representation of the *jing* of the European portion is a set of twenty copperplate engravings (1786), which were composed with the technique of “line-method,” the Chinese transformation of Western linear perspective. As demonstrated in the paintings of the Forty Jing, there was already a traditional perspective in Chinese landscape paintings. A study of how Western linear perspective was integrated into Chinese representation will help reveal the *jing* of the European garden designed by the Jesuits.

3.1 Perspective in Chinese painting

A central issue in Chinese landscape painting is the expression of depth. One of the earliest theorists on distance and depth in Chinese paintings was Zong Bing 宗炳 (Southern Dynasties). He stated:

The Kunlun Mountain is too big, yet the eye is so small. If the mountain is too close to the beholder, its form cannot be seen. If it is several *li* away, its form can be contained in the small eye. It is true that the longer the distance is, the smaller the size of the mountain is.... Therefore, the beholder should not burden himself in seeking detail likeness in an apparent small mountain in the painting, rather grasp its natural propensity [*shi* 势].³⁰⁶

The greater the distance from the object, the smaller the size of the object appeared. For Zong, this was true in both reality and painting. His theory of the pictorial distance originated directly from his personal experience in nature.

³⁰⁶ Zong Bing (Southern Dynasties), “Hua shanshui xu,” in Shen Zicheng ed., *Lidai lunhua mingzhu lubian*, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 14.

Another classic discourse on depth and distance in Chinese landscape paintings was advanced by the poet and painter, Wang Wei 王维 (Tang dynasty). He stated:

[In paintings,] a distant person has no eye; a distant tree has no bough; a distant mountain has no stone and appears like eyebrows; a distant body of water has no ripple.... These are the knack [for depicting the distance]. To differentiate between the distant and the near, you have to separate them.³⁰⁷

His theory of distance also came from his observation of nature and is close to what we call atmospheric perspective in the modern sense.

In Chinese Buddhism, the transformation of scriptures from words into pictures is called *jingbian* 经变. Paintings of the “transformed scriptures” originated from middle China. The cave frescos at Dunhuang of the Tang dynasty become an important source for studying the transformed scriptures. One type of fresco, Western Pure-Land Transformation, adopted a large courtyard building as the backdrop for the depiction of the Buddha (Fig. 54). “The groups of buildings look magnificent and are represented in perspective.”³⁰⁸ The compositions of buildings in these frescos were usually a concentrated projection, close to central perspective, with a bird’s-eye view. These were the earliest cases of concentrated projection known in the history of Chinese painting. Although Buddhism was originally imported from India, the buildings in these frescos were completely Chinese classic architecture. It is interesting to note that the Dunhuang frescos were the first and only time that the concentrated projection appeared prior to the Qing dynasty. One of the reasons for the concentrated projection in the Dunhuang frescos was most likely to emphasize the central position of the Buddha who traditionally sat at the center of the picture.

The central perspective, with the horizon at eye level, in Renaissance perspective is close to the traditional “frontal view” in Chinese paintings. When tracing the history

³⁰⁷ Wang Wei (Tang dyn.), “Shanshui lun,” in *ibid.*, 32.

³⁰⁸ Jin Weiruo, “Dunhuang yishu zhai meishushi shang de diwei,” in Lin Baoyao ed., *Dunhuang yishu tudian* (Taipei: Yishujia chubanshe, 1991), 663-64.

of landscape painting, one discovers a few rare pieces with a frontal view. In the painting entitled *A Thatched Pavilion* by Lu Hong 卢宏 of the Tang dynasty (Fig. 55), the inhabitant within the picture looks straight towards the spectator, appearing to be in a meditation state, sitting inside a single-room house. The inhabitant appears to be a Buddhist residing in the mountain and might be related to the spread of Buddhist temples in remote mountains at that time. The roof of thatch almost reaches the upper border of the painting, while the figure's head touches the ceiling, making the figure's head appear to be the most distant item in the interior of the house. This piece of art is a good example of how depth in a painting is depicted, where the higher a thing is positioned, the more distant it appears. The positioning of the inhabitant creates a straightforwardness of the inhabitant's view and is in sharp contrast to the randomness of the natural landscape in the front of the house, and there is no presence of the horizon of view and the sky. The frontal view, as in this painting, was quite rare during the Tang dynasty. In the gardens of the Ming dynasty, the frontal view emerged as a type of *jing*, called "the head-on *jing*" (*duijing* 对景). It was either arranged on a meandering path to arouse the visitor's surprise or composed as a static picture for appreciation from the interior. But this type of *jing* did not appear in garden representation until the use of "line-method" (*xianfa* 线法), a Chinese transformation of Western linear perspective in the eighteenth century.

In the Song dynasty, theories of depth in painting became well known and were of a high level, with the greatest theoretical advances made by Guo Xi 郭熙 (Northern Song). He theorized the three distances in mountain paintings:

Mountains have three distances. [The expanse] from the foot of mountains looking up to the peak is called high distance [*gaoyuan* 高远]; from the front mountains looking through to mountains behind is called deep distance [*shenyuan* 深远]; from near mountains looking off towards distant mountains is called level distance [*pingyuan* 平远].³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹ Guo Xi (Northern Song), "Linqan gaozhi," in Shen Zicheng, 71.

The first one, high distance, is vertical and the other two, deep and level distances, are horizontal. While the level distance describes the view moving forward and expanding to both sides, the deep distance indicates a straightforward movement and is obtained when we look through mountains in the forefront towards the mountains behind them. Advancing Guo Xi's theories further, Han Chunquan 韩纯全 proposed to further define distance. He worked with the concepts of expansiveness, blurriness, and seclusion. His discussion of these concepts is as follows:

There is near but expansive water, and there are expansive but distant mountains. This is called expansive distance [*kuoyuan* 阔远]. When there are mists and smoke, the water in wilderness cannot be seen. This is called blurred distance [*miyuan* 弥远]. When a scene is in the absolute distance and thus appears minute and dimly discernible, it is called secluded distance [*youyuan* 幽远].³¹⁰

Guo Xi and Han Chunquan each furthered the typical atmospheric perspective theories in Chinese paintings. In order to study the geometrical perspective, which is rare in Chinese paintings but typical in the Western representation, attention needs to be paid to the depiction of buildings. Shen Kuo 沈括 gave the well-known comments on the Song painter Li Cheng's 李成 paintings of buildings:

In Li Cheng's paintings of pavilions, lodges, towers and pagodas, the flying eaves were all depicted as being looked at from the underside. His own explanation is that this looking up from below happens when a man looks upward at the ceiling and eaves while standing on the ground. His viewpoint is wrong. Usually, the principle [*fa* 法] of landscape painting is looking at a small thing from a big thing, just like looking down at an artificial hill. If adopting the principle of a real mountain and looking upward from below, you can see only a single mountain. [In his way,] how can you see one mountain after another? [In his way,] you cannot see brooks in valleys, courts of houses and what happened in back alleys... Mr. Li probably did not know the principle of looking at a small thing from a big thing where the eye

³¹⁰ Han Chunquan (Song dyn.), "Shanshui chunquanji," in *ibid.*, 135.

moves up into the distance because of its own subtle reasons [for using this principle]. What is the purpose of looking at the curved roof corners from the underside?³¹¹

The painting model of “looking upward at flying eaves from underside” did not begin with Li Cheng; in the Dunhuang frescos many buildings showed their flying eaves which appeared to be looked at from underneath; such a posture expressed a feeling of the high and sublime.³¹² Shen Kuo thought that since Li Cheng’s paintings were of buildings that were located in mountains, a bird’s-eye view should be adopted in order to introduce an expansive vision rather than, as Li Cheng did, adopt a viewpoint from the ground. Shen’s comments demonstrated that the bird’s-eye view became a dominant perspective in landscape paintings during the Song dynasty and the viewpoint from the ground was not appreciated. The differences between Shen and Li also lay in the emphasis between the view and viewer. Shen paid more attention to the view of the landscape itself while Li emphasized the perspective of a real person standing on the ground.

Shen Kuo preferred an unrealistic bird’s-eye view in order to express truthful nature. Li Cheng took a real person’s viewpoint but lost the truthful view of nature, namely, in Shen Kuo’s words, you could not “see one mountain after another.” This difference brought to light the issue of truth in landscape painting. The truth in landscape painting did not lie in morphological imitation of nature, but rather a truthful understanding of nature. The poet Su Shi 苏轼 stated: “If a comment on a painting focuses on its resemblance, the commentator’s opinion is like a child’s.”³¹³ He was criticizing morphological imitation. Han Qi stated: “The knack of appreciating a painting is only to see how it closes in on the real [*bizhen* 逼真].”³¹⁴ The concept of “closing in on the real,” *bizhen*, is quite significant. It means that the

³¹¹ Shen Kuo (Song dyn.), “Mengxi bitan lun hua shanshui,” in Yu Jianhua ed., *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, 2 vols. (1957, Rpt., Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000), 1: 625.

³¹² Yu Jianhua, 626.

³¹³ Su Shi (Northern Song), “Lunhua shi,” in *ibid.*, 51.

³¹⁴ Han Qi (Northern Song), “Zhigui lunhua,” in *ibid.*, 41.

truth was the destination, but it was not easy to obtain as it required a good effort to be approached.³¹⁵

The degrading of morphological imitation did not mean that when painting truth in landscape, especially when depicting buildings, it did not require careful observation of objects. Guo Ruoxu 郭若虚 commented:

In the early Song dynasty, [artists such as] Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 and Wang Shiyuan 王士元 usually painted multistoried buildings in a way that all four roof corners appeared and brackets were depicted one by one with clear differentiation between front and back and without loss of regularity. The present painters like to paint buildings with a straight ruler... Their brush strokes are very miscellaneous without a sense of sublimity and elegance.³¹⁶

The author was commenting on the parallel projection in bird's-eye view for the depiction of buildings. Only in such a composition, the four corners of the roof were shown at the same time or the front and one flank of the building body could appear simultaneously.

In the delineation of buildings in Chinese paintings, there is no fixed focal point. With a single building or several buildings in a closely related group, no discrimination in size is noted, and parallel lines remain parallel and equidistant throughout their length. This effect of parallel projection looks similar to Western axonometric drawings, a form of shop drawings where a three-dimensional form is represented in a measurable scale in all its parts.³¹⁷ The two methods of perspective should not simply be equated to each other, as the Chinese parallel projection is not for measuring and control as in the Western method but rather is related to the expression of bird's-eye view of a *jing*.

³¹⁵ The Chinese concept of *bizhen* is close to the Renaissance concept of "approaching truth." According to Nicholas of Cusa, truth functions like an ideal that we approach more or less successfully, even though we shall never quite seize it. Karsten Harries defines the Renaissance approach to truth as "a particular perspective" (See Karsten Harries, *Infinity and perspective* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001], 50-51).

³¹⁶ Guo Ruoxu (Northern Song), "Guohua jianwen zhi xulun," in Yu Jianhua, 58.

³¹⁷ Benjamin March, "Linear Perspective in Chinese Painting," *Eastern Art* 3 (1931): 132.

Except for some fragments, it is hard to find documentation in Chinese painting theories regarding drawing buildings. Han Chunquan 韩纯全 advanced:

Buildings should hide among mountains and forests and not appear completely. Otherwise, a painting would look like a pattern of buildings... especially for Buddhist temples and Daoist belvederes, it is better to locate them in secluded valleys.³¹⁸

With an extremely distant point of view, the chance and exigency for buildings to bring about the effect of foreshortening were very rare.

Besides atmospheric perspective and parallel projection of buildings, another way of expressing depth in Chinese paintings is the vertical composition where the painter placed the point of view of the composition at a very high level. The line of the horizon is placed very high, and the different planes range one above the other in such a way that the glance embraces a vast space.³¹⁹ Chinese landscape paintings are primarily on vertical scrolls, with a large vertical area, creating a medium where the higher an object is in the composition, the more distant it appears. Viewing of the painting begins at the bottom and gradually moves towards the top, creating a view that slowly extends into the distance.

Corresponding with the non-focal point, there is a movable viewpoint in Chinese paintings. Some research has pointed out that for the Chinese artist, man is not the measure of all things but has to integrate himself into the landscape.³²⁰ The concept of being in nature in order to paint real nature is clearly expressed in Guo Xi's painting theory. He wrote:

If you put yourself in mountains and waters and then observe them, the idea [yi 意] of mountains and waters completely appear... The shape of a

³¹⁸ Han Chunquan, 141.

³¹⁹ See Stephen W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, v. 2 (London, 1906), 108-109. Raphaël Petrucci, *Chinese Painters: A Critical Study*, trans. Frances Seaver (New York: Brentano's, 1920), 24.

³²⁰ Michel & Cécile Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors*, trans. Michael Bullock (Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1971), 138.

mountain changes with your moving... If a painting can make the idea emerge within the beholder, he must feel like being in the real mountain.³²¹

The first poet who sang “Rivers and mountains are picture-like” (*jiangshan rubua* 江山如画) was Sun Haoran 孙浩然 (Song dynasty).³²² Compared to the concept of “picturesque” of European gardens, the Chinese concept of “picture-like” was not defined in specific terms. The pictorial images presented in landscape paintings often show a tendency toward ambiguity and disintegration of forms into the misty poetic mood and blurry atmosphere rather than emphasizing natural details in a landscape.³²³ The tendency towards the “picture-like” implies that the view of landscapes must be put under control by mental enclosure in order to become a significant existence—*jing*.

In the Yuan dynasty, there emerged a concept of “moving-through the *jing*” (*tongjing* 通景) to describe the type of landscape paintings that maintained a high viewpoint so that the observer could look through the whole pictorial *jing*.³²⁴ In the Qing imperial gardens, this concept was used to describe Western paintings that were composed in linear perspective. The commonality of Chinese and Western paintings in this respect probably lay in the intention of “seeing though into the distance.”

In the Ming dynasty, it became popular for individuals to request artists, such as the famous artist Wen Zhengming 文征明, to paint their own private gardens. Wen Zhengming's paintings began to show the view of garden scenes with the horizon of eye level, as depicted in his famous set of paintings, known as Garden of an Unsuccessful Politician in Suzhou. Once the viewpoint was connected to the ground, buildings in the garden scenes required a more detailed representation. Although the depiction of the buildings was moving towards becoming more

³²¹ Guo Xi, 67-68.

³²² Wai-Kan Ho, “The Literary Concepts of ‘Picture-like’ (*rubua*) and ‘Picture-Idea’ (*huayǐ*) in the Relationship between Poetry and Painting,” in Alfred Murck & Wen C. Fong ed., *Words and Languages: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 365.

³²³ Ibid., 383.

³²⁴ See fig. 24 in *Zuan zu ying hua*, a collection of Chinese tapestries and embroideries from the Song to Qing dynasties (Tokyo: Zauho Press, 1935).

detailed, the depiction of buildings remained rough and ambiguous and did not show any sign of linear perspective. Wen did admit the great difficulty of depicting buildings:

To paint a palace building is the most difficult. It is said only when the measure has no error can a painting be a good piece. Because such a painting is restricted by rules, the brush and ink cannot be used freely. If a small break of rules is made, the painting will degrade into a vulgar piece. Therefore, there had not been a master painter in this field before the Tang dynasty or until the Five Dynasties when Wei Xian 卫贤 became famous [in this field], but his paintings still did not reach the highest level.³²⁵

Wen thought that a building painting had to follow certain rules to obtain correct measurement, but he did not specify what the rules were. On this issue, his peer Tang Yin 唐寅 stated:

Painting a building without a ruler started from [Guo] Shuxian [郭]恕先. Using a ruler to measure a painting started with [Zhao] Boju [赵]伯驹. In later generations, such as Li Song 李嵩, the method of carpentry was used to paint buildings. [At that point] their paintings finally degraded to the lowest.³²⁶

Tang described how to measure a building in a landscape painting. Applying a ruler to measuring did not mean to follow the rigid method of carpentry, which was despised in landscape painting. The fact that a painter worked with or without a ruler to measure indicates that mathematical precision was not a criterion for judging the correctness of measurement within the painting. The correct measure originated more from the regularity of the heart than from that of mathematics. The regularity of the heart indicated more of a concentration of the mind rather than the “true” view observed.

The traditional composition of “the higher position [in the painting], the more distant” began to change during the Qing dynasty, especially in court paintings which

³²⁵ Wen Zhengming (Ming dyn.), “Hengshan lun hua shanshui,” in *Yu Jianhua*, 713.

³²⁶ Tang Yin (Ming dyn.), “Liuru lun hua shanshui,” in *ibid.*, 712.

were influenced by the Jesuits, such as in the paintings of the Forty Jing by Tang Dai 唐岱. On describing the method of painting a mountain, he explained: "If it is distant, it should look low; if it is near, it should look high... [The distance] can be expressed by layers of mountains, one after another."³²⁷ According to his theory, a distant mountain was not necessarily positioned at the top of the painting, but the peak of a near mountain could reach that top; the front mountains should partially block the view of the back ones. A new phenomenon evolved from his theory of distance, which was the emergence of the horizon of view and the horizon of land. In all the paintings of the Forty Jing, these two horizons appeared clear and matched with each other, although the spectator's viewpoint still floated in the air. In traditional landscape paintings, there was no chance for the presence of the horizon of land. In Tang Dai's paintings, the clear presence of the horizon of land began to draw the consciousness to the horizon of view. Compared with a contemporaneous work, Qian Weicheng's 钱维城 paintings of the Thirty-Six Jing of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness (1752-1754),³²⁸ the "layers of mountains" in Tang Dai's paintings are clearer and more cohesive with the perspective effect of the buildings in the paintings. The expression of general propensity (*shi* 势) in Tang Dai's paintings is thus closely related to the depiction of perspective effects.

The composition of oblique projection in the forty paintings of the Forty Jing was developed from the traditional oblique-parallel projection, which advanced the concept that an object should be painted as what it should be rather than as to how it appeared. The British envoy Staunton observed that in paintings displayed in the Garden of Round Brightness, objects at different distances were drawn not as they appeared to the eye but of their actual size, "as determined by the judgment correcting the errors of sight."³²⁹ Others have proposed that "the oblique angle of view" in Western engravings provided the Chinese "an interesting new way" to

³²⁷ Tang Dai (Qing dyn.), "Huishi fawei," in Shen Zicheng, 407.

³²⁸ See Qian Weicheng's paintings in *Bishu shanzhuang qishi'er jing* 避暑山庄七十二景. Beijing: Dizhi chubanshe, 1993.

³²⁹ George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of An Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1797), 309.

organize a landscape painting.³³⁰ This is not completely true if considering the oblique parallel projection of buildings in traditional landscape painting.

There were many discussions in the Qing dynasty about how to typify a specific *jing* in a painting, with some of the discussions becoming quite detailed. The painter Gong Xian 龚贤 stated:

When painting a stone, it should be noted that its upper side is bright and its lower side is dark. The bright is *yang* and the dark is *yin*. If the stone surface is flat, it will be bright. If it receives light from the sun or moon, it will also be bright... The side which does not receive light from the sun or moon is in a shadow and therefore looks dark.³³¹

Gong was a painter who theoretically discussed and intentionally practiced the depiction of volumetric images in landscapes. He continued:

A building should appear as if it is there in that place and looks accessible. A bridge has a face and a back and if its face appears on the upper west, its back should be on the lower east. People usually paint this position in the reversed order and it is a big mistake... When placing a temple, it should be in accordance with the depth of the mountain and the thickness of the forests.³³²

In fact, this discussion mirrored the principles of Western linear perspective. He proposed a static viewpoint, or a view that “stands still,” which was in contrast with the traditional movable viewpoint of landscape painting.

³³⁰ James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 77.

³³¹ Gong Xian (Qing dyn.), “Gong Anjie xiansheng huajue,” in Yu Jianhua, 782.

³³² Ibid., 786.

3.2 Jesuit Perspective³³³

During the Middle Ages, a common held belief was based on Aristotle's thought that nature worked in the shortest way possible. Based on that principle, Franciscan friar Roger Bacon held that species traveled in straight paths and that vision as the movement of species must be demonstrated in geometrical lines. For Bacon, "good vision" was "the radiant pyramid," perpendicular to the eye.³³⁴ The medieval homology of perception and *perspectiva naturalis* was broken up by Renaissance *perspectiva artificialis* where, in the Renaissance theorist Leon Alberti's words, "the eye measured quantities of things with the visual rays *as* [my italic] with a pair of compasses."³³⁵ The adverb "as" indicates the distinction between artificiality of perspective and the naturalness of perception. The verb "measure" implies making something that was invisible become visible through engaging in visible things.

The dominant practice of Renaissance perspective was to imitate architectural settings. To make his comic stage set look real, the Renaissance architect Sebastiano Serlio noticed in detail, for example, that houses with strong projections worked well for perspective effects for backdrops on the stage (Fig. 60). He even used perspective to create fake windows through which buildings were painted to "simulate reality."³³⁶ However, artificiality of perspective intended to reveal something which went beyond the tangible world. This invisible reality emerged through engravings by a group of craftsmen in Nuremberg who freely used perspective to imagine ideal gardens and structures. The German engraver Lorenz Stöer, for example, made eleven woodcuts of perspective gardens— ruins, trees,

³³³ Part of this section was published in my article: "Jesuit Perspective in China," *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 31.2 (Dec 2001).

³³⁴ Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, trans. Robert Belle Burke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), 131, 457. As for Aristotle's thought, see Aristotle, "Metaphysics," *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, the revised Oxford translation, v. two, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

³³⁵ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 46.

³³⁶ Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, trans. Vaughan Hart & Peter Hicks, v. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press), 86, 378. A 1609 edition of this book was stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Hui Zou, "The *jing* of a perspective garden," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22.4 [Oct-Dec 2002]: 317-320).

stereometric bodies in front of landscapes (Fig. 61).³³⁷ His intention was not to depict an actual garden, but rather to demonstrate how magical a garden made of perspective would be.

Invisible reality is approached by perspective with two visual effects: depth and foreshortening. Depth makes the beholder feel as if he or she is in the revealed reality, and the effect of foreshortening is created through lines converging towards a focal point. Although Alberti did not use the term focal point, his concept of central point was the same as a focal point. He noted that a central point was “a point which occupies the place where the central [visual] ray strikes [on the picture plane].”³³⁸ The central point was therefore like a counter-eye through which both the beholder and the painted objects appear to be on the same plane. As Alberti advanced the concept of central point, one of his peers, the architect Filippo Brunelleschi advanced the concept of perspective through a famous experiment (1425). The application of a mirror in his experiment demonstrated that the precise geometric center of the painting panel was made in the image of the eye. The central point as a counter-eye, even in modern times, still cannot be equated with the vanishing point. As Alberti described, the oblique lines were drawn *from* rather than toward the central point, and in his book *Della pittura* (1435-36), he only mentioned the convergence of lines once, and even this expression was uncertain. He wrote, “Thus inscribed line indicates to me in what way, *as if* [my italic] looking into infinity, each transverse quantity is altered visually.”³³⁹ The phrase “as if” hints that during the Renaissance period, the concept of a focal point was understood, yet infinity was rare and was not a property of perspective.

The concept of a focal point acting as the counter-eye was well maintained by Jesuit perspective. This can be witnessed in *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (1583), a treatise by the architect Vignola who had a close relationship with the Society of Jesus. In the first *regola*, similar to the German engraver Albrecht Dürer’s “lute method,” the perspective of a square was constructed without the use of a focal

³³⁷ See Lorenz Stöer, *Geometria et perspectiva* (1567; rpt., Frankfurt: Biermann + Boukes, 1972).

³³⁸ Alberti, 56.

³³⁹ Ibid.

point. Although the focal point did not enter the perspective construction in the illustration of the first *regola*, Vignola clearly marked the focal point on the picture plane to demonstrate the projection of the beholder's eye. In the second *regola*, he introduced a viewing figure to mark the point of distance. This second observer, another eye, defines the distance of perspective.³⁴⁰

Vignola's distance-point method as a two-point system prefigured the Jesuit scholar Jean Dubreuil's bifocal perspective, which was drawn with two lateral foci. Dubreuil, who was usually called the Jesuit of Paris, published his book on perspective in 1648 and its English version *Practical Perspective* appeared in 1672. The author of the book remained anonymous, yet the front page was marked "by a religious person of the Society of Jesus."³⁴¹ Like Vignola, Dubreuil stuck to the monocular vision, as the thought at that time was that one could more clearly see a perspective "with one eye only" than with two. He called the focal point "the point of sight," and the horizon, bearing always the point of sight, showed "how much the eye is elevated from the earth."³⁴² He clearly stated that perspective could not only please the eye but also "deceive the sight," and to achieve this, the horizon must always be set at the natural height.³⁴³ His theories of deceiving the sight coincided with the Jesuit painter Andrea Pozzo's experiment on illusory perspective.

Pozzo, who was a virtuoso of trompe-l'oeil and *quadratura*, was born in Trento, Italy, in 1642 and died in Vienna in 1709. Based on the principle of Italian perspective known as "di sotto in su" (from below upwards), he painted the dome of the church of San Ignazio and the altars of the church of Gesù in Rome, as well as transforming the interior of the University church in Vienna. Pozzo's perspective of "di sotto in su" was fused into architectural space. As he said in *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*

³⁴⁰ See Vignola, *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (Rome, 1583), 69, 100. For a detailed analysis on the focal point of Vignola's perspective, see Timothy K. Kitao, "Prejudice in Perspective: A Study of Vignola's Perspective Treatise," *The Art Bulletin* 44.1 (Mar 1962). A copy of Vignola's book was stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Zou, 317-320).

³⁴¹ Jean Dubreuil (S. J.), *Practical Perspective*, trans. Robert Pricke (London, 1672), the front page.

³⁴² Ibid., 4-11.

³⁴³ Ibid., 120-123.

(1693), “perspective never appears more graceful than in architecture.”³⁴⁴ Like Dubreuil, he overtly admitted that the art of perspective did, “with wonderful pleasure,” deceive the eye. To make visual deception work, an arbitrarily located point of view was necessary in order to be “free from the incumbencies of occult lines” in perspective and “draw all the points therefore to that true point, the glory of God.”³⁴⁵ With the single “true point,” Pozzo defended the uni-focal perspective, which maintained the hypothesis of monocular vision and unprecedentedly drew the point of view into spatially constructing a perspective. His projection method was based on the visual pyramid whose apex was the eye of the viewer and the bottom was the constructed painting. In this way, perspective is “a counterfeiting of the truth,” and the painter is not obliged to make it appear real when seen from any part; but, “from one determinate point only,” the painted scene does appear real for spiritual epiphany.

Alberti described perspective as “an open window” for looking through. Within the “window,” the central ray of the eye, which he called “prince of rays,” was of greatest importance for the certainty of sight.³⁴⁶ Renaissance perspective brought a certain transparency to vision and provided a chance to look through the painting plane, as indicated by Dürer’s concept *Durchsehung*. On the connection between “*Durchsehung*” and “perspective,” Dürer explicated, “Item Perspectiva ist ein lateinisch Wort, bedeuett ein Durchsehung. Item zu derselben Durchsehung gehören fünf Ding: das Aug, der Gegenwürf, die Weiten, die Kürzesten und gerad Lini, die Theilung voneinander der Ding.”³⁴⁷ Dürer emphasized that the semantic root of the Latin word “perspectiva” means “seeing through.” There emerged another kind of reality when looking through the “window” of a perspective.

³⁴⁴ Andrea Pozzo (S. J.), *Perspective in Architecture and Painting*, an unabridged reprint of the English-and-Latin edition of the 1693 *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1989), 30. A 1702 edition of this book was stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix “Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing,” in Zou, 317-320).

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁴⁶ Alberti, 56, 48, 121.

³⁴⁷ See the front page in Jamnitzer, Lencker, Stöer: *Drei Nürnberger Konstruktivisten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ausstellung der Albrecht Dürer Gesellschaft im Fembohaus vom 20. April bis 1. Juni 1969 (Nürnberg: der Albrecht Dürer Gesellschaft, 1969). Dürer’s “*Durchsehung*” was discussed in Panofsky, 27.

Many Renaissance gardens, for example Vignola's works, were composed like architectural forms, with long vistas and a halting point. During the Baroque period, there was an accentuation of the "picture-like" effect and linear perspective helped the designers grasp the totality in gardens. Dubreuil particularly connected perspective with buildings and thought the fairest pieces of perspective were made in rich and sumptuous buildings. He discussed the horizon of view, which "separates the heaven from the earth and limits the sight," and emphasized that perspective could either make counterfeit pictures or "draw to the life."³⁴⁸ For Pozzo, the art of perspective does, with wonderful pleasure, deceive the eye for "the solemnity of exposing the holy sacrament."³⁴⁹ At almost the same time of Dubreuil, the French architect André Félibien wrote: "On appelle particulièrement 'perspectives' les tableaux qui sont faits pour représenter des bâtiments en perspective, c'est-à-dire traces dans toutes les règles & conduits par lignes."³⁵⁰ In France, perspective was particularly applied in the creation of copperplate engravings of gardens. Israël Silvestre liked to entitle his engravings as "vue en perspective de..." or "vue et perspective de..."³⁵¹ The expression of the horizon of land through perspective was particularly obvious in the copperplate engravings by a Dutch Johannes Kip. He usually located the horizon of land very high, almost touching the upper border of the picture, and only left a narrow strip of sky. However, in most of his engravings, the horizon of perspective did not match the horizon of land so that the converged lines seemed to suddenly be truncated by the horizon of land.³⁵²

In the eighteenth-century copperplate engraving book, *La Vue et Elevations de Ville et Chateau de Versailles avec les Bosquets et Fontaines*, most of the "views" are composed in the central-perspectival bird's-eye-view. Pictures that showed a strong feeling of convergence of linear perspective were often titled as "Vue et Perspective du," which

³⁴⁸ Dubreuil, "preface," 11.

³⁴⁹ Pozzo, 12, figure 71.

³⁵⁰ André Félibien, *Des principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture, et des autres arts qui en dépendent* (Paris, 1690), 702. A copy of this book was stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Zou, 317-320).

³⁵¹ See Israël Silvestre's *Chateau de Rue* (Paris, 1690) and *Le Chateau de Tanlay* (a Dumbarton Oaks bound pamphlet). Several of Silvestre's engraving books were stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Zou, 317-320).

³⁵² See Johannes Kip's *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (London, 1714-1716).

meant “view and perspective of.” Plate one, for example, was entitled as “Vüe et Perspective du Château de Versailles,” meaning the “view and perspective of the Chateau of Versailles,” where fountains played a major role. In plate two, a fountain was placed on the central axis of the central perspective and the top of the waterspout almost reached the upper boundary of the picture. In such a composition, the engraver appeared to emphasize the height of the waterspout. The same method was employed for the illustration of fountains in other plates as well. Central perspective was specifically used to create visual depth on a stage, such as in the Theatre d’Eau in plate seventeen.³⁵³

While the importance of the perspective “view” was greatly enhanced during the Baroque period, the Jesuit order maintained the tradition of visualizing Christian metaphysics. This tradition originated from the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, the founder of the Society. One “composition” of the Spiritual Exercises, for example, is “seeing the place,” which requires the individual prayer to see the material place through the gaze of the imagination so that he or she can visualize the contemplated object of the prayer.³⁵⁴ The extreme attention paid by the Jesuit order to material details is also demonstrated by the order’s tradition of locating churches being in urban areas. Research shows that St. Ignatius was the first founder of a major religious order in the history of the church to opt deliberately for complete insertion of a religious order’s works and residence in the center of the urban fabric. Over fifteen percent of all the letters written by him made some reference to property transactions, buildings and constructions.³⁵⁵

In the “modo de proceder” (“our way of proceeding”) of Jesuits, Pozzo posited that a painter was obliged to make the truth (God) appear in a perspective from “one determinate point only.”³⁵⁶ This point as the counter-eye, in Jesuit perspective,

³⁵³ See *La Vuë, et Elevations, de Ville, et Château de Versaille, avec les Bosquet et Fontains*. A copy is in the Dumbarton Oaks collection.

³⁵⁴ Saint Ignatius of Loyola, “The Spiritual Exercises,” *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz & Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 294.

³⁵⁵ Thomas Martin Lucas, *Landmarking: City, Church & Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997), 23, 134.

³⁵⁶ Pozzo, 221.

allowed the beholder a unique frontality where invisible reality, “the truth,” was encountered. Pozzo arbitrarily located the “true point” for spiritual epiphany yet left all the other points for perspective distortions. It has been argued that Pozzo’s geometry had led to a simple representation of reality and encouraged the architect to believe that one could “design in perspective” and make “pictures” of buildings.³⁵⁷

The present scholarship of cross-cultural studies usually characterizes Jesuit perspectival engravings as “tools of proselytization.” Since perspective is degraded to a tool, the contemporary interpretation of Jesuit perspective transforms into a seeking of external ideas for this tool. One scholar, for example, suggests that the concept of *disegno*, promoted in the academies of Florence and Bologna, was the preferred “style” of the Jesuit perspective.³⁵⁸ With the same metaphysical approach, another scholar suggests that the lines of Jesuit perspective were “the rays of spiritual energy radiating to the peoples of the world.”³⁵⁹ In so doing, the understanding of geometrical features is dominated by teleology. Along this line, Vignola’s distance-point method was unduly stressed by the attempt to draw a rhetorical conclusion: that the Jesuits went to “distant” China to find their “point.”³⁶⁰ Such a metaphoric induction is criticized in philosophy as the “worn-out metaphor,” which is powerless to affect the sense.³⁶¹

The Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione played a central role in introducing linear perspective in China. Born in Milan on July 19, 1688, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1707. During his novitiate in Genoa, he was trained as a painter. By 1715, he arrived in Beijing and lived at the Jesuit church called Eastern Hall (Dong tang, catholic name St. Joseph Mission) (Fig. 48). He successively served as a court painter for three emperors of the Qing dynasty: Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong.

³⁵⁷ Alberto Pérez-Gómez & Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), 71-72.

³⁵⁸ Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry: Art and Science on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 258.

³⁵⁹ Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 139.

³⁶⁰ See Arthur Chen, “Locating the Distance Point,” *Proceedings of the 85th ACSA Annual Meeting* (Washington, DC: ACSA, 1997), 401.

³⁶¹ See Jacques Derrida, “White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy,” *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 217-219.

Castiglione's first known painting in China was created in the Yongzheng court in 1723. It is common knowledge that he also made two large paintings for another Jesuit church, Southern Hall (Nan tang).

Two comments by eighteenth-century Chinese scholars on Castiglione's perspectival paintings in the Southern Hall church have been discovered. In the anthology *Zhuyeting zaji*, Yao Yuanzhi 姚元之 (Qing dynasty) commented:

There are two Lang Shining's 郎世宁 [Castiglione] line-method paintings in the Southern Hall [Nan tang] [church]. They were on the east and west walls of the hall... standing by the west wall and looking across at the east wall with one eye, you will see that the inner chamber extends to a great depth... The southern window is half open and the sunbeams play on the ground... Where the sunbeams reach, the shadows of the fans, vases and tables are perfectly accurate... A set of pillars stand in line and the stone-pavement evenly shines with brightness. To the east, it will appear as if a house exists, and the door seems not yet open... looking down upon the ground, it will be as bright as a mirror and you will be able to count all the square tiles... If you step further away from the hall, there are two bedrooms... When you see them at a distance, you are tempted to enter. If you touch it, you will suddenly find that it is a wall. There was no line-method in our ancient times. It is so accurate that you will only regret that our ancestors had not seen it.³⁶²

In *Qiuping xinyu*, Zhang Jingyun most likely wrote the following regarding the same work of Castiglione:

If one leans on the west wall and looks eastward, one sees a double door and a chamber endlessly deep and wide. The interior chamber that is surrounded by more chambers seems partly open and partly closed... [The painter] was

³⁶² Yao Yuanzhi (Qing dyn.), *Zhuyeting zaji*, Qingdai shiliao biji congkan edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997). Also refer to an English translation in Mikinosuke Ishida, "Biographical Study of Giuseppe Castiglione," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 19 (1960): 102.

an expert in the art of *yin* and *yang* [indicating chiaroscuro]; therefore, when viewed at a distance, things will always appear so real [*zhen* 真].³⁶³

Both of the above noted comments expressed a common impression of Castiglione's perspectival paintings, which was that the paintings exhibited a great depth and lifelike effect. For the Chinese eye, such an amazing life-likeness resulted from accurateness and chiaroscuro, which they called the "art of *yin* and *yang*." When a painting draws one into the painting at such a great depth, it is indeed a feeling that the mind is drawn into the painting and wanders therein.

In 1703, the Jesuit Northern Hall church (Bei tang) was built and consecrated. An Italian painter, Giovanni Gherardini, painted the frescos of the interior. There is a description of the paintings in a Jesuit letter. A portion of the letter is as follows:

Le platfond est tout à fait peint. Il est divisé en trois parties: le milieu représente un dôme tout ouvert, d'un riche architecture; ce sont des colonnes de marbre qui portent un rang d'arcades surmonté d'une belle balustrade; les colonnes sont elles-mêmes enchassées dans une autre balustrade de'un beau dessein, avec des vases à fleurs fort bien placés; on voit audessus de Père éternel assis dans les nues sur un group d'Ange, et tenant le monde en sa main.³⁶⁴

The descriptions of the painted dome indicated that the paintings were very similar to the works of Pozzo. Gherardini was born in Modena in 1655 and moved to Bologna where he was a pupil of Angiolo Michele Colonna, known as one of the founders of the Bolognese school of *quadratura*.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Ishida, 104.

³⁶⁴ The letter is from P. Jartoux to J. de Fontaney on Aug. 20, 1704 in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, tome 10 (Nouvelle édition. Lyon: J. Vernarel Libraire, 1819), 3. It is cited in Elisabetta Corsi, "Late Baroque Painting in China Prior to the Arrival of Matteo Ripa: Giovanni Gherardini and the Perspective Painting Called Xianfa," in Michele Fatica & Francesco D'Arelli ed. *La missione cattolica in China tra I secoli XVIII-XIX, Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi*, proceedings of the International Colloquium (Collana "Matteo Ripa" XVI) (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1999), 107.

³⁶⁵ Crosi, 109.

The perspectives painted by the Jesuits had been displayed sporadically throughout the Garden of Round Brightness. They were called “depth paintings” (*shenyuan hua* 深远画) which recalled Guo Xi’s concept of distance and indicated an identification of perspective with depth. On the fifteenth day of the first moon of the fourth year of the Yongzheng reign (1726), Castiglione was asked to create six “depth paintings” for the All-Season Hall. On the third day of the sixth moon, he presented a sample work to the emperor. After reviewing it, the emperor answered: “This work is very excellent, but the building in the background is too high to climb and the depth of the picture is too shallow. Please make another sample work in accordance with the depth of the Three-Bay Room.” The Chinese had multiple names for depth or perspective paintings. One name is the “moving-through-*jing* painting” (*tongjing hua* 通景画) indicating an identification with the effect of foreshortening. Another is “looking-through painting” (*touhua* 透画), similar to Dürer’s concept of *Durchsehung*.³⁶⁶ Some of these names certainly existed before the advent of perspective paintings. Zhu Neng’s 朱能 garden in Beijing during the Ming dynasty had been named Garden of Moving-through-Jing (Tongjing yuan 通景园), for instance.³⁶⁷ That an existing Chinese term was used for naming Western perspective paintings may help us to understand how the Chinese were impressed by the perspectival view.

On Castiglione’s painting quality, a Chinese scholar of the Qing dynasty commented:

Lang Shining [Castiglione], a Westerner, is good at paintings of feathers and flowers. He uses the Western method [*xiyang fa* 西洋法]... A poem written by the emperor [Qianlong] for Lang’s painting of a tribute horse says: “Convex and concave the painting method, it circulates from the West.”

³⁶⁶ “Neiwufu zaobanchu ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang” (hereafter, “Neiwufu”) (Archives of each built project by the Construction Department of the Imperial Household Ministry), in *Yuanming yuan: Qingdai dang’an shiliao*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’an’guan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 2: archives 23, 330, 227.

³⁶⁷ Liu Dong (Ming dyn.), “Chengguo gong yuan,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi ed. & anno., *Zhongguo lidai minyuan xuanzhu* (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983), 249. But in Liu Dong’s *Dijing jingwu lue*, the garden is named Shijing Yuan 适景园 rather than Tongjing Yuan 通景园 (See Liu Dong et al [Ming dyn.], *Dijing jingwu lue*, anno. Sun Xiaoli [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001], 84).

Lang has his own Western painting tools and his painting method has no bone... His portrait is better than any other. His paintings are based on the Western method and fused with the Chinese method. His flower paintings look vivid and real and are not what a mediocre painter produces with tools... In 1740 he made an album of twelve portraits with the Western method for Emperor Qianlong.³⁶⁸

The phrase “his painting method has no bone” meant that Castiglione did not depend on contour lines, which were called “bone” in Chinese painting theories. With rather subtle color rendering, which was called “flesh” in painting theories, he created volumetric images. Although Castiglione applied the “Western method,” his paintings looked “vivid” and “real,” which were highly appreciated aspects in Chinese paintings.

No records have been found about the relationship between Castiglione’s paintings in China and his religious intentions, but some traces exist. Castiglione had once tried to publish a book of the engravings he created while in China. In a letter asking for funds from the Society of Jesus, he emphasized that it would be a great comfort if only two Jesuit brothers were to be involved in this little undertaking so that laymen of Europe would note that the Jesuits in China “dedicated all their time to the glory of God.”³⁶⁹

Castiglione certainly used his specially developed painting method, the so-called “flesh without bones,” to accommodate himself to the Chinese imperial context. He was one of the Jesuit painters who were experts at painting portraits, which was an important type of painting in the imperial court. The Jesuits applied perspective to this field in order to create the “life-like” representation of the imperial face. According to the records of the Qing court painters, no one could paint as real a

³⁶⁸ Hu Jin (Qing dyn.), *Guochao yuanyuan lu* (1816), in *Xuxin siku quanshu*: v. 1082 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 40.

³⁶⁹ Giuseppe Castiglione, “A Letter Dated Peking, 14 November 1729,” in Michel & Cécile Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors*, trans. Michael Bullock (Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1971), 154.

portrait as Castiglione did.³⁷⁰ In the colophon of the colored painting (Fig. 59), Welcoming the Arrival of Spring, by Castiglione, Qianlong wrote:

Shining [Castiglione], who is good at portraiture, painted so well my look when I was a teenager. But now, being an elder full of white hairs, when I enter the room and look at this painting, I cannot even recognize the painted young man.

Noting that the emperor called Castiglione by his Chinese given name, we can sense their close relationship. The garden setting on the front is combined with a perspectival background. The figures and bamboo trees correspond to the central axis of perspective. More significant are the lifelike effects of the rock, bamboo, ground and human bodies.

Every imperial portrait had to be painted in full face, which required a frontal posture, and the eyes had to be looking straight at the spectator, because the full face was supposed to be brightest (Fig. 58). When Jesuit painters painted a side face that cast shadows, like the Renaissance three-quarter position, the emperor rejected it and insisted on the frontal view, showing the face of perfect brightness. The emperor's preference for frontal portrait was perceived by Attiret:

In fact, the Chinese taste prefers the frontal-face portrait to the side view in Europe. It is required that the similar parts of a face appear equally in the portrait, and that there be no other difference than those introduced by shadows according to the light source. So, the portrait has always to look at the spectator. It therefore means that it is more difficult [for us] here [in China] than elsewhere to succeed in this kind of painting.³⁷¹

In an illustration of portrait positions of the Ming dynasty (Fig. 52), ten positions were classified according to the amount of face that appeared in the portrait. For example, the position of the full frontal face was called "ten-degree image" (*shifen xiang* 十分像). The Chinese term "ten-degree" also means "very," and the Chinese

³⁷⁰ Hu Jing, 40.

³⁷¹ Jean Denis Attiret, "Lettre du frère Attiret à M. Papillon d'Assaut, Pekin, 1 Nov. 1743," in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, nouvelle édition, tome 12 (Lyon: J. Vernareil Libraire, 1819), 400.

term “image” has the meaning of “resemblance.” Thus, the “ten-degree image” implies “very resembling.” In other words, the frontal face is the most “real” face.

Although the use of shadows in portrait paintings was a typical technique for Jesuit painters, the Chinese considered shadows on the face as inauspicious. The Chinese dislike of shadows yet their wonder at them in a portrait painting was observed by Staunton, who was the secretary of the first British ambassador to China. When several portraits by the Jesuits were exhibited in the Garden of Round Brightness, the Chinese questioned the variety of shades and asked whether the right and left sides of the original face had different colors. They considered the shadow of the nose as a great imperfection in the pictures and supposed it had been placed there by accident.³⁷² The portrait of the imperial face not only had to look perfectly bright but also had to appear in its best time. According to the imperial archives, the portrait painter in the court had to “observe the imperial face frequently” to form its perfect image in the mind. So, when an emperor became aged, a painter would “take the utmost care to paint the imperial face according to his memory.”³⁷³

The overlapping of the two kinds of frontal faces, the imperial face and the frontal face of Jesuit perspective, was best represented by a portrait of Prince Hongyan (Fig. 69), Qianlong’s younger brother. The prince sat in an armchair in front of a painting screen that depicted a Western portal. The screen in central perspective echoed his frontal posture, and his head rested exactly at the focal point. The central board of the portal was depicted in central perspective as an illusionary *jing* of a distant landscape. It is interesting to note that the painting was cut off from the original paper and remounted on another piece of paper.³⁷⁴ The thickness of the cut edge of the portal reinforces the perspective effect and paradoxically the artificiality of line-method.

³⁷² George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of An Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1797), 307.

³⁷³ Kun Gang et al (Qing dyn.), *Qinding da Qing huidian*: v. 24 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1976), 18872.

³⁷⁴ I thank Dr. Stephen Allee of Freer Gallery (Washington, DC) for pointing out this detail to me.

Jesuit perspective has a close relationship with the technique of copperplate engraving. In 1688, the French Jesuits presented to Kangxi twenty engravings of “trois Fêtes de Versailles” and thirteen “Vues de Villes et de Maisons royales” engraved by Sylvestre.³⁷⁵ These engravings of Versailles most likely influenced the emperor’s understanding of French royal gardens. The earliest copperplates made in China were the thirty-six *jing* of the imperial retreat garden, Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness, in Chengde. These copperplates were engraved by Matteo Ripa in 1713. At the same time, thirty-six woodcuts of the same *jing* were created by Chinese artists and Emperor Kangxi wrote a poem for each of the thirty-six *jing*. It is interesting to note that both the copperplates and woodcuts were paired with the same poems by the emperor, which showed his great interest in the differences of the landscape representation. Ripa gave a detailed account about his experience of making the copperplates of the *jing* of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness garden:

As subjects on [copper] plates thus prepared present a very handsome appearance, the emperor [Kangxi] drew a landscape, in order that I might afterwards engrave it. As soon as it was done it was shown, together with the original, to his Majesty, who expressed considerable delight and surprise at finding the copy so perfectly similar to the original without this being impaired; for this was the first time that he had seen an engraving on copper.³⁷⁶

The emperor was very impressed by the precise, detailed, and real-life effects of the copperplates, because such a real-life effect had never been reached in the history of Chinese painting. Ripa confirmed that his copperplates were engraved based on the paintings created by the Chinese painters.³⁷⁷ However, Ripa’s copperplates give no clear sign of linear perspective, since they were engraved after the bird’s-eye-view paintings, taken from a great distance.

³⁷⁵ Antoine Durand, “Restitution des Palais Européens du Yuanmingyuan,” *Arts Asiatique* 43 (1988): 133.

³⁷⁶ Matteo Ripa, *Memories of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years’ Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China* (London: John Murray, 1846), 66.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

In 1765 the Jesuit painters made a set of sixteen drawings depicting the victory of the Qing government regarding the war in the northwestern frontier. The first four drawings were sent to Paris in 1765 for the purpose of making copperplates and the rest were sent the following year. The first drawing was drawn by Attiret; second, Damascenus; third, Castiglione; fourth, anonymous; fifth, Castiglione; sixth, Damascenus; seventh, Damascenus; eighth, Sichelbarth; ninth, anonymous; tenth, anonymous; eleventh, Damascenus; twelfth and thirteenth, anonymous; fourteenth and fifteenth, Attiret; sixteenth, anonymous.³⁷⁸ Comparing these drawings, it is obvious that Damascenus' drawing skill was not equal to his Jesuit colleagues. In the second drawing, by Damascenus, all the figures appeared to have the same smiling face, even though they were depicted in the cruel battlefield. In the sixth and seventh, also by him, almost every figure, no matter whether a victor or loser, kept the same smiling face. In the eighth, by Sichelbarth, the complexions of victors and losers were depicted differently. In the third, by Castiglione, and the fifth, by Attiret, each figure had a different bearing and posture.

³⁷⁸ According to the set of copperplate engravings, entitled "Suite des Seize Estampes représentant les Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine," drawn by Giuseppe Castiglione and other Jesuit painters serving in the court. A copy is in the Getty Research Center.

3.3 Line-Method³⁷⁹

The golden age of the Jesuit mission in China was during the Kangxi reign with the climax being the building of the French Jesuit church, Northern Hall (Bei tang, Catholic name: The Holy Savior, ca. 1700). The emperor permitted the church to be located within the Imperial City (Huang cheng). The property contained a library, an observatory, as well as the church. There was an inscription board which read: True Origin of All Things (Wanyou zhenyuan 万有真原), penned by the emperor and embedded in the wall over the main gate of the church. The inscription expressed Emperor Kangxi's attitude towards the Western religion, i.e., he wished the religion would help reveal the truth of the world.

At the same time, the search for truth in the world was also undertaken in the West. The German philosopher, Gottfried Leibniz, wrote the famous preface for his book *Novissima Sinica* (1697). He had a close relationship with Jesuits, especially the Jesuit mission in China, with his first reference to Chinese thought in a letter, dated 1670, to the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher. In 1689, Leibniz met Glandio Grimaldi, a Jesuit serving in the court of Beijing for seventeen years. At that time, the Jesuits held two different views in their understanding of Chinese philosophy. The Jesuit leader of the Chinese mission, Ricci, took the accommodationist position: excoriating popular Buddhism and Daoism, but cultivating the Confucian literati; yet his successor, Nicholas Longobardi, considered the ancient Chinese as materialists devoid of any spiritual thoughts. Longobardi's observation was probably correct in that the Chinese thought was really *of* the world and not as transcendental as Western metaphysics. However, Ricci attempted to find a common ground to draw the Chinese view close to Christianity.

In the preface of his book, both Jesuit views were referred to by Leibniz in his exposition of geometry. He first took Longobardi's side by expressing his pride in Western metaphysics and the understanding of concepts abstracted from the

³⁷⁹ Part of this section was published in my article: "Jesuit Perspective in China," *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 31.2 (Dez 2001).

material world. At the same time, he described Chinese philosophy as remaining content with a sort of “empirical geometry.” The Leibniz position that geometry was an expression of metaphysics was extended further by his claim that geometry ought not to be regarded as the sphere of workmen but as that of philosophers, because through demonstrations of geometry the nature of eternal truth had been perceived. For Leibniz, the only way to educate individuals in the mysteries of sciences was through geometry. He described geometry as “one of the eyes” of the Europeans yet emphasized that “we have still another eye,” know as First Philosophy, through which an understanding of incorporeal things was admitted.³⁸⁰ Thus, God and geometry, as two eyes, were inherently related. Furthermore, the strength of geometry lay in teaching people how to reason, and this strength, according to Leibniz, had been tasted by the Chinese emperor.³⁸¹

However, in another article in the same book, Leibniz shifted to the Ricci side by defending the idea that there was indeed something in Chinese thought that corresponded with Western metaphysics. His discussion focused on the Chinese concept *li* 理. Based on his correspondence with the Jesuits, he first expounded that the *li* was “the primary matter as the substance of things” and the *qi* was “the primitive ether as the proximate matter.”³⁸² From the *li* emanated justice, wisdom and the other virtues; from the unity of *li* and *qi* originated the five elements (gold, wood, water, fire and earth) and physical forms. But Leibniz immediately pointed out that, because the *li* could be united with the *qi*, Chinese spirits (e.g., heaven or the spirit of mountains and rivers) were composed of the same substance as physical things and had a beginning and end along with the world.³⁸³

In his third article, Leibniz asked if *li* could be equated with prime matter in Western philosophy, with his analysis originating from geometry. Since the Chinese called

³⁸⁰ First Philosophy is the philosophy on the existence of God. See René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, trans. Donald A. Cress (1641; Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1993).

³⁸¹ Gottfried W. Leibniz, “Preface to the *Novissima Sinica*,” *Writings on China*, trans. & intro. Daniel J. Cook & Henry Rosement, Jr. (Chicago: Open Court, 1994), 50-53.

³⁸² According to *Zhongwen dacidian* (Taipei: Zhonghua xueshuyuan, 1982), *li* means in history “rule (zhi),” “principle (fa),” “Dao,” etc.

³⁸³ Leibniz, “Remarks on Chinese Rites and Religions,” in *Writings on China*, 68.

their *li* a circle,³⁸⁴ Leibniz believed that it coincided with the Western way of speaking of God as being a sphere whose center was everywhere and whose circumference was nowhere. He criticized Longobardi for simply treating the *li* as the Scholastic notion of prime matter— a passive power, and asserted that the *li* was closer to Spinoza's active principle of prime matter— creature as modes of God. By citing the representative of Neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi's 朱熹 thought,³⁸⁵ Leibniz interpreted the *li* as the quintessence and the very life of things and inferred that if the *li* could not be equated with the prime matter of Western philosophy, it should have been conceived as the "prime form."³⁸⁶

In his Chinese book *Tianzhu shiyi* (The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven), Matteo Ricci stated:

A foolish man thinks that what is invisible must not exist. This is as a blind man cannot see the sky and therefore does not believe the existence of sun.... The Dao of Heaven [*tianzhu* 天主] exists in human heart.... The Heaven's Providence has no form, but it is like a Great Eye that sees everything.³⁸⁷

The Great Eye is the God's eye, which is the origin of all things. Ricci continued,

An intelligent man does not need to believe in the existence of reason [*li* 理] based on what he sees physically. The appearance of reason is truer than flesh eyes. The senses of ear and eye frequently make mistakes, but the being of reason must be faultless.³⁸⁸

Ricci compared the Dao of Heaven, God's eye, to the *li* of Confucian thought. The *li* was invisible but truthful, perfect, and existing.

Based on the understanding of the *li* as the prime form, Leibniz connected geometry with Chinese philosophy. On the one hand, the *li* was taken as the invisible law of

³⁸⁴ He was implying the circle of the *taiji* diagram that included *yin* and *yang*.

³⁸⁵ Zhu Xi (Northern Song)'s basic thought is about the *li* as formless law and principle, and the *qi* as formed material force.

³⁸⁶ Leibniz, "Discourse on the National Theology of the Chinese," in *Writings on China*, 82-133.

³⁸⁷ Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven: T'ien-chu shih-I*, English-Chinese version, trans. Douglas Lancashire & Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Taipei: Institute Ricci, 1985), 60.

³⁸⁸ Ricci, 322.

the world; on the other hand, it was supposed to be composed of the same substance as physical things. Such an ambivalent identity does not fall into the dualism of subjective vs. objective but rather fits into the demonstration of geometry which revealed eternal truth. This finding provides a clue to understand the rooting of Jesuit perspective in China.

Chinese scholar and official Xu Guangqi 徐光启 (1562-1633, Christian name Paul) of the late Ming dynasty and Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610, Chinese name Li Madou 利玛窦) translated the first six volumes of Euclid's *Elements* into Chinese and published the translation, entitled *Jihe yuanben* (Origin of geometry), in 1607.³⁸⁹ The translation was based on Christopher Clavius' Latin version (Rome, 1574).³⁹⁰ Ricci was a member of Clavius' Academy of Mathematics at the Collegio Romano. Another Jesuit Giulio Aleni, Clavius' disciple at the Academy, and Qu Shigu published *Jihe yaofa* (Principles of geometry) in 1631, which emphasized the necessity of a metal pen to draw geometry accurately. Details such as this exemplify the nuances between Ricci and Aleni's understandings of geometry: Ricci seemed to present geometry as self-sufficient and divorced from the material world.³⁹¹ At the same time, in Ricci's preface of *Jihe yuanben*, there still remained a strong connection between geometry and the material world.

Both Xu and Ricci prefaced this book. Xu wrote:

The origin of geometry is the beginning of degrees and numbers. It can thoroughly express the emotion [*qing* 情] of rectangular, round, level and straight things, and function as the rule and principle. Mr. Li [Ricci] has studied geometry since he was a teenager. In the West, geometry is taught by

³⁸⁹ Li Shanlan of late Qing dynasty and a Briton, Alexander Wylie, translated the remaining nine volumes and published the translation in 1857. The first complete translation of *Elements* was published in 1865.

³⁹⁰ Several versions of this book were stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Hui Zou, "The *jing* of a perspective garden," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22.4 [Oct-Dec 2002]: 317-320).

³⁹¹ Catherine Jami, "From Clavius to Pardies: The Geometry Transmitted to China by Jesuits (1607-1723)," in Federico Masini ed., *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII-XVIII centuries)*, proceedings of the Conference held in Rome (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. J., 1996), 192.

a teacher to his disciple. Li's teacher, Mr. Ding 丁 [Clavius' Chinese name], is an unrivaled master... His theory is extremely incisive... If this book was not translated, all the other [Western] books could not be understood. We therefore translate the first six volumes... [Geometry] is the foundation of all uses and can be called the form [*xing* 形] of all images [*xiang* 象]... Mr. Ding's knowledge can be categorized into three types: the big one is for self-cultivation and serving heaven; the small one is for understanding things [*wuli* 物理]; a special part of this understanding is measures of images [*xiangshu* 象数]... I start from the small one in order to make his knowledge easily convincing.³⁹²

Ricci prefaced:

Confucianism always seeks thorough knowledge, which should start from understanding things... Our Western countries are small, but the methods of understanding things developed in their schools is unique... Those scholars esteem only reason [*li*] and do not follow human will... In this way, the obtained knowledge is deep and stable. Geometry is especially so. Geometers observe the division and limitation of things. If the division is calculated in numbers, the quantity of the thing becomes clear. If the division is measured in degrees, the size of the thing is known... Geometry can measure the heights of mountains and storied buildings, the depths of valleys, the distance between two places, the extensions of fields and cities... It can survey the scenery [*jing* 景] to know seasons, day and night, sunrise and sunset, and the orientation of heaven and earth... It can be used for making machines to observe heaven and earth, administrate the country, perform music, announce time for daily life, and offer a sacrifice to God. It can be used for hydraulic and civil engineering, cities and building construction... not only for beauty but also for stability and durability... Some of its uses are to survey topography, distance, symmetry

³⁹² Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi (Ming dyn.), *Jihe yuanben* (1607), in Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo kexuejishu dianji tonglu: shuxue juan: juan 5* (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), 1151.

and height. According to the shape of an object, its solid volume can be drawn on a plane. The size and real form of a distant object can be measured. Though the picture is small, the depicted object appears big; though the picture is quite near, the depicted scene looks distant. If a circle is drawn, it looks like a real ball. The portrait has its depth and the painted room has its brightness and darkness... Administering the country requires being familiar with its borders, the distances to other countries and the area of the land so that bilateral friendship is available... A brave general must first know geometry; otherwise, his bravery is useless... The term "origin" [*yuanben*] means we must know why and what geometry is... Geometry originated in our West. Hundreds of scholars have written books on it, but all of them are based on Euclid... Today, there emerges a well-known scholar, Mr. Ding [Clavius], who is my teacher of geometry... Since I came to China, I have met some scholars who study geometry, but their theories are usually not original... I therefore translate this book for these gentlemen... Mr. Xu asked me to translate orally and he himself wrote down these translations. We did it again and again to catch the original meaning of the book... The first six volumes were finished this spring... Mr. Xu intended to finish the whole book, but I suggested we stop here and publish the finished part as soon as possible for serving our colleagues.³⁹³

Like Leibniz, Ricci attempted to connect geometry with the *li* of Neo-Confucianism. For both Ricci and Xu, the starting point towards the *li* was to understand things (事物). In their prefaces, Ricci explicated how to measure things, while Xu suggested that the understanding of things could lead to emotion. Although within the same book, the focuses of these two prefaces are quite different. Xu emphasized the importance of the original and used terms such as "beginning," "rule," "foundation," and "form" to explicate it, while Ricci accentuated the use of this origin, such as measuring topography, surveying scenes, astronomical observation, painting, administration, and military activity. It is worth noting that when Ricci mentioned

³⁹³ Ibid, 1151-1154.

painting, he seemed to highlight how perspective could be used freely to create desired images. His exposition echoed the seventeenth century interest in perspective and had nothing to do with Euclidean geometry itself.

The final sentence of Ricci's preface showed he had a close relationship with Chinese scholars and his books enjoyed a wide readership. Before going to Beijing, he lived in the Jiangnan area which typically included the cities Nanjing, Suzhou, and Zhenjiang, which were well known as the gathering places of literati. In his communication with Chinese scholars, Ricci observed that "here in China, literary studies are cultivated to such an extent that there are very few people who are not interested in them to some degree. Their religious doctrine is promulgated by written books, rather than by the spoken word."³⁹⁴ With such a wide readership, Ricci's translation of Euclid was influential. It was reprinted in 1611, published repeatedly during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and was ultimately included in the Qing imperial encyclopedia, *Siku quanshu* (Complete works of the four libraries), with one complete copy being stored at the Multistoried-Pavilion of Literary Origin (Wenyuan ge) in the Garden of Round Brightness.³⁹⁵

On Li Madou's (Ricci) tomb in Beijing, Liu Dong 刘洞 (Ming dynasty) recorded:

In 1610, Li Madou died and was buried respectfully west of the Jiaying Tower, which was two *li* outside the Fucheng Gate. The tombstone is different from the Chinese one. Its body is rectangular but its head is round... Behind the tombstone there is a hall with six corners... The four corners of the surrounding wall are all stones. On the left side is the tomb of his friend, Deng Yuhan 邓玉涵 [Joannes Terrenz], who was good at the

³⁹⁴ Matteo Ricci, comp. Nicolas Trigault (S. J.), *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*, trans. Louis J. Gallagher (New York: Random House, 1953), 446. I have noticed Jonathan Spence's question about the reliability of the Trigault version of Ricci's "Historia;" however, most "Ricci's" observations in this book, like the cited one here, are no less than precise descriptions about China.

³⁹⁵ The Multistoried-Pavilion of Literary Origin is located north of the twenty-second *jing*, Clear Water and Rustling Tress, and east of the twenty-third *jing*, Lian Xi's Wonderful Place for Study. There was a clear pool in both the front and the back of the building. The pools acted as a metaphor of the "literary origin" (See Yu Minzhong et al [Qing dyn.] ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. [Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985], 3: 1360).

medicine in his country [Switzerland]... and died in 1630. According to the thoughts of Western guests, they keep distance from our Daoism and Buddhism but are close to Confucianism. The Chinese therefore call them Western Confucians. I once discussed with Li Madou's student and found his thoughts were in fact close to Moist [a philosophical school of the Warring States period]... They are good at machinery and military affairs. This matches the Moist tradition.³⁹⁶

The tombs of Ricci and other Jesuits still exist.³⁹⁷ The text demonstrates that the Jesuits announced publicly their preference for Confucian thoughts over Daoism and Buddhism. Importantly, Li also pointed out the similarity between the ideas of Jesuits and ancient Moists, both of whom were good at geometry and machinery.

It has been widely held in scholarship that through Ricci, the Western perspective and chiaroscuro began to have influence in Chinese landscape painting and portrait painting.³⁹⁸ Zeng Jing 曾鲸 and Jiang Shaoshu 姜绍书 were probably two of the scholars who communicated with Ricci. Zeng lived in Nanjing and was a respected portrait painter. Jiang wrote a well-known history book of painting, *Wushengshi shi* (History of silent poetry), about painters of the Ming dynasty, which included Zeng. The author was once the government official Gongbulang of Nanjing. He commented on Zeng's paintings:

His building paintings depict zigzag verandahs and winding rooms, whose postures are natural and majestic and whose portrayal [*xiezhao* 写照] is as real as a mirror image. His portraits look magically real and the color of the face is saturated and moist. Although the making-up [of the figure] is very simple, [its] longing eyes and smile are extremely lifelike [*bizhen* 逼真]... Standing in front of the portrait and meticulously appreciating it, I forget I am a

³⁹⁶ Liu Dong (Ming dyn.), "Li Madou fen," *Dijing jingwu lue*, anno. Sun Xiaoli (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 304.

³⁹⁷ The tomb site is now part of the campus of the Municipal Institute of Chinese Communist Party of Beijing.

³⁹⁸ See James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

beholder. In each portrait, there are so many layers of colors. It must be done with great ingenuity and craftsmanship.³⁹⁹

Jiang did not specify if Zeng's work was influenced by the Western perspective and chiaroscuro, yet there was a brief description in this book on the Western painting brought to China by Li Madou (Ricci). It stated:

Li Madou brought to us a Western portrait of God [*tianzhu* 天主]. In the work, a woman holds a baby. Her complexion and clothes look *as* [my italic, in Chinese, *ru* 如] real as a mirror image. She seems to be walking and her pose is dignified and graceful. Chinese painters cannot make it.⁴⁰⁰

In the eighteenth century, the Chinese term “perspective” was *xianfa* 线法, which literally meant “line-method.” The modern Chinese name “perspective” is *toushi* 透视, which literally means “seeing through,” and this meaning is exactly the same as Dürer's *Durchsehung* (or *per-spect* in Latin). In the history of the Chinese language, *fa* means “Dao of the world,” “making a thing and using it,” “image” (*xian* 象), and “foundation of measuring.”⁴⁰¹ It can be sensed that *fa* as a method did not mean the Cartesian method but rather indicated the principle of engaging the world.

The linguistic structure of the term *xian-fa* gives a sense of co-presence of two things—*xian* and *fa*—whose interaction creates perspective. The *xian* (line) is visible and the *fa*, invisible. The invisibility of the *fa* does not necessarily mean absolutely transcendental and out of the world. The lines of *xianfa* were the interaction between the visible and invisible; lines were put in order and the cosmos was perceived. It is in the *xianfa* that the worldliness of the *fa* became conscious. In this sense, the *xianfa* is neither a mere representation of “the idea of *disegno*” nor an Eastern transplanting of a Western idea. Unlike the modern term *toushi*, the meaning of *xianfa* is not close to the concept of *Durchsehung* or the window theory of

³⁹⁹ Jiang Shaoshu (Ming dyn.), *Wushengshi shi*, 7 juan (Rpt., Changxiu shuwu), juan 4, 15. Juan 1-4 are on the painters from Hongwu to Chongzhen in the early Ming dynasty. Juan 5 is on the female painters. Juans 6 and 7 are on some less known painters and are suspected being not originally from the author.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., juan 7, 19.

⁴⁰¹ According to *Zhongwen da cidian*.

perspectiva artificialis. It was completely a Chinese interpretation of linear perspective based on Chinese cosmology in the early eighteenth century.

The earliest theoretical discussion on the concept of *fa* 法 was from Mozi, the founder of the philosophy school of Moists, of the Warring States period. He wrote:

All human undertakings must have *fa*, without which no undertaking can be achieved. A scholar can be an official because of *fa*; a craftsman can engage in his enterprise because of *fa*. A craftsman uses a square to draw a rectangular form; a compass, a circle; a rope, a straight line; and a pendant, a vertical line. It does not matter if he is skillful or not, he must follow these five [aspects] as the *fa*... Therefore, all craftsmen have the *fa* for each engagement.⁴⁰²

天下从事者，不可以无法义，无法义，而其事能成者无有也。虽至士之为将相者皆有法，虽至百工从事者，亦皆有法。百工为方以矩，为圆以规，直以绳，正以悬。无巧工不巧工，皆以此五者为法……古百工从事，皆有所度。

It is obvious that for Mozi, the *fa* meant general principles that guided human activities rather than a specific method. Based on this understanding, the *fa* of *xianfa*, though translated as “method,” is not equal to the modern English term of “method.”

The term “line-method” (*xianfa*) first appeared in the 1735 reprint of *Shixue* (Study of perception), the first Chinese book on linear perspective. Written by Nian Xiyao 年希尧 (?-1739), the book was first published in 1729 and reprinted in 1735.⁴⁰³ In his prefaces to both editions, Nian mentioned that he received assistance from the Western scholar Mr. Lang Shining 郎世宁 (Castiglione). It is popularly held in

⁴⁰² Mozi (Mo Di), chapter four “Fa yi,” *Mozi*, in *Mozi jinzhu jinyi*, anno. Li Yushu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1997), 17. No published translation of this part is available yet. I co-present my translation with the original Chinese text here.

⁴⁰³ Three original copies of *Shixue* are now respectively in the Research Department of Natural Science History of the Chinese Academy of Science, Beijing Library, and Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. The Paris copy is not complete. A copy of the 1735 edition is now in the Chinese collection of Bodleian Library of Oxford University.

scholarship that *Shixue* was adapted from the Jesuit painter Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (Rome, 1693). Comparing these two books, we find the first twenty-nine drawings in *Shixue* were similar to Pozzo's, but most of the adopted drawings came from the discussion of projection principles and did not include the complicated architectural drawings.

The annotated full translation of the 1729 preface is as follows (for the original Chinese text, see text 9 in appendix 4):

I had paid attention to the study of perception for a long time, thinking hard but unable to understand it well. Later, after talking with the Western scholar Lang [Shining] several times, I began to create a Chinese painting in the Western way. The *fa* of drawing lines from a fixed point [*dingdian* 定点] enables me to catch fully varied appearances of things. Once the position [of the point] is defined, the others will follow swiftly and continuously. Each part is so precisely positioned that it cannot be exchanged with another. The pointed, oblique, level, straight, round and rectangular forms of things are all drawn on paper, but a drawn thing looks suspended in the air and shows its different surfaces simultaneously. As for the effects of the distant skylight, oblique sunlight, flickering candlelight, distance and size, shape and shadow, zigzag and obscurity, they all are as I wish. This might be because they originate from the nature [*xiran*] of things. Touched by my force of eye [*muli* 目力], they appear as clear as in my heart. Then, I realize perception [*shi* 视] is a high study [*xue* 学]. For example, if an object is set in a room and its position is not suitable, it will bring uneasiness when caught in sight and the same happens in a painting. While there have been some painting theories inherited from our ancestors and say: "Looking up, you can draw the flying posture of the bent eaves," also saying: "Looking down, you can see a deep valley."⁴⁰⁴ However, [in such situations,] the force of the eye moves up and down without a stable position. Can such a theory be a high study? On resemblance, the same theory says: "Gazing into the distance, you can see all

⁴⁰⁴ These quotes about painting theories referred to the debate between Li Cheng and Shen Kuo of the Song dynasty (see section 3.1).

oblique things.” However, it is not as practicable and clearly stated as this book, which is illustrated and being sent to my colleagues and diligent scholars. The understanding of the book results from its *li* 理. Based on the *li*, a big thing like a high mountain and an extensive river, a small thing like a lively fish, a flower and a bird, and all the others rooting on the ground or flying or diving can be obtained. It is obvious that truth [*zhen* 真] results from a thorough revealing of subtlety and mystery. Somebody might say such a painting is real [*zhen*] but not wonderful [*miao* 妙].⁴⁰⁵ However, if it is first not real, how could it be wonderful?⁴⁰⁶

Shixue 视学 literally means “high knowledge of perception.” Indicating linear perspective, this Chinese term highlights the inherent relationship between perspective and perception. In other words, *Shixue* teaches us how to see. *Xue* means a school of high knowledge, which has its own system, as a *xue* deserves everyone’s study and respect and not all knowledge can become a *xue*. Some Chinese scholars interpreted *Shixue* as the “method of distance.”⁴⁰⁷ In the context here, *fa* can be understood as a method. However, compared with the Cartesian method, the *fa* as a method is more cosmological and related with the living world. According to his famous discussion on the differences between architectural works by “several persons” and by “a single hand,” for Descartes, the method is absolutely an individual approach to truth.⁴⁰⁸ *Ziran* 自然 is the Chinese term for “nature,” but the two terms cannot be completely equated with each other. Some scholars in the West have drawn attention to the literal meaning of *ziran*, “self-so” or “self-as-such.”⁴⁰⁹ *Ran*, literally “as-such,” indicates a concrete sense of the world. According

⁴⁰⁵ According to the *Zhongwen da cidian*, the *zhen* means “true” and “original,” and the *miao* means “beautiful,” “subtle,” “extremely elegant,” etc.

⁴⁰⁶ Nian Xiyao (Qing dyn.), “*Shixue bianyan*,” *Shixue* (1729), rpt. in Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonglu: shuxue juan*: juan 4 (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), 711-712.

⁴⁰⁷ Tong Jun, “Beijing Changchunyuanyuan xiyang jianzhu,” footnote 29, in Wang Daocheng ed., *Garden of Round Brightness: lishi, xianzhuang, lunzheng*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 1: 284.

⁴⁰⁸ See René Descartes, *Discourse on Method and Meditations*, trans. Laurene J. Lafleur (Indianapolis: The Library of Liberal Arts, 1960), 10.

⁴⁰⁹ See Tu Weiming, “The Continuity of Being: Chinese Vision of Nature,” in *Nature in Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*, ed. J. Baird Callicott & Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 71.

to this Nian's preface, the *fa* of perspective started from a "fixed point," *dingdian* 定点, yet it was not specified whether the fixed point was the actual focal point. The preface connected the principle of perspective with the *li* and pointed out that the significance of the perspectival painting lay in its truthful appearance. Such an understanding of truth was new to Chinese belief system at that time.

The annotated full translation of the 1735 preface is as follows (for the original Chinese text, see text 10 in appendix 4):

The attainment of the high study of perception is endless.⁴¹⁰ How could I claim to have held its quintessence? I have studied it for thirty years. It is not exaggerated that I am a good painter in this country. I can paint skillfully and freely thousands of mountains, [bodies of] water, deep forests and wooded valleys. The expression of my [Chinese] paintings is incisive and vivid, but its appreciation [unfortunately] lies beyond measure and scale. As for buildings and utensils, if you want to depict them precisely without hairbreadth, it cannot be realized perfectly without the Western method. At first, I did a preliminary study with some drawings, yet this is only a small part of the study of perception. Although I have revealed my studies to the public, but my understanding is still shallow. I recently met with Mr. Lang Shining several times, and reviewed the origin of the study of perception with him. The aspects of line-method, such as the projection of light, convergence, slanting, upside-down, and overlooking, all emerge from one point [*yidian* 一点]. But the *li* of one point exists not only in the West but also in China. Among the visible things, the near one looks big while the distant one, small. This is very certain. The Five Mountains [*wuyue* 五岳] are the biggest, but if we look at them in a distance, they look small. The further away they are, the smaller they look, until they shrink to a point. A mustard seed is the smallest. If I put it at a distant place and look straight at it, though it becomes invisible, at the infinity [*jichu* 极处] of the force of the eye, the *li* of one point remains effectual. It is therefore inferred that all things

⁴¹⁰ For the Chinese terms without a footnote in this preface, see the footnotes in the 1729 preface.

can shrink to a point, and one point can produce all things. Because they emerge from one point, this point is called the head-point [*toudian* 头点]. From points emerges a line, and from lines emerges an object. Although one object is different from another, as points from lines, their *li* is the same. Furthermore, one object appears in a size in the distance of five *chi* [a length unit] and appears in another size in the distance of ten *chi*. If [a distance is] intersected by a point, the point is called the distance point [*lidian* 离点]. Once the distance is decided, the *li* cannot be changed. If we draw a room according to this *fa* and arrange everything in order, the beholder might want to walk on the steps, enter the door and stand in the hall but does not realize it is only a painting. If we draw an object and hang the painting— whose surfaces are up and down, level, slant and solid, bright in light and dark in shadows, with clear convex and concave effects— in the air, the beholder must take it as a real thing [*zhenwu* 真物]. When an object becomes convex and concave with *yin* and *yang* and a room becomes deep with mutual compliments, is this not the quintessence of the *fa* of Western painting? It is hard to enumerate all such cases to make the *fa* understood. However, if we remember that the distance is set up by points and lines, the volume emerges from *yin* and *yang*, and the effect of wonderful [*miao* 妙] lies in borrowing sunlight, most varieties of this *fa* will not go beyond these three aspects. I thought very hard, supplemented over fifty drawings, and wrote captions [for those drawings] to make this book useful. The reader himself can explore the origin of this *fa* and become a leader in the study of perception through analyzing the changes of things and extending the movement of points and lines. In terms of such benefits, if in my spare time I could explore further the infinite attainment, ponder its quintessence, and learn from brilliant gentlemen, how great my enjoyment.⁴¹¹

For the first time (1735), the term “line-method” was used. The “fixed point” in the previous preface is now called the “head-point,” located at infinity (Fig. 64). *Tou* in

⁴¹¹ Nian, “[The second preface],” *Shixue* (1735), 713-715.

Chinese means the human head, origin, as well as the first. The head-point in this context holds a double meaning: the point indicates both the eye and the origin of geometrical construction. In Chinese philosophy, the point of infinity is taken as the origin of life, which clearly identifies with Laozi's Daoist thought regarding the origin of the world. Chapter forty-two of *Laozi* says: "Dao produces one [primary *qi*], one produces two [heaven and earth], two produce three [*yin-qi*, *yang-qi* and their mixture], and three produces all things."⁴¹² The statement that "the *li* of one point does not only exist in the West but also in China" provides insight for the understanding of the common ground for the fusion of Jesuit perspective and Chinese cosmology.⁴¹³ In addition, for the first time, objects in the line-method are clearly specified as converging toward the central point, the head-point. Since the head-point is taken as the origin of life, the movement of convergence itself can be understood as a return to truth of the world, the "primary one." The perspectival convergence recalls the Daoist sage Zhuangzi's idea of "condensation of mind" (*ningshen* 凝神), which he explicates as "gaze fixedly and stop [on something]" (*ning'er ji'er* 凝而已而). In the situation of the "condensation of mind," the smallest thing, like the head-point, is coincident with the cosmos.⁴¹⁴ In "primary one," there was no difference between big and small, the world and "I," and at this moment the spirit would ramble freely and happily.

It is interesting to note the comparisons of the illustrations between Nian's *Shixue* and Pozzo's *Perspectiva pictorum et architectoniarum* (1693). Contemporary research notes that there were no illustrations in the first version (1729) of *Shixue*,⁴¹⁵ yet this is not true. In the second "preface" (1735), Nian mentioned that he "supplemented over fifty drawings" to the first version, which indicated that there had already been some illustrations in the first version. Additional research points out that, in the 1735

⁴¹² Laozi (Warring States), *Laozi*, in *Baihua laozhi*, anno. Zhou Shengchun (Xi'an: Sanqing chubanshe, 1990), 69.

⁴¹³ The idea that one point is both cosmically and geometrically generative can be traced back to Proclus (5th cen.) in the Western history (See Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997], 65).

⁴¹⁴ Zhuangzi (Warring States), *Zhuangzi*, in *Zhuangzi jie*, anno. Wang Fuzhi (Qing dyn.) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 7, 8.

⁴¹⁵ Richard M. Swiderski, "The Dragon and the Straightedge, Part Three: Porcelains, Horses, and Ink Stones—The Ends of Acceptance," *Semiotica* 82.3/4 (1990): 230.

version, the over fifty supplemental drawings were numbered and related to the demonstration of the principles of line-method; yet the other drawings were not numbered and were related to the three-dimensional illustrations of building details.⁴¹⁶ The fact that the three-dimensional architectural drawings were published in the first version of Nian's book demonstrates his idea that the Chinese audience might be receptive in accepting such illustrations, because they appeared close to reality.

If we compare the three-dimensional architectural drawings in Nian's and Pozzo's books, we will find that Pozzo's drawings were more detailed and complicated. A Chinese researcher attributes this difference to the less developed technique of copperplate engraving in China,⁴¹⁷ yet this is only part of the picture. One of Nian's unnumbered architectural illustrations was the view of a dome ceiling perceived by a spectator who was standing on the ground and looking upward (Fig. 65). Regarding this drawing, Nian wrote:

If drawing the ceiling according to this method [*fa*], when you look up at the ceiling, the square and circle fit appropriately; the stone columns suspend in the air; the window mullions interweave with each other. It looks like a multistoried building standing steadily above. In the openings, you seem to peep at the blue sky and see the stars. Only when the drawing skill reaches such a level can we understand the Western method [*taixi zhi fa* 泰西之法], which requires detailed research and careful scrutiny. Does the spirit not appear in this drawing [*shen hu qi shen* 神乎其神]? How can it be only for the stroll of eyes?⁴¹⁸

For the author, the view of line-method not only appeared real but could also draw the spectator's mind into the spiritual stroll, which echoed with the Daoist idea. Another interesting aspect in these illustrations is the instruction of drawing shadows where the author simply called the point of light-source the "light" (*guang* 光),⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁶ Ren Jiyu, 710.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Nian, 813.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 855.

which identified with the “head point” of line-method. Did this, in his mind, hint at the inherent relationship between the focal point, the origin of the world and the brightness of the cosmos?

When the Jesuits introduced linear perspective to the Chinese and transformed it into line-method, the two-point perspective had already been well developed in Europe. As Nian’s book demonstrated, one possible motive for the selection of central perspective was that the line-method connected the Jesuits’ religious metaphysics with Chinese cosmology. For the Chinese, the head-point was related to the origin of the world in the Daoist sense; for the Jesuits, the single focal point was the incarnation of “God’s eye.”

The influence of line-method to the Chinese culture first took place through landscape paintings. In the Ming dynasty, there were already some paintings which consciously applied the technique of Western perspective. In this respect, the foreshortening effect and the “pursuit of descriptive naturalism” in Zhang Hong’s 张宏 paintings as well as the chiaroscuro stippling of brushwork in Gong Xian’s 龚贤 paintings were two very fine examples.⁴²⁰ A major influence of line-method on Chinese garden representation was building delineation. Buildings occupied a prominent place in the garden and landscape paintings by the Qing painter Yuan Jiang 袁江, who once served in the Yongzheng court and had a chance to work with Jesuit painters.⁴²¹ Although his building delineation was extremely detailed and obviously took a great deal of timely effort, the oblique lines in his paintings still remained parallel without converging towards a focal point.

The representation of Qing imperial gardens underwent many changes as a result of Jesuit influences. An example of this change was in the forty paintings for the Forty Jing where, with rich shades, the mountains began to appear more solid and

⁴²⁰ Cahill, 13, 169.

⁴²¹ Yuan Jiang is recorded in Li Dou (Qing dyn.), *Yangzhou huafang lu*, Qingdai shiliao biji congkan (1796. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 41.

voluminous. In similar fashion, paintings of the Forty Jing began to be more precise by being more detailed than ever before. Compared to traditional garden representation, these paintings were a true depiction of the garden and also helped to explain the poetry on the same garden. Tang Dai, one of the two Chinese painters of the Forty Jing, was honored by the emperor with the title of Best Painter. One of his painting theories clearly stated “a distant mountain appears low; a close one, high.”⁴²² This observation, as his paintings of the Forty Jing demonstrated, ambiguously hinted at the horizon of the land, which had not yet been clearly recognized, or was hidden behind either mountains or clouds in traditional Chinese landscape painting. The oblique lines delineating the buildings in the forty paintings did not remain strictly parallel and appeared to converge towards a focal point, which, however, was located beyond the up-right corner of the painting and was not directly visible. Due to the bird’s-eye view, the foreshortening effect in the paintings of the Forty Jing is not very apparent. A well-developed perspective effect was presented in other imperial garden paintings, for example, in Leng Mei’s 冷枚 paintings of court ladies, as he usually put the figure in a garden setting wherein buildings, rocks and plants were composed with the horizon at the eye level and depicted in extreme details.

Because of the influence from the traditional oblique projection of lines in Chinese landscape painting, the line-method, namely the Jesuit central perspective, was not extensively applied to Qing imperial-garden representation until the birth of the twenty copperplates of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. Like Jesuit perspective, line-method had a close relationship with the technique of copperplate engraving. These twenty copperplates were drawn by the Chinese painter Yi Lantai 伊兰泰, who often worked with the Jesuits, and were engraved in 1786, just after the completion of the garden. According to an imperial archive, on the first day of the

⁴²² Tang Dai (Qing dyn.), “Huishhi fawei,” in Shen Zicheng ed., *Lidai lunhua mingzhu lubian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 407.

fourth moon of the fifty-first year of the Qianlong reign (1786), the twenty copperplates and their first one hundred prints were exhibited at the Zhai Palace.⁴²³

The titles of the copperplates indicated that, for the Chinese eye, the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was in fact a garden created through line-method.⁴²⁴ Examples of this include copperplate one (Fig. 22), where the left bridge is called the Bridge of Line-Method; copperplate eighteen (Fig. 39), where the hill is entitled Hill of Line-Method; and copperplate twenty (Fig. 41), where the open-air stage set is entitled Walls of Line-Method. Before the emperor officially named the buildings of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, they were temporarily called Buildings of Line-Method.

Since all twenty copperplates were composed in line-method by a Chinese draftsman, an analysis of perspective distortions in these engravings will be an effectual way to understand how the garden of line-method was actually perceived in the Chinese mind. In copperplate twelve (Fig. 33), for example, there is a pair of stairways descending from a roof to the ground. The focal point of this line-method drawing is located on the ground door with the horizon at eye level. A prominent perspective distortion is the orthographic sections of the balustrades, which should converge towards the focal point and be hidden behind the front horizontal sections. The draftsman did not appear to be clear about (or unconsciously did not strictly follow) the rule that all parallel lines should converge towards the same focal point. Although such a distortion can be judged as a perspective “defect,” it vividly demonstrates the motion of the Chinese painter’s mind when he exerted himself to converge his zigzag “force of the eye” towards the central focal point. The same problem of the focal point exists in the other copperplates where the painter was able to follow the focal point within a part of the picture but could not do so for the entire picture, usually resulting in more than two focal points on the central axis.

⁴²³ “Neiwufu,” archive 820.

⁴²⁴ For a reprint of the twenty copperplates in the original size, see *Palais, pavillons et jardins construits par Giuseppe Castiglione: dans le domaine impérial du Yuan Ming Yuan au Palais d’Été de Pékin: 20 planches gravées, de 1783 à 1786* (Paris: Jardin de Flore, 1977). A copy is in the Dumbarton Oaks collection.

END OF CHAPTER-THREE FOOTNOTES.

Although the twenty copperplates were the best known application of line-method in Qing imperial-garden representations, the perspective distortions in these copperplates demonstrate the experimentality of line-method in the garden design of the time.

CHAPTER FOUR THE MOUNTAIN AND WATER OF LINE-METHOD

The traditional Chinese term of “landscape” is *shanshui*, which literally means “mountains and waters.” The Garden of Round Brightness was a magnificent “garden of mountains and waters” (*shanshui yuan*) for its extensively artificially made landscapes. The emperor’s vision of round brightness was embodied by the multiple *jing* where his mind was brightened while his body meandered in the garden. The zigzag route of the Forty Jing was a route along which the metaphysical brightness diffused within the garden enclosure. Once he strolled to the northeastern corner, the most remote corner of the garden compound, the winding path suddenly changed into the straight path in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. How did the brightness in his mind diffuse along the straight path, and how did the multiple *jing* in this exotic straight-lined garden frame the metaphysical brightness?

4.1 Path

Father Ferdinand-Bonaventure Moggi (Chinese name, Li Boming 李波明) had a good knowledge of architecture. Imitating the altar of the St. Ignazio in Rome, he designed the high altar of the Jesuit church Eastern Hall (Dong tang) whose dome fresco was painted by Castiglione in the Pozzo style. According to a research, in 1747, Qianlong requested that the painter Castiglione, rather than Moggi, an accomplished architect, design the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden.⁴²⁵ This followed the Chinese tradition that gardens were usually designed by painters. As a painter rather than an architect, Castiglione had a good working knowledge of perspective and played a key role in transforming Jesuit perspective into Chinese line-method.

The application of line-method in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden can first be observed by the contrast between its rigid geometrical plan and the

⁴²⁵ Alexander Schulz, *His Yang Lou: Untersuchungen zu den “Europäische Bauten” des Kaiser Chien-lung* (Isny: Schmidt Schulz oHG, 1966), 22.

meandering plan of the Chinese portion. This contrasting pattern, as the garden name “Round” Brightness and the lake name “Square” River in the European portion imply, can be characterized as the fundamental difference between a circle and a square. In the ancient astronomy and mathematics book *Zhoubi suanjing* (1st cen.), it had been proposed:

The images of all things do not go beyond circle and square... As for [the relationship between] circle and square, the former appears though the latter, because the latter is finite and easy to measure, while the former is infinite and hard to fathom... Therefore, we approach circle through square, infinity through finiteness... If a polygon approaches towards the border of a circle [by multiplying infinitely its edges], both will finally come to one, and the circle is formed. Therefore, circle appears through square... Square belongs to earth; and circle, heaven. [Hence,] heaven is round and earth is square.⁴²⁶

万物之象不出园方... 以园方而论，则园出于方。盖方易度，而园难测... 故推园者，以方度之，以有尽而度无尽也... 多边形以切近园界，将合而为一，而园周始得。故曰园出于方也... 方属地，园属天，天园地方。

It is reasonable to speculate that the square forms of the European portion might be a unique way for the emperor to “measure” his desired perfect brightness. As stated in his record of the Garden of Round Brightness, Qianlong expressed his desire of “encircle the cosmos and things into the round brightness.”⁴²⁷ To encircle the diffusing brightness, it was necessary to measure the garden borders of which the European portion was the most remote.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ *Zhoubi suanjing*, in *Zhoubi jingjie*, in Wang Yunwu ed., *Siku quanshu zhenben congshu*: part 11: v. 115 (Taiwan: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), 13, 19.

⁴²⁷ Refer to my annotated full translation of Emperor Qianlong’s “Later Record of the Garden of Round Brightness” in section 1.1.

⁴²⁸ The attempt of preserving full brightness in one’s mind through seeking the remotest garden scenery can be related to the Daoist sage Laozi’s idea that “Whoever knows his brightness veils himself in his darkness.” The original sentence is in chapter 28 of *Laotzi*. Interestingly enough, this sentence was cited by the German philosopher Martin Heidegger in his essay “Grundsätze des Denkens” (1958) (See Reinhard May, *Heidegger’s Hidden Sources: East Asian Influences on His Work*, trans. Graham Parkes [London: Routledge, 1996], 3). Such a seemingly paradoxical Daoist idea regarding brightness and darkness is quite close to Heidegger’s concept of Dasein.

The earliest general plan ever known regarding the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was from the Lei-family collection of construction drawings. The Lei family served the Qing court for several generations as the major building contractor, and their works included both the Garden of Round Brightness and the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. In this collection, there is a general plan and several drawings of multiple *jing* within the garden.⁴²⁹ Although the Lei collection, located in the National Library of Beijing, was not open to the public during my visit (autumn 2002), we can get a glimpse of some of the drawings in a special issue on the European portion in the journal *Guoli Beiping tushuguan guankan* (Journal of National Beiping Library) in 1932.⁴³⁰

The Chinese term of “plan” in these drawings is *diyang* 地样, which literally means “ground look.” The Chinese term of “elevation” in these drawings is *liyang* 立样, which literally means “standing look.” The “standing look” could be either an elevation drawing in the modern sense or a traditional parallel-projection drawing. Although the plan drawing was not a popular representation method in Chinese classic architecture and gardens, it held a certain meaning. The *Yuan ye* notes:

Usually in building work, people can use elevation or section drawings but they seldom try a plan drawing. The plan drawing [in fact] represents the agreement between the owner and the builder. If a house is to be built, [it should be decided] how many bays in depth... how many bays in width... Draw a plan as a building will be. To create ingeniousness has to first try this method in order for convenience.⁴³¹

凡匠作，止能式屋列图，式地图者鲜矣。夫地图者，主匠之合见也。假如一宅基，欲造几进... 几进几间... 列图如屋。欲造巧妙，先以斯法，以便为也。

⁴²⁹ Zhang Enyin, *Yuanmingyuan bianqian shi tanwei* (Beijing: Beijing tiyu chubanshe, 1993), 201-02. I thank Mr. Zhang for sending me a copy of his book when I visited him in Beijing in October 2002.

⁴³⁰ Refer to the drawings in the journal, *Guoli Beiping tushuguan guankan* 7.3/4 (May-Aug, 1932); or see the illustrations.

⁴³¹ Ji Cheng (Ming dyn.), *Yuan ye*, in *Yuan ye zhushi*, anno. Cheng Zhi (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1997), 98.

According to an imperial archive, on the eleventh day of the fourth moon of the twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign (1756), the emperor decreed:

Ask Lang Shining [Castiglione] to sketch a plan of a *Western garden* [my italic, *xiyang huayuan* 西洋花园] in the east of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight [pavilion] of the Garden of Eternal Spring. The design should be presented for review and only after it is permitted can it be sent to the Construction Department of the Garden of Round Brightness for building.⁴³²

It is important to note that Qianlong called the plan a “Western garden,” which is the most direct proof that the site of Western Multistoried-Buildings was intended as a garden. It is recorded that “Lang Shining finished the sketch of a *Western-like and garden-like* [my italic, *xiyangshi huayuan* 西洋式花园式] plan and presented it.”

Qianlong gave approval for the construction of the garden the same day he was presented with the plan. He then decreed: “It is permitted to construct according to the design. Wherever Western paintings are needed [in the garden], ask the Lodge of As-One-Wishes [studio] to make *moving-through-jing paintings* [my italic].”⁴³³ It is quite interesting to note that although the construction had not yet begun, the emperor had been unable to hold himself back from seeing “Western paintings” in the garden. The term “Western paintings” here indicates paintings which were created according to line-method.

The published general plan in the Lei collection was actually the plan of the second phase of the garden (Fig. 14), i.e. the long rectangular area along the east-west axis starting at the Cages for Raising Birds gateway and ending at the open-air theater called Paintings of Line-Method East of the Lake. An important detail to note is that the five bamboo pavilions opposite the “View beyond the World” pavilion were not marked in this plan. This detail verifies Adam’s statement that the bamboo pavilions were originally in the courtyard of the first-phase construction, namely between the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion and the labyrinth. In 1771,

⁴³² “Neiwufu zaobanchu ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang” (hereafter, “Neiwufu”) (Archives of each built project by the Construction Department of the Imperial Household Ministry), in *Yuanming yuan: Qingdai dang’an shihao*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’an’guan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 2: archive 419.

⁴³³ Ibid.

Qianlong moved the bamboo pavilions to the south of the “View beyond the World” pavilion (Fig. 30), because they “obstructed his view” of the fountain in the courtyard. However, Adam was not sure whether this story was completely true. He therefore added the sentence “comme il a été dit.”⁴³⁴

Another interesting detail in the same plan is that the western gate of the Hill of Line-Method is missing, whose image can be seen in the seventeenth copperplate (Fig. 38). In the General Plan of the Garden of Eternal Spring in the same Lei collection (Fig. 12), the three-way gateway was ambiguously marked by four dots. The missing gate in the general plan of the European portion most likely indicates that this gate was still in the process of being designed. If this hypothesis is true, the date of this drawing can be traced to as early as 1766 when Castiglione, the chief designer of the garden, died. In addition, the fact that the bamboo pavilions are also missing in this plan supports this deduction.

According to the general plan, there were two watercourses within the garden, which were connected to an outside watercourse. The first one was a small canal that flowed southward from the outside of the northern wall of the garden. It curved towards the north, then eastward in front of the “View beyond the World” pavilion and finally disappeared behind the northern wall of the garden. Three little bridges were created over the winding watercourse, which increased the feeling of depth in such a narrow site. The second watercourse was the Square River, which was the lake located to the west of the Paintings of Line-Method. It was connected to the watercourse of the Lion Grove in the Garden of Eternal Spring through a small ditch (Fig. 15). It is obvious that the water flowed from the Lion Grove into the Square River in order to create a moving body of water rather than stagnated water, which was always avoided in Chinese gardens.

In the same plan, groves and rocks were arranged to orient the view. Two long groves on the hillocks flanked the eastern side of the Cage for Raising Birds gateway

⁴³⁴ Maurice Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen: L'Oeuvre Architecturale des Anciens Jésuites au XVIIIe Siècle* (Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936), 30.

and hid the service buildings. The groves led the visitor straight to the east and framed the gorgeous façade of the gateway. When comparing the eastern and western facades of the gateway in copperplates six and seven, we can clearly see the difference made by the groves. Since these two groves are the only groves marked in the plan, we get a strong sense of the designer's intention of orienting the viewer's movement at this spot.

There are two places that rocks were used for orienting the view in the plan. The first one was in front of the cascade west of the Hall of Peaceful Sea; the second one was at both sides of the eastern gateway of the Hill of Line-Method. The first one did not appear completely in the tenth copperplate (Fig. 31), partly because of the uprising stairways; the second one could clearly be seen in the nineteenth copperplate (Fig. 40), where the view was led through the central arch of the gateway towards the distant illusionary landscape appearing in the paintings of line-method.

The representation of rocks in the plan was formed by traditional brush strokes, similar to the site plan of the Square River, as well as the Paintings of Line-Method East of the Lake from the same collection, while the groves were depicted simply with a single line, which brought a strong feeling of the volume of trees. This representation of trees was also applied in other plan drawings and brought a sense that the trees were used as a mass material for creating space in the garden. Because the plan was composed of single lines, groves were differentiated from buildings only through the shapes of the depicted objects. The buildings and fountains were universally in geometrical forms, while the groves were irregularly curved. Rocks were added on the bank of the canal to differentiate between the groves and the canal, both of which were curved shapes. The rock bank was a typical way for Chinese gardens to symbolize water flowing through mountains in nature.

In the site plan of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion in the Lei collection (Fig. 13), the emperor's path from the Garden of Eternal Spring to the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden appeared clear. He entered the Garden of Eternal Spring through the Gate of Bright Spring at the center of the western wall of the

garden. The gate was named Bright Spring because it was the main connection between the Garden of Round Brightness and the Garden of Eternal Spring. The name was the combination of the two characters, which came respectively from the two gardens. Upon entering the garden, the emperor first stopped at a terraced pavilion called Islet of Flowing Fragrance along the western bank of a huge lake. He then moved north along the bank until reaching the water-mouth where a small bridge connected the western and northern banks. Standing on the bridge and looking across a small lake toward the northwest, he saw the magnificent Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion and a grouping of fountains in the front yard. Flanked by dense woods on both sides, the bridge was a perfect place for a framed view of the distant fountain plaza.

As shown in the General Survey Map of the Gardens of Round Brightness compound (1935),⁴³⁵ there is a Gate of Stamen on the western wall of the labyrinth within the garden. This gate appeared in the fifth copperplate (Fig. 26). The gate enabled the emperor to enter the labyrinth directly from the Palace of Stamen, which was located at the twenty-ninth *jing*, A Wonderland in a Square Pot (Fig. 10), in the northeastern corner of the Garden of Round Brightness. In the foreword of his poem on this *jing*, Qianlong wrote:

It is said there were three divine hills in the sea, but when a boat reached them, it was immediately led away by the wind. It is a waste of energy to talk about these hills. People should know that even the palaces made of gold and silver are not different from the human world. Since the fairyland is now in my room, why should I look for it far away? This is exactly what the name A Square Pot implies.⁴³⁶

Qianlong was certainly alluding to the legendary story of the fairylands in the East Sea. It is interesting to note that this Daoist fairyland and the Western garden were arranged shoulder to shoulder on the both sides of a division passage. The co-

⁴³⁵ See the map titled *Shice Yuanming, Changchun, Wanchunyuan yizhi xingshi tu* (A survey map of the ruins of the Garden of Round Brightness, Garden of Eternal Spring and Garden of Ten-Thousand Spring), drawn by Beiping shizhengfu gongwuju in 1936. The original copy is in National Library of Beijing.

⁴³⁶ Qianlong (Qing emperor), "Fanghu shengjing 方壶胜景," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985), 63.

presence of the Daoist fairyland and the Western Multistoried-Buildings demonstrated Qianlong's "principle of the whole," which intended to integrate all the beautiful *jing* into his vision of Round Brightness. Another interesting phenomenon is that the twenty-ninth *jing* was located in the northeastern corner of the Garden of Round Brightness, while the Western Multistoried Buildings garden was located in the northeastern corner of the Garden of Round Brightness compound. Both corners were respectively the most remote and symbolized a far distant land.

In the plan of the labyrinth in the Lei collection (Fig. 17), at some points each of the four routes that passed through the labyrinth was marked with a linear succession of dots: one went to the central hexagonal pavilion; one to the Gate of Stamen on the western wall; one to a small fountain plaza between the central pavilion and the Multistoried-Building of Delightful Climbing; and one directly to the Multistoried-Building of Delightful Climbing. The plan showed that the ground of the Multistoried-Building of Delightful Climbing was composed of a grid of nine equal squares. When the emperor meandered through the labyrinth, climbed up to the front deck of this multistoried-building and looked back to the south, he had a pleasant panoramic view of the labyrinth.

The labyrinth was called Formation of Yellow Flowers. The term "formation" hinted at the formation of troops in a war because of the square lay-out of the labyrinth. Compared to the winding path in the Garden of Round Brightness, the zigzag path of the labyrinth was strictly geometrically organized. It is interesting to note that the emperor apparently accepted the straight but winding path and specifically called the labyrinth a "garden" (*huayuan* 花园). Although a labyrinth, or maze, had been a typical part in European gardens, a basic reason that both the emperor and Chinese people most likely called the exotic labyrinth a "garden" was because of its zigzag movement, although the path was laid out with line-method. In Chinese gardens, a winding path was believed to lead to a "deep and remote" area within the mind. According to the theory "abstruse as such" (*aoru* 奥如) advanced by the Tang landscape essayist, Liu Zongyuan, meandering in nature procured the

“delight of abstrusity.”⁴³⁷ Along the same line of thought, Li Gefei of the Song dynasty said that winding helped maintain deep thought.⁴³⁸ For the Jesuit Attiret, the “hundred turns and windings” formed “a beautiful disorder.”⁴³⁹ It can be surmised that the zigzag path of the labyrinth recalled to Chinese eyes the meandering paths in Chinese gardens.

The labyrinth was also called Lanterns of Yellow Flowers. According to an imperial archive (1796), “the tops of the brick walls of the Lanterns of Yellow Flowers are covered with turf and are watered everyday.”⁴⁴⁰ It is said that on the night of the Mid-Autumn Festival, when the moon was most round and its light the most perfect of the year, the emperor would watch from the central pavilion as the court ladies carried lamps of yellow flowers and meandered in the labyrinth. The name Lanterns of Yellow Flowers signified a Chinese folk tale, which was embodied by the labyrinth. As the traditional celebratory fireworks brightened the Chinese portion at night, the yellow-flower lanterns brightened the labyrinth. Peering down upon the circulative movement of lanterns from the central pavilion enhanced the emperor’s feeling of power. What is interesting is that his opportunity of “peering down” resulted from his occupation of the mystical center of the labyrinth. The emphasis on the central pavilion as a place for Qianlong to view the surroundings can be seen in copperplate four where the front gate was perceived from the central pavilion (Fig. 25), while in the earliest photo of this gate in the 1870s (Fig. 44), the central pavilion became the focal point of the perspective composition. This comparison reveals how the viewpoint in a copperplate could act as the focal point in a *jing* of the garden.

North of the labyrinth, there was a hillock covered with dense trees where a Chinese square pavilion was hidden. What is impressive is the sharp contrast between the forms of the labyrinth and the hillocks: regular versus irregular, public versus private,

⁴³⁷ Liu Zongyuan (Tang dyn.), “Yongzhou Longxingsi dongqiu ji,” in Sun Xiaoli, *Zhichi shanlin: yuanlin yishu wencui* (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1999), 26.

⁴³⁸ Li Gefei (Northern Song), “Luoyang mingyuan ji,” in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi ed. & anno., *Zhongguo lidai minyuan ji xuanzhu* (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983), 39.

⁴³⁹ Jean-Denis Attiret, “A Particular Account of the Emperor of China’s Gardens near Pekin,” trans. Joseph Spence, in *Fugitive Pieces on Various Authors*, v. 1 (London: J. Dodsley, 1765), 37-38.

⁴⁴⁰ See *Yuanmingyuan: Qingdai dang’an shiliao*, 1: archive 196.

nosy versus quiet, obvious vs. secret, bright versus shady, and Western versus Chinese. Within the labyrinth, while all the European buildings, fountains and gates were located on the north-south central axis, the Chinese pavilion was located at the northern end of the axis.

Based on the Confucian principle that an emperor must “sit on the north and face to the south,” the location of the Chinese pavilion at the northern end of the journey implied that this Chinese pavilion was intended to provide a psychological protection for the emperor’s entertainment within the exotic labyrinth. One of the reasons for making the hillock behind the flat labyrinth might have been to protect the emperor’s back from being exposed to the outside of the garden as he sat in the central pavilion and faced to the south. This can be seen in the fifth copperplate, where the dense treed hillocks blocked the view to the distance and hid the water-mouth. The emperor’s orientation towards the south can be verified by two details: one was the throne in the central pavilion, which faced the south; another was the fourth copperplate, which depicted the view that the emperor perceived as he looked south from the central pavilion. Another reason for the back hillock might have been to symbolically control the “water-mouth” of the small canal flowing from the outside to the inside.

In addition to the axial and labyrinth pathways, another type of path in the garden was the bridge. We can only get a glimpse of a corner of the Bridge of Line-Method in the first copperplate (Fig. 22). On the western side of the bridge was a Western-like portal within whose frame there was an illusionary perspective painting, which appeared behind the doorway. The illusionary portal not only extended the depth of view but also vitalized the bridge and the underneath watercourse, which flowed from the Garden of Round Brightness to the Garden of Eternal Spring. Appearing real, the portal created the illusion that, from the bridge, people could step into another world. Previous research has compared the illusionary setting of the Bridge of Line-Method with the theatrical architecture of Bibiena and the works of Pozzo.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ Schulz, 42.

While a bridge acted as a crosswalk over a watercourse, a gateway acted as a connection between two paths. In the 1935 Survey Map of the Garden of Round Brightness compound, the Cages for Raising Birds gateway within the European portion was marked as the “Multistoried-Building of Peacocks.”⁴⁴² This gateway defined the division between the first and second construction phases of the European portion. An interesting feature was the double face of this gateway: its western side was Chinese-like while its eastern side maintained a Baroque face (Fig. 27, 28). In copperplate six (Fig. 27), the colonnade on the western side was clearly depicted in line-method with the focal point located on the geometrical center of the central iron-gate. According to Father Cibot’s letter, Castiglione designed this wrought-iron gate, which was forged under the supervision of the Jesuit Thébaud.⁴⁴³ Along the wall to the right of the portal, there was a mural, painted by Castiglione, which depicted a ship sailing on the sea and matched perfectly the perspective effect of the portal. In the copperplate, clouds were emerging from behind the gateway and brought about a feeling that there was a mystical world behind the door. The sailing ship echoed with the Chinese legendary story that there was a fairyland in the East Sea. The gateway, located at the connection point of the T-square plan of the garden, became the only passageway between the first and the second phases of the garden. Its importance was demonstrated by its double-face images and its appearing in both copperplates six and seven. The role of the gateway as the control of the view into the mystical depth is clearly shown in a photo of the 1870s (Fig. 45).

Behind the Viewing the Water-Method throne, there were two side doors, the so-called Dog-Head Gates, which were for the emperor to secretly commute between the Big Water-Method and the Hall of Wet Orchids within the Garden of Eternal Spring (Fig. 37). The Lei collection contained detailed sketches of the “Western doors” which were also known as the Dog-Head Gates (Fig. 21). From the Chinese characters in the drawings, it can be judged that they were construction sketches by Model Lei; for example, some of the characters marked the material names such as “brick,” “tile,” but the rest of the characters were difficult to ascertain. Since these

⁴⁴² See the map titled *Shice Yuanming, Changchun, Wanchunyuan yizhi xingshi tu*.

⁴⁴³ Schulz, 25.

sketches were based on the original Jesuit designs, they demonstrated the Chinese craftsmen's interpretations of the construction details. Previous research has indicated that these Dog-Head Doors appeared similar to Bibiena's theatrical design forms, for example, the theatrical design by Giuseppe Bibiena in Dresden in 1719.⁴⁴⁴

In the site plan of the Square River and the Paintings of Line-Method East of the Lake (Fig. 15), which is housed in the Lei collection, there is a small door marked with the Chinese character “door” which is located on the southern wall close to the rocks on the right (southern) side of the Eastern Gate of the Hill of Line-Method. It is unclear whether this door was also a secret entrance for the emperor, as this door appeared reasonable to this location for the purpose of the emperor to walk directly from the Garden of Eternal Spring to the front of the Square Lake. The secret pass-way door behind the rocks was well hidden yet provided a different and interesting experience for the emperor, as he would first pass through the dense rocks and trees before standing in front of the expansive Square Lake and looked across the water at the Paintings of Line-Method in the distance. Such a process of experiencing a tight space before moving into an expansive view was a typical way of creating wonders in Chinese gardens.

In the nineteenth copperplate (Fig. 40), the only way to have a glimpse of the Square Lake was through the central arch of the gateway, because both flanks of the gateway were planted with dense trees and rocks. The designer intended to give the viewer a surprise by hiding the view of the lake temporarily. The *Yuan ye* described the use of “half a bay” space for creating “depth, mystery, meandering... and the bounded field of fantasy [*huanjing* 幻境].”⁴⁴⁵ In the Survey Map of the Garden of Round Brightness compound, the Eastern Gate of the Line-Method Hill was marked as Conch Tower-Gate because of its conch-like decoration.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ Clay Lancaster, “The ‘European Palaces of Yuan Ming Yuan,’” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 34 (1948): 282.

⁴⁴⁵ Ji Cheng, 73.

⁴⁴⁶ See the map titled *Shice Yuanming, Changchun, Wanchunyuan yizhi xingshi tu*.

To provide height along the path in the garden, stairways were constructed. There are twin stairways at several points along the path: at both the southern and northern sides of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion, the southern side of the “View beyond the World” pavilion (Fig. 29), the western and eastern sides of the Hall of the Peaceful Sea, as well as the southern side of the View of the Distant Sea pavilion. These paired stairways provided the emperor with a slow ascension and descension while he was appreciating the water-method that was flanked by the stairways. All the stairways in the garden were paired, which also accentuated the effect of line-method.

The path of the garden sometimes passed through buildings, such as the five bamboo pavilions that were connected by curved bamboo covered walkways (Fig. 30). The Chinese term of the covered walkway is *lang* 廊, which was explained in the *Yuan ye*:

The ancient *lang* was folded with the carpenter’s folding ruler. The present winding *lang*, which meanders like the character of *zhi* [the character *zhi* is composed of zigzag strokes], turns in accordance with topography and bends according to the natural propensity of the site.⁴⁴⁷

古之曲廊，俱曲尺曲。今予所构曲廊，之字曲者，随形而弯，依势而曲。

In Chinese gardens, the meandering of the walkway is an embodiment of the mind searching for remoteness. The curved bamboo walkways here, which were arranged symmetrically through line-method, demonstrated the gesture of enclosing. Another passing-through-building path was located at the Hall of the Peaceful Sea. The emperor would enter the second floor of the building from the water-method stairway at the western end, walk over the roof of a one-floor veranda, climb the roof of the water tank where two pavilions stood respectively at each end of the roof, then descend at the eastern end along a magnificent open-air stairway (Fig. 34).

The application of line-method in the planning of the path can be demonstrated through the matching viewpoints in the garden and the frontal views of the

⁴⁴⁷ Ji Cheng, 91.

copperplates. The path was probably, from the very beginning, designed for perfectly observing these perspective “frontal faces,” and the *jing* of the garden and the *jing* in perspectives had been fused together in the emperor’s mind. The copperplates were intended to give Qianlong his desired views of the garden,⁴⁴⁸ and the garden was experienced as if viewing a series of separate pictures.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁸ Adam, 24.

⁴⁴⁹ The idea that the garden was viewed as a series of separate pictures appeared in Schulz, 71, 77.

4.2 Western Multistoried-Buildings

According to the constitution of the Society of Jesus, the more universal the good was, the more divine it was. Therefore preference was given to those persons and places whose improvement became a cause which spread the good to others who were under their influence or took guidance from them.⁴⁵⁰ This policy was best embodied by the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. There is no direct proof showing that the garden was created by the Jesuits in order to “influence” the Chinese emperor with a Western religion; however, it is certain that the emperor, Jesuit builders, and other Chinese who were involved in this garden all projected their intentions into the creation of this garden.

As a type of garden building, the multistoried-building, *lou* 楼, can be traced back as early as the late Han dynasty and the Southern-Northern Dynasties period. It served as a place for viewing into the distance and itself appeared as an attractive backdrop. The *lou* was usually located at the side or back part of a garden.⁴⁵¹ In Li Jie's 李诫 architectural treatise, *Yingzao fashi* (Principles and models of building design & construction), of the Northern Song dynasty, the etymological meanings of the building term *lou* were listed. It stated:

[The ancient dictionary] *Er ya* says: “What is narrow and curved is called *lou*... [Another ancient dictionary] *Shiji* says: “A Daoist told the emperor Wudi of Han that Emperor Huang [in the ancient time] built fifty-two *lou* for the arrival of deities. Wudi thus built a divine terrace and a scaffolding *lou* in fifty *zhang* high.” [The ancient dictionary] *Shuowen* says: “*Lou* means the multistoried house.” [The ancient dictionary] *Shiming* says: “*Lou* is that between whose windows there are shooting holes which look gloomy.”⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ See “Appendix B— Constitutions of the Society of Jesus” in Thomas M. Lucas, S. J., *Landmarking: City, Church & Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997), 196.

⁴⁵¹ Zhang Cheng'an ed., *Zhongguo yuanlin yishu cidian* (Wuhan: Hubei renming chubanshe, 1994), 185.

⁴⁵² See Li Jie (Northern Song), “fashi 1,” *Yingzao fashi*, un-punctuated version (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1995), 4.

尔雅：狭而修曲，曰楼……史记：方士言于武帝曰：“黄帝为城十二楼，以候神人。帝乃立神台，并干楼，高五十丈。”说文：楼，重屋也。释名：楼，谓之牖户之间有射孔，悒悒然也。

The *Yinzhao fashi* is the oldest architectural treatise known in Chinese history. In the garden treatise *Yuan ye*, the same etymological meanings of *lou* were repeated: “The *Shuowen* stated: ‘The multistoried-building is *lou*.’ The *Erya* explained: ‘The narrow and curved building is the *lou*.’ In other words, *lou* indicates the open windows whose holes appear gloomy.”⁴⁵³ When the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was under construction, those multistoried-buildings were originally called “buildings of water-method,”⁴⁵⁴ where the Chinese term for “building” was *fang* 房. The etymological meanings of *fang* were cited by the *Yuan ye*: “*Shim ing* says: ‘*Fang* means to be cautious, namely, to keep privacy and to divide inside and outside.’”⁴⁵⁵ Changing the name from the *fang* to *lou* indicated the change in the emperor’s attitude towards the garden from the early cautiousness to the later acceptance.

In the Lei collection, the plan of the View of the Distant Sea pavilion shows that there were wood columns within the structure of the stone walls (Fig. 20). The Qing court building-codes, *Yuanmingyuan damuzuo dingli* (Specifications of big wood structures in the Garden of Round Brightness) confirmed that there were timber columns within the “Western walls.”⁴⁵⁶ Because the Western walls were made of stones and bricks, it is unclear whether or not these were actually load-bearing timber columns. One other possible function of these timber columns was that they were used by the Chinese builders to arrange the plan of each Western building because in Chinese classic architecture, the construction of a building started from arranging timber columns on the ground. This hypothesis was confirmed by the site plan of

⁴⁵³ Ji Cheng (Ming dyn.), *Yuan ye*, in *Yuanye zhushu*, anno. Chen Zhi (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1997), 86.

⁴⁵⁴ “Neiwufu zaobanchu ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang” (hereafter, “Neiwufu”), in *Yuanming yuan*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’an’guan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 2: archives 345, 347.

⁴⁵⁵ Ji Cheng, 85.

⁴⁵⁶ See *Yuanmingyuan damuzuo dingli* (Qing transcript), v. 1: juan 3. A copy is in the Library of Congress. The same transcript is included in another Qing transcript *Yuanmingyuan damu zhuangxin zuo xianxing zeli* (A copy is in the National Library of Beijing), which says “the central wood [columns] within the Western walls” (*xiyangqiang zhuxin mu* 西洋墙主心木).

the View of the Distant Sea (Fig. 19), also in the Lei collection, where the plan of the building was drawn as a grid of columns in the traditional Chinese fashion. Furthermore, the three-divisions of the plan of the View of the Distant Sea pavilion were similar to the typical division of a hall building in Chinese classic architecture where the central bay was bigger than the side bays. The *Yuan ye* stated, “As for a hall, its central bay should be bigger and its side bays, smaller. They cannot be evenly divided.”⁴⁵⁷

In the garden, each building was given a formal name. There was a building called Hall of the Peaceful Sea, whose inside was a huge water tank that provided water to the fountains. The Chinese term of “hall” is *tang* 堂, which was explained in the *Yuan ye*: “The ancient *tang* means that its front part is open and spacious, and this is called *tang*. The *tang* means to face frontally, namely, to face straight sunshine from south in order to get a dignified and imposing appearance.”⁴⁵⁸

The frontal gesture of the “hall” was originally intended for the purpose of receiving sunshine from the south to match the imperial principle that an emperor must “sit on the north and face to the south.” For this reason, a hall in an imperial garden was usually used as a place for the imperial throne. Emperor Daoguang received his officials privately at the second *jing*, Diligent and Affectionate, of the Forty Jing. In the summer, the reception was held in the Hall of Diligent Administration in that *jing*; in spring and autumn, in a reading room west of the hall. The throne in the hall faced to the south, but the throne in the reading room originally faced to the north due to space limitation. In the year of *dingyou* (1837), a porch was added to the south of the reading room where a southern door and a northern window were opened, creating a throne against the northern window and facing the southern door.⁴⁵⁹ As the plan of the View of the Distant Sea pavilion in the Lei collection showed (Fig. 20), there was a throne facing to the south in the central hall of this building. In the northern part of the hall there was a screen behind the throne to protect the

⁴⁵⁷ Ji Cheng, 106.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁵⁹ See Yao Yuanzhi (Qing dyn.), *Zhuyeting zaji*, in *Yanpu zaji*, *Zhuyeting zaji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 4.

emperor's back. In the plan drawing, a Chinese character of "south," *nan* 南, was specifically marked by Model Lei to accentuate the importance of the orientation to the south.

For an important building in a Chinese garden, such as a hall, two name boards were usually hung. One board was hung on the outer eave over the door so that people would see it when entering the building; the other board was hung on the inner eave over the central chair so that a visitor could view the board that hung over the host's head. The meaning of a name board was closely related with its location: inside or outside. For example, the name board "Containing Clarity and Void" (Han qing-xu 涵清虚) was hung on the outer eave of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion in 1751. The name board "Harmony, Wonder and Delight" was hung on the inner eave of the same building in 1752, officially naming the building and the *jing* at this site. The outer board echoed with the water play of the fountains in the front court, while the inner board hinted at the unifying power of the emperor by indicating the "harmony" of "wonders" and "delights." The inner board was integrated with the throne where the emperor sat and faced the fountain plaza in the south. Other similar examples included the name boards "Hall of the Peaceful Sea;" "View beyond the World;" as well as "View of the Distant Sea," which were all hung on the inner eaves of their respective buildings and became the official names of those buildings.⁴⁶⁰ In all these cases, the name board was hung over an imperial throne.

The term "multistoried-building" indicated the general type of buildings within the garden. Another term which indicated a special building type was the "view," *guan* 观, which literally meant "look." Examples of the use of *guan* in the building names included "View beyond the World," "View of the Distant Sea," and "Viewing the Water-Method." In the Chinese language, the *guan* also signifies a Daoist belvedere that is located in a remote landscape. Among these three "view" buildings, the first one was a two-story building; the second was a building sitting on a high terrace, and the third was an imperial throne. The first two "views" indicated a distant *jing*

⁴⁶⁰ The locations of the name boards are recorded in *Yuanmingyuan bian'e lue jie* (Qing transcript), rpt. in Zhang Zhongge ed., "Yuanmingyuan bian'e," in *Yuanming yuan* 2 (Aug 1983): 48.

watched from a high place. At the imperial throne, the third “viewing” place, the gerund form of “viewing” emphasized the emperor’s activity of watching the close *jing* of the Big Water-Method. According to the Qing transcript *Yuanmingyuan bian’e luejie* (Brief registration of the name boards in the Garden of Round Brightness [compound]),⁴⁶¹ the use of the term “view” was limited to these three Western multistoried-buildings among hundreds of building names in the Garden of Round Brightness compound. This detail demonstrates the extreme importance of both the “view” and the act of “viewing” in this “Western garden.”

Among the emperors who lived in the Garden of Round Brightness, Jiaqing 嘉庆, son of Qianlong, wrote the greatest number of poems on the European portion, especially on the View of the Distant Sea pavilion, as this *jing* might have been his most favorite. His poetry became an important source of understanding how the Western multistoried-buildings were used and how he was impressed by the “Western style” buildings. In the poem “Writing on the View of the Distant Sea,” he wrote:

The rooms imitate the Western style, 室仿西洋式,
 My little heart includes the distant seas. 寸心括远瀛。
 The benevolence extends far and wide, 仁恩全浹(?),
 The distant and near celebrate peace and harmony. 遐迩庆升平。
 To govern the country one has to ponder deeply and extensively, 驭世思图大,
 In the house I remember the difficulty of defending the achievements.⁴⁶² 宅中念守成。

Since he used the term “rooms,” it indicates that he was sitting on the interior, most likely on his throne. Because the building was lofty and sublime, he felt as if his body was small. However, his view extended through the door and window, which

⁴⁶¹ *Yuanmingyuan bian’e lue jie*.

⁴⁶² Jiaqing (Qing emperor), “Ti Yuanyinguan 题远瀛观,” in *Renzhong yuzhi shi chujì*, juan 35, in *Qing liuchao yuzhi shiwen ji* (Anthology of imperial poems and prose of six Qing emperors), ed. Yi Xin (Qing dyn.) et al, 542 vols. (Beijing: 1876). A copy is in the Wenjin Branch of National Library of Beijing.

came across the Big Water-Method and reached the far distant lakes in the Garden of Eternal Spring from the south. From the above poem, it is apparent that this extensive and concentrated view opened his bosom and enhanced his feelings of mighty power.

Like the View beyond the World pavilion, the structure of the View of the Distant Sea pavilion appeared to cater to and embrace the spectator (Fig. 35). In this way, the imperial face was turned towards the distant south to embrace brightness. The projection of intention towards the south was attested to by the fact that the View of the Distant Sea pavilion, the Viewing the Water-Method throne as well as the Big Water-Method were all arranged on the same axis as the Gallery of Plain Transformation and the Classics Hall within the Garden of Eternal Spring. The axis began at the View of the Distant Sea pavilion on the northern end, passed through a huge area of water in the middle and extended to the distant southern hills in the Garden of Eternal Spring. This axis can be strongly sensed in the general plan of the Garden of Eternal Spring in the Lei collection (Fig. 12).

The View of the Distant Sea pavilion was only one story, yet it stood on a high terrace. This positioning created the illusion of a multistoried-building. On the foundation of a multistoried-building in gardens, the *Yuan ye* states:

Why not to erect the foundation of a multistoried-building between half a hill and half water? It can be two or three stories. When you look at it from the bottom, it appears as a multistoried-building; when you look at it at the hillside, it looks like a single floor; when you reach the top [of the building], your view can reach one thousand *li* away.⁴⁶³

何不立半山半水之间，有二层三层之说，下望上是楼，山半拟为平屋，更上一层，可穷千里目也。

This description is an exact match to the View of the Distant Sea, where the building stood on a high terrace (imitating the “half hill”) behind the Big Water-Method (imitating the “half water”) and the view from the building reached the “distant sea”

⁴⁶³ Ji Cheng, 74.

at “one thousand *li* away.” The “view of the distant sea” was vast and recalled Liu Zongyuan’s (a landscape essayist of the Tang dynasty) landscape theory— “vast as such,” *kuangru* 旷如.⁴⁶⁴

It should be noted that the “view of the distant sea” was a view framed by the building composed in line-method. In his poem “Chanting at the View of the Distant Sea,” Jiaqing stated:

Stone steps go up and down between pearl trees, 石级参差列珠树,
Glass windows compose beautiful views. 玻璃为牖佳境布。
Widely open windows on all sides lead to cool breezes, 八窗洞开引清风,
On the emerald-green screen the purple phoenix lingers in fragrant mists. 翠屏紫凤萦香雾。
A room with clear views is prepared for the distant sea, 一室澄观备远瀛,
The imperial mind embraces the great world. 圣念包罗九有宏。
Look at the grand building and closely caress its structure, 瞻临堂构切抚宇,
Its majesty resists decay and remains full.⁴⁶⁵ 凛乎馭朽弥持盈。

For the emperor, the *jing* of the distant lake framed by the bright room extended his mind into the cosmos, and the “grand” view expressed the “fullness” of his majesty. According to an imperial archive, the windows of the building were fitted with more than 1,200 glass plates in 1782,⁴⁶⁶ bringing light into the room and creating a “room with clear views prepared for the distant sea.” The phrase of “prepared for the distant sea” implied the orientation of his face towards the south.

In the poem “Afterthoughts on the View of the Distant Sea,” Jiaqing wrote:

The stone door is connected with lip windows, 石牖唇窗接,

⁴⁶⁴ Liu Zongyuan (Tang dyn.), “Yongzhou Longxingsi dongqiu ji,” in Sun Xiaoli, *Zhichi shanlin: yuanlin yishu wencui* (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1999), 26.

⁴⁶⁵ Jiaqing, “Yuanyingguan ge 远瀛观歌,” in Zhang Enyin, *Yuanmingyuan bianqian shi tanwei* (Beijing: Beijing tiyu chubanshe, 1993), 228.

⁴⁶⁶ “Neiwufu,” archive 830.

The form imitates the Western.⁴⁶⁷ 规制仿西洋。

Again, the “Western” style impressed him. This time he gave more details about the building. The “lip windows” indicated the decorations on the window frames. In the poem “View of the Distant Sea,” he wrote:

The structure imitates the Western, 结构仿洋式,

For entertainment and leisure, I occasionally come [here] to stroll about. 娱情偶来游。

The view is like a *jing* of a painting, 如披画图景,

My eyes are pleased and my intention remains free.⁴⁶⁸ 悦目意漫留。

The poem clearly stated that the view around the View of Distant Sea pavilion was “a *jing* of a painting,” where his eyes and heart met. Penned by Qianlong, the name board “View of the Distant Sea” was made of glass and decorated with Western lace borders and officially hung on the inner eave of the building in 1781.⁴⁶⁹ When the emperor sat on his throne and looked towards the outside, the *jing* he obtained was opposite to the *jing* expressed by the copperplate. Therefore, the *jing* indicated by a name board on the inner eave and the *jing* in the copperplate with the same title were opposite of each other and completed each other.

Jiaqing’s pleasure in the “Western” *jing* of the Distant Sea was also related to his image of the “Westerners” who came from a distant sea. His later poetry regarding the View of the Distant Sea was about his anger towards the British envoy. One of his poems stated:

I originally had no intention to call him, 本无招致心,

Suddenly the British envoy came. 突来英吉利。

Since he had come, but he was not obedient, 既来復不驯,

He spoke sweet words full of hypocrisies.⁴⁷⁰ 巧言多诈伪。

⁴⁶⁷ Jiaqing, “Yuanyinguan yougan 远瀛观有感,” in *Renzong yuzhi shi sanji*, juan 23, in *Qing liuchao yuzhi shiwen ji*.

⁴⁶⁸ Jiaqing, “Yuanyinguan 远瀛观,” in *ibid.*, juan 34.

⁴⁶⁹ “Neiwufu,” archive 822.

⁴⁷⁰ Jiaqing, “Yuanyinguan shuzhi 远瀛观述志,” in *Renzong yuzhi shi sanji*, juan 40.

In this poem on the View of the Distant Sea, he did not mention the “view” at all, but rather the “view” became a medium for him to reflect on diplomatic problems. In fact, the British had no relationship with the construction of the garden. It is interesting to note that the emperor connected the unwelcome British envoy with the “pleasurable” View of the Distant Sea. This showed how the emperor’s concept of the “distant sea” included the far distant sea where the “Westerners” came from. In addition, the “harmony” of “wonder” and “delight” obtained from the Western multistoried-buildings was certainly part of the emperor’s cosmological vision of Round Brightness.

Nothing is known about Qianlong’s poetry on the Western multistoried-buildings, yet Jiaqing’s poetical description that the “Western structure” “is like a *jing* of a painting” was well represented by an anonymous painting where Qianlong and a lady of the court sat in front of the “View beyond the World” pavilion (Fig. 42). This is the only known painting showing inhabitants in the garden. All the details in this painting were arranged in accordance with the focal point, which was located at the top of the ground door. The postures and positions of the figures echoed the building façade and the central axis. The body of the emperor was turned slightly to his side to let the “prince of rays” (in Alberti’s words), which was the line connecting the viewpoint and the focal point in perspective, pass by. The canopy over his head and the other figures formed a “window” that allowed the spectator to “look through” towards the central door where the focal point was located. Furthermore, the oblique lines of the balustrades, pavement, as well as the inward posture of the trees all contributed to the perspectival convergence. Accentuating this effect, the original positions of the two elliptical windows were displaced inwardly toward the central door.

The same perspective distortion can also be found in the eighth copperplate (Fig. 29), Frontal Face of the View beyond the World. Different from the previous painting, a pair of open-air stairs flanked the building in a curved form and two pairs of scrolled balustrades were arranged symmetrically along the central axis. All of these details enhance the perspectival convergence, which in return gave the

impression that the building was opening its arms to embrace the spectator. The focal point of the copperplate was located on the balcony of the second floor. If the Emperor stood on the balcony and looked into the distant south, he would have a perfect view, which would have included the bamboo pavilions with verandas that were decorated with colorful glass, a central fountain, and two lotus pools to the side. This proposed scene was best represented by the ninth copperplate (Fig. 30), Northern Face of the Bamboo Pavilions, where the mists, clouds, and floating tree crowns in the background made the *jing* appear as a dreamland, which echoed the meaning of “the view beyond the world.”

The emperor’s intention to see the *jing* of the garden through line-method was also demonstrated through his request that the Jesuit painters hasten painting perspectives for the interiors of the Western multistoried-buildings. On the twentieth day of the second moon of the sixteenth year of the Qianlong reign (1751), the year that the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion was completed, Castiglione was asked to paint perspectives for the eighteen bays of the eastern veranda of the pavilion. The work was mandated to be finished by the second moon of the next year. The emperor suggested, “If [the painters of] the Lodge of As-One-Wishes studio cannot finish it in time, employ painting apprentices to assist them.” On the ninth day of the fourth moon of the forty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign (1782), the year that the View of the Distant Sea pavilion was finished, the Jesuit painters Louis de Por (Chinese name, He Qingtai 贺清泰) and Joseph Panzi (Chinese name, Pan Tingzhang 潘亭璋) were asked to paint Western figures for the central ceiling. The Chinese painter Yi Lantai 伊兰泰, the draughtsman of the twenty copperplates, painted the border area. The emperor decreed that the work must be done quickly and precisely. “Because the painting assistants could not grasp line-method well,” despite working day and night, the Jesuit painters could not meet the deadline. They therefore asked for more assistants that were capable of line-method painting, so that the work was finished in time.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷¹ “Neiwufu,” archives 356, 835.

The Western multistoried-buildings played a double role in the *jing* of line-method: on the one hand, they were composed as a backdrop for the water play in the garden; on the other hand, they provided a high place for peering into the distance. In the copperplates, a multistoried-building appeared as a focus; in the garden, the same building acted as an observation point for viewing. In European Baroque gardens, the garden designer had to work with horizontal planes by tracing a *quadrature* on the ground, which corresponded to the frame of a picture and marked the intersection of the visual pyramid with the ground level.⁴⁷² In such a position, perspective acted as a one-directional projection: the house was given a commanding position to view the garden from above, but the house itself looked very small in the large-scale garden. Meanwhile, in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, line-method maintained the traditional horizontal-projection of perspective in painting and thus provided a chance of reciprocal looking from the viewpoint to the focal point, and vice versa.

Study of the counter-eye in the Jesuit perspective offered a way to investigate the emperor's, as well as the Jesuit designer's, intentions towards a *jing* in the garden by attending to the position of the focal point in the copperplates. The focal point in these copperplates was always on the vertical central line, and usually at a prominent place, such as a balcony, door, pavilion, portico, or throne, where the emperor would most likely have stood to appreciate a *jing*. Thus we may see that the illusionary depth in a perspective resonated with the emperor's desire for a distant view in the garden.

⁴⁷² Michel Baridon, "The Scientific Imagination and the Baroque Garden," *Studies in the History of Garden & Designed Landscapes* 18.1 (Spring 1998): 7.

4.3 Theater

In his record of the Garden of Round Brightness, Yongzheng expressed his desire of “delighting in nature” where a pool was crystal clear and the distant peaks broke into this mirror. He also described how he and his guests gave free rein to their feelings, looking up and gazing down, as his “heart and mind exults with joy.” He explained that his joy in the garden symbolized the happiness for all the people in the “happy kingdom.”⁴⁷³ Happiness was a significant symbolism of Yongzheng’s “garden residence,” and his happiness was reflected by the tranquil mirroring water.

In his later record of the Garden of Round Brightness, Qianlong expressed a desire for his own place to roam around, where “bright and beautiful landscapes, and high and remote buildings are beyond imagination.” Meanwhile, he cautioned himself that a balance of work and leisure should be obtained and not to indulge in “curiosities.”⁴⁷⁴ In terms of curiosity, there seems a contradiction in his garden intentions. In fact, his self-reminding demonstrated his strong curiosity for “high and remote buildings [which] are beyond imagination,” later proved by the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. In his poem of the Garden of Eternal Spring, along with a preface, he further explained that his desire for brightness and remoteness could be fulfilled by “spectacular views” which delighted his heart and attracted his eyes. The Garden of Eternal Spring and the European garden were built at the same time, and the poetry on the larger garden provides a good reference for the understanding of the European portion. The “spectacular views” in his new gardens, where he “shall stroll about leisurely and joyously,” were constructed through “imitating” other gardens (including his ancestors’ gardens, gardens in Jiangnan, and those in the West) “for a certain reason.”⁴⁷⁵ Compared to his father’s delight in nature, Qianlong’s joy of gardens was more of a result of his curiosity for

⁴⁷³ Refer to my annotated full translation of Yongzheng’s “Record of the Garden of Round Brightness [Shizong xianhuangdi yuzhi Yuanmingyuan ji 世宗宪皇帝御制圆明园记]” in section 1.1.

⁴⁷⁴ Refer to my annotated full translation of Qianlong’s “Later Record of the Garden of Round Brightness” in section 1.1.

⁴⁷⁵ Refer to my annotated full translation of Qianlong’s “Poem of the Garden of Eternal Spring with a Preface [Changchunyuan tiju youxu 长春园题句有序]” in section 1.1.

theatrical views, which included mechanical fountains and stage design in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden.

Mechanical fountains were called “water-methods,” whose discussion first appeared in the Chinese books written by the Jesuits during the Ming dynasty. Those Jesuit books were later incorporated into the imperial encyclopedia, *Siku quanshu*, during the Qianlong reign. One of the original four copies of the imperial encyclopedia was stored in the Multistoried-Pavilion of Literary Origin (Wenyuan ge, built in 1775) in the Garden of Round Brightness.⁴⁷⁶ The encyclopedia includes an introduction about the illustrated book, *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo* (Illustrated discourse of Far-Western extraordinary machines). The book was written during the Ming dynasty by the Jesuit Joannes Terrenz (Chinese name, Deng Yuhan 邓玉涵) with the Chinese scholar Wang Zheng 王征 providing translation and illustrations. The first chapter of the book says:

Learning began with the first human being. Adam learned from the creator of the world. He then taught his progenitors, especially about agricultural tools. Four thousand years later, a master named Aristotle created the “dragon-tail cart,” a small screw revolver, [and other similar mechanical inventions.] He also wrote about why a machine worked in such a way.⁴⁷⁷

In the book, the hydraulic mechanism transferring water from a low point to a higher point was called the “dragon-tail cart.” Revolving gears might have occurred to the Chinese mind as wheels of a cart, and the stirring up of water by machines probably appeared as a rolling body of a legendary dragon in the East Sea.

It is certain that the book was adapted from Agostino Ramelli’s *Diverse et artificiose machine* (1558), as the illustrations in the Chinese book were almost an exact replica of Ramelli’s work; however, the engraving techniques were quite different. The illustrations in Ramelli’s book were created through copperplate engravings, while the Chinese illustrations were made through woodcuts. In Ramelli’s book, in an

⁴⁷⁶ Zhang Enyin, *Yuanmingyuan daguan hua shengshuai* (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1998), 144.

⁴⁷⁷ Deng Yuhan (Joannes Terrenz, S. J.), *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luxui* (1627), trans. & illus. Wang Zheng, in Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonglu: jishu juan: juan 1* (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), 611.

illustration of a machine that lifted water from a well, the ground surface was opened up to show how the underground portion of the machine functioned. In the 1627 edition of Terrenz and Wang's book, Wang Zheng illustrated the cut edge of the ground surface as Chinese lace borders, due to his unfamiliarity with a cutout type of drawing. In the 1726 edition of this book, an anonymous Chinese illustrator developed the lace borders into blocks of clouds and the machine thus appeared as if floating in the air rather than being underground.⁴⁷⁸

The concept of "dragon tail" appeared in another Jesuit book, *Taixi shuifa* (Western water-method), during the Ming dynasty. The author Sabbathinus de Ursis (Chinese name, Xiong Sanba 熊三拔) stated: "What is called the 'dragon tail' is the description of the image of water, which revolves and moves up slowly."⁴⁷⁹ The term "dragon tail," alluded to the legendary story of the Dragon King in the East Sea and demonstrated how the image of a Western hydraulic machine was transformed into a Chinese image. In chapter four "Water-method," the author stated: "It is better to locate a well at the foot of a mountain where spring water comes out; *yin* and *yang* are appropriate; and gardens and houses can be established."⁴⁸⁰ The siting of wells was connected with the knowledge of *fengshui*. In chapter five, he wrote: "The moon is the quintessence of *yin* and belongs to the same category of water. Wet, tender, dark and cold things in the world are administered by the moon. Since they are in the same category, their natural propensities [*shi* 勢] can correspond to each other."⁴⁸¹ It is quite interesting to read that the Jesuit author related the force of *yin*, the moon, and water together. This demonstrated his excellent knowledge of Chinese cosmology.

The Ming concept of "water-method" was used to signify the fountains in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. Those "water-methods" were made by the imperial Department of Clockmaking. An imperial archive recorded that on the

⁴⁷⁸ See these three engravings in Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry: Art and Science on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 277, 279, 282.

⁴⁷⁹ Xiong Sanba (Sabbathinus de Ursis, S. J.) & Xu Guangqi (Ming dyn.), *Taixi shuifa* (1612 or 1613), juan 1, in Wang Yunwu ed., *Siku quanshu zhenben*, part 12, v. 50 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), 3.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

eighteenth day of the seventh moon of the thirty-sixth year of the Qianlong reign (1772), the emperor decreed: "Ask the Westerners Wang Dahong 汪达洪 [original name unknown] and Li Hengliang 李衡良 [original name unknown] to make the water-methods at the Department of Clockmaking."⁴⁸² The hidden mechanism of both clocks and fountains evoked the emperors' curiosity, which was described in Yongzheng's poem "Chanting on an Automatic Clock:"

The ingenious mechanism corresponds to heavenly rhythm, 巧制符天律,
Yin and *yang* are contained by such a small body. 阴阳一弹包。
 Gears revolve continuously, 弦轮旋密运,
 Pointers and the dial meet precisely. 针表恰相交。
 The marks of time have no errors, 晷刻毫无爽,
 Sunrise and sunset cannot be mixed. 晨昏定不淆。
 When clear strikes report hours, 应时清响报,
 I doubt it is made by human labor.⁴⁸³ 疑是有人敲。

The poem shows that the emperor's understanding of clocks was closely related with his knowledge of the cosmos. In another poem on "automatic clocks," Yongzheng stated:

The distant territory is eighty thousand *li* from here, 八万里殊域,
 The merciful power reaches everywhere. 恩威悉感通。
 Precious and wonderful things compete for contributing, 珍奇争贡献,
 Clocks are extremely precise works. 钟表极精工。
 The tempo corresponds to heavenly pace, 应律符天健,
 The strike sound announces noon. 闻声得日中。
 Lotuses suspend in the mechanical clock, 莲花空制漏,
 It must be the skill of a master monk.⁴⁸⁴ 奚必老僧功。

⁴⁸² "Neiwufu zaobanchu ge zuochengzuo huoji qingdang" (hereafter, "Neiwufu"), in *Yuanming yuan: Qingdai dang'an shiliao*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 2: archive 700.

⁴⁸³ Yongzheng (Qing emperor), "Yong ziming zhong 咏自鸣钟," in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, anno. Wei Jianxun (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996), 2.

⁴⁸⁴ Yongzheng, "Ziming zhong 自鸣钟," in *Yongzheng shiwen zhujie*, 14.

It is interesting to note that the emperor compared the internal mechanism of a clock to lotus flowers, which were a symbol of Buddhism. Again, he related the features of a clock to phenomena of cosmos.

The concept of “water method” had existed in Chinese gardens long before its application to the Western hydraulic mechanism. The garden theories of the Ming dynasty discussed how to use the “method” for managing a watercourse or creating a ravine where the “water-method” should procure a deep feeling and natural delight.⁴⁸⁵ The Garden of Solitary Joy owned by Sima Guang 司马光, a writer of the Song dynasty, presented an early example of managing watercourses within a garden. In the “Record of the Garden of Solitary Joy,” he stated that he “guided” and “diverted the water” around a building and this building was therefore named the House of Playing with Water.⁴⁸⁶ Managing water was a high priority in Chinese gardens, especially the water source on the site of a garden. The *Yuan ye* advised: “When selecting the site of a building [in a garden], it is highly valued to let it be over a water surface. Before erecting the foundation, [a garden designer] needs to trace the origin of water, smooth out where the water goes and observe where the water comes from.”⁴⁸⁷

A water method could be a waterfall, yet it could also be a fountain. It is very likely that the fountain-like water-method existed prior to the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. The fountain-like water-method was described as a Water-Bamboo Residence in the Jiangnan region. In the description of a “water method” in the garden of the Xu family in Yangzhou, Li Dou 李斗 (Qing dyn.) wrote: “There is a long covered walkway which is called a Water-Bamboo Residence. Underneath is a half-*mu* pool where spring water is like splashed pearls, which can reach the height of the eaves.”⁴⁸⁸ The name Water-Bamboo Residence indicated how the water-method was integrated into a residence within the garden. There was also a

⁴⁸⁵ Ji Cheng (Ming dyn.), *Yuan ye* (1631), in *Yuan ye zhushi*, anno. Chen Zhi (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1997), 219-220.

⁴⁸⁶ Sima Guang (Northern Song), “Dule yuan ji,” in Chen Zhi ed., *Zhongguo lidai zao yuan wenxuan* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1992), 54.

⁴⁸⁷ Ji Cheng, 56.

⁴⁸⁸ Li Dou (Qing dyn.), *Yangzhou huafang lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 385.

Water-Bamboo Residence in the Garden of Round Brightness. In the preamble of his poem of the twenty-second *jing*, Clear Water and Rustling Trees, Qianlong described this Water-Bamboo Residence: “Water is brought into the room through the Western water-method to turn the fan. The sound of flowing water is sweet and pleasing to ears, just like sounds from heaven.”⁴⁸⁹ Here, the “Western water-method” stood for hydraulics.

On the fountain-like water-method in the Garden of Round Brightness, Father Matteo Ripa recalled:

His Majesty [Yongzheng] has taken it into his head to have a fountain constructed, which should never cease to play. We were accordingly asked by command, whether any of us were able to contrive it. A Frenchman answered to the effect that two of his countrymen had lately arrived who would understand such a work. Father Angelo... replied without hesitation, that he felt equal to the task.⁴⁹⁰

A fountain “which should never cease to play” meant that the fountain was run by a mechanical system rather than through human labor. It is interesting to note that the designer of these water-methods was French, as the designer of the fountains in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, Father Benoist, was also French, demonstrating that the knowledge of hydraulics was highly developed in eighteenth-century France.

Father Benoist arrived in Beijing in 1745 to work as a mathematician, but two years later, he was in charge of making fountains for the emperor. He recalled in a letter: “In 1745, by the order of the emperor, I arrived in Beijing under the title of

⁴⁸⁹ Qianlong (Qing emperor), “Shuimu mingse 水木明瑟,” in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, ed. Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985), 49.

⁴⁹⁰ Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years Residence at the Court of Peking* (London: John Murray, 1846), 127.

mathematician. Two years later [1747], I was asked by His Majesty to be in charge of the hydraulic works.”⁴⁹¹ He continued:

In the gardens [of Round Brightness], the emperor wanted to construct a palais européen. He considered decorating the exterior [of the garden] like the interior [of buildings] with hydraulic works [Original French text: L’Empereur ayant voulu faire construire un palais européen, il pensa à en orner tant l’intérieur que le dehors, d’ouvrage d’hydraulique], which he asked me to direct, although I presented my incapacity.⁴⁹²

Although the garden was called a European Palace by Father Benoist, the emperor paid as much attention to the outside of the palace as to the inside. Qianlong’s interest in fountains did not necessarily mean that the importance of the garden lay only in fountains, because Western fountains, as Father Ripa witnessed, had already existed in the Garden of Round Brightness. His interest in the fountains was closely related to his primary intention of the Western multistoried-buildings. He wanted to view the fountains *in* the “exterior” of those buildings.

Additional proof for the cohesive relationship between the fountains and the buildings is that the fountains were typically not in operation, except during Qianlong’s visit. In other words, only when he was physically in the garden did the fountains come into being. Before his planned visit, water would be prepared in the cisterns by garden servants. This is similar to what happened at Versailles when there was insufficient water pressure to permit all the fountains to function at once, with the “solution” being that only the fountains within the king’s field of vision were made to function.⁴⁹³

The concept of a mechanical “water-method” fountain differed from the traditional “water-method,” as the mechanical one utilized a power-driven force and the

⁴⁹¹ Père Benoist, “Lettre du père Benoist à M. Papillon d’Auteroche, Pekin, 16 Nov. 1767,” in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, nouvelle édition, tome 13 (Lyon: J. Vernareil Libraire, 1819), 177.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁹³ Allen S. Weiss, *Mirrors of Infinity: The French Formal Garden and Seventeenth-Century Metaphysics* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995), 48.

traditional one fell naturally. In Italian gardens, the water never appeared in its natural form but rather through artificial contrivances. Water henceforth meant fountains, cascades, and basins, while a dry fountain was a dead body. In the front-page illustration of Giovanni Battista Falda's engraved book *Li Giardini di Roma* (1683), two angels poured water from the sky into a fountain in a garden, suggesting that heavenly water ran through the fountains. In another engraved book by the same author, *Le Fontane di Roma* (1689), a fountain typically occupied the center of the picture.⁴⁹⁴ With the horizon of view at eye level, the water column soared so high that it almost touched the upper border of the picture, so that its top was higher than the surrounding buildings and stood independently against the sky. This composition most likely meant to emphasize the heavenly quality of fountain water. In George Böckler's book on fountains *Architectura curiosa nova* (1664), a fountain sometimes appeared as a smiling human face of the sun god, or as a parasol under which a human figure stood.⁴⁹⁵

The water-method of a fountain was a transformation of a European fountain and it held its own meanings through its "view" in the Chinese context. To explore the meaning of the water-method in the southern plaza of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion (Fig. 22), the name of the *jing*, Harmony, Wonder and Delight, needs to be understood. The phrase "harmony, wonder and delight" first appeared in the Tang poet Bai Juyi's 白居易 poem "Reading Xie Linyun's Poetry." The poem says:

If the lofty ideal is repressed and cannot be applied, 壮志抑不用,

It must find a place to release itself. 需有所泄处。

To release [the ideal] is to write poems of mountains and waters, 泄为山水诗,

⁴⁹⁴ Giovanni Battista Falda, *Li Giardini di Roma* (Roma, 1683. Faksimile-Neudruck, Nördlingen: Verlag Dr. Alfons UHL, 1994), the front page. Giovanni Battista Falda & Giovanni Francesco Venturini, *Le Fontane di Roma* (1689. Rpt., Nördlingen: Verlag Dr. Alfons UHL, 1996).

⁴⁹⁵ Georg Andreas Böckler, *Architectura curiosa nova* (Norimbergae: impensis Pauli Fursten, typis Christophori Gerhard, 1664), Fig. 63, 12. A copy of this book was stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Hui Zou, "The *jing* of a perspective garden," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22.4 [Oct-Dec 2002]: 317-320).

Leisure rhythm is harmonious, wonderful and delightful.⁴⁹⁶ 逸韵谐奇趣。

The poem shows that the concept of “harmonious, wonderful and delightful” was related to the feeling of “leisure rhythm” which indicated the mutual resonance between the viewer’s emotions and the view of landscapes. Qianlong borrowed the concept of “harmony, wonder and delight” to express his sense of the rhythmic sound with the movement of fountains.

According to an imperial archive, the building was named Harmony, Wonder and Delight on the second day of the second moon of the sixteenth year of the Qianlong reign (1751).⁴⁹⁷ The name board, which officiated this name, was hung on the inner eave; another name board, Gushing Clarity and Void (Yong qing xu 涌清虚), was hung on the outer eave.⁴⁹⁸ The imperial throne was just under the interior name board, which was to be read only with the presence of the emperor’s body. The board on the outer eave was read in the context of the exterior environment. In this way, the interior name board “Harmony, Wonder and Delight,” which also signified a unified *jing*, expressed how the emperor “himself” felt within the environment of the fountains and multistoried-buildings; the exterior name board “Gushing Clarity and Void” described the features of the water fountain. Since the interior name board was used to describe the outside *jing*, we get a sense that the name of the *jing* was intended to express the emperor’s internal feelings at the “view” of water-methods.

There was a vertical couplet that accompanied the name board “Harmony, Wonder and Delight.” The left phrase said, “Careful Thinking” (*zhou si* 周思) and the right phrase, “Human Being” (*ren zai* 人在).⁴⁹⁹ If reading the couplet along with the horizontal name-board, we can imagine how Qianlong watched the “wonder” of the water-methods in great “delight,” as he thought about leading the country into a

⁴⁹⁶ Bai Juyi (Tang dyn.), “Du Xie Linyun shi,” in *Bai Juyi shixuan*, ed. & anno. Gong Kechang et al (Ji’nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1999), 160.

⁴⁹⁷ “Neiwufu,” archive 349.

⁴⁹⁸ This name is according to *Yuanmingyuan bian’e lue jie*. Another version of the name is “Containing Clarity and Void” (Han qing xu), according to Fang Yujin ed., “Yuanmingyuan ge dianzuo bianming biao,” in *Yuanmingyuan* 4 (1985): 53.

⁴⁹⁹ “Neiwufu,” archive 349.

“harmonic” world, just like the physical existence of water sounds and building details that were in front of his eyes.

Qianlong’s complicated feelings regarding the water-method were shared and expressed in the poem “Watching the Water-Method at the Harmony, Wonder and Delight” by his son Jiaqing in 1796. The poem says:

Elongated multistoried-buildings imitate the Western style, 连延楼阁仿西洋,
洋,

Loud sounds seem to come from the bustling imperial court. 信是熙朝声教彰。

Stir up water and channel the spring to make the flow undulate, 激水引泉流荡漾,

Cast brass spouts lie on the ground and were excellently made. 范铜伏地制精良。

Terrifying waves turn over stones as one thousand labors do. 惊湖翻石千夫御,

White rains bounce into beads measured in ten thousand *hu*. 白雨跳珠万斛量。

If ingenious people long to serve in distant places [as these Westerners do], 巧擅人工思远服,

The territory of the country will be as stable as a solid gold bowl.⁵⁰⁰ 版图式廓鞏金汤。

Jiaqing first described the Western multistoried-buildings which were in the background; next, his attention was drawn to the sound of water, the form of the water, and the appearance of the fountains. What attracted him was the integrated image of water columns, which seemed to him to mirror the prospective harmonic situation of the whole nation. While the feelings of wonder and delight were evoked by the fountains, the feeling of harmony was related to the architectural background.

⁵⁰⁰ Jiaqing (Qing emperor), “Guan Xieqiqu shuifa 观谐奇趣水法,” in Zhang Enyin, 228.

The feeling of harmony partly came from the view of four spouts in the form of sheep and ten spouts in the form of wild-geese as they sprayed water together towards the center of the fountain pool (Fig. 22). In addition, a harmonic feeling was also derived in part from the noisy sound of the fountains. Although we can borrow a Renaissance architectural theory to explain how a cohesive composition produced the beauty of harmony of this Western multistoried-building,⁵⁰¹ from the last two sentences of the poem, it is known that the emperor's feelings of harmony came from his view which integrated the exotic scenes into the perfect brightness.

To enhance the wonder of the fountains and increase the viewer's delight, as shown in the Plan of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight in the Lei collection (Fig. 16), the viewer was intentionally blocked from the exotic view of the fountains and buildings by dense woods. When he reached a bridge over the watercourse, the view suddenly became apparent. Standing on the high deck of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion and looking over the watercourse, Qianlong might have recalled not only the close connection between his new gardens and his father's garden but also his affection for his father. As demonstrated in the first copperplate (Fig. 22), the synchronic waterspouts facing the watercourse from one garden to another probably represented to the emperor the harmony between the past and the present.

It is quite interesting to note that the water source for the fountains at the *jing* of Harmony, Wonder and Delight was separate from the watercourse of the Garden of Eternal Spring, although both watercourses became very close to each other at the water-mouth under the Bridge of Line-Method. The water of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden came from a canal outside the northern garden wall, while the water of the Garden of Eternal Spring flowed directly from the Garden of Round Brightness (Fig. 2). Although the water play between the fountains was quite impressive, the source of the water for the fountains was hidden and this enhanced the "wonder" of the water-methods. The fountain water flowed from the cistern of a water-storage building behind the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion (Fig. 24)

⁵⁰¹ Leone Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. James Leoni, ed. Joseph Rykwert (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1955), 113.

and was transferred to the fountains through underground silver ditches. An imperial archive recorded that on the twenty-second day of the second moon of the sixteen year of the Qianlong reign (1751), the emperor decreed: "As for the construction of the silver ditches of the palace of water-method, ask Lang Shining [Castiglione] to present [a design] for [my] permission and then give it to the Construction Department [of the Imperial Household] to construct."⁵⁰² What needs to be noted is that the hidden image of the water channel and water storage was greatly enhanced by the illusionary and brilliant line-method image of the multistoried-building.

The fountain that was located north of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion was at the center of the courtyard (Fig. 23). To the west of the courtyard was the Multistoried-Building for Storing Water; to the north, the main gate of the labyrinth; to the east, the Raising-Birds Cage gateway. The edge of the fountain pool was elevated above the ground and was similar to those in Renaissance gardens. Its regular geometrical form and central position reinforced the image of "une fontaine monumentale."⁵⁰³ In yet another poem "The Harmony, Wonder and Delight" in 1798, Jiaqing wrote:

Water is transferred from the roof of the multistoried building, 运水由楼顶,
 Movement of machines must be carefully examined. 发机务审祥。
 Although the circulation of water is completely wonderful, 周流虽尽妙,
 Leakage has to be prevented. 渗漏亦须防。
 Waves have one thousand layers, 波浪千层叠,
 Pearls and beads are measured in ten-thousand *hu*. 珠玑万斛量。
 The underground vein meanders into the distance, 纡迴伏脉远,
 Full water can be traced back to a distant origin. 灌注溯源长。
 Vastly and mightily all water returns into gullies, 浩浩终归壑,
 At the beginning it flows little by little. 涓涓始滥觞。

⁵⁰² "Neiwufu," archive 350.

⁵⁰³ Adam, 25.

In watching the waves, wonder and delight meet, 观澜奇趣会,

The ultimate reason is thus concealed.⁵⁰⁴ 至理即包藏。

The first sentence indicates the water tank in the Water-Storage Multistoried-Building (Fig. 24). The water channel from the tank to the fountains was hidden and triggered the emperor's curiosity. The two sentences "The underground vein meanders into the distance; full water can be traced back to a distant origin" show that the emperor was trying to understand the hidden water channel by comparing it with the watercourse in Chinese gardens. This can be seen in his describing the channel as a "vein" and in his endeavor of tracing the origin of the watercourse. By describing the hidden water source as the "concealed ultimate reason," the emperor established the connection between the water-method and the principle (*fa*) of cosmos.

After passing through the gateway of the Cage for Raising Birds, there were five "bamboo pavilions" located to the right. Here, the regular geometrical form of the water-method was mixed with traditional bamboo plants of Chinese gardens. In front of the bamboo pavilions, three pools included a round fountain pool flanked by two lotus pools shaped like lotus leaves and defined with low curbs. It should be noted that, in the ninth copperplate (Fig. 30), located at the top of the fountain's water column was the focal point of the line-method picture. Reinforced by the strong line-method effect of the bamboo pavilions as the backdrop, the top of this water-method presented a feeling of mystical origin.

The combination of water and bamboo was a typical backdrop in Chinese gardens. In his visit to the Jiangnan region in 1765, Qianlong named the garden of the Xu family in Yangzhou "Water-Bamboo Residence." His poem on this garden says:

The color of water is clear and rests by the couch, 水色清依榻,

The sound of bamboo is cool and enters the window.⁵⁰⁵ 竹声凉入窗。

⁵⁰⁴ Jiaqing, "Xie qi qu 谐奇趣," in Zhang Enyin, 228.

⁵⁰⁵ See Li Dou, 382.

Although the bamboo pavilions in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden were not bamboo groves, the combination of the bamboo pavilions, fountains, and lotus pools can be said to be yet another of the emperor's Water-Bamboo Residences.

The most complicated vertically-arranged water-methods were located at the western facade of the Hall of the Peaceful Sea (Fig. 31). At the top deck on the second floor, a fountain of two dolphins sprayed water that fell from one basin into another and thus formed the four cascade banisters of the twin stairways, which were quite typical in Italian gardens. Below the dolphins, more water gushed from a round hole and fell into a huge bowl-like shell. From the shell, the water welled over the edge, flowed down through an artificial hill and ultimately reached the bottom pool. At this bottom pool was a total of twelve Chinese zodiac-animal statues, with six on each side. This artificial hill most likely symbolized the legendary fairyland on the East Sea.

These twelve Chinese zodiac animals were waterspouts, creating a so-called "water clock" (*horloge d'eau*) designed by Father Benoist.⁵⁰⁶ Every two hours, one animal would spout water into the fountain at the center of the pool, and at noon, all twelve animals sprayed together. This central fountain appeared as a Daoist pot, receiving and producing "primary liquid." Unfortunately, Emperor Xianfeng 咸丰 disliked the water clock and put the brass statues into his grand treasure house where they finally disappeared in the catastrophe of 1860.⁵⁰⁷

According to the tenth copperplate (Fig. 31), the construction details such as the symmetrical building façade, the fan-like plan of the water clock pool, the pair of curved stairways flanked by water cascades, and the waterfall on the central axis were all arranged into a cohesive line-method picture. The focal point of the picture was located at the hole where water spurted out from the deck of the second floor. The focal point is the same as the top most spot of the central fountain's water column.

⁵⁰⁶ Adam, 31.

⁵⁰⁷ Four of the original twelve brass statues were purchased back by the Chinese government at the recent auctions in Hong Kong. Two are in France; one is in Taiwan; and the locations of the others are unknown.

All the water outlets at this *jing* of water-method acted as a “water-mouth,” which symbolized and defined the border between mystery and play.

East of the Hall of Peaceful Sea, the Big Water-Method was the climax of the water methods (Fig. 36). At the center, a lion head spewed out water, which cascaded into a pool. In the pool, a fountain in the form of a stag sprayed water outwards toward all sides of the pool. In the site Plan of the View of the Distant Sea in the Lei collection (Fig. 19), this stag appeared to be chased by twelve dogs, which simultaneously sprayed water towards the stag.⁵⁰⁸ Two twelve-level pyramid fountains flanked the central pool, with the base of each pyramid surrounded by a circle of small water jets which created a very loud, cascading sound. The pyramid fountains were similar to the “grand buffets” of water in Versailles.⁵⁰⁹ Between the pyramids, there were two tall pine trees pruned into a nine-level topiary form, which framed the *jing*.

The Big Water-Method bordered the Hall of Wet Orchids in the Garden of Eternal Spring where the emperor could look across the division wall and view the fountains (Fig. 1). Qianlong was fond of water-methods, although he did not directly write on them. In his poem “On the Hall of Wet Orchids” in 1795, he indirectly discussed the Big Water-Method. He stated:

The hall of reading is called Wet Orchids, 书堂号泽兰,
 Its plain style thanks simple and elegant colors. 朴斫谢青丹。
 Fragrant bookcases bear sunlight,⁵¹⁰ 芸帙堪永日,
 Ivy windows avoid thin coldness. 藤窗避薄寒。
 Affection of grasses repays goodwill, 芜情报韶意,
 Water-methods show wonderful views. 水法列奇观。
 Congratulations sent from the Western ambassador has just arrived, 洋使贺
 正至,

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 34.

⁵⁰⁹ See *La Vue, et Elevations, de Ville, et Château de Versailles, avec les Bosquet et Fontains*, plate 21.

⁵¹⁰ It means that a bookcase can protect a book from effects of sunlight.

I watched [the water-methods] with him at the [View of] Distant Sea. 远瀛合俾看。

[Qianlong's] Notes: North of the Hall [of Wet Orchids] is the place of the Western water-methods. When the Portuguese ambassador came to Beijing in 1753, I heard his country had wonderful views [*qiguan* 奇观] of water-methods. Because China was a big country and the water-method was simply one of ingenious makings, I thus ordered a Westerner in the capital, Lang Shining [Castiglione], to make this [water] method so that the ambassador could come to appreciate it. Two years ago when the English ambassador Mcartney came to Beijing, I also led him to the water-methods and he deeply gasped in admiration. Last winter [in Chinese calendar] the provincial officials Chang Lin 长麟 and Zhu Gui 朱圭 from the Guangdong Province reported that the Dutch ambassador came to China. When the ambassador heard that the coming year would be the sixtieth year of my reign, he asked to come to the capital for the celebration. Considering he came from far away with sincerity, I agreed to his request. He arrived in the twelfth moon of last year. I received him with a banquet in the first moon of the new year and showed him the water-methods at this place [the View of Distant Sea] in order to demonstrate that his sincerity of coming here from afar was much appreciated by me. If he pays tributes, I might not regard them as precious things because China is so big and there is no wonder that China has not.⁵¹¹

This is the only poem in which we can find Qianlong's comments on the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, although his comments were put in the note part instead of the poem itself. From these notes, we know that the emperor respectively received the British, Portuguese and Dutch ambassadors at the Big Water-Method in front of the View of the Distant Sea pavilion. The poem also notes that while standing at the Hall of Wet Orchids in the Garden of Eternal Spring, the emperor could look upon the *jīng* of the Big Water-Method of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden across the wall between the two gardens. Qianlong described the

⁵¹¹ Qianlong, "Ti Zelan Tang 题泽兰堂," in Zhang Enyin, 223.

jing of water-methods as a “wonderful view,” which he was eager to show to his foreign guests in order to demonstrate that it was “Chinese.”

The Big Water-Method stood just south of the View of Distant Sea pavilion. In the poem “Chanting at the View of the Distant Sea,” Jiaqing wrote:

Continuous lofty towers imitate the Western style, 连延崇阁仿重洋,
Dig a pool and draw the water with detailed mechanical running. 鑿沼引水
机运详。

Water meanders and pours into [the movement of] surging and stirring, 曲折灌注互荡激,

Three times of disappearing and three times of appearing, the vein is
hidden.⁵¹² 三伏三见脉络藏。

According to the poem, there were several aspects of the fountain setting that impressed him: the lofty building in the “Western style,” the complex mechanism of the fountains, waterspouts, and the hidden watercourse. Noting that he described the covered water channel that led to the fountains as a “vein,” we begin to understand how he was applying the concept of a watercourse in Chinese gardens to his understanding of the water-method.

In his poems of the View of Distant Sea pavilion, Jiaqing always integrated the view of the building with the view of the Big Water-Method. In the poem “View of the Distant Sea,” he wrote:

The style of the multistoried-building imitates the Western, 楼式仿西洋,
My father’s reputation is widespread. 圣皇声教彰。
Distant seas all meet here, 远瀛咸向化,
Remote territories all send their national envoys.⁵¹³ 绝域尽来王。

⁵¹² Jiaqing, “Yuanyinguan ge 远瀛观歌,” in *Renzhong yuzhi shi chujii*, juan 12, in *Qing liuchao yuzhi shiwen ji* (Anthology of imperial poems and prose of six Qing emperors) (1876), ed. Yi Xin (Qing dyn.) et al., 542 vols. A copy is in the Wenjin Branch of the National Library of Beijing.

⁵¹³ Jiaqing, “Yuanyin guan 远瀛观,” in *ibid.*, juan 23.

The first sentence expressed his impression of the “Western” multistoried-building. The poem revealed that for the emperor, the water of the Big Water-Method symbolized the confluence of the distant seas. The View of Distant Sea pavilion was built on a high terrace and overlooked the fountains. Such an arrangement apparently made the emperor feel his mighty power. In another poem with the same title, he wrote:

Operate the machine to transfer water and pour it into the stone pool, 引机
运水石池注,

Splashed jades and sprayed pearls can fill in as many as ten-thousand *hu* [a
volumetric unit of measure]. 溅玉喷珠万斛雄。

I respectfully recognize my father's widespread reputation, 敬识圣皇声教
广,

Scattered sand and western seas are all in the same wind.⁵¹⁴ 流沙西海尽同
风。

The emperor developed his idea of harmony from the view that the myriad of water drops splashed and flowed into the same pool.

South of the Big Water-Method there was a throne called Viewing the Water-Method, which was for the primary purpose of appreciating the theatrical show of water play (Fig. 37). Behind the throne was a curved stone screen, which was constituted of five relief panels of panoplies, arms, helmets, and breastplates. In the Chapelle du Château Royal de Versailles, there were some decorations of *Trophées*,⁵¹⁵ which were similar to the trophy relief on this back screen. On each side of the throne, there was a porch called the Gate of Dog-Head where the emperor had a secret shortcut to the Big Water-Method from the Garden of Eternal Spring. The title, Viewing the Water-Method, shows that, just like watching a play in a theater, this throne was specifically for viewing the fountains. Because the View of Distant Sea pavilion sat high upon a terrace, which was just behind the Big Water-

⁵¹⁴ Jiaqing, “Yuanyin guan 远瀛观,” in *ibid.*, juan 19.

⁵¹⁵ See Gilles de Mortain, *Les Plans, Profils et Élévations des Ville et Châteaux de Versailles avec les Bosquets et Fountains* (Paris, 1714-1715), plate 11, 12.

Method, the emperor's view from the Viewing the Water-Method throne concentrated on the fountains and did not extend further towards the north. Contrasting with this limited and enclosed view, while sitting in the View of Distant Sea pavilion, the emperor extended his view far into the south towards the Garden of Eternal Spring.

The view of a water-method in the garden was not an isolated image of the fountain itself; rather, it became an appreciable "view" because the fountain was integrated into a line-method picture. As the twenty copperplates demonstrated, the line-method introduced the horizon of view at eye level with the single focal point to the Chinese frontal view. It anchored the beholder's eyesight to the focal point, which acted as a counter-eye. With the frontal view of line-method, the viewpoint echoed the focal point and they exchanged reciprocal roles. The throne was the focal point and the viewpoint, as well as the view and the act of viewing. In the garden, the emperor watched the play of water from the throne; in the copperplate, the throne indicated his absent body and became the focal point. The title of the *jing*, Viewing the Water-Method, implied the shift between view and viewing.

An imperial throne was always placed in the north and faced towards the south so that the emperor appeared to have a bright face. In stark contrast, the Viewing the Water-Method throne faced towards the north creating a situation where the imperial face was in the deep shadow of the back screen. This is a probable reason why the View of Distant Sea pavilion was added to the opposite side in 1781, twenty years after all the other portions of the garden had been completed. It was built on a high terrace, overlooking the throne and returning the emperor's view towards the south.

The ritual that the imperial throne was mandated to face the south corresponded to the fact that the capital of unified China was most often located in the north, so as to symbolically embrace the whole country. In Chinese historical archives, the Viewing the Water-Method throne was a rare case of the imperial throne facing towards the

north.⁵¹⁶ Let's suppose that the throne was in the north and the Big Water-Method was to its south, then the emperor's face would have bathed in sunshine; however, the sunshine would have impeded his view of the play of water. Hence, in order to have a perfect and bright view of the water-method, he would most likely have sacrificed his brightly appearing face and sat in the shadows.

When the views represented by two copperplates were opposite to each other (Fig. 36, 37), a short viewing-distance was adopted in both of them, forming a sharp perspective effect. The sharper the convergence toward the focal point, the more widely open the view appeared and the more strongly it hinted at its counterpart. In the sixteenth copperplate (Fig. 37), Frontal Face of Viewing the Water-Method, the concave screen, the convex steps in front of the throne, the oblique lines of the clipped tree hedges, the radiating pavement patterns, and the strictly symmetrical composition of the picture all joined together to accentuate the centrality of the throne at the focal point. This effect strongly hinted at the viewpoint located at the Big Water-Method, which in turn became the focal point of the fifteenth copperplate (Fig. 36). The viewpoint and focal point relationship between the Big Water-Method and the throne was clearly demonstrated in the above two copperplates. The empty throne in the copperplate hinted at the involvement of the emperor's body in constituting the *jing* of water-method.

In the garden, another form of water-method, which was more hidden, was water-storage. There were two water-storage buildings that held tanks and provided water for the fountains. One is the Water-Storage Multistoried-Building on the western side of the northern courtyard of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion, which provided water for the fountains of the first-phase area of the garden. The second water-storage building was at the Hall of the Peaceful Sea and provided water for the second-phase of the garden. The water of the Water-Storage Multistoried-Building came from a small canal running around the labyrinth, and the water of the Hall of Peaceful Sea probably came from the same water source, i.e., a canal flowing on the

⁵¹⁶ He Chongyi & Zeng Zhaofen, *Yuanmingyuan yuanlin yishu* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1995), 471.

outside along the northern garden wall. In the Water-Storage Multistoried-Building, the hydraulic machine occupied the ground floor and the cistern was on a neighboring terrace to the north (Fig. 24). From the outside, the multistoried-building looked like a two-story house, and it was difficult to notice that it was in fact a reservoir. Likewise, the Hall of the Peaceful Sea looked like a palace building (Fig. 32, 34). In the copperplates, the buildings were composed into a line-method picture whose perspective effect was greatly enhanced by the short pruned topiary trees in front of the buildings.

According to research, the tank in the Hall of Peaceful Sea contained 180 cubic meters of water.⁵¹⁷ According to the Plan of Eastern Water-Mill Building in the Lei collection (Fig. 18), the Hall of Peaceful Sea in fact contained three water tanks, with the central one being the largest and known as the Tin Sea. It was called the Tin Sea because the inside of the reservoir was covered with a layer of tin to prevent leakage and any large body of water that appeared in imperial gardens was called a “sea.” The reservoir was covered with glass and fish were raised in it.⁵¹⁸ From above, the emperor appreciated the swimming fish through the glass cover. The activity of watching the “happiness of fish” evolved from the Daoist sage Zhuangzi’s story.⁵¹⁹ Based on this legendary story, appreciating the “happiness of fish” became a typical part of Chinese gardens.

Another fish pool served the same purpose in the Garden of Round Brightness. The tenth *jing*, Magnanimous and Big-hearted, was created based on Zhuangzi’s story of the “happiness of fish.” In the poem on this *jing*, Qianlong wrote:

[Foreword:] Dig a pool to create a happy kingdom of fish. My house is surrounded by the pool, where thousands of brilliant fish encounter and splash among water plants. They circulate and swim with leisure and joy. A

⁵¹⁷ Adam, 31.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ One day, Zhuangzi and Huizi walked on a bridge over the Hao River, which was north of Fengyang County in Anhui Province. Zhuangzi said: “The white fish wander leisurely. Is it not the happiness of fish?” Huizi asked: “Since you are not a fish, how do you know its happiness?” Zhuangzi answered: “I know it because I am on the Hao River” (See Zhuangzi, “Qiusui,” *Zhuangzi*, in *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, anno. Fu Yunlong & Lu Qin [Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2002], 273).

poem says: "People are like fish; I [as the emperor] know of the happiness of fish; I therefore take care of the people."

[Poem:]

Dig a pool to watch the happiness of fish, 凿池观鱼乐,

[I feel] magnanimous and big-hearted. 坦坦复荡荡。

Swim in the comfortable pool, 泳游同一适,

Why will they long for rivers and lakes? 奚必江湖想?

I laugh at the silliness of Mr. Zhuang[zi] in the Qi Garden of the Meng Kingdom, 却笑蒙庄癡,

He debated with others on right and wrong. 尔我辩是非。

[If you ask me] how to answer the same question? 有问如何答,

[I will say] a fish knows its own happiness.⁵²⁰ 鱼乐鱼自知。

If the country was like a fish pool and the people were like fish, "knowing the happiness of fish" was a basic principle of his administration. Therefore, "watching the fish" in a fish pool became a symbolic activity in an imperial garden where the Peaceful Sea symbolized a peaceful country. Qianlong's poem provides a good reference for understanding the deep meanings of the Tin Sea. What was unique about the Tin Sea was that the Hall of Peaceful Sea was the actual water tank and the emperor viewed the fish from the rooftop. Therefore, his path across the roof became a meaningful part of his journey in the garden (Fig. 32).

The water in the Hall of the Peaceful Sea was provided primarily for the fountains on the eastern and western sides of the building, which included the Big Water-Method where water was transferred into and out of the tank through copper pipes. An imperial archive recorded that on the twelfth day of the third moon of the sixtieth year of the Qianlong reign (1795),

It has been checked that there are copper pipes and waterwheels for absorbing water for the water-methods in the western and northern waterwheel-rooms in the Hall of Peaceful Sea in the Western Multistoried-

⁵²⁰ Qianlong, "Tantan dangdang 坦坦荡荡," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 25.

Buildings [garden]. Because of the slowness of water absorbing, there is much waste of money. Not a long time ago, we followed His Majesty's decree to change [the mechanism] to carrying water through human labor. It is simpler and more convenient than before, and there is no more use of those copper pipes... Following His Majesty's decree, we broke up the copper pipes in the three waterwheel-rooms in the Hall of Peaceful Sea.⁵²¹

When there was no water gushing from the fountain, the structure became a dead body. The slowness of the water flow through the copper pipes might have been caused by a blockage. The shift back to the operation of human labor demonstrated, on one hand, the backward thinking of the emperor, yet on the other, the previous water-method operation by human laborers in the Garden of Round Brightness.

In European sources of fountain illustrations, a fountain and central perspective were not always cohesively related. There were over five thousand European books in the Jesuit churches in Beijing, and a large number of them were about architecture and gardens.⁵²² The engravings in these books, such as the fountain engravings by Georg A. Böckler in Germany, were a primary reference for the Jesuit designers. In Böckler's engravings, a fountain could appear in many forms, such as the face of a sun, a flower, an umbrella or an animal, thus creating a "new and curious" world. In the Italian Carlo Fontana's book, he actually used geometry to create the form of a fountain. In the engravings by Vredeman de Vries of the Netherlands, the top of a fountain was usually located at the focal point of a central perspective (Fig. 68);⁵²³ such a composition echoed the water-method composed in the line-method in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden. In Giovanni B. Falda's fountain engravings, the top of the fountain was often higher than the focal point. In contrast, in the twenty copperplates of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, the fountains

⁵²¹ "Neiwufu," archive 939.

⁵²² See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Hui Zou, "The *jing* of a perspective garden," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22.4 (Oct-Dec 2002): 317-320.

⁵²³ See Georg Andreas Böckler, *Architectura curiosa nova* (1664); Carlo Fontana, *Utilissimo trattato dell'acque correnti* (1696); Vredeman de Vries, *Variae Architecturae Formae* (1601. Facsimile, Amsterdam: van Hoeve, 1979). All these books were stored in the Jesuit library of Beijing (See the appendix "Books on architecture and gardens in the Jesuit libraries in Beijing," in Zou, 317-320).

were carefully inscribed into the composition of line-method, where the “method” (*fa*) of water was fused into the “method” of lines where the top of the water spurt met the focal point. A Ming painting theory stated that when mountains and waters were understood by the heart, they appeared as a painting; the painting made by a master painter looked like real mountains and waters.⁵²⁴ In turn, it can be inferred that if a fountain in line-method looked real, the water-method would touch the spectator’s heart.

While the water-methods were carefully integrated into the line-method pictures, they also fit into the panoramic *jing* of the garden according to the emperor’s mind. As soon as the first phase, which included the Harmony, Wonder and Delight pavilion and the labyrinth, was built, Qianlong immediately asked the court painter, Zhang Tingyan 张廷彦, to add the “Western water-methods” in a panoramic painting of the Garden of Eternal Spring.⁵²⁵ To depict the water-methods in both the line-method and traditional Chinese landscape painting demonstrated the emperor’s curiosity about the varied representations of the water-method. Including the water-methods into a panoramic *jing* also demonstrated his intention of taking the European portion as part of the Round Brightness.

Line-method was used for creating not only water-methods but also the hill in the garden, called the Hill of Line-Method, east of the Big Water-Method. According to the story from an elderly man, whose surname was Lu and used to work in the Qing court, the hill was also called Terrace for Circulating a Horse (Zhuanma tai 转马台) because Qianlong liked to walk his horse for entertainment and appreciate winter scenes.⁵²⁶ At the top of the hill, there was a hexagonal pavilion where the emperor would enjoy a distant view from this highest point in the garden.

⁵²⁴ Yang Shen (Ming dyn.), “Hua pin,” in Shen Zicheng ed., *Lidai lunhua mingzhu lubian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 241.

⁵²⁵ “Neiwufu,” archive 441.

⁵²⁶ Chen Yanshen ed., *Yuanmingyuan kao* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1928), 30.

In the general plan of the second construction phase in the Lei collection (Fig. 14), the plan of the Hill of Line-Method was clearly shown. The path from the bottom to the top of the hill was arranged in concentric circles modeling a labyrinth. Though the path looked clear in the plan, it was certainly obfuscating because the hill was full of pine trees. Compared to a single spiral path or a straight stairway, the labyrinthine path provided the emperor with much more entertainment and an opportunity to appreciate the surrounding views. In the eighteenth copperplate (Fig. 39), the hilltop pavilion appeared without any obstruction by the pine trees. This complete appearance showed that the emperor wanted to have a clear panoramic view from the hilltop.

The Hill of Line-Method was artificially created. An artificial hill in Chinese gardens primarily indicated hill-like rock piles. On the making of an artificial hill, the *Yuan ye* states: "To pile up rocks, [you] must know how to occupy the sky. To heap up mud, [you] must know how to occupy the land."⁵²⁷ The present ruin of the Hill of Line-Method shows that the hill was certainly not made of rocks in the way of traditional Chinese rock art, but rather was formulated based on the geometrical plan of line-method with one of its features being its elliptical spiral path. In the engravings of European gardens, we can find some cases of spiral hills, which were similar to the Hill of Line-Method.

A famous case of spiral hills in Italian gardens was the Montanola Parnassus at the Villa Medici, Rome.⁵²⁸ Comparisons between this hill and Hill of Line-Method have been made by other scholars.⁵²⁹ The path of the Hill of Line-method was elliptical in plan and looked spiral in elevation. According to recent research, the path of the mountain at the Villa Medici was not spiral but rather consisted of three parallel circles connected by a straight-up stairway. This has been demonstrated in Falda's engraving (c. 1676) and Charles Norry's plan drawing (1817). The illusion of a spiral

⁵²⁷ Ji Cheng, 77-78.

⁵²⁸ See the engraving in Giovanni Battista Falda & Giovanni Francesco Venturini, *Le Fontane di Roma* (Roma, 1690. Rpt., Nördlingen: Verlag Dr. Alfons UHL, 1996).

⁵²⁹ See Alexander Schulz, *His Yang Lou: Untersuchungen zu den "Europäische Bauten" des Kaiser Chien-lung* (Isny: Schmidt Schulz oHG, 1966), 68. Vincent Droguet, "Les Palais Européens de l'empereur Qianlong et leurs sources italiennes," *Histoire de l'Art* (May 1994): 22.

form of the Medici mountain might be caused by some oblique shortcuts connecting the three circles, which can be seen in Victor Balthard's (1843) and Edouard Lawson's (second quarter of the twentieth century) plan drawings.⁵³⁰ One example of the spiral mountain is the Monte Parnaso in the Garden of Pratolino, but its shape is less geometric.⁵³¹

The eighteenth copperplate shows that the plants on the Hill of Line-Method were universally pine trees with almost the same height, which echoed with the clipped short pine trees arranged in a rigid geometrical formation in the front courtyard (Fig. 39). The straight pine trunks were in sharp contrast to the organic form of the plants beyond the garden walls. Enhancing the effect of line-method, this type of pine tree had straight trunks and was easily clipped into geometrical forms. These three-level clipped pine trees, similar to the *bosco* of some *giardino segreto* (secret gardens), stand like soldiers in a regular array. As the copperplate shows, the universally geometrical shapes of trees and their regular formation enhanced the convergence of central perspective towards the hill in the background. Compared to the spiral hills in European gardens, what is special at the Hill of Line-Method is that the hill did not stand by itself but rather was carefully composed into the line-method of the copperplate to present a "frontal face." In all these "frontal faces," clipped pine trees constituted a significant part. In the Renaissance treatise *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, plants were considered merely as a vegetal material to be used in an architectural structure, just as marble or stone would be used. In order to produce a perfect harmony and unity of vision, each plant was reduced to a prescribed size and shape.⁵³²

The Jesuit botanist Pierre d'Incarville (Chinese name, Tang Zhizhong 汤治中) served in the court as a gardener and took part in the construction of the European portion until he died in Beijing in 1757. According to Father Du Gad's letter,

⁵³⁰ I thank Dr. Giorgio Galletti, the planner of the project "Il Restauro del Giardino di Villa Medici," for discussion and showing me these images in his research manuscript *Il Restauro del Giardino di Villa Medici: Masterplan* (2001).

⁵³¹ See Luigi Zangheri, *Pratolino: il giardino delle meraviglie* (Firenze: Edizioni Connelli, 1987), Fig. 284-287.

⁵³² Luigi Dami, *The Italian Garden*, trans. L. Scopoli (New York: Brentano's Inc., 1925), 13.

D'Incarville stayed in the court for three years and introduced European flowers and plant seeds to Chinese gardens.⁵³³ In the Garden of Round Brightness, some *jing* were well known for their plants, such as pine trees at the first *jing* (Uprightness and Brightness), peonies at the fourth *jing* (Carving the Moon and Opening the Clouds), bamboos at the fifth *jing* (Natural Scenery), phoenix trees at the sixth *jing* (Study Room under Green Phoenix), apricot trees at the ninth *jing* (Wine-Shop in an Apricot-Flower Village), peach trees at the fourteenth *jing* (Spring Beauty at Wuling), orchids at the twenty-first *jing* (Orchid Fragrance over the Water), and lotus at both the twenty-third (Lian Xi's Wonderful Place for Study) and thirty-ninth *jing* (Waving Lotus in a Winery Court). In the poem on the seventeenth *jing*, Great Kindness and Eternal Blessing, Qianlong stated: "The surrounding area is fully covered with pine trees, which appear flourishing green and point straightly towards the sky. While looking at them, awe and affection emerge [in my bosom]."⁵³⁴ Because the seventeenth *jing* was the highest place in the Garden of Round Brightness, Qianlong built a Buddhist temple and stored his ancestors' portraits therein. His awe and affection from the pine trees were in fact conveyed to the older generations. A similar feeling of awe and affection related with the geometrically arranged pine trees can be sensed at the *jing* of the Hill of Line-Method.

Once the hill was put into line-method, it had to be viewed through the perspective of line-method. In the tenth copperplate (Fig. 39), there were some perspective distortions; for example, the surfaces of the spiraling path, hilltop and the floor of the pavilion on the hill should not be seen from the viewpoint of one standing on the ground. The perspective distortions demonstrate that when the painter tried to locate the hill in line-method, he also intended or desired to have a bird's-eye view of the hill, which was a traditional Chinese perspective. On making an artificial hill, the *Yuan ye* says: "Take the real as artificial in order to make the artificial real."⁵³⁵ In terms of the artificiality of line-method, it can be inferred that viewing the hill through line-method was to make the line-method image a real hill.

⁵³³ Schulz, 25.

⁵³⁴ Qianlong, "Hongci yonghu 鸿慈永护," in *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 39.

⁵³⁵ Ji Cheng, 197.

Climbing over the Hill of Line-Method and facing towards the east, one encountered another gateway, the so-called Eastern Gate of the Hill of Line-Method, through which a view of distant mountains and waters was observed (Fig. 40). Different from the western gate of the hill, which was to enhance the centrality effect of line-method, the eastern gate acted as a doorframe for drawing the mind into a distant *jing*, which looked like a typical “head-on *jing*” in Chinese gardens.

Viewing a head-on *jing* through a circular window had been described as “rambling in a mirror” in a Ming garden theory, but at that time the *jing* remained flat with a moveable point of view.⁵³⁶ In the Qing imperial gardens, the mirror-like view appeared deeper, clearer, and more focused. The influence of the Western vista on a straight path to Chinese gardens could be sensed from the popularization of the “head-on *jing*,” *duijing*, in the imperial garden representations of the Qing dynasty. A painting of Prince Yinzhen, later Yongzheng, in the Garden of Round Brightness showed that the bounded brightness in a fan painting from the Southern Song dynasty had developed into a transparent and deep scene framed by a circular window (Fig. 47). When the *jing* became a bounded view that could be operated freely through artificial approach as in Ming and Qing gardens, the condition had become more suitable than ever for the rooting of Jesuit perspective, the line-method, which intended to bring visual convergence and shadows to the diffused perfect brightness.

While standing in front of the eastern gate of the hill, the emperor saw the distant water and mountains (Fig. 40). The gateway was tightly flanked by rocks and groves, with the only way to look into the distance being through the central arch of the gateway. The two side arches could not be seen through, because they were actually the windows of hexagonal rooms as shown in the site Plan of the Walls of Line-Method in the Lei collection (Fig. 15). It is clear that the lake was intended to be viewed though the central arch. Due to the framing of the doorway, a spectator would not know how wide the lake was until the lake completely appeared under his

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 205.

eyes. The framing made the *jing* of line-method appear remote and expansive. In the site plan, Model Lei marked the size of the lake as 45 *zhang* (144 meters) in length and 15 *zhang* (48 meters) in width, creating a scale of 1:3. This meant that the lake was designed according to a mathematical proportion, which was not a method utilized in Chinese gardens.

The water surface viewed through the gateway was a rectangular lake, called Square River. East of the lake, there was a stage set constituted of line-method murals on walls, which followed Pozzo's stage design (Fig. 63). In the Lei plan (Fig. 15), a small body of water came from the external canal and branched into two ditches: one moved west and passed before the eastern gateway of the hill; another moved east along the northern bank of the Square River and passed in front of the Paintings of Line-Method. Both ditches acted as a symbolic boundary for marking specific territories and increased the depth of the view through the gateway towards the Paintings of Line-Method. As some research has proposed, the mud excavated from making the Square River was used to create the Hill of Line-Method. In addition, the existence of the Square River was mainly intended to enhance the perspective illusion of the Paintings of Line-method.⁵³⁷ The complementary relationship between the "square" river and the "round" hill also demonstrated the cosmological idea of "heaven [is] round and earth [is] square."

A similar example in the Garden of Round Brightness was the thirty-ninth *jing*, Waving Lotus at a Winery Court, where a longitudinal lake, rather than a rectangular form, faced the winery court. At the southern end of the lake, there was the Southern Dock from which the emperor took a boat and rowed to the northern bank. Compared with the round Back Lake to the west and the round Fortunate Lake to the east, this longitudinal lake appeared oriented to the north-south axis. As the emperor stood in the court located on the northern bank and looked across the water, which was full of lotus flowers, towards the distant southern bank, the view

⁵³⁷ Schulz, 70.

imitated a famous *jing* of the West Lake in Hangzhou. Qianlong's poem of this *jing* says:

Remote fragrance and fresh wind, who can understand this painting? 香远

风清谁解图,

Under the standing lotus flowers twin birds are sleeping. 亭亭花底睡双

鳧。

Stop the boat by the bank to appreciate the rich and true landscape, 停桡堤

畔饶真赏,

Who will say only the West Lake of Hangzhou can have such a beauty?⁵³⁸ 那

数余杭西子湖。

His view moved around without specifically following the north-south axis. This was quite different from the clearly oriented view at the Square River, yet in both cases, the activity of paddling and appreciating the landscape as a “painting” was the same. In comparison, the Square River was similar to the canal in the garden of Fontainebleau where there was a rectangular pool for the king's paddling.⁵³⁹ It is interesting to note that in a comparison between the thirty-ninth *jing* and the Square River, both lakes acted as the last stop before reaching the final destination of a poetic journey, namely the fortieth *jing*, In Depth of Remote Dwelling, and the open-air theater in the European portion of the garden.

The Paintings of Line-Method were an exterior stage set, similar to the open-air theaters in the Villa Gori and Villa Geggiano, Siena.⁵⁴⁰ It was noticed that in Italian gardens of the seventeenth century, there was a prevalence of some “picturesque” elements. The conception as a whole was of a panoramic and perspective character.⁵⁴¹ In the Baroque period, gardens underwent an important transformation: the *quadrature* vanished from sight and infinity became part of the garden itself. The

⁵³⁸ Qianlong, “Quyuan fenghe 曲院风荷,” *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, 83.

⁵³⁹ See *La Vue, et Elevations, de Ville, et Château de Versailles, avec les Bosquet et Fontains*, plate 30.

⁵⁴⁰ See the illustration in J. C. Shepherd & G. A. Jellicoe, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* (New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1925).

⁵⁴¹ Dami, 25.

position of the vanishing point was shifted either to the horizon or somewhere in the sky. The Baroque garden marked the triumph of the long perspective.⁵⁴²

Different from those open-air theaters in Italian gardens, the theater at the eastern end of the Square River could only be appreciated by standing on the western bank of the lake or on a boat moving straight towards the eastern bank. The line-method of stage-set perspective had been explicated in Nian Xi'ao's *Shixue*, which, imitating Dubreuil's illusionary perspective (Fig. 62), emphasized the position of "frontal viewing" (*zhengshi* 正视) (Fig. 66). In Pozzo's stage design (Fig. 63), the frontal view was one of the possible views for the audience in an amphitheater; but for the emperor, the frontal view of the Paintings of Line-Method was the only view appearing to him (Fig. 41). In the site Plan of the Line-Method Walls in the Lei collection (Fig. 15), unlike the oblique arrangement in Pozzo's stage design, each painted wall, depicted in its "frontal face," was arranged orthogonally with the west-to-east axis of the lake so that the general frontal view, the *jing*, was constituted of multiple small frontal views.

Theaters were important buildings in Chinese imperial gardens, with more than ten theaters in the Garden of Round Brightness compound. The most famous theater was the Yard of Enjoying Together at the thirty-eighth *jing*, Sitting on a Rock and Taking a Wine Cup from the Winding Stream. In the theater, the audience sat on the north and watched the stage to the south. At the Paintings of Line-Method East of the Lake, the walls were for hanging paintings. Besides walls with paintings, there were an additional five rooms on each side of the stage which were used for storing paintings. If one stood on the western bank of the Square River and looked through the eastern gate of the hill towards the paintings across the lake, the *jing* appeared distant and real. Different from the theaters in the Garden of Round Brightness, the line-method theater was watched quietly and solitarily by the emperor himself.

⁵⁴² Baridon, 9, 11.

As the nineteenth copperplate demonstrated, in the *jing* of line-method, the point of view no longer was random and the view was fixed into an illusion of depth (Fig. 40). Such a static frontal view recalls Zhuangzi's idea of "condensation of the mind" (*ningshen*), which he explicated as "gaze fixedly and stop [on something]." ⁵⁴³ In the focused gaze, the smallest thing coincides with the cosmos. As shown in the twentieth copperplate (Fig. 41), the illusionary perspective of the stage set was best perceived across the lake. Like the fortieth *jing*, In Depth of Remote Dwelling, this illusionary *jing* of line-method presented a remote dwelling for the emperor's mind.

The theater was located at the eastern end of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden, which was also the most northeastern spot of the Garden of Round Brightness compound. According to the ancient cosmological diagram *bagua* 八卦 (Fig. 50), the northeast direction is called *gen* 艮. Beijing as the capital is located at the northeast of China. According to an explanation of the Qing dynasty, "The [ancient book] *Yi[jing]* says: 'The *gen* is the cosmological mark of the northeast direction where all things end and begin... The capital Beijing is located on the *gen* spot, which is a place of both the beginning and end of change... and can receive the return of all things. It can hold the esteem of the north and face to the brightness from the south.'" ⁵⁴⁴ Following the same cosmological consideration, the location of the theater in the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden can be understood as a place where the journey for physical brightness ended but the journey for metaphysical brightness began. The search for truth of the world now returned to this most remote spot of the garden. In terms of the metaphysical brightness, the theater at the eastern end of the European portion suggested the altar of a Catholic church. It was at this *gen* spot, the most northeastern spot of the Garden of Round Brightness compound, that the Chinese cosmological idea of the imperial north and the Christian understanding of the eastern end fused into a unity, where the Chinese cosmological brightness interwove with the Christian metaphysical brightness.

⁵⁴³ Zhuangzi, chapter "Xiaoyao you," *Zhuangzi*, in *Zhuangzi jie*, anno. Wang Fuzhi (Qing dyn.) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 7.

⁵⁴⁴ Yu Minzhong (Qing dyn.) et al ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001), 1: 82.

END OF CHAPTER-FOUR FOOTNOTES.

CONCLUSION

The Garden of Round Brightness epitomized the historical end of Chinese imperial gardens. Its destruction by fire preceded the eventual collapse of the Chinese imperial system. The silent stone fragments of the Western multistoried-buildings are scattered among the grass and evoke sadness in the visitor's mind. This lost garden exists as a "garden of the mind" which draws upon memories forever. The stone remnants in the wilderness comprise another type of *jing*, which no longer frames the vision of Round Brightness that implied the full moon and the perfection of virtues. The brightness encircled by the garden is no longer evident in modern-day Beijing. The streets are now lined with the brilliance of curtained walls of high-rise buildings, yet this dazzling city skyline cannot "encircle the cosmos and enhance the virtues" as the Round Brightness once did. As new "Western-like" buildings spread throughout China to establish a homogeneous landscape which China identifies with its "modernization," it becomes difficult to differentiate between Eastern and Western cultural differences and landscapes. The study of the *jing* of the line-method reminds us of the possibility of the cultural encounter in which truth can be revealed and shared based on an understanding of cultural differences.

This research describes how the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden was a garden created through the line-method. The depth of *jing* perceived by the emperor in the garden was framed by the line-method drawings. The illusionary depth in a perspective drawing resonated with the emperor's desire for a distant view within the garden. From the very beginning, the *jing* of the garden and the *jing* in perspective drawings had been fused together in the emperor's mind. The deep and concentrated view in the *jing* of line-method opened his bosom and enhanced his feeling of remoteness. It is through the depth of the *jing* that Chinese cosmology and Jesuit metaphysics began to fuse with each other.

The seeking of depth and remoteness of the *jing* was a typical objective in Chinese gardens, but in the Garden of Round Brightness, the search for such depth was essentially related to the brightening of the mind. As the Forty *Jing* demonstrate, the

emperor's journey for remoteness was the very route of the diffusion of brightness in both the view and mind. The pursuit of depth of the *jing* and the search for brightness of the mind became one and the same in the garden. The combination of depth and brightness held one meaning for the emperor and another for the Jesuits in the *jing* of line-method. While the emperor's eyes were drawn to the concentrated depth of the *jing* of line-method, the Jesuits focused on the brightness of the *jing* that resonated with the metaphysical light in their minds. The *jing* of line-method demonstrated how the people from different cultures and religions could collectively construct a common ground where cultural differences interwove without losing their original strength.

In contrast to the instrumentalization of perspective as mere representation in eighteenth-century Europe,⁵⁴⁵ the *jing* of line-method did not employ perspective as a pure geometrical composition. The shift between the focal point of the copperplates and the viewpoint within the garden shows that line-method was used as a kind of representation where the mind dwelled. Such a mind-loaded representation made it possible for the emperor to identify himself with the "frontal face" of line-method and meanwhile enabled the Jesuits to identify their metaphysical light with the cosmological light of the Round Brightness.

In a European photographer's plan for photographing the ruins of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden in the 1870s (Fig. 43), his camera did not capture the same viewpoints as the twenty copperplates.⁵⁴⁶ The free shifting of such a modern mechanical eye dissolved the frontal perspective with which the imperial face once identified as well as the perspective depth inscribed in cosmology and time. Rather than mere re-presentation in a modern sense, the line-method reminds us that representation can be a crucial strategy or device in revealing truth that is *in* the world but invisible to the corporal eye. It is in respect of "infinitely approaching truth," *bizhen* 逼真, that the West and the East share a deep common ground.

⁵⁴⁵ For an authoritative analysis on this issue, see Alberto Pérez-Gómez & Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997).

⁵⁴⁶ Ernst Ohlmer's photographs and the plan for photographing were first published in China in Teng Gu, *Yuanmingyuan oushi gongdian canji* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933).

If judged from the history of Chinese landscape and garden representation, the *jing* of line-method was born at a time when the understanding of *jing* emphasized the framing of views in a garden. The same historical perspective also reveals the changes that line-method brought to the concept of *jing*. The illusion of depth brought by the perspective garden affected Chinese attitudes towards nature. The Chinese term of “nature,” *ziran* 自然, literally means “self-as-such.” In other words, the self that is in such and such a condition means nature. The “self-as-such” is very close to the philosopher Martin Heidegger’s idea of “being-in as such [das In-Sein als solches].”⁵⁴⁷ The perspective garden, being such a condition, straightforwardly mirrored the self and brought it to the center of a *jing*. Thus only in a self-centered condition such as in the perspective garden was the emperor able to delve into the cosmos and simultaneously maintain his glorious face. In the history of Chinese gardens, the self was usually dissolved into a situational context: it gave way to an appearance of blending in with the landscape. The *jing* of the perspective garden woke the “self” up and made it realize “such” a condition of looking. This consciousness of “being-in as such,” or being an individual, formed another kind of understanding of nature, which gradually forged the way towards a modern China.⁵⁴⁸

Once the meaning of the *jing* of line-method is revealed, the essential sense of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden is retrieved, which was the primary objective of this research. A sense of a garden must exist while its history is being revealed. To make this primordial sense first and foremost present in our interpretation will guarantee a truthful unfolding of garden history. Before the imposition of political ideologies upon the ruins of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden,⁵⁴⁹ it is

⁵⁴⁷ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie & Edward Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 169-179.

⁵⁴⁸ The self-consciousness invoked by perspective played a role in the destruction of the medieval cosmos and the shaping of modernity in the West (See Karsten Harries, *Infinity and perspective* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001], 19).

⁵⁴⁹ The ruins of the Western Multistoried-Buildings garden are frequently appropriated for political intentions. Many Chinese scholars would think, “All have disappeared except for the ruins, which are the most forceful proof of the imperialist aggressions to China. The vicissitude of the Garden of Round Brightness reflects an aspect of Chinese modern history. Reflecting on this part of history can enhance our patriotic spirit” (“Qianyan,” in Shu Mu et al ed., *Yuanmingyuan ziliao ji* [Beijing: Shumu

essential to understand the sense of the garden itself, and only based on this sense does any historical enlightenment become possible.

When the moon burst forth again in silver radiance, happiness once more filled our hearts.⁵⁵⁰

wenxian chubanshe, 1984], 2). While for a few Western sinologists, the modern history of the ruins is about how the Chinese State makes use of the ruins as the vehicle for national expression and cultural unity (Geremie Barmé, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness: A Life in Ruins* [Canberra: The Australian National University, 1996], 113).

⁵⁵⁰ Shen Fu (Qing dyn.), *Chapters from a Floating Life: The Autobiography of a Chinese Artist*, an English translation of Shen Fu's *Fu shen liu ji* (c. 1809), trans. Shirley M. Black (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 17.

END OF CONCLUSION FOOTNOTES.

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“Yuanmingyuan neigong yingmu zhuangxiu zeli 圆明园内工硬木装修则例”

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1 Title Translations of the Forty Jing and the Multiple Jing of Line-Method⁵⁵¹

Forty Jing (Refer to Fig. 2):

ENGLISH:	PINYIN:	CHINESE:
1. Uprightness and Brightness	Zhengda guangming	正大光明
2. Diligent Administration and Affection to Virtuous Men	Qinzheng qinxian	勤政亲贤
3. Peace for All China	Jiuzhou qingyan	九州清晏
4. Carving the Moon and Opening Clouds	Louyue kaiyun	镂月开云
5. Natural Scenery	Tianran tuhua	天然图画
6. Study Room under Green Phoenix Trees	Bitong shuyuan	碧桐书院
7. Mercy Clouds Protecting All	Ciyun puhu	慈云普护
8. Oneness of Sky and Water	Shangxia tianguang	上下天光
9. Wine-Shop in an Apricot-Flower Village	Xinghua cungan	杏花村馆
10. Magnanimous and Big-hearted	Tantan dangdang	坦坦荡荡
11. Integrating the Past and the Present	Rugu hanjin	茹古涵今
12. Fairy Lodge in Eternal Spring	Changchun xianguan	长春仙馆
13. Universal Peace	Wanfang anhe	万方安和
14. Spring Beauty at Wuling	Wuling chunse	武陵春色
15. High Mountain and Long River	Shangao shuichang	山高水长
16. Living in Clouds under the Moon	Yuedi yunju	月地云居

⁵⁵¹ In translating the titles of the Forty Jing, I refer to the previous translations done by other research, which include *Yuanmingyuan sishijing tuyong*, Zhongguo yuanmingyuan xuehui ed. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhugongye chubanshe, 1985); Carrol Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ching Dynasty* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1934); Chebing Chiu, *Garden of Round Brightness: Le jardin de la clarté parfaite* (Paris: Les Editions de L'Imperieur, 2000); Young-Tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Garden of Round Brightness* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

17. Great Kindness and Eternal Blessing	Hongci yonghu	鸿慈永祐
18. An Academy for Great Talents	Huifang shuyuan	汇芳书院
19. Jade Temples under Bright Sky	Ritian linyu	日天琳宇
20. Simple Life in Peaceful Surroundings	Danbo ningjing	澹泊宁静
21. Orchid Fragrance over the Water	Yingshui lanxiang	映水兰香
22. Clear Water and Rustling Tress	Shuimu mingse	水木明瑟
23. Lian Xi's Wonderful Place for Study	Lianxi lechu	濂溪乐处
24. Bountiful Crops like Coming Clouds	Duojia ruyun	多稼如云
25. Fish Leaping and Bird Flying	Yuyue yuanfei	鱼跃鸢飞
26. Far-Northern Mountain Village	Beiyuan shancun	北远山村
27. Elegant View of the Western Peaks	Xifeng xiuse	西峰秀色
28. Study Room for Four Seasons	Siyi shuwu	四宜书屋
29. Wonderland in a Square Pot	Fanghu shengjing	方壶胜景
30. Open-Minded and Enlightened	Hanxu langjian	涵虚朗鉴
31. Calm Lake under Autumn Moon	Pinghu qiuyue	平湖秋月
32. Immortal Abode on a Fairy Island	Pengdao yaotai	蓬岛瑶台
33. Cottage with a View of Pretty Mountains	Jiexiu shanfang	接秀山房
34. Another Paradise	Bieyou dongtian	别有洞天
35. Reflection of Two Waters on a Bridge and the Roaring of Waterfall	Jiajing mingqin	夹镜鸣琴
36. Bathing Body and Enhancing Virtue	Zaoshen yude	澡身浴德
37. Boundless Openness	Kuoran dagong	廓然大公
38. Sitting on a Rock and Taking a Wine Cup from a Winding Stream	Zuoshi linliu	坐石临流
39. Waving Lotus in a Winery Court	Quyuan fenghe	曲院风荷
40. In Depth of Remote Dwelling	Dongtian shenchu	洞天深处

Jing of Line-Method (Refer to Fig. 2, 11):

1. Harmony, Wonder and Delight	Xie qi qu	谐奇趣
2. Water-Storage Building	Xushui lou	蓄水楼
3. Flower Garden	Huayuan	花园
4. Cages for Raising Birds	Yangque long	养雀笼
5. View beyond the World	Fangwai guan	方外观
6. Bamboo Pavilions	Zhuting	竹亭
7. Hall of the Peaceful Sea	Haiyan tang	海晏堂
8. Viewing the Water-Method	Guan shuifa	观水法
9. Big Water-Method	Da shuifa	大水法
10. View of the Distant Sea	Yuanying guan	远瀛观
11. Gate of the Hill of Line-Method	Xianfashan ximen	线法山西门
12. Hill of Line-Method	Xianfa shan	线法山
13. Eastern Gate of the Hill of Line-Method	Xianfashan dongmen	线法山东门
14. Square River	Fang he	方河
15. Paintings of Line-Method	Xianfa hua	线法画
16. Bridge of Line-Method	Xianfa qiao	线法桥

Appendix 2 Annotated Translations of the Emperors' Records of Qing Imperial Gardens

Emperor Kangxi's Record of the Garden of Uninhibited Spring⁵⁵²

(For the original Chinese text, see text 11 in appendix 4)

The town of Shallow Lakes is situated twelve *li* away from the Xizhi Gate in the capital.⁵⁵³ There are lakes to the north and to the south. Springs gushing out from the ground at the Village of Ten-thousand Springs [in the south] flow speedily and melodiously, converging into the Red-Hill Lake [in the north].⁵⁵⁴ The lake is so vast that its surface can be counted in one hundred *qing*.⁵⁵⁵ Lush wilderness is juxtaposed with flat agricultural fields and clear waves, with distant hills. Their colors intermingle like gorgeous embroideries. What a god-blessed scenic place!

Since inheriting the throne, day and night administration has prevented me from having any leisure. A long period of fatigue and overwork has gradually made me sick. Getting free on a few occasions, I travel here for a rest. Tasting the spring water and finding it sweet, I look around and appreciate the place. As cool breezes slowly rise, bad spirits and illness suddenly disappear. No wonder a distant imperial relative of the Ming dynasty, Li Wei, the Marquis of Wuqing, built a villa here in accordance with the pleasant topography.⁵⁵⁶ The landscape of that time, as

⁵⁵² The translation is based on the punctuated text "Shengzu ren huangdi yuzhi changchunyuán jì" in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 2: 1268-1270. The Garden of Uninhibited Spring is the first Qing imperial garden in the northwestern suburb of Beijing.

⁵⁵³ The Gate of Xizhi is a northwestern gate of Beijing. The town of Shallow Lakes is further northwest of the gate and ten *li* northwest of the Sorghum Bridge (See Jiang Yikui [Ming dyn.], *Chang'an ke hua* [Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1980], 69; Liu Dong & Yu Yizheng [Ming dyn.], *Dijing jingwu lue* [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001], 320). One Chinese *li* is equal to half a kilometer or one third of a mile.

⁵⁵⁴ The Village of Ten-Thousand Springs is southwest of the Town of Shallow Lakes.

⁵⁵⁵ One Chinese *qing* is equal to 6.67 hectares.

⁵⁵⁶ Li Wei's villa is called Garden of Delicate Brilliance. Li's daughter is the mother of the Ming emperor, Zhu Yijun (Wanli reign, 1573-1620). Li's garden and a painter Mi Wanzhong's Ladle Garden were the most famous private gardens in the northwestern suburb of the Ming dynasty.

magnificent as the Weiqu landscape, can still be distinctly perceived.⁵⁵⁷ After the villa collapsed and was abandoned, the ruined area still has a circumference of ten *li*. Although the garden has disintegrated into scattered remains with the passing of time, the original can still be traced. I look at a building with its eaves that seem to fly in the air and stroll along a winding balustrade by the water. Ancient trees and dark-green vines are still alive.

I thus called upon the officials of imperial households to make moderate adjustments,⁵⁵⁸ transforming higher places into hills and lower places into pools. The natural lay of the topography was appraised and the original stones and bricks were reused. Better use and value were achieved without recruiting any labor. The humble buildings and garden are sufficient for contemplating and resting. Virtuous thrift is cherished forever, and sumptuous carvings avoided. Although only sixty or seventy percent of the old pavilions, terraces, hillocks, gullies, forests, trees, springs and rocks survive,⁵⁵⁹ the beauty of expansive ripples and the momentum of watercourse are more attractive than before.⁵⁶⁰

Layer-upon-layer of hillocks reveal distant water shores, and morning haze is followed by evening mists. Fragrant flowers bloom in all seasons,⁵⁶¹ and rare birds sing among the people. When crops yield a rich harvest, and the fields are fragrant with sweet smells,⁵⁶² I can engage with beautiful scenes coming from all directions,⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁷ Weiqu was in the southern suburb of the Tang capital, Chang'an. It was well known for its pretty landscapes and was then a scenic spot for touring (Refer to Song Zhiwen's [Tang dyn.] poem "Chunyou yan bingbu weiyuanwai Weiqu zhuang xu" in Dong Gao ed., *Quan Tang wen* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983], juan 241).

⁵⁵⁸ The garden was planned by Ye Tao, a court painter from the Jiangnan region. The construction was supervised by Zhang Ran, a rock-art craftsman from the Jiangnan. His father Zhang Lian was also a rock-art craftsman in early Qing. It was the first time that the influence from literati gardens in the Jiangnan was introduced into Qing imperial gardens.

⁵⁵⁹ The Garden of Uninhibited Spring was smaller than the Garden of Delicate Brilliance.

⁵⁶⁰ The water of the garden came from the River of Ten-Thousand Springs in the south and flew into the Garden of Round Brightness in the north.

⁵⁶¹ There were three flower dikes at the middle of the garden, i.e. the lilac, orchid and peach dikes. Kangxi sometimes invited his officials for appreciating flowers together.

⁵⁶² At the southwestern corner of the garden was the Chapel of Non-Leisure in whose south there were vegetable plots and in whose north there were rice fields.

⁵⁶³ The original term of "scene" is *jing*, a key concept for Chinese gardens. In Ming and Qing gardens, it indicated a garden scene that integrated artistic intentions (For a discussion of the meanings of *jing*,

and my heart projects into the distance. But sometimes, when crops are ruined and sun and rain come at the wrong time, I stand on a footpath in the fields feeling compassion for the farmers, or open the window to check the ditches irrigating the fields. I look for signs of rain with ardent hopes and pray anxiously to the sky. It seems the whole country can be seen from my window.

On a good day in spring or autumn when the sky is clear and refreshing, or in the humid high summer when sunlight is hot and dazzling, I come here, taking a short break from public affairs, to improve and care about my health and to roam around. This makes me feel younger and quieter, and does away with my concerns and the heat; it also puts my heart at ease and makes my complexion healthy. I sway back and forth, enjoying a good time and the joy of heaven. The hall for holding audience is bright and high,⁵⁶⁴ and the winding chamber with deep eaves stores ancient books.⁵⁶⁵ The thatched cottages are covered with thistles without any decoration. Wherever necessary, a bridge or a boat is used for crossing the water; a hedge for dividing places and a wall for enclosing a place. Things are as simple and natural as that.

After the garden was built,⁵⁶⁶ it was named Uninhibited Spring, but not because it particularly fitted springtime. In the calendars of the three successive dynasties [Xia, Shang and Zhou], [the Zhou dynasty] took the *xi* character as the spring of heaven; [the Shang dynasty] took the *chou* character as the spring of earth and [the Xia dynasty] took the *yin* character as the spring of human being.⁵⁶⁷ The classic book *Yi*

refer to Hui Zou, "The *jing* of a perspective garden," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22.4 [Oct-Dec 2002].

⁵⁶⁴ Located behind the main gate of the south, the hall was called Nine Classics and Three Services. It was Kangxi that first introduced an audience hall into an imperial garden and this was imitated by later emperors. The official establishment of imperial administration within an imperial garden was done by his son, Emperor Yongzheng, in the Garden of Round Brightness.

⁵⁶⁵ At the middle-east of the garden was the Chapel of Broad Reference, which held a huge collection of books.

⁵⁶⁶ The garden should have been built by 1690. In this year, according to *Qing shi gao* (Zhao Erzhuang et al [Qing dyn.] ed. [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996]), the first general manager of the Garden of Uninhibited Spring was appointed.

⁵⁶⁷ The Chinese calendar uses the combination of ten characters of *tian'gan* and twelve characters of *dizhi* to indicate dates. The *xi*, *chou* and *yin* are respectively the first, second and third characters of *dizhi*.

says that when the *qian*, the primary one, unifies the world,⁵⁶⁸ all the four virtues become the primary one and all four seasons are spring.⁵⁶⁹ Previous emperors relied upon this principle to raise things at the right time, to let all people have their appropriate places and all animals live according to their nature. Under the heaven there is plenty happiness and brightness; winds blow together from eight directions and the six movements, the six *qi*, reach everywhere.⁵⁷⁰ This is why I named the garden Uninhibited Spring.

The Qin dynasty had the Efang Palaces; the Han dynasty had the Shanglin Park; the Tang dynasty had the beautiful landscapes of the Embroidered Mountain Ranges;⁵⁷¹ the Song dynasty had the Genyue garden. Their luxurious building decorations and huge areas including hills and valleys are certainly beyond my means and wish. I dare not imitate the ancients and compete with models from the past; I am rather satisfied with humble buildings, and I avoid spending money for sumptuous terraces. I only wish to act according to proper time and help the flow of things, support and wait upon my mother, and stay in good health. I long for peace of all creatures and wish for the harmony of the world. I think of each person and each thing all the time. How could my affection for them stop? I therefore write the record and accompany it with a poem.

The poem says:

The Xia people in the past,
Were strictly thrifty and lived in humble palaces.

⁵⁶⁸ Signifying heaven, the *qian* is one of the eight divinatory symbols of the cosmological diagram, *bagua*.

⁵⁶⁹ The four virtues are *yuan*, *heng*, *li* and *zhen*, originating from the divinatory symbol of *qian* of the *bagua*. The *yuan* means the origin of the world; the *heng*, the growth of the world; the *li*, the maturity of the world; the *zhen*, the accomplishment of the world (See Tang Mingbang anno., *Zhouyi pingzhu* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997], 1. Also refer to *Yijing*, trans. Wu Jing-Nuan [Washington, DC: The Taoist Center, 1991], 50, 51).

⁵⁷⁰ According to the chapter "Youshi" of *Lüshi chungju*, the winds of the eight directions are: the *yan* wind in northeast, the *tao* wind in the east, the *xun* wind in the southeast, the *ju* wind in the south, the *qi* wind in the southwest, the *yi* wind in the west, the *li* wind in the northwest and the *han* wind in the north. According to the chapter "Xiaoyao you" of *Zhuangzi*, the six *qi* are: the *qi* of morning, noon, evening, midnight, heaven and earth. Another annotation of Zhuangzi's "six *qi*" is: the *qi* of *yin*, *yang*, wind, rain, darkness, brightness (See chapter "Xiaoyao you," *Zhuangzi*, in *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, Fu Yunlong & Lu Qin anno. [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju], 88).

⁵⁷¹ The Embroidered Mountain Ranges were the region where the imperial garden of the Palace of Huaqing was located. Northeast of the capital, Chang'an, this palace was a retreat place for the emperor Xuanzong of Tang dynasty.

King Wen of the Zhou [dynasty] is acclaimed,⁵⁷²
 For not hastening for material gains.
 If ancient instructions are examined,
 These two should be respected and admired.
 Inscribing them as my admonition,
 I practice them myself day and night.
 The establishment of my residence,
 Is based on the previous dynasty.
 Cliffside lodges with rosy clouds,
 Eaves project into blue mists.
 I construct and maintain it,
 So as not to let it be ruined.
 There are hot springs,
 Deep and diffuse here.
 I travel to the western suburb,
 Set up colorful banners of camp.
 I draw sweet waters from there,
 Carefully devise this plan.
 The water is like a mirror of crystal,
 And meanders as a fragrant stream.
 I pace up and down by the river,
 Roam here and stroll there.
 Height comes from the hills,
 Depth emerges from the valleys.
 I consult there and construct here,
 And would not say it is to transform.
 Pine galleries and thatched halls,
 Only suitable to myself.
 There are some plain carvings,
 I feel sorry about them.
 Construction began at an auspicious time,

⁵⁷² King Wen was the founder of the Western Zhou dynasty (11th century-771 BC).

The garden was built within a few days.
 Though not specifically for strolling and enjoying,
 I am delighted in this construction.
 Respecting and serving my mother,
 How could I live high and bright?
 Gazing leisurely and looking over,
 I only wish to entertain my temperament.
 Lots of books and classics,
 All are stored in a continuous belvedere.⁵⁷³
 Only this big veranda,⁵⁷⁴
 Can be compared to red embroidered collars.
 Flourishing agrarian fields,
 Are cultivated regularly.
 Without borrowing human labor,
 There are vague cloudy gullies.
 Boat moves like a water bird,
 Bridge spans like a rainbow.
 Sailing or crossing,
 I stroll around free of care.
 Literature or martial arts,⁵⁷⁵
 I practice at different times.
 I retreat to reflect upon my administration,
 No mistake is to be allowed.
 It is said that the virtue of a gentleman,
 Cannot be but kindheartedness.⁵⁷⁶
 I take the primary one as the principle for administration,⁵⁷⁷
 As being in the springtime of seasons.

⁵⁷³ The “continuous belvedere” signifies the specific place for storing imperial books.

⁵⁷⁴ It should be the Chapel of Broad Reference, which was a big building with seven bays.

⁵⁷⁵ In the northwest of the garden was the Gallery of Collecting Wind, where imperial guards usually performed archery.

⁵⁷⁶ Confucius said: “A gentleman [*jūnzǐ*] cherishes virtue” (See chapter four “Li ren” of *Lunyu* in Liu Hongzhang & Qiao Qingju anno., *Lunyu, Mengzi* [Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2002], 35).

⁵⁷⁷ The original term of “the primary one” is *yuan*, which means in the *Zhouyi* “the origin of the world” (See Tang Mingbang anno., *Zhouyi pingzhu*, 1).

I wish all things,
To return to their plainness and purity.
The meaning of Uninhibited Spring,
Is thus proclaimed here for my officials.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁸ During the thirty-six years, Kangxi totally stayed in the garden for 257 times and finally died there in 1722.

Emperor Kangxi's Record of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness⁵⁷⁹

(For the original Chinese text, see text 12 in appendix 4)

The Golden Mountain issues into a range of mountains,⁵⁸⁰ where a warm river divides into springs.⁵⁸¹ Cloudy gullies are juxtaposed with still, deep and expansive waters; rocky bottomed ponds, with blue-green mists. The territory is vast,⁵⁸² filled with fertile grassland and spared from natural disasters damaging the fields. The wind is fresh and the summer weather is invigorating; [the environment] is suitable for taking good care of myself. [The place] is born of the encounter of heaven and earth; all the things [here] belong to the creation of nature.

I have traveled along the Great Canal several times and know well how beautiful the southern country is.⁵⁸³ I visited twice the Qinlong region and came to appreciate even better the openness of the western land.⁵⁸⁴ I headed north across the desert and toured the Changbai Mountain in the east. As for the grandeur of mountains and rivers and the sincerity of people [in those areas], I cannot possibly do justice to it in writing, and it falls beyond my grasp. Now Rehe is close to the capital.⁵⁸⁵ A trip back and forth takes less than two days and the site is wild and uncultivated. How would it impinge upon national affairs?

⁵⁷⁹ The translation is based on the punctuated and annotated text, "Bishu shanzhuang ji" (Qing dyn.), in Chen Zhi et al ed. and anno., *Zhongguo lidai zhaoyuan wenxuan* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1992), 189-190. It also refers to the un-punctuated text, "Yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang ji," in Qing Shengzhu (Kangxi) and Qing Gaozong (Qianlong), *Yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang shi* (Beijing, 1741), and the un-punctuated text, "Shengzhu yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang ji," in Hai Zhongxiu et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Chengde fu zhi*: juan 22: "Shanzhuang" (1887. Rpt., Taiwan: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966), 334-335. Between the two un-punctuated texts, there are the differences of three words. In this respect, the punctuated text follows the second un-punctuated text, but my translation follows the first one.

⁵⁸⁰ According to the *Chengde fu zhi*, "The Golden Mountain is fifty *li* away in the northwest of Chengde. It is opposite to the Black Mountain [in the northeast]." According to the *Rehe zhi*, all the other mountains in the Rehe area derived from these two mountains (See *Chengde fu zhi*: juan 15: "Shanchuan," 572).

⁵⁸¹ The warm river used to be called Rehe, but is called Wulie River today. It enters the garden at the northeastern corner as the major water source. There is a famous hot spring, also called Rehe, within the garden.

⁵⁸² In the second un-punctuated version, the term of "territory" (*jing* 境) is "river" (*chuan* 川).

⁵⁸³ The Great Canal starts from Beijing, passes through Hebei, Shandong, Jiangsu Provinces and ends at Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province.

⁵⁸⁴ Both Qin and Long are names of mountains. The term Qinlong designates the present territory of Shanxi and Gansu Provinces.

⁵⁸⁵ Chengde was the capital of Rehe Province. This province name is not used now.

I went on surveying the high and the low, the far and the close, and opened myself to the sublimity of the distant ranges.⁵⁸⁶ Relying on pine trees to form a chapel brought in the moisture and greenery of the cliffs.⁵⁸⁷ Leading the water into a pavilion brought in the bushes from the valleys. Making such scenes as these two is well beyond human power. I borrow the lush grass patch to assist [my residence],⁵⁸⁸ forgoing carving and painting, and enjoying the greenery amidst springs and woods. I quietly observe the world and examine all creatures. Elegant waterfowl play on the green water and do not flee; deer flock together in the light of the setting sun. Birds soar and fish jump. High or low, they follow their own nature. The purple atmosphere in the distance leads into beautiful scenes, high and low. I wander for a while and then stop for enjoyment, free from the hardship of toil. Dining late or getting up at daybreak, I never forget the vicissitudes of history told by ancient books.⁵⁸⁹ Encouraging working in the field, I long for bamboo baskets filled with copious crops. When the autumn harvest arrives, I celebrate the cooperative four seasons, rain and sunshine. This is the general situation of my residence in the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness [garden].

Admiring immortal mushrooms and orchids brings appreciation of virtuous behavior;⁵⁹⁰ viewing pines and bamboo brings about longing for chastity; being close to clear brooks brings up the value of integrity; looking over creeping grass brings about scorn for filthy and greedy persons. This is how the ancients identified with

⁵⁸⁶ The construction of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness began in 1703, just after Kangxi's visit to the Jiangnan in that spring (the first to third month), and lasted into the Qianlong reign.

⁵⁸⁷ The chapel, *zhai* 斋, in Chinese gardens is a type of building that stands at a secluded place and is usually for meditation and study. In the punctuated version, the term of "cliffs" (*qiong ya* 穷崖) is "caves" (*qiao ya* 窍崖).

⁵⁸⁸ The term of "residence" is my own understanding. The original term cannot be found in dictionaries and appears as different characters in each of the un-punctuated and punctuated versions. In the punctuated version, the term is "assistance" (*zhu* 助).

⁵⁸⁹ In the second un-punctuated version, the term of "vicissitudes" (*anwei* 安危) is "profound and subtle" (*weiwei* 危微).

⁵⁹⁰ The scientific name of the "immortal mushroom," *lingzhi* 灵芝, is *zoysia pungens*.

natural things to evoke ideas and emotions.⁵⁹¹ It should be known that the resources of an emperor come from his people. I would be confused if I did not love my people. I therefore inscribe this love into the record forever unchanged. I hereby express my respect and sincerity.

Written in the second half of the sixth moon in the fiftieth year of the Kangxi reign [1711].⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ A classic example is Confucius's famous saying in *Lunyu* that "An intelligent man delights in waters; a humane man, in mountains" (See chapter six "Yong ye" of *Mengzi*, in Liu Hongzhang & Qiao Qingju anno., *Lunyu, Mengzi*, 51).

⁵⁹² In the same year, the name "Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness" was given. Before this, the garden was called Camp Palace of Rehe.

Emperor Qianlong's Later Record of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness⁵⁹³

(For the original Chinese text, see text 13 in appendix 4)

My grandfather [Emperor Kangxi] built the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness in the year of *xinmao* [1711]. The thirty-six scenes were painted and described in poems, with a preface written by him.⁵⁹⁴ I was just born that year. It is hard to understand whether there was any connection between the two events. After ascending to the imperial throne, I began my annual hunting tour in the year of *xinyou* [1741]. I came to the Mountain Hamlet, pacing up and down, full of memories and admiration, and I therefore wrote poems following the original rhythm [of my grandfather's poems on the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness] in order to express my reverence.⁵⁹⁵ In the year of *jiaxu* [1754], I wrote poems for another thirty-six scenes, which included those to which my grandfather had given a name but had not ordered to be painted and to those that I have visited I occasionally give a name, but they do not exceed the standard form adopted by my grandfather.⁵⁹⁶ So my poem on the House of Eternal Tranquility says, "It has already been a jade epistle from the Daoist paradise; I inherit this blessed land to carry on Daoist scriptures."⁵⁹⁷ The title of "House of Eternal Tranquility" was penned by my grandfather.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹³ The translation is based on the un-punctuated text "Yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang houxu" in Qing Shengzhu (Kangxi) and Qing Gaozong (Qianlong), *Yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang shi* (Beijing, 1741). The translation also refers to the un-punctuated version "Gaozong yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang houxu," in Hai Zhongxiu et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Chengde fu zhi*: juan 22: "shanzhuang" (1887. Rpt., Taiwan: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966), 335-336.

⁵⁹⁴ The thirty-six *jing* of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness were named and poetized in 1710. The paintings of the thirty-six *jing* were painted by Shen Yu. Based on the paintings, under the commission of the emperor, the wood blocks were carved by Zhu Gui and Mei Yufeng in 1711, and the copperplates were made by the Italian missionary Father Matteo Ripa in 1713. The same thirty-six *jing* were later painted by other court painters, such as Wang Yuanqi (1712-1715), Zhang Ruoi (1739), Zhang Zongcang (1752), Fang Zong (1752), Li Zongwan (1752) and Qian Weicheng (1752).

⁵⁹⁵ These thirty-six poems by Qianlong adopted the same titles that Kangxi gave.

⁵⁹⁶ To the different of the four-character titles by Kangxi's thirty-six *jing*, the titles of Qianlong's new thirty-six *jing* were phrased in three characters. Thus, he showed deference to his grandfather. In 1754, Qianlong asked the official Qian Weicheng to paint the new thirty-six *jing*.

⁵⁹⁷ See this poem in He Kun et al (Qing dyn.), *Rehe zhi*, 6 vols. (Rpt., Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965), 2: 1324.

⁵⁹⁸ Among Qianlong's new thirty-six *jing*, sixteen *jing* were originally titled by Kangxi and the "House of Eternal Tranquility" was one of them.

Since his preface has been perfect and has reached for all details, why do I write a record? It is because I was born on the same year that the Mountain Hamlet [for Summer Coolness] was created. It is also because I began to serve my grandfather in the year of *renyin* [1722], and the current year is *renyin* [1782] too. I have to stress my deep feelings towards my grandfather during these sixty years, and I should keep reminding myself and my offspring of these feelings. In the Mountain Hamlet [for Summer Coolness], I live in fearful respect of heaven and learn from my grandfather's diligent administration, his kindness to his people, and his maintaining peace close and far. I cannot account for all such significant traits appearing in poem and prose. How could I have not yet expressed my deep feelings? Speaking when there is nothing to say is cheating myself. Remaining silent when there is something to say is cheating others.

My grandfather built the Mountain Hamlet [for Summer Coolness] to improve military control [in the north], show support to the people [in this distant territory], pay respect to simple life and love to nature.⁵⁹⁹ Appearing in his preface, these ideas are deep and far ranging. My father [Emperor Yongzheng] did not follow the ritual [established by my grandfather] during the thirteen years of his reign. He often explained this to me: "Busy administration is my excuse for not going to Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness and Mulan, but it was my mistake to indulge in leisure and deprecate taking the life of animals. My children should follow their grandfather's example, practicing the martial arts in Mulan, and should not forget family rules."⁶⁰⁰ His brilliant instruction was heard simultaneously by myself, Prince He, and the military-affair secretary.⁶⁰¹ They others have all passed away. If I do not write of it, my offspring will never know of my father's instruction and sagely intentions. Furthermore, in the past several years, I found some interesting places on

⁵⁹⁹ During the Qing dynasty, many Mongolian tribes submitted to the central government. The founding of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness showed the emperor's concern for that distant territory. Although this intention was expressed by Qianlong's Record, it was ambiguous in Kangxi's.

⁶⁰⁰ Mulan is an imperial hunting field north of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness.

⁶⁰¹ Prince He, named Hong Zhou, was Emperor Yongzheng's fifth son. He was granted this title in 1733.

my daily walks in the Mountain Hamlet. Besides the scenes previously established [by my grandfather], I also built up others, such as the Chapel of Creation and Gain, the Hall of Admonishment and Enhancement, etc. There are not less twenty places.⁶⁰² Since reflecting on history can teach some lessons and I have not completely presented my point of view, I cannot not instruct my offspring.

Since the Han and Tang [dynasties], what emperor has not had his retreat palaces and gardens? This being so, nevertheless, they wasted much labor and resources to satisfy their own lust. In the worst cases, it even led to the ruin of the country and destruction of the royal families.⁶⁰³ Such examples should be kept in mind and should not be followed. For example, the present Mountain Hamlet [for Summer Coolness] is located in the wilderness outside of the capital. Originally, it was intended for martial exercise rather than for literature study. Today it has its own school and actively promotes literary studies. The poet Du Fu said, "A general needs not be fond of martial activity and a child can always be taught about literature." Although I once studied this sentence and found it meaningful in some circumstances, if people take it as a criterion of perfection, there is still something lacking. As for those servants who accompany me here, they serve for several months starting early in the morning. Ancient emperors therefore sympathized with their servants, and I should not forget this. Humble men know the importance of what they do. If rewarded from time to time, they work hard without complaint. To seek only for my own pleasure but forget others' hardship is not what a humane man does. Lofty mountains and steep mountain ranges, the appearance of waters and forests, roaming cranes and deer, happy birds and fish, as well as chapels on rocks, belvederes by brooks, fragrant grass and old trees, all such things provide natural delight, and one forgets the worries of this dusty age. When compared with the retreat palaces and gardens of the Han and Tang, [the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness] surpasses them and there is none that can match it. If I indulge myself here by forgetting everything, the Mountain Hamlet [for Summer Coolness] will entrap me and I will do wrong to my ancestors.

⁶⁰² They belong to Qianlong's new thirty-six *jing*.

⁶⁰³ Such an example is the Genyue garden of Emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty.

Such apprehension has been in my heart for a long time without my being willing to acknowledge it. Now I am getting old and have to speak out. Therefore, I write it here as a warning to myself and my offspring. If my offspring forgets my words, then those faithful vassals and righteous councilors can admonish him. If he is admonished but does not follow and even punishes his advisers, the country will not be blessed by heaven. [If this really were to happen,] I do not know what I can do otherwise.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁴ This record was written in 1782 or so.

Emperor Qianlong's Record of the Village of Ten-thousand Springs⁶⁰⁵

(For the original Chinese text, see text 14 in appendix 4)

The name of the Village of Ten-thousand Springs⁶⁰⁶ does not appear in the two books: *Rixia jiuwen kao* [Current literature research of the old stories] and *Chunming mengyu lu* [Records after a dream in the bright spring],⁶⁰⁷ but when you pass through the area and point to the village, everybody knows it is the Village of Ten-thousand Springs. As for the Red-Hill Lake,⁶⁰⁸ its name does appear in both books, but when you pass by the area and point to it in the village to inquire from local people, they are utterly ignorant of it. I therefore sigh when realizing that ancient recorders wrote history according to hearsay and seldom from personal testimony. Hence, many records do not match facts. Then I think that the cause for error is their lack of patient scrutiny, extensive investigation, and lack of determination and endurance in seeking for the truth. However, starting from such records, we can examine their rights-and-wrongs and distinguish their mistakes. In this respect, records based on hearsay rather than personal testimony can still to some extent be helpful to later generations and should not be blamed further.

Discussing the Red-Hill Lake, the records of the two books are almost the same, stating that water originates from the Ba Ditch and arrives at the Sorghum Bridge.⁶⁰⁹ But it is at this point that both books err. The Red-Hill Lake is in fact the original location of the Garden of Delicate Brilliance belonging to a Ming imperial relative.⁶¹⁰ It is also the site of the present Garden of Uninhibited Spring.⁶¹¹ In front of the

⁶⁰⁵ The translation is based on the punctuated text "Yuzhi Wanquanzhuang ji," in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao* 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 2: 1313-1314.

⁶⁰⁶ The Village of Ten-Thousand Springs is south of the Town of Shallow Lakes. Both of them are in the northwestern suburb of Beijing.

⁶⁰⁷ See Yu Minzhong (Qing dyn.) et al ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考, and Sun Chengze (Qing dyn.), *Chunming mengyu lu* 春明梦余录.

⁶⁰⁸ The Lake of Red Hills was north of the Town of Shallow Lakes and was the site where the Garden of Round Brightness and Garden of Uninhibited Spring were located.

⁶⁰⁹ The Sorghum Bridge was only half a *li* west of the Gate of Xizhi. The bridge was a popular touring-spot in the Ming dynasty (See Jiang Yikui [Ming dyn.], *Chang'an ke hua* [Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1980], 45; Liu Dong & Yu Yizheng [Ming dyn.], *Dijing jingwu lue* [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001], 280-286).

⁶¹⁰ The garden was owned by Li Wei.

⁶¹¹ The garden was Kangxi's residential garden.

garden, there is an expanse of running water, popularly called the Bubbles of Water-Caltrops,⁶¹² which I suspect belongs to the Red-Hill Lake. The water in fact flows from the south to the north. Because the Ba Ditch is south of the Bubbles, [if the water flows from the Ba Ditch to the Sorghum Bridge as the books say,] how could the water flow against the current into the Sorghum Bridge [which is further south]? The water of Sorghum originates from the Jade-Spring Hill,⁶¹³ converges into the Kunming Lake, flows out as the Clear River, passes by the Sorghum [Bridge] and becomes the River of Reaching Benefits. All such details have been in my record of the Bridge of the Wheat Village and will not be discussed again here.

The name of the Ba-Ditch Bridge still exists today. To the south of the bridge, there are actually the Big Sand-Spring and the Small Sand-Spring. There are innumerable springs gurgling out from stalactite caves and flowing along the ground. This matches the records of the two books that the water of Dongzhi and West Ditch flow underground. But the fact is that all the waters here flow to the north with little to the south. This is different [from the records in the books]. As everybody knows, the nature of water is to flow to a lower place. The location of the Village of Ten-thousand Springs is higher than the Ba Ditch, which in turn is higher than the Red-Hill Lake. That the water flows to the north instead of the south should not be investigated by candlelight.⁶¹⁴

But the mistake was still made. My blaming Zhu Yizhun and Sun Chengze for depending upon hearsay rather than personal testimony is not too harsh a criticism.⁶¹⁵ Furthermore, the two authors lived only over one hundred years ago and what they recorded does not trace earlier than the Ming dynasty, but the

⁶¹² This water area was called Bubbles of Water-Caltrops, because the form of the pools looked like water caltrops. Similarly, the two lakes in front of the Garden of Round Brightness were called Fan Lakes because of their formal similarity with a fan (Refer to the map, *Yuanmingyuan quanshui bing bedao quantu* [A complete map of the springs and watercourses of the Garden of Round Brightness] [1870] in the collection of National Library of Beijing).

⁶¹³ The Jade-Spring Hill is located between the Fragrant Hill and the Longevity Hill and is the site where the Garden of Tranquil Brightness was located. The hill was named as Jade-Spring for its superb spring water (See Jiang Yikui, *Chang'an ke hua*, 47).

⁶¹⁴ The phrase "investigate by candlelight" means to work hard to understand. The phrase "not be investigated by candlelight" means to understand without effort.

⁶¹⁵ Zhu and Sun are the authors of the two books.

repeated influence of their mistakes has been quite serious. When going further in history, do we have to investigate by candlelight in order to find mistakes in records?⁶¹⁶ Are those mistakes just like these ones about the Red-Hill Lake and the Village of Ten-thousand Springs?⁶¹⁷

Since everybody knows that here is the Village of Ten-thousand Springs and the origin of springs actually lies in here, the name has to be corrected and the facts have to be ascertained. I therefore ordered the concerned officials to build the Temple of the Spring Origin here, while a stone tablet was respectively erected for recording the springs of Big Sand, and Small Sand, as well as Ba Ditch. Within the temple precinct, to the east and to the west there are several pools, pavilions and terraces.⁶¹⁸ Each gurgling spring was also named and recorded, and there are in total twenty-eight stone tablets. Outside the temple, water gushes out from the rice fields and the willow banks. These springs look like nectar in a round jar or accumulated water in a horse-hoof print.⁶¹⁹ It isn't possible to record them all. The name of Ten-thousand Springs must belong to this place rather than anywhere else. I sum up the significance and erect a monument to demonstrate the above-mentioned mistakes in the two books.

⁶¹⁶ This means that mistakes are easily found in historic records.

⁶¹⁷ This means that those mistakes in history are much more serious.

⁶¹⁸ The Temple of the Origin of Springs is in fact a temple garden. It was built by Emperor Qianlong in 1767 (See Qianlong's "Yuzhi Quanzongmiao ji [Record of the Temple of the Origin of Springs]" in Yu Minzhong et al [Qing dyn.] ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. [Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985], 2: 1309).

⁶¹⁹ The two metaphoric phrases, "nectar in a round jar" and "accumulated water in a horse-hoof print," describe the small size of the springs.

Emperor Qianlong's Record of the Kunming Lake of the Longevity Hill⁶²⁰

(For the original Chinese text, see text 15 in appendix 4)

In the year of *jisi* [1749], I examined the origin of the River of Reaching Benefits and inscribed a stele at the Wheat-Village Bridge.⁶²¹ Records of the Yuan dynasty state that the springs at Baifu and Urn Hill led into the river,⁶²² but details about this are difficult to find after such a long time. Rivers and canals are a crucial affair for a country. They can be used for transporting grains, crossing by ferry and irrigating fields, and can also be useful for preventing flood and drought, because they disperse superfluous water and save water in case of shortage. But it is not good for us to let water flood out without an effective control.

I therefore made a decision to cut reeds and weeds in front of the Urn Hill, dredge the watercourse and include the West Lake to form a large area of water.⁶²³ At the beginning, the officials in charge of the project thought the volume of the new lake was twice as big as the old one and worried about a possible shortage of water. When the lake was made and water came in, its surface appeared vast and boundless and seemed several times larger than the original one. The officials then began to worry about floods in the summer and the autumn and difficulties for distributing water.

How difficult is it to finish an undertaking. Maybe happy and successful persons always adopt the strategy of imitating and following precedents. It is normal that ancient emperors followed an old idea to benefit the people and did not want to

⁶²⁰ The translation is based on the punctuated text "Yuzhi Wanshou Shan Kunminghu ji" in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 3: 1392.

⁶²¹ The River of Reaching Benefits was a canal whose construction was supervised by the scientist Guo Shoujing of the Yuan dynasty.

⁶²² In order to solve the problem of transporting grains to the capital, the scientist Guo Shoujing of the Yuan dynasty was committed by the emperor to leading the water of the Spring of Baifu, at the southeast of Changping County, through the West Mountain and the Lake of the Urn Hill and into the Sorghum River. The Urn Hill was called Golden Hill in the Jin dynasty. Because a stone urn was found on the hill in the Yuan dynasty, the hill was called Urn Hill (See Jiang Yikui, *Chang'an ke hua*, 73).

⁶²³ The lake at the feet of the Urn Hill was called West Lake during the Ming dynasty. It was not the one in Hangzhou.

inquire into further innovation. Today I make floodgates, dikes and tunnels. Isn't it to prevent floods? Isn't it to support agricultural fields? Isn't it to control the upper reach in order to smooth the southeastern canal for transporting grains and traveling the river?⁶²⁴ The water level of the canal within the city was less than one foot in the past, but it is three feet today. There was no watered agricultural field in the town of Shallow Lakes in the past, but now new watered fields are opened everyday.

Therefore I don't overestimate its power, nor exaggerate my apprehension. It might be that national affairs must be consistently contemplated and assiduously thought over by one person, who personally attends to each affair in every detail without eschewing responsibility and who faces popular opinions without worrying about losing face. [In doing so,] even if he is lucky enough in some achievements, his gains are invariably less than his losses. This is why I sigh that it is so difficult to fulfill an undertaking.

After the lake was made, I named it the Kunming Lake of the Longevity Hill to express deference towards the achievements of Emperor Yao and allude to significance of martial exercises.⁶²⁵ The spring originates from the Urn Hill, and the reason that I rename the hill Longevity is because this year is the celebration of my respected mother's sixtieth birthday.⁶²⁶ I built a temple called Promising Longevity on the southern hillside and therefore gave the hill the name of Longevity. A record has been made for the temple. I especially write this record about the making of the lake to conform with the Yuan records about the origin and vicissitude of the history of springs.

⁶²⁴ Another major reason for making the lake, which was not mentioned by Qianlong, was the shortage of water due to the spreading of nearby imperial gardens.

⁶²⁵ Legendary Emperor Yao was said to paddle on the water which he harnessed. Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty trained his navy on the Lake of Kunming in the capital Chang'an. Imitating these historical models, Emperor Qianlong ordered the royal battalion to do martial exercises on the new Lake of Kunming.

⁶²⁶ The year was 1750.

Emperor Qianlong's Record of the Garden of Clear Ripples of the Longevity Hill⁶²⁷

(For the original Chinese text, see text 16 in appendix 4)

The record of the Kunming Lake of the Longevity Hill was written in the year of *xinwei* [1751]. It talks about the reasons for controlling the water and changing the name of the hill, as well as about the process of making the lake. The Garden of Clear Ripples of the Longevity Hill was built in the year of *xinsi* [1761]. The reason why the record is not written until now is because the name tablet was inscribed a little bit late and I had some difficulties in wording the record.⁶²⁸

Since the garden has been built and the name tablet has been inscribed, why is there any difficulty with the wording? It is because something has happened against my original will and I thus have a guilty conscience. What I need to say is like a recitation of my faults and I, in the end, cannot not speak. They are the so-called faults of a gentleman. If I do not talk about it, will I be able to avoid the whole country's speaking of it?

The reason for making the lake was to control the water, and the hill is renamed accordingly since it is overlooking the lake.⁶²⁹ Since the lake and the hill already imparted beauty to the place, was it possible that no pavilions and terraces would embellish them? Any event has its cause and effects. Friends can be made by exchanging writings, because both sides correspond to each other. Moreover, the construction was funded by the imperial treasury, the laborers were paid; the principle of thrift was abided by and sumptuous decorations were avoided. All these follow the former model of the Garden of Round Brightness without ever surpassing it. Although in my record of the Garden of Round Brightness, I said that I would

⁶²⁷ The translation is based on the punctuated text, "Yuzhi Wanshoushan Qingyiyuan ji," in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 3: 1393.

⁶²⁸ Inscribing a name tablet means that the garden was officially named. The record was written around 1764.

⁶²⁹ The mud dug from the making of the lake was piled up onto the hill to adjust its contour.

not use so much labor again to build a garden,⁶³⁰ is not the present Garden of Clear Ripples such a case? Did I not break my promise? Since it overlooked the lake, the hill was renamed. Since there was a hill, a garden was created. If I say controlling the water is my original motive, who will believe me?

However, the Garden of Uninhibited Spring is my mother's residence. The Garden of Round Brightness is constantly used for audiences. Connected by the same watercourse, the Garden of Clear Ripples and the Garden of Tranquil Brightness are places for quiet leisure,⁶³¹ ease of the mind and tranquility. Xiao He's refusal that later generations add anything [to the emperor Gaozhu of Han's gardens] is exactly what I intend for mine.⁶³² Such really is my intention. Although it is such, I suddenly feel lost when recalling Sima Guang's words.⁶³³

After the garden was built, I used to go there in the early morning and return at noon, and never stay overnight. This fits my original will and one might therefore forgive me.

⁶³⁰ Refer to my annotated translation "Emperor Qianlong's Later Record of the Garden of Round Brightness" in section 1.1.

⁶³¹ The Garden of Tranquil Brightness was on the Hill of Jade-Spring, located between the Garden of Tranquil Pleasure of the Fragrant Hill in the west and the Garden of Clear Ripples of the Longevity Hill in the east.

⁶³² Xiao He was the prime minister of Emperor Gaozhu of the Western Han dynasty. Xiao built so beautiful palaces and gardens in the capital Chang'an for the emperor that later emperors did not build any more for decades.

⁶³³ It is not clear what words of Sima Guang the emperor was alluding to. Sima Guang was a scholar of the Northern Song dynasty. After a disappointment in politics, he retired to Luoyang and built a simple garden called Garden of Solitary Joy. In his record of this garden, he said, "Each takes what is in its lot and is content with it. This, it turns out, is what the Old Pedant [signifying Sima himself] enjoys [quoted from Jim Hargett's translation]... When my ideal gets weary and my body feels tired... I will stand high [in the garden] and look over into the distance, pacing up and down of my own free will" (See Sima Guang's "Record of the Garden of Solitary Joy" in Chen Zhi & Zhang Gongchi, *Zhongguo lidai mingyuan ji xuanzhu*, 25, 26). In contrast to Sima's simple garden for self enjoyment, the emperor felt ashamed for the extravagance of his garden.

Emperor Qianlong's Record of the Best Spring of China (in the Garden of Tranquil Brightness) of the Jade-Spring Hill⁶³⁴

(For the original Chinese text, see text 17 in appendix 4)

The virtue of water lies in maintaining human life. Its taste is valued for sweetness; its quality, lightness. These three aspects support each other: when water is light, its taste must be sweet; drinking it will cure all sorts of diseases and will extend your life. Therefore, a water expert always differentiates spring waters according to their lightness or heaviness.

A silver ladle was thus made to weigh water. The spring water of the Jade-Spring Hill in the suburb of the capital weighs one *liang*,⁶³⁵ the water of Yixun River north of the capital weighs one *liang* as well,⁶³⁶ the water of the Pearl Spring in Ji'nan weighs one *liang* and two *li*,⁶³⁷ the spring water of the Golden Hill of Yangzi weighs one *liang* and three *li*,⁶³⁸ and is two or three *li* heavier than the spring water of the Jade-Spring Hill. As for the Hui Mountain [in Wuxi] and the Hupao Spring [in Hangzhou],⁶³⁹ each [of them] is four *li* heavier than that of the Jade-Spring Hill; [the water of] the Ping Mountain [in Yangzhou], six *li* heavier; [the water of] the Qingliang Mountain [in Nanjing], Baisha [i.e. the West Lake in Hangzhou], the Hu Hill [in Suzhou] and the Blue-Cloud Temple in the West Mountain [west of the capital], each of them one *li* heavier. I have visited these places myself, and their water was accurately weighed by my household servants.

⁶³⁴ The translation is based on the punctuated text, "Yuzhi Yuquanshan tianxia diyi quan ji," in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001), 1: 122-123.

⁶³⁵ One *liang* equates to 50 grams. The weights given here correspond to the weight of a ladle full of water from each source. Located between the Fragrant Hill in the west and the Longevity Hill in the east, the Hill of Jade-Spring was the place where the imperial Garden of Tranquil Brightness was located. There were totally three springs on the Hill of Jade-Spring and the one at the root of the hill was the so-called Jade Spring.

⁶³⁶ With nine turns in total, the Yixun River originates from the imperial hunting field Mulan, north of the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness in Chengde.

⁶³⁷ There are ten *li* in one *liang*.

⁶³⁸ Yangzi signifies today's Zhenjiang City, which belongs to the Jiangnan region.

⁶³⁹ In the Hui Mountain, there is the Spring of Luzi, the so-called "second best spring water" in China. Luzi was Lu Yu of the Tang dynasty, famous for tasting the quality of tea.

But is there any water lighter than the Jade Spring's? The answer is yes. Then, from which spring? It is not spring but rather snow water. I used to gather and warm up snow, and then find it is three $\frac{1}{2}$ lighter than the water of the Jade Spring. Snow water is not always available, and no cold water that seeps out at the foot of a hill can surpass the Jade Spring in the suburb of the capital.

In the past, there was a debate between Lu Yu and Liu Bochu [about which water was the best in China].⁶⁴⁰ The latter regarded the "valley-curtain" of the Lu Mountain [in Jiangxi] as the best;⁶⁴¹ the former took the water [of the Golden Mountain] in Yangzi as the best and that of the Hui Mountain as the second. Although southerners used to appreciate a trifle as a treasure,⁶⁴² when comparing the weights [of the water], [the water of] the Hui Mountain certainly takes the second place to [that of the Golden Hill in] Yangzi. It is clear that the ancients did not make things up, but it is a pity that not only did they not reach the Yixun River north of the capital, but they even did not reach the capital. Had they been here, they would certainly have thought the Jade Spring was the best in China.

In the last few years, the West Lake [in the northwestern suburb of the capital] was expanded as the Kunming Lake.⁶⁴³ All around the Longevity Hill, there have always been some famous springs. When tracing these springs to their sources, it appears clear that the Jade Spring is actually the origin of the divine vein and the hub of virtuous water.⁶⁴⁴ It is very light and has a sweet taste. Though I have not been to the Lu Mountain yet, I believe the Jade Spring is better than the Golden Hill in Yangzi. I therefore name the Jade Spring "The Best Spring of China," and order the construction department to build a sublime and brilliant temple to secure the benefits of the spring and also order to inscribe my record on a stele.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁰ Lu Yu was acclaimed as the Tea Saint.

⁶⁴¹ The waterfall in the Valley of Kangwang of the Lu Mountain looks like a long curtain.

⁶⁴² This is an ironic expression.

⁶⁴³ For the making of the Lake of Kunming, refer to my annotated translation, "Emperor Qianlong's Record of the Lake of Kunming of the Longevity Hill," in appendix 2.

⁶⁴⁴ The water of the Jade Spring flowed east into the Lake of Kunming of the Longevity Hill and was the major source for all the watercourses of the imperial gardens in the northwestern suburb.

⁶⁴⁵ The temple was called Temple of King Dragon. According to an ancient legend, King Dragon lives in the East Sea and is the god of water. A temple is usually built for securing benefits of water

The Jade Spring, in fact, jumps from and gushes out at the bottom of the hill and ripples into a lake.⁶⁴⁶ The poets [mistakenly] compared the scene to a “hanging rainbow” of a high waterfall.⁶⁴⁷ When I wrote a poem for the “eight *jing* of the Yan Mountains” not long ago, were I not echoing what the poets said?⁶⁴⁸ This fully shows that truth exists in the human world, so does fallacy. Especially when a text has been made, the fallacy which it creates cannot be changed easily [by later generations]. A spring always brings some goods and no ills to human beings. Even so, it still cannot escape being misjudged. Therefore, a ruler, who brings goods and ills to human beings, might feel afraid of being misjudged. This is not something to be necessarily afraid of [, because even a perfectly good spring can be misjudged].

for human life. Two steles were erected beside the Jade Spring: one for the name inscription of “Jade Spring,” another for Emperor Qianlong’s record.

⁶⁴⁶ The lake was called Lake of Jade-Spring. It is located at the southeastern root of the Hill of Jade-Spring.

⁶⁴⁷ The *jing* of the Jade Spring used to be called Hanging Rainbow of Jade Spring. Qianlong was mentioning here those poems of the Ming dynasty (See Yu Minzhong et al [Qing dyn.] ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. [Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001], 1: 123).

⁶⁴⁸ The Hanging Rainbow of Jade Spring was one of the “eight *jing* of the Yan Mountains.” Yan is the ancient name of the Beijing area. The Yan Mountains means the mountains around Beijing, most of which are in the northwestern suburb. The “eight *jing* of the Yan Mountains” had been known since the reign of Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty. Emperor Qianlong poetized twice the “eight *jing* of the Yan Mountains.” In the first time, following the Ming poems, he described the *jing* of Hanging Rainbow of Jade Spring as “The rapids fall a thousand *zhang* onto a hanging rainbow,” which indicated the existence of a waterfall. But at the second time (1751), he rectified the mistake and changed the name of “Hang Rainbow of Jade Spring” to “Jumping and Gushing Jade Spring,” which was one of the sixteen *jing* of the Garden of Tranquil Brightness (See Yu Minzhong et al [Qing dyn.] ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. [Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001], 1: 117-118).

Emperor Qianlong's Record of the Garden of Tranquil Pleasure⁶⁴⁹

(For the original Chinese text, see text 18 in appendix 4)

In the seventh month in the autumn of the year of *yichou* [1745], the expansion of the outer city of the Fragrant Hill began.⁶⁵⁰ Brambles and overgrowing weeds were eliminated, and waste tiles and broken stones were taken away. On the remains of an old camp palace, buildings and a wall were built.⁶⁵¹ Buddhist temples and jade palaces interlock and look out over each other.⁶⁵² At each peak or valley which provides beautiful landscape settings and extraordinary views was erected a pavilion, a gallery, a thatched cottage, a pavilion leaning against a cliff,⁶⁵³ a painted boathouse or a humble room.⁶⁵⁴ A building can be as small as one bay or as big as several bays.⁶⁵⁵ Certain groups of buildings were clustered. In the third month in the spring of the year of *bingyin* [1746], the garden was made. It is not a completely new creation since it depends on its conforming to the landscape.⁶⁵⁶

My grandfather [Emperor Kangxi] visited extensively the scenic spots and ancient Buddhist temples in the West Mountain.⁶⁵⁷ When his mood was high, he would chant poems to express his intentions. Grass and trees were thus brightened and to peaks and valleys were thus added luster. In apprehension of overworking the retinues of laborers and officials, he decided to build up several camp palaces beside

⁶⁴⁹ The translation is based on the punctuated text, "Yuzhi Jingyiyuan ji," in Yu Minzhong et al (Qing dyn.) ed., *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 3: 1437. The garden is located in the Fragrant Hill.

⁶⁵⁰ The Fragrant Hill is on the eastern side of the West Mountain range.

⁶⁵¹ The old camp palace was established by Kangxi. Qianlong added an outer wall of over ten *li* long to enclose the Garden of Tranquil Pleasure.

⁶⁵² The main Buddhist temples included the Temple of Fragrant Hill, the Temple of Blue Clouds and the Temple of Manifestation, which were respectively founded in the Jin, Yuan and Qing dynasties.

⁶⁵³ The pavilion leaning against a cliff is a house built up against a cliff and with a single sloped roof.

⁶⁵⁴ The painted boat-house is called Green Clouds, which is one of the twenty-eight *jing*. Because the water in the garden was not deep enough for carrying boats, the Boat-House of Green Clouds was built to imitate the Boat-House of Clouds and Sailing Moon in the Mountain Hamlet for Summer Coolness.

⁶⁵⁵ The central hall of the Temple of Fragrant Hill has seven bays. The Hall of Diligent Administration has five bays.

⁶⁵⁶ The original term of "conforming to the landscape" is *yin* 因.

⁶⁵⁷ The *jing* of the Fragrant Hill was first developed by the emperors, Shizong and Zhangzong, of the Jin dynasty. There are over one hundred Buddhist temples in the West Mountain.

the Buddhist temples.⁶⁵⁸ There were no colorful decorations. He went there at dawn and returned after two nights. He was not tired by the riding trip. Such was also the situation at Xiuyun, Huanggu and Fragrant Hill, but only the Fragrant Hill, the closest, was ten *li* away from the Garden of Round Brightness.

In the year of *guihai* [1743], I began to visit the place and felt delighted. Since then, whenever I can break away from public affairs, I will travel there. The happiness derived from mountains and waters cannot be forgotten, but my retainers' sweating in rain and struggling with wind and dusts should also be appreciated. On the site of my grandfather's camp palace, I therefore did some repairs and constructions, making a hall here and a small room there. Simplicity and thrift are cherished and the expression of this will takes precedent. Every action and every restraint from action derive from self-control and afford an experience of intelligence and humanity.⁶⁵⁹

The name, Tranquil Pleasure, evolves from Zhouzi's idea and perhaps matches the origin of the world.⁶⁶⁰ The audience hall is called Diligent Administration where I go day and night to consult with my officials for relieving common people's hardship as I do in the Garden of Round Brightness.⁶⁶¹ Relaxation yields a sense of happiness. [Catering to public affairs in the garden] saves the pains of a long trip and this shows my sympathy for servants. From my hillside residence, I can look over the distant villages and open fields. People engaged in ploughing, weeding, sending food, harvesting and gleaning wheat come clearly into my view. Apricot blooms and herbs by the water can tell the season and help the understanding of agricultural books.

⁶⁵⁸ The camp palace of the Fragrant Hill was built in 1677.

⁶⁵⁹ Confucius says, "An intelligent man delights in waters; a humane man, in mountains" (See chapter six, *Lunyu*, in Liu Hongzhang et al anno., *Lunyu*, Mengzi, 51).

⁶⁶⁰ Zhouzi is Zhou Dunyi, a philosopher of Neo-Confucianism of the Northern Song dynasty. He created the *taiji* diagram and wrote the books of *Taiji tushuo* and *Zhouzi tongshu*. His thoughts focus on the dialectic relationship between motion and stillness, between *yang* and *yin*. In the chapter "Meng gen" of *Zhouzi tongshu*, using the metaphor of a clear spring, he expressed preference for tranquility that could bring to light the Dao of the world. This relationship between tranquility and a clear spring is a direct source for the emperor to name his gardens in the northwestern suburb (See Zhou Dunyi [Song dyn.], *Taiji tushuo*, *Tong shu*, *Guan wu pian* [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992], 48).

⁶⁶¹ As one of the twenty-eight *jing*, the Hall of Diligent Administration imitated the one in the Garden of Round Brightness. The Hall of Diligent Administration was first established by Kangxi in the West Garden and was imitated by Yongzheng in the Garden of Round Brightness.

The oddity and singularity of rocky hills and the resplendence and moistness of woods and grass are completely natural showing no sign of human labor.⁶⁶² Now I believe that the divine mystery of the creation of the world depends upon a serene spectator who obtains his self.⁶⁶³

There are twenty-eight *jing* in total, each of which is recorded and paired with a poem.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶² The Fragrant Hill is famous for its red-leaf woods in autumn. One of the twenty-eight *jing* of the garden is the Colorful Autumn Woods.

⁶⁶³ The original term of “obtain his self” is *zhide*, literally “self-obtaining.” Mencius says: “A gentleman gets a deep understanding through Dao and obtains it by his own endeavor” (See chapter “Lilou xia” of *Mengzi*, in Liu Hongzhang & Qiao Qingju, *Lunyu, Mengzi*, 270). The “self-obtaining” is therefore a conscious effort to understand the self.

⁶⁶⁴ The garden has a double wall. Within the inner wall, there are twenty *jing*; and between the outer and inner walls, eight *jing*.

END OF APPENDIX-2 FOOTNOTES.

Appendix 3 Brief Chronology of Chinese Dynasties

For the Chinese ancient dynasties that play a significant role in Chinese garden history, their chronology is given here:

Western Zhou (11th cen.— 771 B.C.)

Spring and Autumn (770— 476 B.C.)

Warring States period (475— 221 B.C.)

Western Han (206 B.C.— A.D. 8)

Eastern Han (25— 220)

Southern-Northern Dynasties (317— 589)

Tang (618— 906)

Five Dynasties (907— 960)

Northern Song (960— 1127)

Southern Song (1127— 1279)

Yuan (1279— 1368)

Ming (1368— 1644)

Qing (1644— 1911):

Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1662-1722)

Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723-1735)

Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736-1796)

Jiaqing 嘉庆 (r. 1796-1820)

Daoguang 道光 (r. 1821-1850)

Xianfeng 咸丰 (r. 1851-1861)

Appendix 4 Chinese Texts

- Text 1 (Shizong xianhuangdi yuzhi) Yuanmingyuan ji
(世宗宪皇帝御制)圆明园记
- Text 2 (Qianlong) Yuanmingyuan houji (乾隆)圆明园后记
- Text 3 (Qianlong yuzhi) Changchunyuan tiju youxu
(乾隆)长春园题句有序
- Text 4 (Yongzheng) Xingli lun (雍正)性理论
- Text 5 (Qianlong) Yuzhi Xiaoyoutian yuan ji (乾隆)御制小有天园记
- Text 6 (Yongzheng) Yongdi shiji xu (雍正)雍邸诗集序
- Text 7 (Yongzheng) Yuexin ji xu (雍正)悦心集序
- Text 8 (Yongzheng) Jingyan jiangyi (雍正)经筵讲义
- Text 9 (Nian Xiyao) Shixue bianyan (1729) (年希尧)视学弁言(1729)
- Text 10 (Nian Xiyao) Shixue xu, 1735) (年希尧)视学序, 1735)
- Text 11 Shengzu renhuangdi yuzhi Changchunyuan ji 圣祖仁皇帝御制畅春园记
- Text 12 (Kangxi) Bishu shanzhuang ji (康熙)避暑山庄记
- Text 13 Gaozong yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang houxu 高宗御制避暑山庄后序
- Text 14 (Qianlong) Yuzhi Wanquanzhuang ji (乾隆)御制万泉庄记
- Text 15 (Qianlong) Yuzhi Wanshoushan Kunminghu ji
(乾隆)御制万寿山昆明湖记
- Text 16 (Qianlong) Yuzhi Wanshoushan Qingyiyuan ji
(乾隆)御制万寿山清漪园记
- Text 17 (Qianlong) Yuzhi Yuquanshan tianxia diyi quan ji
(乾隆)御制玉泉山天下第一泉记
- Text 18 (Qianlong) Yuzhi Jingyiyuan ji
(乾隆)御制静宜园记

圆明园记 / 雍正帝

圆明园^①，在“畅春园”之北^②，朕藩邸所居赐园也。在昔皇考圣祖仁皇帝听政余暇，游憩于丹稜洲之浚^③，饮泉水而甘。爰就明戚废墅，节缩其址，筑“畅春园”。熙春盛暑，时临幸焉。朕以遯辟，拜赐一区，林皋清淑，陂淀潏泓^④。因高就深，旁山依水，相度地宜，构结亭榭。取天然之趣，省工役之烦。槛花堤树，不灌溉而滋荣；巢鸟池鱼，乐飞潜而自集。盖以其地形爽垲^⑤，土壤丰嘉，百汇易以蕃昌，宅居于兹安吉也。园既成，仰荷慈恩，赐以园额，曰：“圆明”。

朕尝恭迓奎輿，欣承色笑，庆天伦之乐，申爱日之诚^⑥。花木林泉，咸增荣宠。及朕缙承大统^⑦，夙夜孜孜，斋居治事，虽炎景郁蒸，不为避暑迎凉之计。

时逾三载，金谓大礼告成^⑧，百务具举，宜宁神受福，少屏烦喧，而风土清佳，惟园居为胜，始命所司酌量修葺。亭台丘壑，悉仍旧观。惟建设轩墀，分列朝署^⑨，俾侍直诸臣有视事之所；构殿于园之南^⑩，御以听政。晨曦初丽，夏晷方长，召对咨询，频移昼漏，与诸臣相接见之时为多。园之中，或辟田庐^⑪，或营蔬圃，平原沃沃^⑫，嘉颖穰穰^⑬，偶一眺览，则遐思区夏^⑭，普祝有秋。至若凭栏观稼^⑮，临陌占云^⑯，望好雨之知时，冀良苗之应候，则农夫勤瘁，稽事艰难，其景象又恍然在苑囿间也。若乃林光晴霁，池影澄清，净练不波，遥峰入镜^⑰；朝晖夕月，映碧涵虚^⑱，道妙自生^⑲，天怀顿朗^⑳。乘机务之少暇，研经史以陶情，拈韵挥毫，

用资典学^㉑。凡此起居之有节，悉由圣范之昭垂^㉒，随地恪遵^㉓，罔敢越轶^㉔。

其采椽栝柱^㉕，素壁版扉，不斫不延，不施丹雘^㉖，则法皇考之节俭也。昼接臣僚，宵披章奏，校文于墀，观射于圃，燕闲斋肃，动作有恒，则法皇考之勤劳也。春秋佳日，景物芳鲜，禽奏和声，花凝湛露^㉗，偶召诸王大臣从容游赏，济以舟楫，饷以果蔬，一体宣情，抒写畅洽，仰观俯察，游泳适宜，万象毕呈，心神怡旷，此则法皇考之亲贤礼下，对时育物也^㉘。

至若，嘉名之赐以“圆明”，意旨深远^㉙，殊未易窥。尝稽古籍之言^㉚，体认圆明之德。夫圆而入神^㉛，君子之时中也^㉜，明而普照，达人之睿知也^㉝。若举斯义以铭户牖，以勖身心，虔体天意，永怀圣海，含煦品汇^㉞，长养元和^㉟，不求自安，而期万方之宁谧^㊱，不图己逸，而冀百族之恬熙^㊲。庶几世跻春台^㊳，人游乐园，廓鸿基于孔固^㊴，绥福履于方来^㊵，以上答皇考垂祐之深恩，而朕之心至是或可以少慰也夫。爰宣示予怀而为之记^㊶。

圆明园后记/乾隆帝

昔我皇考因皇祖之赐园，修而葺之，略具朝署之规，以乘时行令，布政亲贤。而轩、墀、亭、榭、凸山凹池之纷列于后者，不尚其“华”，尚其“朴”；不称其“富”，称其“幽”。乐著植，则有灌木丛花怒生笑迎也；验农桑，则有田庐蔬圃量雨较晴也；松风水月入襟怀，而道妙自生也；细旃广夏^①，时接儒臣，研经史，以淑情也^②。或怡悦于斯，或歌咏于斯，或惕息于斯^③。

我皇考之先忧后乐，一皇祖之先忧后乐，周宇物而圆明也。圆明之义，盖君子之时中也。皇祖以是名赐皇考，皇考敬受之，而身心以勖^④，户牖以铭也。“不求

自安，而期万方之宁谧，不图自逸，而冀百姓之恬熙。”
又我皇考绥履垂裕于无穷也^⑤。

予小子敬奉先帝宫室苑囿，常恐貽羞，敢有所增益？是以践祚后^⑥，所司以建园请，御之^⑦。既释服^⑧，爰仍皇考之旧园而居焉。夫帝王临朝视政之暇，必有游观广览之地。然得其宜，宜以养性而陶情，失其宜，适以玩物而丧志。寔室服御^⑨、奇技玩好之念切，则亲贤纳谏、勤政爱民之念疏矣。其害可胜言哉！皇考未就畅春园而居者，以有此圆明园也。而不研不靡，一皇祖淳朴之心。然规模之宏敞，丘壑之幽深，风土草木之清佳，高楼邃室之具备，亦可称观止^⑩。实天保地灵之区，帝王豫游之地，无以踰此。后世子孙，必不舍此而重费民财以创建苑囿，斯则深契朕法皇考勤俭之心以为心矣。藉曰：“祖考所居，不忍居也。”^⑪则宫禁又当何如？昔张老之善颂^⑫，甚可味也。

若夫建园始末，圣人对时育物，修文崇武，煦万汇，保太和，期跻斯世于春台，游斯人于乐国之意，则已具皇考之前记。予小子何能赘一辞焉！

乾隆三十五年御製長春園題句

山水符樂壽之徵，興隨所遇，日月引壺洲之景，春與

俱長。迺拓餘地於御園，爰效嘉名於仙館。顧當年之賜號，時切體元；籌他日之安居，茲惟卜始。波通福海，東甯旭麗扶桑；垣亘清河，北陌香浮華黍。列繚緇以娛志，堂啓含經；撫翰墨以怡神，軒成淳化。思永勵始終如一，式是齋乎；開襟而氣象盈千，登斯樓也。他若某邱某壑，境足賞心；有樹有亭，勝堪寓目。每幾暇謁來游憩，擬耄期恒此頤恬。以紀元六十載爲衡，積愿笑惟奢望；從周甲廿五年而計，勗勤敢有倦心！儼以弁言，系之長律。長春非敢暢春侔，暢春園在國明園之南，皇祖所建，今奉皇太后居之。即景名園亦有由。賜號當年例

仙館，長春仙館爲明園四十景之一，雍正年間賜居也，即以當年賜號名之。

倦勤他日擬菟裘。

于有夙願，若至乾隆六十年，壽登八十五，彼時亦應歸政，故稱國明園之東預修此園，

爲他日優游之地。雖屬侈望，然果得如培松拱把冀鱗老，留石平心待句酬。廿五春秋仍劼毖，此亦國家景運之隆，天下臣民之慶也。尚當二十五年。然一日龜茲，今歲六旬，固指果得歸政，必居此園時然後可息肩娛老耳。耄期歲月合優游。

性理论

性之与理，就上而言，即无极太极，就下而言，即太极阴阳^①。性缘理而立，理从性而生。即生而言，只有理，而不知有性；即立而言，只有性，而不知有理。理者，事之宜也。天地间万事，各具自然之万宜，非人可更加之以理者。

一贯之道，性善之论，非至诚不能达也。诚者，诚一无伪之谓，凡有二者，皆属虚伪。诚之为道，且即君君臣臣父父子子而言，曰忠曰孝，亦万事本具万宜之名色耳。岂君臣父子之外，别有忠孝乎？广而推之，万事万理，可一体照而自明矣。即宜用宜道心也，悖宜不宜人心也。此乃圣人从下引后学于上达，由精一而入执中之意。因恐后学不能一旦精一执中，宁令依于道心，而不令依于人心之教。

太极中虽具阴阳，然太极内不见阴阳。如阴中求阳，不可得也，阳中求阴，不可得也。若阴阳中觅太极，更岂得乎？此言本性依于道心而尚不可，何况依于人心之谓？至于阴中具阳，阳中具阴，阴阳包含于太极，太极不离于阴阳之论，其言性固然矣，理何在焉？如昼中有夜，夜中有昼，男中有女，女中有男，水中有火，火中有水之论。

若然，将人心即为道心可乎？更有胸中勉强立一主见，妄执以为道心，千条万绪中，逐件分别取舍，将向日耳目学问边陈腐章句以为规则，若如此寻枝别叶，欲上达阴阳太极一体之道，即性即理本源之学，如入海算沙不能也。

程子曰：“一旦豁然贯通，则众物之表里精粗无不到，而吾心之全体大用无不明矣。”此论实达太极阴阳之性，格物致知之理。后学者当体先圣立言之苦心，屏尽私欲，时存天理，拳拳服膺，日就月将，至一旦豁然贯通时，方能会。曾子曰：“唯之意若徒求之言表，何可与言性理之道？”宜乎至圣三叹，民鲜能久也。

獨集小有天圖記

左澤菴，面明壘，兼挹湖山之秀，爲南屏最佳處者，莫過於汪氏之

小有天園。蓋辛未南巡所命名也。去歲丁丑，復至其地，爲之流連，爲之倚吟。歸而思

畫家所爲收千里於咫尺者，適得思永齋東林屋一區，室則十笏，窗乃半之。窗之外隙地方

廣亦十笏，命匠氏疊石成峰，則居然慧日也。範錫爲宇，又依然壑庵也。汪氏別業舊名。激水作

瀑，泠泠琤琤，不殊幽居洞之所聞。而黃山松樹子雖盈尺，有凌雲之概，天矯盤擎，高

下雜出，於石笋峭蒨間，復與琴臺之古木蒼巖玲瓏秀削不可言同。何況云異？吾於是知

天地間之景無窮，而人之心亦無窮。境有異，而人之心無有異。夫此爲軒、爲亭、爲

磴、爲池、爲林泉、爲崖壑，固不可歷歷手攀而足陟之者。使目擊道存，會心不遠，則

此爲軒、爲亭、爲磴、爲池、爲林泉、爲崖壑，又何不可歷歷手攀而足陟之乎？昔新豐

雞犬各識其戶，固已侈矣。李德裕平泉之像巴峽，寫洞庭，則又務窮遠，盡態極妍而不

必師。所可師者其意而已。然吾之意不在千里外之湖光山色應接目前，而在兩浙間之吏

治民依來往胸中矣。是爲記。

✓ 《雍邸诗集》序

闲境闲情

朕昔在雍邸①，自幸为天下第一闲人。然所谓闲者，非若箕颍遗世②，竹木肆志之类③也。朕生当国家鼎盛之时，三逆④荡平，四方宁谧。仰蒙皇考钟爱，承欢膝下，位列亲藩，寝门定省之余，无他事事，境之所处闲矣。兼之赋性不乐浮华，既无庸皇皇于富贵，更不烦戚戚于贫贱，只期消融机巧，遂觉随处乐天，情之所寄又闲矣。虽然，究其所以优游恬适，得四十余年为一闲人者，莫非我皇考教育深恩，有以成就之也。

朕素不娴声律，每于随从塞北，扈蹕江南，偶遇皇考命题属赋，勉强应制，一博天颜欢笑，初不计字句工拙。至于宴赏登临，触物寓感，有会而作，因诗记事，借以陶写性情而已，岂曰与文人墨客较论短长耶？岁月积久，哀焉成集。

迨壬寅冬⑤，恭承皇考付托之重，临御寰宇。封章重叠，机务殷繁，肝食宵衣，犹虞丛脞，夙兴夜寐，莫敢求安。向之优游恬适，今则易而为惕励忧勤，花朝月夕之吟，皆成祁寒暑雨之思矣。

检阅旧作，曷胜惘然。细想曩日之闲境闲情，奚啻邈若河汉也哉！爰序于雍邸集首，以示朕意云。

《悦心集》序

朕生平澹泊为怀，恬静自好，乐天知命，随境养和。前居藩邸时，虽身处繁华，而寤寐之中，自觉清闲旷，超然尘俗之外。然不好放逸身心，披阅经史之余，旁及百家小集。其有寄兴萧闲，寓怀超脱者，佳章好句，散见简编。或如皓月当空，或如凉风解暑，或如时花照眼，或如好鸟鸣林，或如泉响空山，或如钟清午夜，均足以消除结滞，洗涤烦嚣，令人心旷神怡，天机畅适。因随意采录若干，则置诸几案间，以备观览。

自总理万几以来，宵旰不遑，求如曩时之怡情悦目，不可复得。然宁静之幸，不因物动；恬澹之致，岂为境移，此乃可以自信者。爰取向所采录，汇为一书，名之曰《悦心集》。

夫心者，人之神明，所以为万化之源，万事之本。而劳之则苦，扰之则烦，蔽之则昏，窒之则滞。故圣贤有存心、洗心之明训，佛祖有明心、寂心之微言。无非涵养一心之冲虚灵妙，使无所累，与天地太和元气浑然流行，无入而不自得也。如孔门之春风沂水^①，仙家之吸露餐霞^②，如来之慧雨香花^③，以及先儒之霁月光风天根月窟^④其理同，其旨趣何弗同耶？是编所录，有庄语，有逸语，有清语，有趣语，有浅近语，不名一体。人有仕有隐，有儒有释，有高名，有无名，亦不专一家。

总之，戒贪祛妄，屏虑释思，寄清净心，游欢喜地，言近指远，辞简味长，俯仰之间，随时可会然。而喧寂在境，而不喧不寂者，自在心。往往迹寄清廓之乡，而神思萦扰，身处尘氛之地，而志气安舒，则见道未见道之分也。昔朗禅师以书招永嘉禅师山居，师答曰：“未识道而先居山者，但见其山，不见其道，未居山而先识道者，但见其道，必忘其山。见道忘山者，人间亦寂也，见山忘道者，山中乃喧也。”旨哉！斯言。知此义者，始可与读《悦心集》。

经筵讲义

子曰：“参乎①，吾道一以贯之。”曾子曰：“唯。”子出，门人问曰：“何谓也？”曾子曰：“夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。”忠恕二字，朕以为忠者，诚也；恕者，应也。存诸己者，惟一诚。物来顺应，万事自具万理，皆一以贯之。

至于《书经》云：“时亮天工，天道运行，各因乎时”而时亮即时中，因时制宜，惟忠恕方能时亮，此亦一贯之理也。

“其行己也，恭；其事上也，敬；其养民也，惠；其使民也，义。”此四者虽论臣道，而君道亦然。恭己南面，乃人君出治之本。人君之事天，即如人臣之事君也。敬谨之心，岂容一刻稍懈。至于“养民之惠”，“使民之义”，君与臣更无二道也。

朕谓子产四端②，不但人臣当以为法，即人君亦当以为法。

“子以四教：文、行、忠、信。”讲章内将文、行、忠、信分为四端，此是常解。朕以为仁义道德之理，见于词章者，为文；见于躬行者，为行；实有诸己，则为忠诚；孚于物，则为信。分之固为四端，合之只此一理。圣人四教，即谓之一教亦可。

“中也者，天下之大本也。和也者，天下之达道也。”中和一理，不可视为歧二，亦不可言浑一。中之理本具和，但致中之时，而存和之见，则中必不致。和之道本即中，但致和之时，而存中之见，则和必亦不致。能各尽专功，方能会归一本。如此，则位天地、育万物，参赞之功能备矣。

“致中和，天地位焉，万物育焉。”性曰天命，天地万物共之。中为一本，和乃散殊。此致中和，彼各位育，乃自然者，圣人却不自以为功能。故曰：“天地无心而成化，圣人有心而无为。”

“君子之中庸也，君子而时中。”时中中字，凡属讲章，俱讲成中（去声）字，尚未尽时中之精义。君子之中也，以敬而统庸于中，君子之庸也，以诚而推中于庸，不然即不能时中矣。朕意如此。

“唯天下至诚，为能经纶天下之大经，立天下之大本，知天地之化育。”经纶天下之大经，立天下之大本，知天地之化育，向来诠释皆以为至诚之用。朕以为此即至诚之体。至诚浑然天理，真实无妄，天下之大经、大本、天地之化育，皆全备于性分之中。非大经、大本、化育之外，别有所至诚；

亦非至诚之外，别有大经、大本、化育也。至诚全体包含具足，自然而然。若因本文能字，遂指为至诚之功用，恐于理解未融。

“后稷^⑨教民稼穡，树艺五谷。五谷熟，而民人育。”

上古圣人于洪荒之世，草昧初开，殚心竭力，以开粒食之原，养育万民。传及后世，田畴既闢，成法具详。为君臣者倘不能实尽其重农务本之道，以厚民生，对之古人能无深愧！

“立人之道曰仁与义。”天之阴阳，地之刚柔，人之仁义，各以功能而言。故有分著之名，而其实总是一理。天地之道，亦不外乎仁义；人之道，亦即此阴阳刚柔。圣人以仁义立人极，而阴阳合撰，刚柔交济，遂成参赞位育之功。此三才一贯之道也。

“天工人其代之。”天工人其代之，向来讲章俱言：“天工乃上天付与君臣当行之事也。”朕谓此不惟君臣代天之工，即在百姓士、农、工、商各执一业，即各有当尽之责，皆上天所付与，莫非天工也。君与臣必能勉教养之道，与百姓同能，各代天工，方可谓无旷厥职。

“后克艰厥后，臣克艰厥臣，政乃乂，黎民敏德。”讲章内君以天之心为心，臣以君之心为心。朕谓君臣一德一心，人君钦崇天道，人臣寅亮天工，皆当以天之心为心也。总之，元首、股肱原属一体。若云人君以天之心为心，人臣以君之心为心，是君臣之间尚有分析矣。朕意如此。

“皇建其有极，敛时五福，用敷锡厥庶民。”极者，万事万物之标准，随地而有者也。人君当立天下之极，至于督抚则当立一省之极，州县有司则当立一方之极。在廷臣工，则当正心端本，辅翼赞襄，以成人君建极之道。朕与诸臣愿共勉之。

“推贤让能，庶官乃和。”《书》言：“推贤让能，庶官乃和。”朕以为和者，政治之本。惟公斯和，非公必不能和。或非和而假于和，如同不和。故推让本无心，因贤能而有推让。其所推所让者，若果因人而施，则于不贤不能者，不但不推不让，且当远之斥之。故曰乃和，盖相因而成也。若非一堂尽秉公忠，“推让乃和”四字，岂可轻言哉！

金華縣志卷之九
余嘉慶即留心視學。率嘗任智殫思。未得其端緒。迨
泰西郎學士數相晤對。即能以西法作中土繪事。始以定點引
線之法。貽余能畫物類之變態。一得定位。則蟬聯而生。雖毫忽
分秒。不能互置。然後物之尖斜平直。規圓矩方。行筆不離乎紙。
而其四周全體。一若空懸中央。面面可見。至於天光遙臨。日色
傍射。以及燈燭之輝映。遠近大小。隨形呈影。曲折隱顯。莫不如
意。蓋一本乎物之自然。而以目力受之。裨然有賞於人心。余然
後知視之為學。如是也。今一室之中。而位置一物。不得其所。則
觸目之頃。即有不適之意生焉。樹筆墨之事。可以舍是哉。然古
人之論繪事者有矣。曰仰畫飛檐。又曰深見溪谷津事。則其見
力已至。平無壅所矣。烏足以語學耶。而其言之近似者。則曰透
空一望。百斜都見。終未若此冊之切要著明也。余故悉次為圖。
公諸同好勤敏之士。得其理而通之。大而山川之高廣。細而蟲
魚花鳥之動植。飛潛無一不可。窮神盡秘。而得其真者。毋徒漫
語。人曰真而不妙。夫不真又安所得妙哉。

己酉二月之朔。偶齋年希堯書



補遺錄無盡也予聞敢據言得其精蘊哉雖然予究心
 始斯三十年矣嘗謂中土工繪事者或千巖萬壑或深林密菁
 意匠經營得心應手固可縱橫自如淋漓盡致而相賞於尺度
 風裁之外至於樓閣器物之類欲其出入規矩毫髮無差非取
 則於泰西之法萬不能窮其理而造其極先是予粗理其瑞續
 刊圖問世特豹之一斑而隅之一觴雖已公諸同好終不免於
 膚淺近得數與郎先生諱名寧者往復再四研究其源流凡仰
 陽合覆至斜倒置下觀高視等線法莫不由一點而生造端究
 一點之理又非泰西所有而中土所無者凡目之視物近者大
 遠者小理有固然即如五嶽最大自遠視之愈遠愈小然必小
 至一星之點而止又如芥子最小置之遠處蒼直視去雖冥然
 無所見而於目力極處則一點之理仍存也由此推之萬物能
 小如一點一點亦能生萬物因其從一點而生故名曰頭點從
 點而出者成線從線而出者成物雖物類有殊異與點線有差
 別名或不同其理則一再如物置面前遠五尺者若干大遠一
 丈者若干大則用點割之謂之曰離點而遠近又有一定不易
 之理矣試按此法或繪成一室位置各物儼若野有使觀之者
 如壁階級如入門戶如升堂與而不知其為畫或繪成一物若
 懸中央高凹平斜面面可見惜光臨物隨形成影拱凹顯然觀
 者靡不指為真物豈非物假陰陽而拱凹室從掩映而幽深為
 泰西畫法之精妙也哉然亦難以枚舉縷述而使之該備也惟
 首知出乎點線而分遠近次知審乎陰陽而明體用更知取諸
 天先以臻其妙則此法之若離若合或同或異神明變化亦隨
 備於斯三者也予復苦思力索補縷五十餘圖並為圖說以附
 益之亦可云究物類之變化而廣點線之推移直探斯法之源
 流為視學之梯航矣倘於退食之暇更得窮無盡之造詣精思
 以闡其益而質諸高明君子藉所裨益焉則又予之願也夫

雍正乙卯二月之朔偶齋年希堯書



聖祖仁皇帝御製暢春園記

都城西直門外十二里曰海淀，淀有南有北。自萬泉莊平地湧泉，奔流瀾灩，滙於丹陵泮。泮之大，以百頃，沃野平曠，澄波遠岫，綺合繡錯，蓋神阜之勝區也。朕臨御以來，日夕萬幾，罔自暇逸，久積辛勞，漸以滋疾。偶緣暇時，於茲游觀，酌泉水而甘，顧而賞焉。清風徐引，煩疴乍除，爰稽前朝戚畹武清侯李偉因茲形勝，構為別墅。當時韋曲之壯麗，歷歷可考，圯廢之餘，遺址周環十里。雖歲遠零落，故蹟堪尋。敞飛樓之鬱律，循水檻之逶迤。古樹蒼藤，往往而在。爰詔內司，少加規度，依高為阜，卽卑成池。相體勢之自然，取石甃夫固有。計庸畀值，不役一夫。宮館苑囿，足為寧神怡性之所。永惟儉德，捐泰去靡。規昔亭臺邱壑林木泉石之勝，聚其廣袤，十僅存夫六七。惟彌望漣漪，水勢加勝耳。當夫重茵極浦，朝烟夕霏，芳華發於四序，珍禽喧於百族。禾稼豐稔，滿野鋪芬。寓景無方，會心斯遠。其或稱徐未實，鳴雨非時。臨陌以惆悵，開軒而察漭漭。占離畢則殷然望，詠雲漢則悄然憂。宛若禹甸周原，在我戶牖也。每以春秋佳日，天宇澄鮮之時，或盛夏鬱蒸，炎景燦金之候，幾務少暇，則祇奉頤養，游息於茲。足以迓清和而滌煩暑，寄遠矚而康慈顏。扶輿後先，承歡愛日，有天倫之樂焉。其軒擢爽塏以聽政事，曲房邃宇以貯簡編，茅屋蓬茨，畧無藻飾。於焉架以橋梁，濟以舟楫，間以籬落，周以欒垣，如是焉而已矣。既成而以暢春為名，非必其特宜於春日也。夫三統之迭建，以子為天之春，丑為地之春，寅為人之春，而易文言稱乾元統天，則四德皆元，四時皆春也。先王體之以對時育物。使圓頂方趾之衆各得其所，跛行喙息之屬咸若其生。光天之下，熙熙焉，皞皞焉，八風罔或弗宜，六氣罔或弗違，此其所以為暢春者也。若乃秦有阿房，漢有上林，唐有繡嶺，宋有艮嶽，金紅氍毹之飾，包山跨谷之廣，朕固不能為，亦意所弗取。朕匪敢希蹤古人，媲美曩軌，安土陋之陋，惜蠶室之費，亦惟是順時宣暢，承顏敷養，期萬類之乂和，思大化之周浹。一民一物，罔不登茲，朕之心量有已哉？於是為之記而系以詩。詩曰：昔在夏如，克儉卑宮。亦越姬文，勿亟庶攻。若稽古訓，是飲是崇。鑒銘戶牖，夙夜朕躬。棟宇之東，因基前代。巖宿丹雘，檐棲翠竊。營之度之，以治燕處。有沸泉源，汪灩斯在。駕言西郊，聊駐綵旂。甘彼挹酌，工築斯謀。壘澈明鏡，繁帶芳流。川上徘徊，以泳以游。因山成峻，就谷斯卑。咨彼將作，毋曰改爲。松軒茅殿，實惟予宜。亦有樓榭，予尚念茲。撰辰經始，不日落成。豈曰游豫，燕喜是營。展草慈闈，那居高明？遐矚俯瞰，聊用娛情。粵有圖史，藏之延閣。惟此大廡，會彼朱欄。鬱鬱薄暉，依然耕鑿。無假人工，涉瀾雲壑。有鷁其舟，有虹其梁。舒帆可涉，於焉徜徉。文武之道，一弛一張。退省庶政，其罔弗臧。嘗聞君德，莫大於仁。體元出治，於時為春。願言物阜，遷使俗醇。暢春之義，以告區鄰。

避暑山庄记 / 康熙帝

金山发脉^①，暖溜分泉^②，云壑潏泓^③，石潭青黛。

(川) 草肥，无伤田庐之害^④；风清夏爽^⑤，宜人调养之功^⑥；自天地之生成，归造化之品汇^⑦。

朕数巡江干，深知南方之秀丽，两幸秦陇^⑧，益明西土之殫陈^⑨；北过龙沙^⑩，东游长白^⑪，山川之壮，人物之朴，亦不能尽述；皆吾之所不取。唯兹热河道近神京，往还无过两日，地辟荒野，存心岂误万一^⑫？

因而度高平远近之差，开自然峰岚之势；依松为斋，则^⑬窗润色^⑭，引水在亭，则^⑮棹烟出谷，皆非人力所能。借芳甸而为^⑯，无刻楠丹楹之费，喜泉林抱素之怀^⑰；静观万物，俯察庶类^⑱，文禽戏绿水而不避^⑲，麋鹿映夕阳而成群。鸢飞鱼跃，从天性之高下^⑳，远色繁敷，开韶景之低昂^㉑；游一豫^㉒，罔非稼穡之休戚^㉓；或吁或胥^㉔，不忘经史之^㉕。劝耕甫苗^㉖，望丰稔筐宫之盈^㉗，茂止西成^㉘，乐时若雨暘之庆^㉙，此居避暑山庄之概也。

至于玩芝兰，则爱德行，睹松竹，则思贞操，临清流，则贵廉洁；览蔓草，则贱奔秽，此亦古人因物而比兴。不可不知人君之拳，取之于民，不爱者即惑也，故书之于记，朝夕不怠敬戒之在兹也。

高宗御製避暑山莊後序

我

皇祖於辛卯年成此避暑山莊三十六景續圖賦什爲序以行之而子適生於是年此中因緣不可思議即位後於辛酉年始爲巡狩之舉至山莊徘徊思慕因敬依

承德府志

卷三十三

山莊

三

元韻以誌景仰甲戌年又增賦三十六景蓋以

皇祖昔曾題額而未經入國及余遊覽所至隨時題額補定者總弗出

皇祖舊定之範圍故永恬居之詩曰已是洞天傳玉簡得教福地續琅書永恬居即

皇祖御書也

御序至矣盡矣茲後序何爲而作蓋子之生年既同山莊而子之侍

皇祖適以壬寅而今歲又恰當壬寅六十餘年猶於深衷者不可以不明白宣示以自戒已者戒我後人耳夫屬此山莊日集敬

天法

祖勸政惠民柔遠寧通諸大端見之詩文者不知凡幾何尚有未宣之深衷乎無而爲有是欺已有而弗宣是欺人我

皇祖建此山莊所以誥戒綏遠崇樸愛物之義見於御製序中意深遠也是以

皇考十三年之間雖未舉行此典常

承德府志

卷三十三

山莊

四

而論曰子之不在避暑山莊及木蘭行者蓋因日不暇給而性好逸惡教生是子之過後世子孫當遵

皇考所行習武木蘭毋忘

家法煌煌

聖訓于與和親王及爾時軍機大臣實共聞之而今皆無其人矣子如不言後更無知

皇考聖意者又數年來日涉成趣於向所定景外不無建儲如御得齋得室之類不下二十處既見之昨歲知過之論矣而子之意猶有未盡者亦不可不宣示後人

也蓋漢唐以來離宮別苑何代無之然不過費人財運已欲其甚者乃至破國亡家是可戒無足法也若今之山莊乃在關塞之外華重習武不重崇文而今則升府立學發誓崇崇文矣然杜甫所云將軍不好武稚子龍文之句余嘗較之以爲各有其地其職也設衆人慕以此爲美亦美中之不足矣又尼蹕之衆歷數月千役架檝出車古人所以恤下此亦不可不念俾人知其所繫者大且時加惠賜焉則勞而不怨若圖已樂而忘人苦亦非仁人之所爲也若夫崇山峻嶺水態林姿鶴鹿之遊鳶魚之樂加之巖壑溪閣芳草古木物有天德之趣人忘塵世之懷較之漢唐離宮別苑有過之無不及也若耽此而忘一切則子之所爲類藩山莊者是設席舞而子爲得罪

承德府志

卷三十三

山莊

五

祖宗之人矣此意著之久而不忍言今老矣終不可不言黃書之既以自戒仍敬告我後人若後人而忘于此言則與國休戚相關之大臣以及骨鯁忠直之言官執于此言以諫之可也設疎而不從或且罪之者則是天不佑我國家朕亦無如之何也已矣

御製萬泉莊記 萬泉莊之名，不見於古書，而經其地指其村，無不知爲萬泉莊。若夫丹稜泚之稱，互見於二書，而經其地指其村以問諸土人，則茫然不知所謂。吾於是慨然嘆千古紀載家之迷耳食而鮮目擊，於是乎失實者多矣。繼又思失實者固由彼之未平心精思，廣諮博考，不究乎實而不已。然尚賴有此失實者存，而得以考其是非，辨其差訛，則猶迷耳食而鮮目擊者，亦未嘗無小補於後世，未足深怪也。丹稜泚之說，二書所載雖小異，而謂出巴溝以達於高粱則同。然其同歸於失實者，實亦在此。蓋丹稜泚本明成清華園之蹟，今暢春園其故址也。園之前有水一溪，俗所稱菱角泡子者，疑卽其地。其水實由南而北，巴溝在其南，安能逆流而上以入於高粱橋乎？蓋高粱之水自由玉泉發脈，灌爲昆明湖，流爲長河，以經高粱而爲通惠河，其詳悉已具於向作之奏莊橋記，與此無涉也。今巴溝橋之名尚存，而橋之南實有大沙泉、小沙泉在焉。其平地涿涿出焉者不可勝數，與二書所載東維、西倚本入地中者頗合。獨水盡向北流，從無涿涿向南者，此爲異耳。夫水性就下，人所易知，萬泉莊高於巴溝，巴溝又高於丹稜泚，則水之北流而不南流，不待燭照數計矣。而猶有此說焉，則吾謂朱彝尊、孫承澤之述耳食而鮮目擊者，其差訛又未嘗有過目餘年，所記者又不通明季之事，其誰已如此之甚。溯而上之，其紀載之訛，又豈待燭照數計哉！而又豈啻丹稜泚之與萬泉莊哉？夫人皆知此爲萬泉莊，而泉之源又實在此，此不可不正其名而核其實也。因命所司建泉宗廟於此地，若大沙、小沙、巴溝皆立碣以誌之，而廟之內東西爲池沼亭臺若干所，其涼泉處亦皆與之名而誌之，碣凡二十有八。廟之外噴出於稻町柳岸，如孟漿、如蹄渚者，蓋不可勝記，則萬泉之名蓋應在此而不可他屬。因綜其大要，樹以豐碑，以證二書之訛如右云。

御製萬壽山昆明湖記 歲己巳，考通惠河之源而勸課於泰莊橋。元史所載引白浮、甕山諸泉云者，時皆湮沒不可詳。夫河渠，國家之大事也。浮漕利涉灌田，使漲有受而旱無虞，其在導洩有方而淤蓄不匱乎！是不宜聽其淤闕泛濫而不治。因命就甕山前，芟荑堊之，鑿維，浚沙泥之阻塞，匯西湖之水，都爲一區。經始之時，司事者咸以爲新湖之節與深兩倍於舊，踴躍慮水之不足。及湖成而水通，則汪洋澎湃，較舊倍盛，於是又慮夏秋汎濫或有疏虞。揆哉集事之難，可與樂成者以因循爲得計，而古人良法美意，利足及民而中止不究者，曾是也。今之爲牕爲壩爲涵洞，非所以待汎漲乎？非所以濟溝澮乎？非所以啓閉以時使東南順軌以浮漕而利涉乎？昔之城河水不盈尺，今則三尺矣。昔之海甸無水田，今則水田日闢矣。顧予不以此矜其能而溢以懼。蓋天下事必待一人積思勞慮，親細務有弗辭，致衆議有弗恤，而爲之以億俸有成焉，則其所得者必少而所失者亦多矣。此予所重慨夫集事之難也。湖既成，因賜名萬壽山昆明湖，景仰放勳之蹟，兼寓習武之志。得泉甕山而易之曰萬壽云者，則以今年恭逢皇太后六旬大慶，建延壽寺於山之陽故爾。寺別有記，茲特記湖之成，並元史所載泉源始末廢興所由云。

編製萬壽山清漪園記 萬壽山昆明湖記作於辛未，記治水之由與山之更名及湖之始成也。萬壽山清漪園成於辛巳，而今始作記者，以建置題額間或緩待而亦有所難於措辭也。夫既建園矣，既題額矣，何所難而措辭，以與我初言有所背，則不能不愧於心。有所言乃若誦吾過而終不能不言者，所謂君子之過。予雖不言，能免天下之言之乎？蓋湖之成以治水，山之名以臨湖，就其湖山之勝概，能無亭臺之點綴？事有相因，文緣質起，而出內帑，給屋直，較樸素，松藻飾，一如圓明園舊制，無敢或踰焉。雖然，圓明園後記有云：「不肯舍此重費民力建圓固矣，今之清漪園非重建乎？非食言乎？」以臨湖而易山名，以近山而創園固，雖云治水，誰其信之？然而暢春以奉東朝，圓明以恒莅政，清漪靜明，一水可通，以爲剗幾清暇散志澄懷之所，編何所謂無令後世有以加者，意在斯乎！意在斯乎！及憶司馬光之言，則又爽然自失。園雖成，過辰而往，逮午而返，未嘗度宵，猶初志也。或慮有以獻于後，今各記其始末。

御製玉泉山天下第一泉記

水之德在養人，其味貴甘，其質貴輕。然三者正相資，質輕者味必甘，飲之而濁痾益壽。故辨水者恒於其質之輕重分泉之高下焉。嘗製銀斗較之，京師玉泉之水斗重一兩，塞上伊遜之水亦斗重一兩，濟南珍珠泉斗重一兩二釐，揚子金山泉斗重一兩三釐，則較玉泉重二釐或三釐矣。至惠山、虎跑則各重玉泉四釐，平山重六釐，清涼山、白沙、虎邱及西山之碧雲寺各重玉泉一分。是皆巡蹕所至，命內侍精量而得者。然則更無輕於玉泉之水者乎？曰有。爲何泉？曰非泉，乃雪水也。常收積素而烹之，較玉泉斗輕三釐。雪水不可恒得，則凡出山下而有冽者，誠無過京師之玉泉。昔陸羽、劉伯芻之論，或以廬山谷簾爲第一，或以揚子爲第一，惠山爲第二，雖南人

享帚之論也，然以輕重較之，惠山固應讓揚子。具見古人非臆說，而惜其不但未至塞上伊遜，並且未至燕京。若至此，則定以玉泉爲天下第一矣。近歲疏西海爲昆明湖，萬壽山一帶率有名泉，溯源會極，則玉泉實靈脈之發皇，德水之樞紐。且質輕而味甘，廬山雖未到，信有過於揚子之金山者。故定名爲天下第一泉，命將作崇煥神祠以資惠濟，而爲記以勒石。夫玉泉固鈞突山根蕩漾而成一湖者，詩人乃比之飛瀑之垂虹，卽予向日題燕山八景，亦何嘗不隨聲云云？足見公道在世間，誣辭亦在世間。籍甚既成，雖黃難易。泉之於人，有德而無怨，猶不能免訛議焉，則挾德怨以應天下者，可以知懼，抑亦可以不必懼矣。

ILLUSTRATIONS

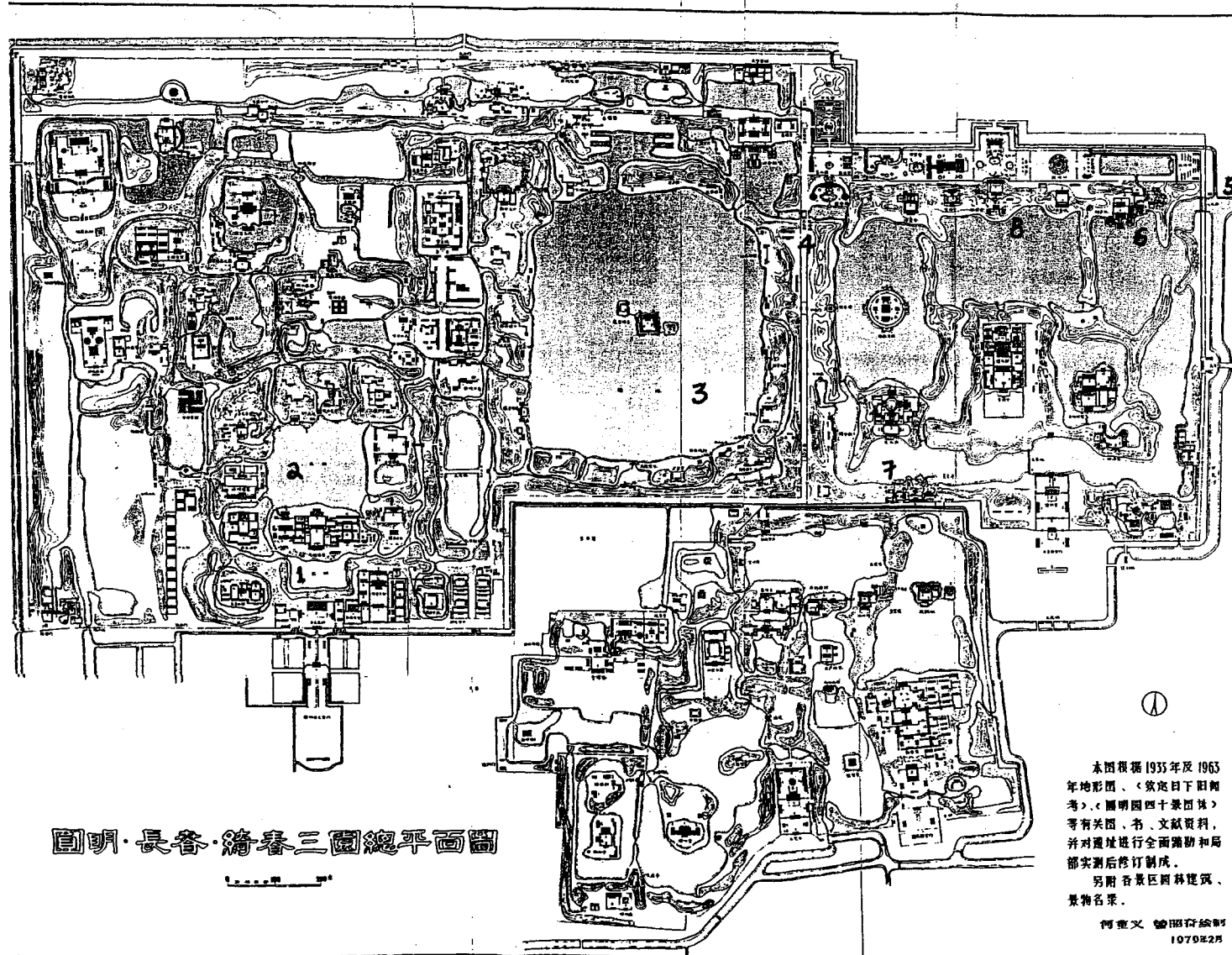
Frontispiece— Excerpt of the calligraphy of Emperor Yongzheng's "Record of the Garden of Round Brightness" (Qing dynasty)

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- Fig. 2 Watercourse plan of the Garden of Round Brightness compound (author, 2002)
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- Fig. 4 Diagrams of the path of the Forty Jing (author, 1999)
- Fig. 5 Painting of the first *jing*, Uprightness and Brightness (Tang Dai & Shen Yuan, 1744)
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- Fig. 7 Painting of the eighth *jing*, Oneness of Sky and Water (Tang Dai & Shen Yuan, 1744)
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- Fig. 17 Plan of the Formation of Yellow Flowers labyrinth (Model Lei, Qing dynasty)
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- Fig. 23 The second copperplate, Northern Face of the Harmony, Wonder and Delight (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 24 The third copperplate, Eastern Face of the Water-Storage Building (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 25 The fourth copperplate, Northern Face of the Gate of the Flower Garden (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 26 The fifth copperplate, Frontal Face of the Flower Garden (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 27 The sixth copperplate, Western Face of the Cages for Raising Birds (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 28 The seventh copperplate, Eastern Face of the Cages for Raising Birds (Yi Lantai, 1786)
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- Fig. 32 The eleventh copperplate, Northern Face of the Hall of the Peaceful Sea (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 33 The twelfth copperplate, Eastern Face of the Hall of the Peaceful Sea (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 34 The thirteenth copperplate, Southern Face of the Hall of the Peaceful Sea (Yi Lantai, 1786)

- Fig. 35 The fourteenth copperplate, Frontal Face of the View of the Distant Sea (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 36 The fifteenth copperplate, Frontal Face of the Big Water-Method (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 37 The sixteenth copperplate, Frontal Face of the Viewing the Water-Method (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 38 The seventeenth copperplate, Frontal Face of the Gate of the Hill of Line-Method (Yi Lantai, 1786)
- Fig. 39 The eighteenth copperplate, Frontal Face of the Hill of Line-Method (Yi Lantai, 1786)
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- Fig. 55 Thatched Pavilion (Lu Hong, Tang dynasty)

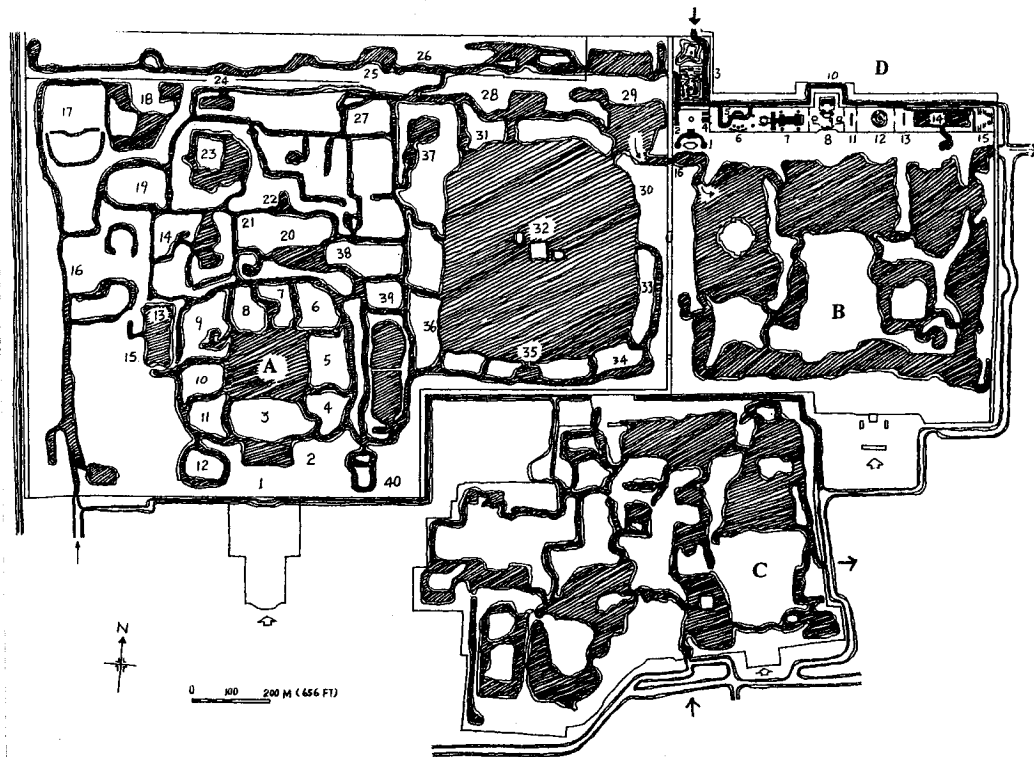
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- Fig. 70 Woodcut engraving of the Lion Grove garden in Suzhou (1770)



圖明·長春·清三園總平面圖

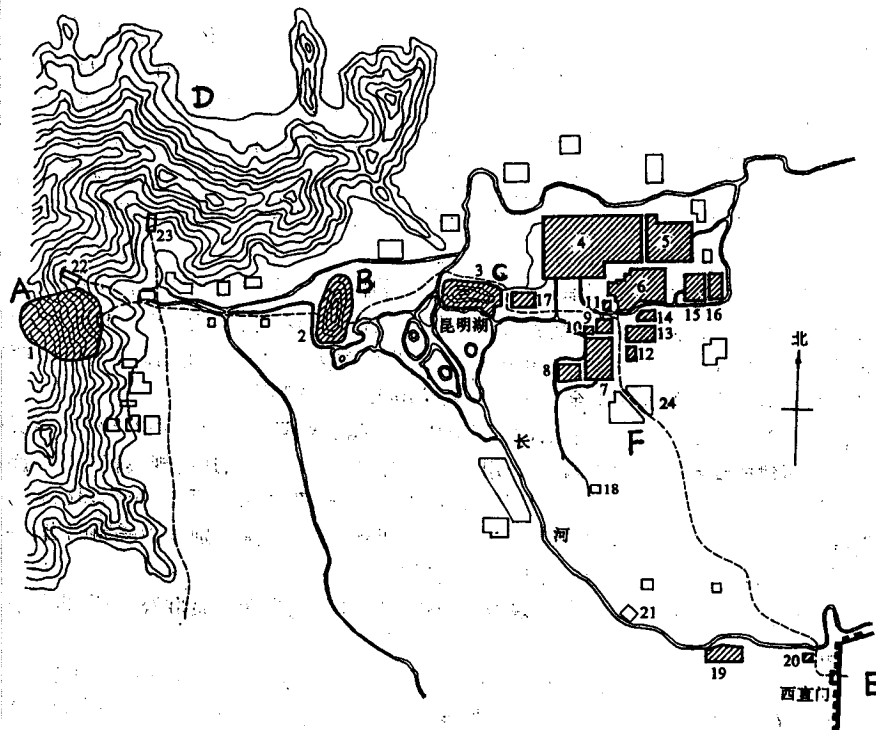
- 1) Front Lake 2) Back Lake 3) Fortune Lake 4) Five-Arch Floodgate 5) Seven-Arch Floodgate 6) Lion Grove 7) Garden of Little Heaven 8) Hall of Wet Orchids

FIG.1



A) Garden of Round Brightness B) Garden of Eternal Spring C) Garden of Gorgeous Spring D) Western Multistoried-Buildings (For the title of each numbered *jing*, refer to appendix one)

FIG. 2



1) Garden of Tranquil Pleasure 2) Garden of Tranquil Brightness 3) Garden of Clear Ripples 4) Garden of Round Brightness 5) Garden of Eternal Spring 6) Garden of Gorgeous Spring 7) Garden of Uninhibited Spring A) Fragrant Hill B) Jade-Spring Hill C) Longevity Hill D) West Mountain E) Beijing City F) Town of Shallow Lakes

FIG. 3

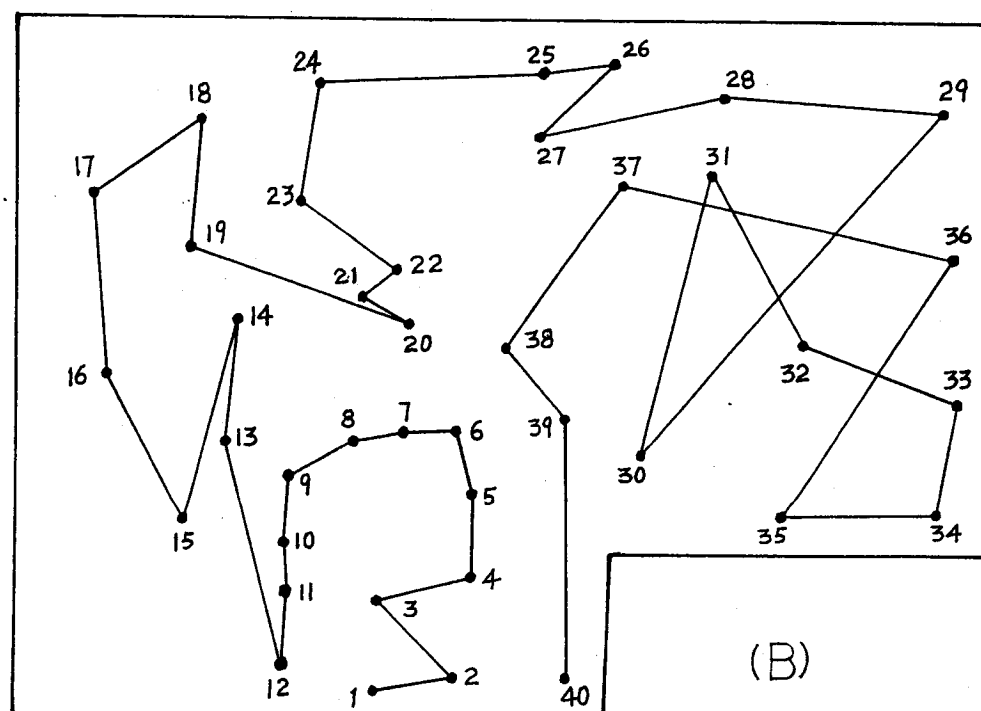
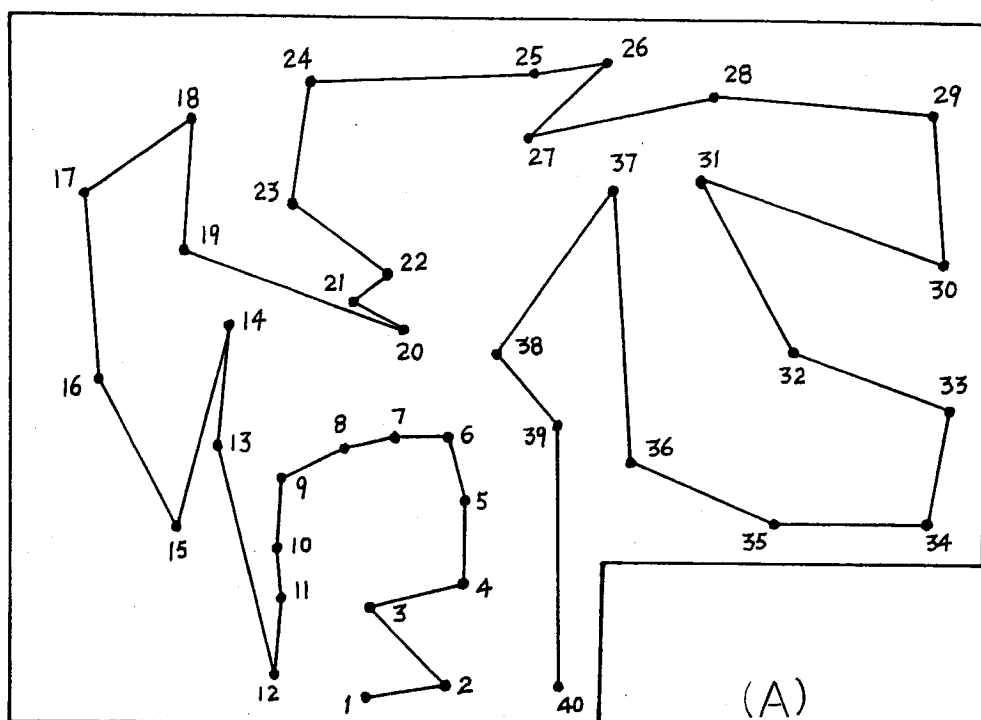


FIG. 4

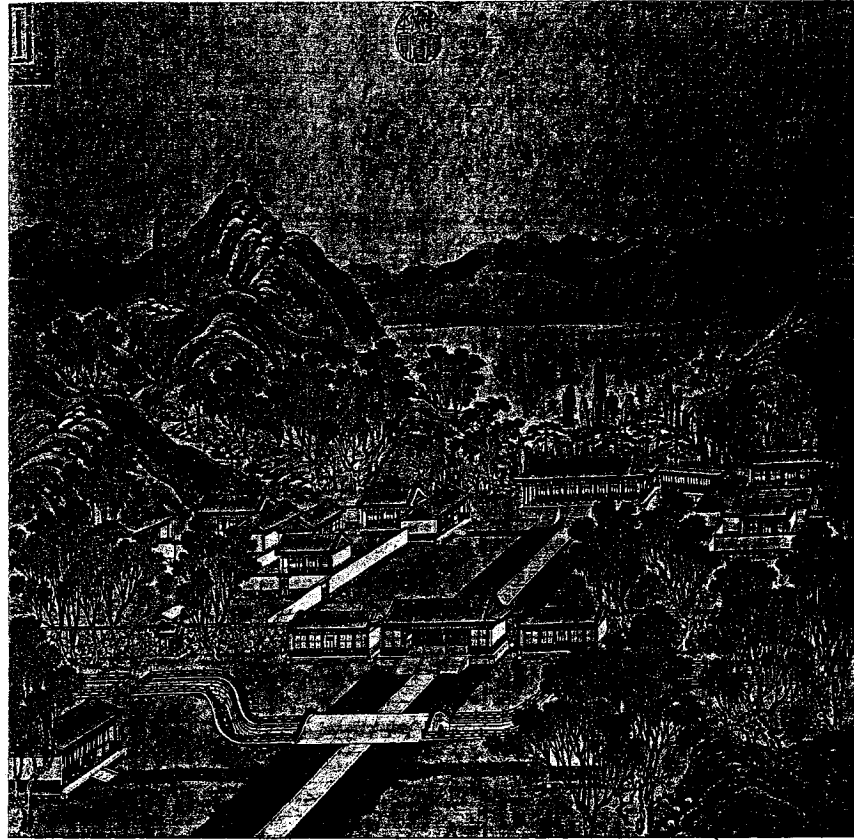


FIG.5

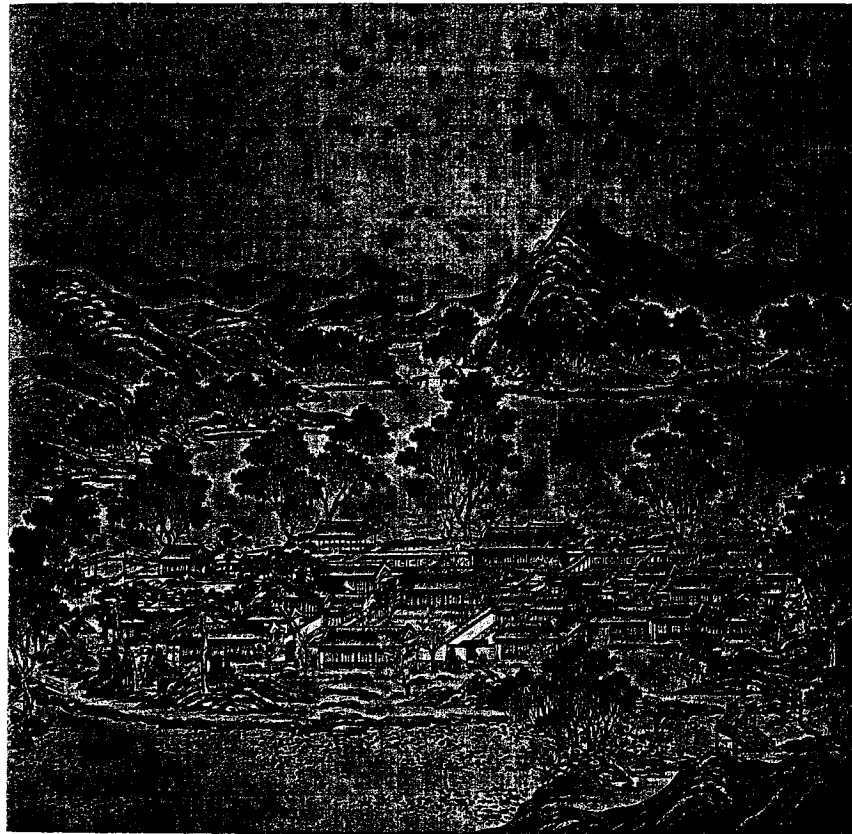


FIG.6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8

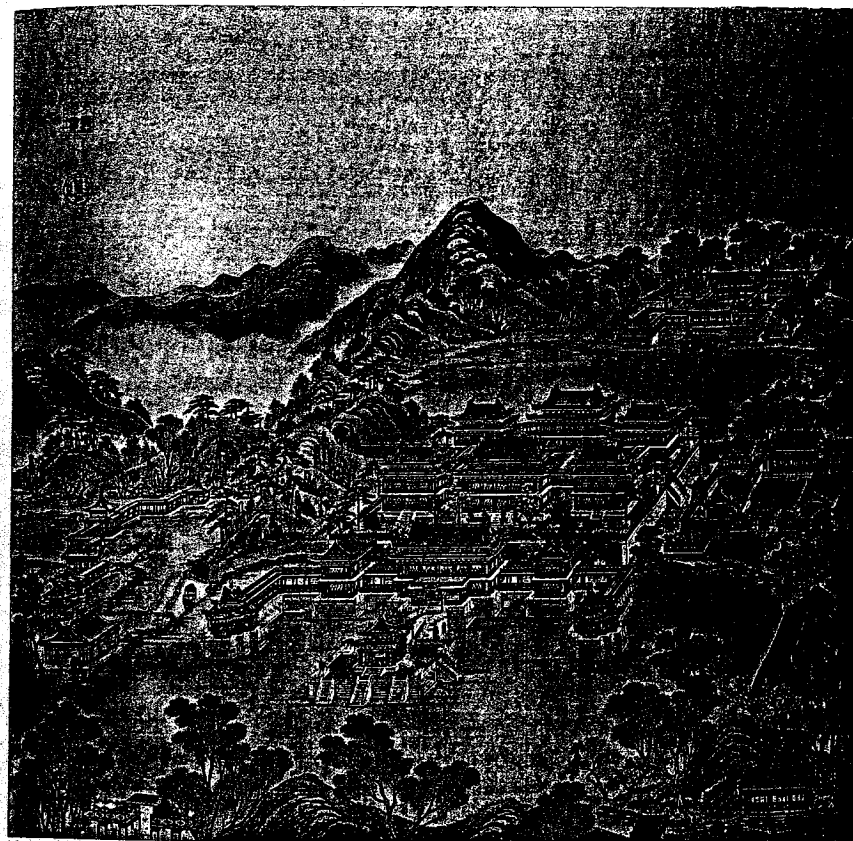


FIG.9

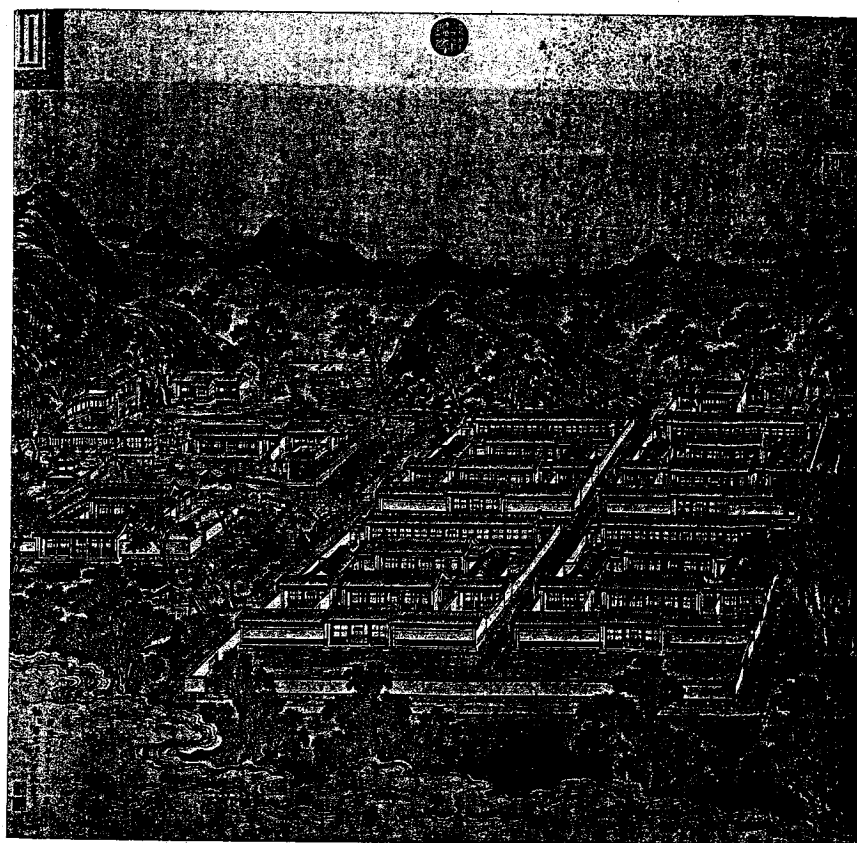
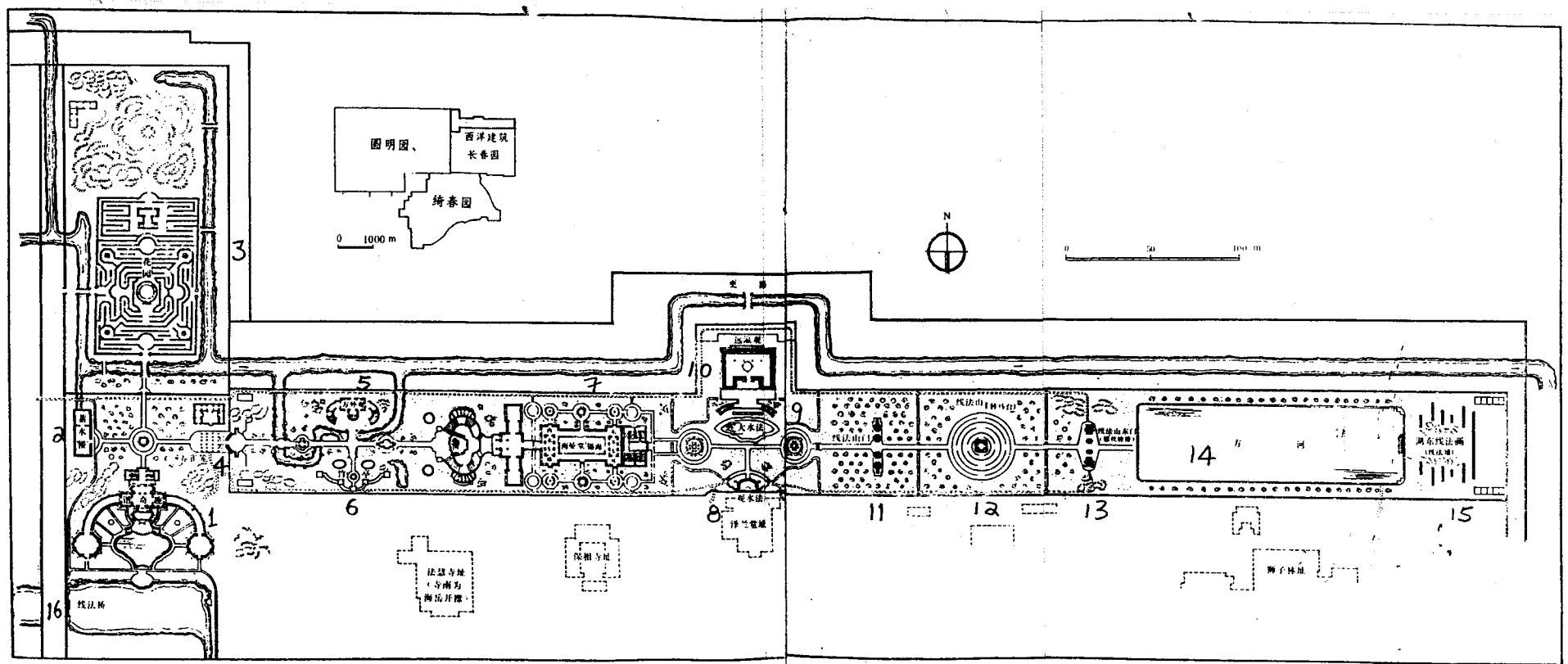
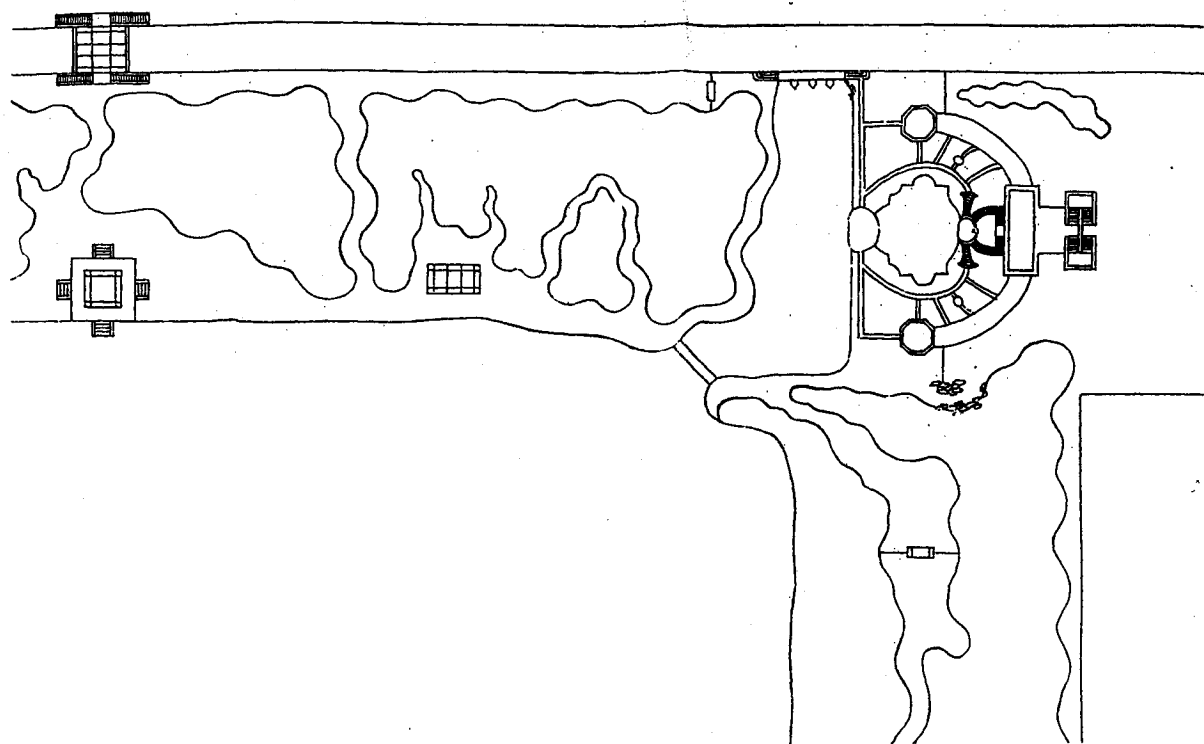


FIG.10



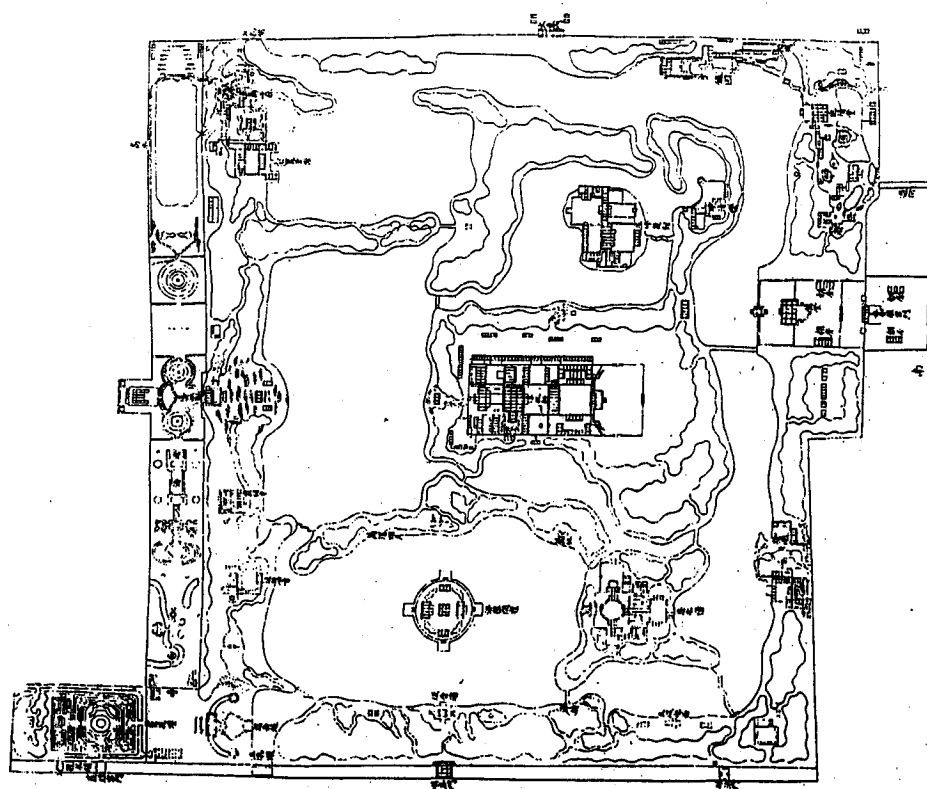
1) Harmony, Wonder and Delight 2) Water-Storage Building 3) Flower Garden 4) Cages for Raising Birds 5) View beyond the World 6) Bamboo Pavilions 7) Hall of the Peaceful Sea 8) Viewing the Water-Method 9) Big Water-Method 10) View of the Distant Sea 11) Gate of the Hill of Line-Method 12) Hill of Line-Method 13) Eastern Gate of the Hill of Line-Method 14) Square River 15) Paintings of Line-Method 16) Bridge of Line-Method

FIG. II



諧奇趣地樣(本館藏樣子雷地樣之一)

FIG. 13



長春園全圖(本館藏樣子雷園樣之一)

FIG. 12

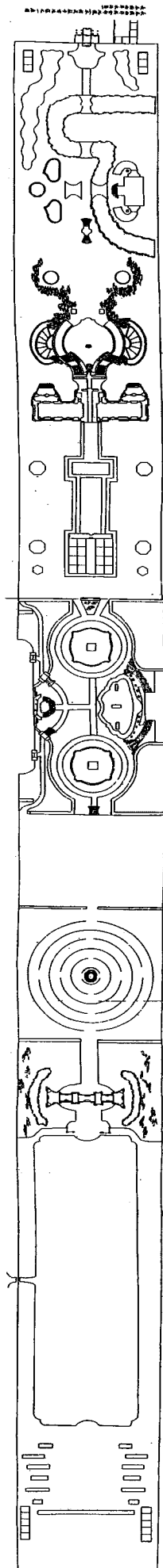


FIG. 14

長春園黃花陣地樣(本館藏樣于雷地樣之一)

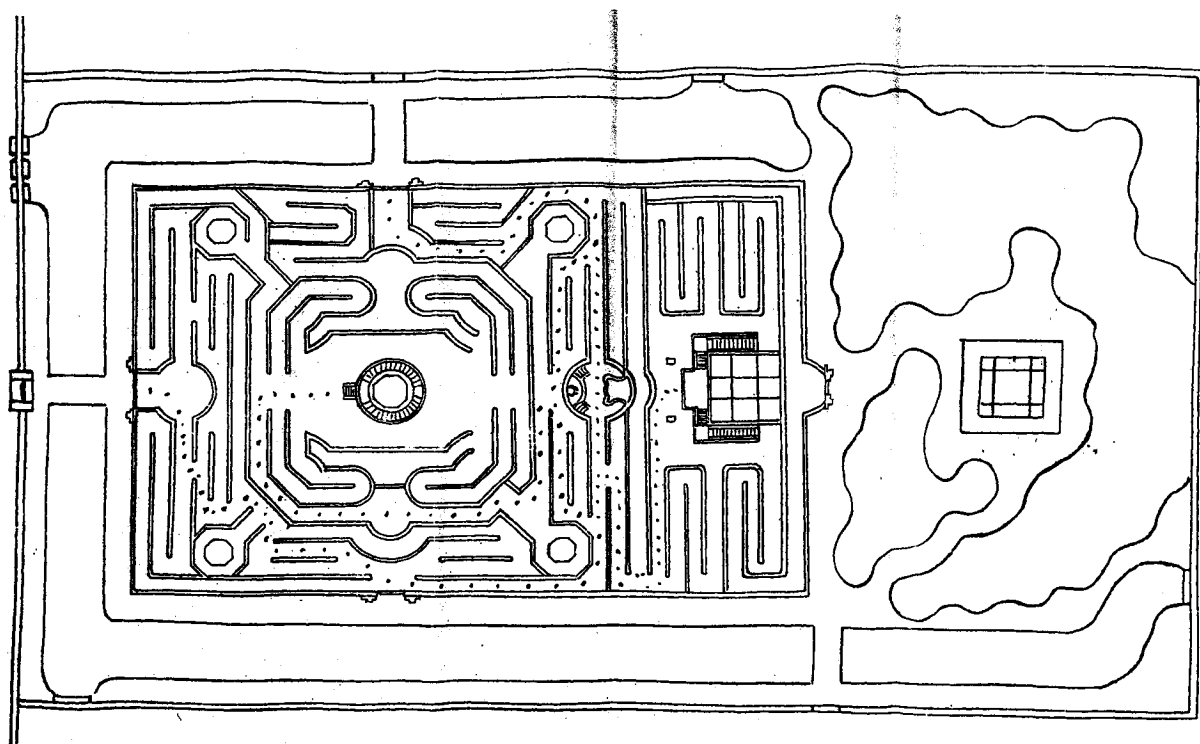


FIG.17

諧奇趣地樣(本館藏樣于雷地樣之一)

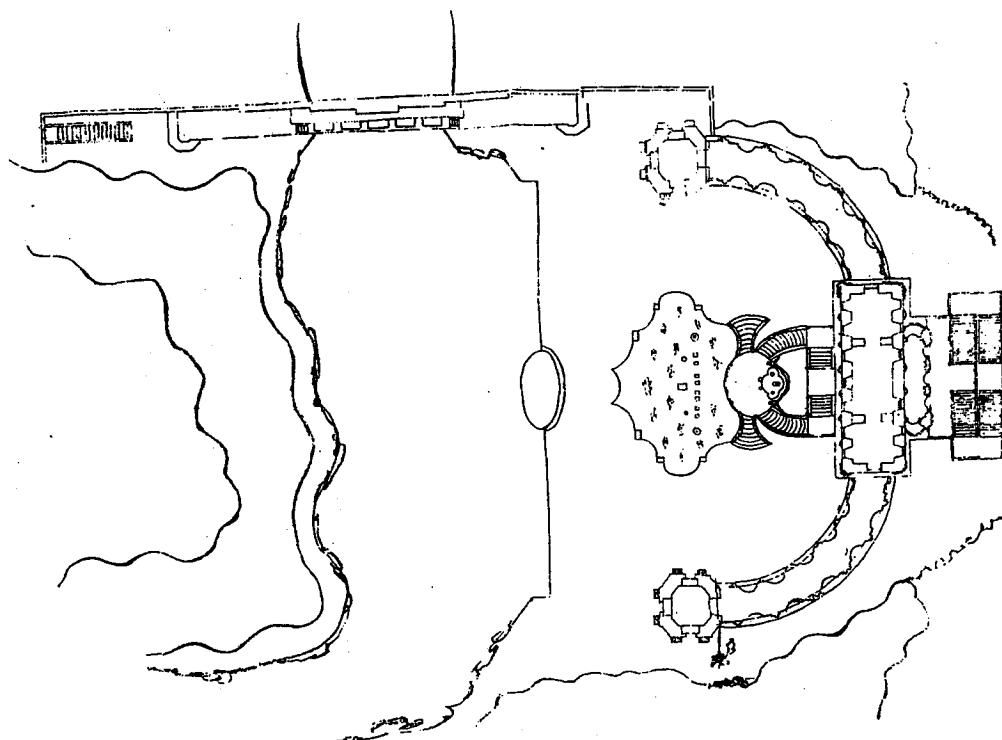
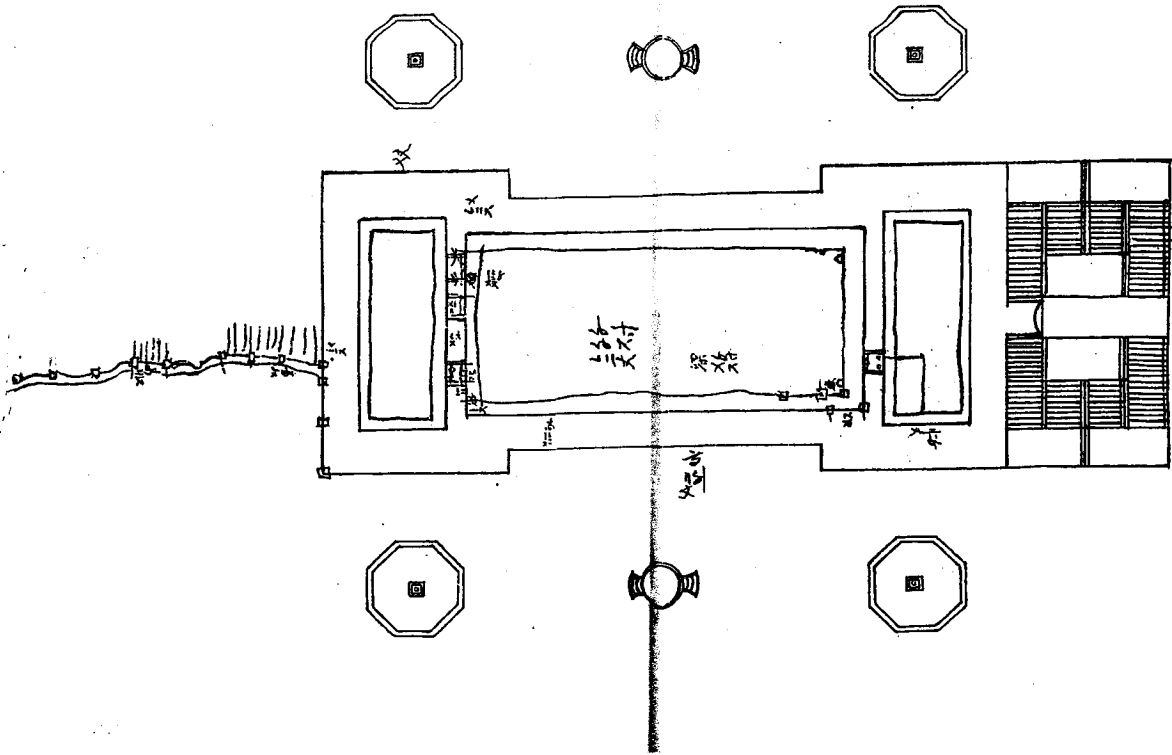
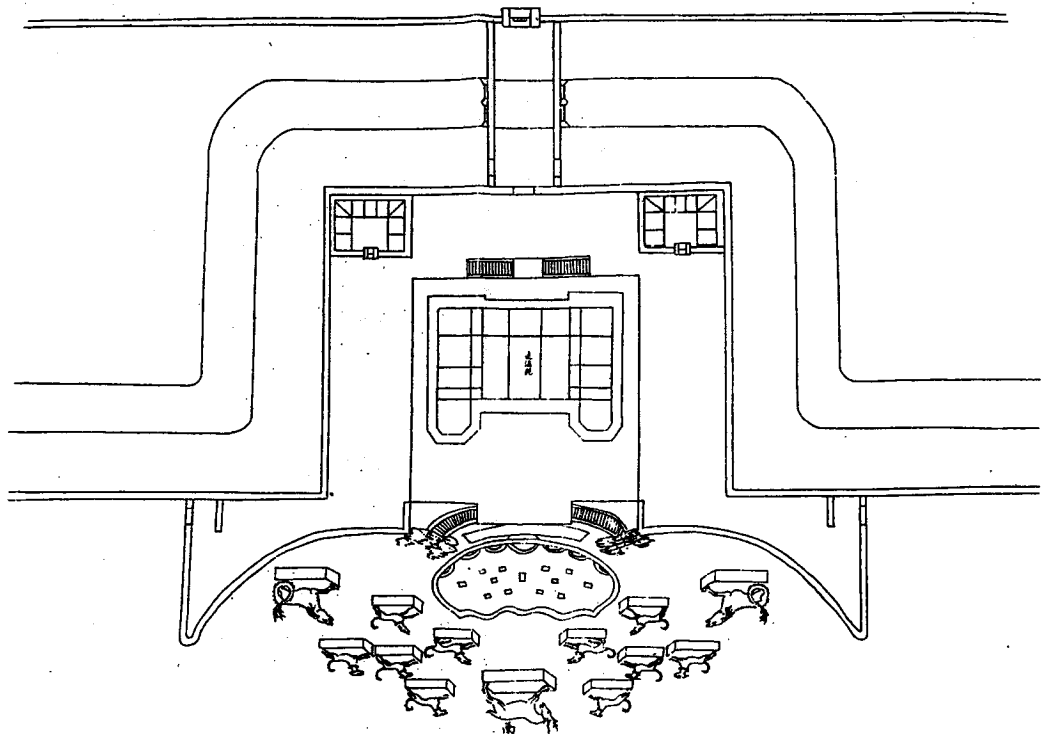


FIG.16



東水車房地樣 (本館藏樣于雷地樣之一)

FIG. 18



遠瀛觀地樣 (本館藏樣于雷地樣之一)

FIG. 19

長春園西洋樣應用西洋門立樣(本館藏樣子雷圖樣之一)

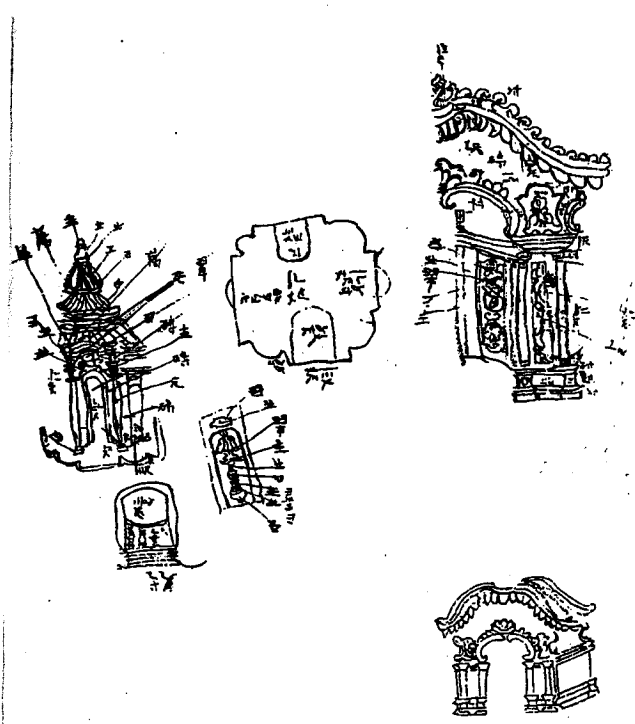
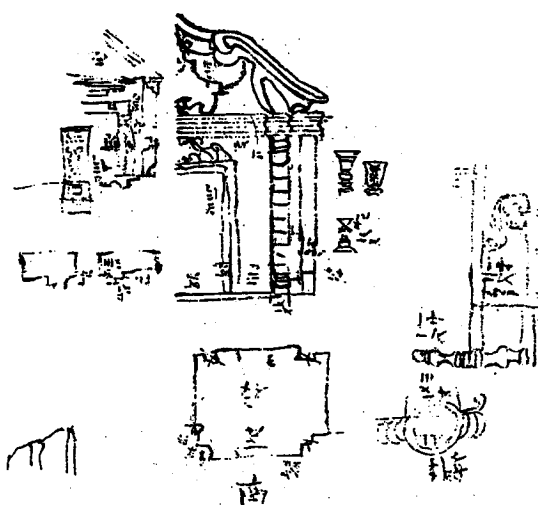
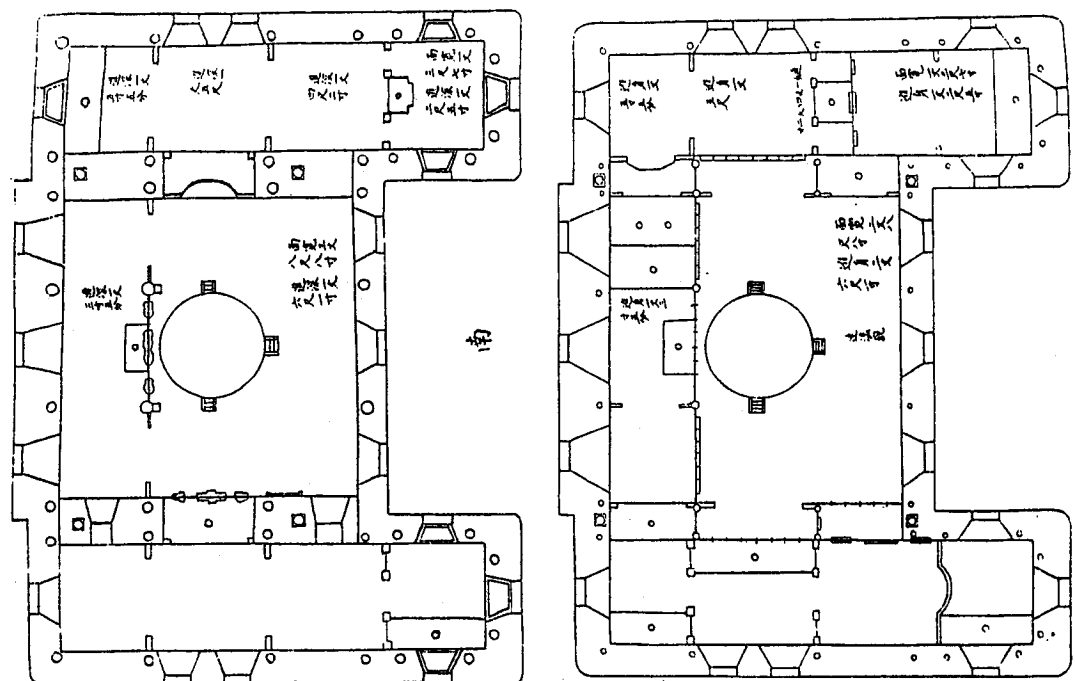


FIG. 21



雷地樣(本館藏樣子雷地樣之一)

FIG. 20

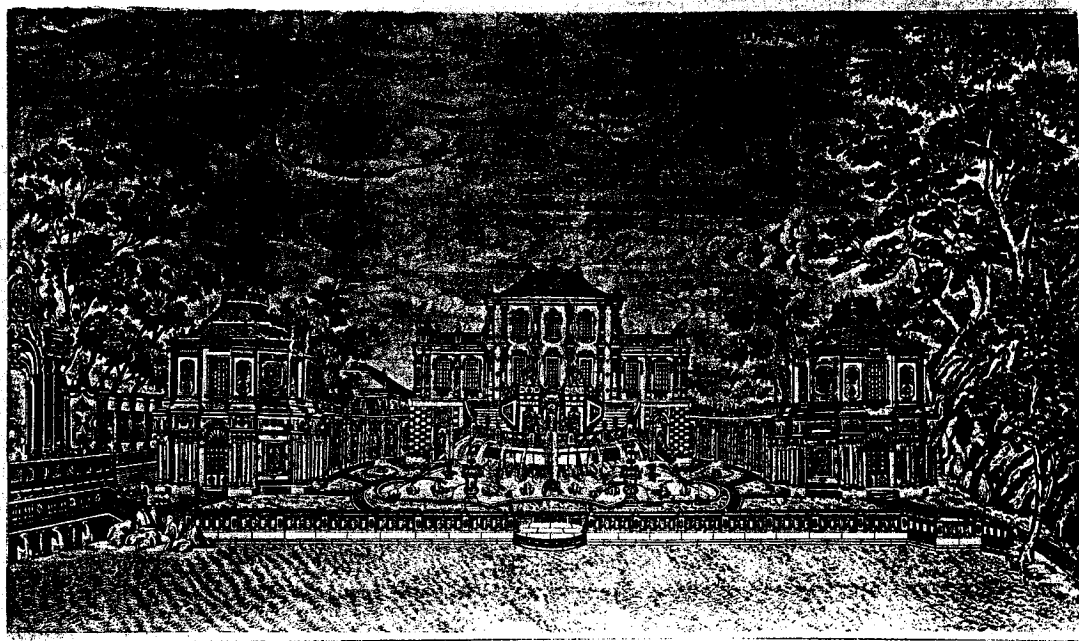


FIG.22

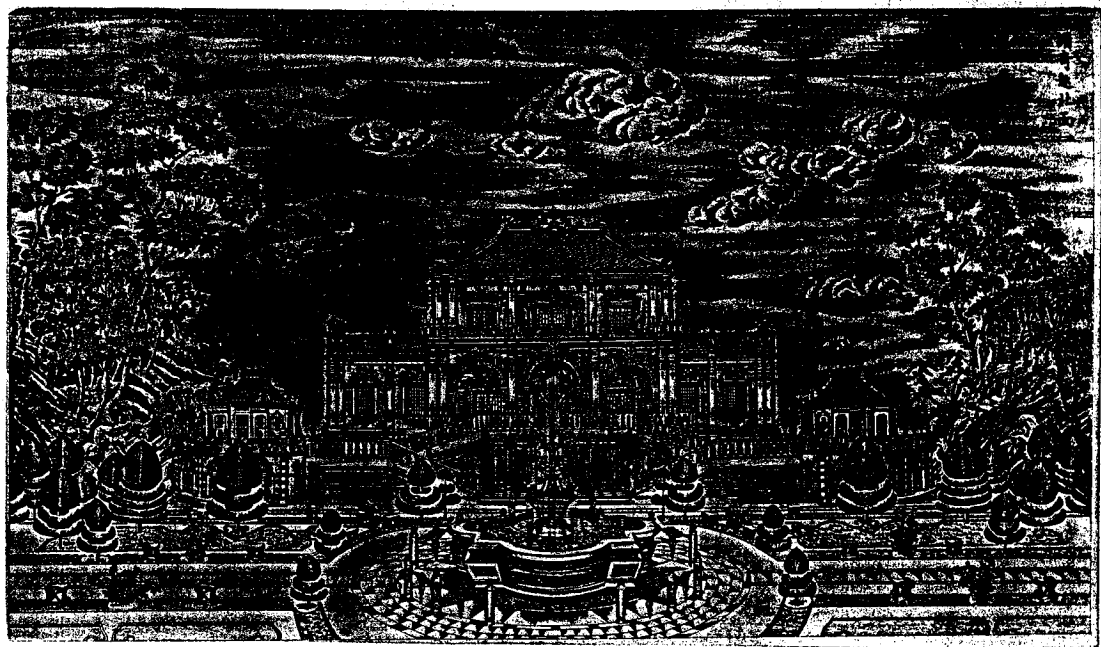


FIG.23

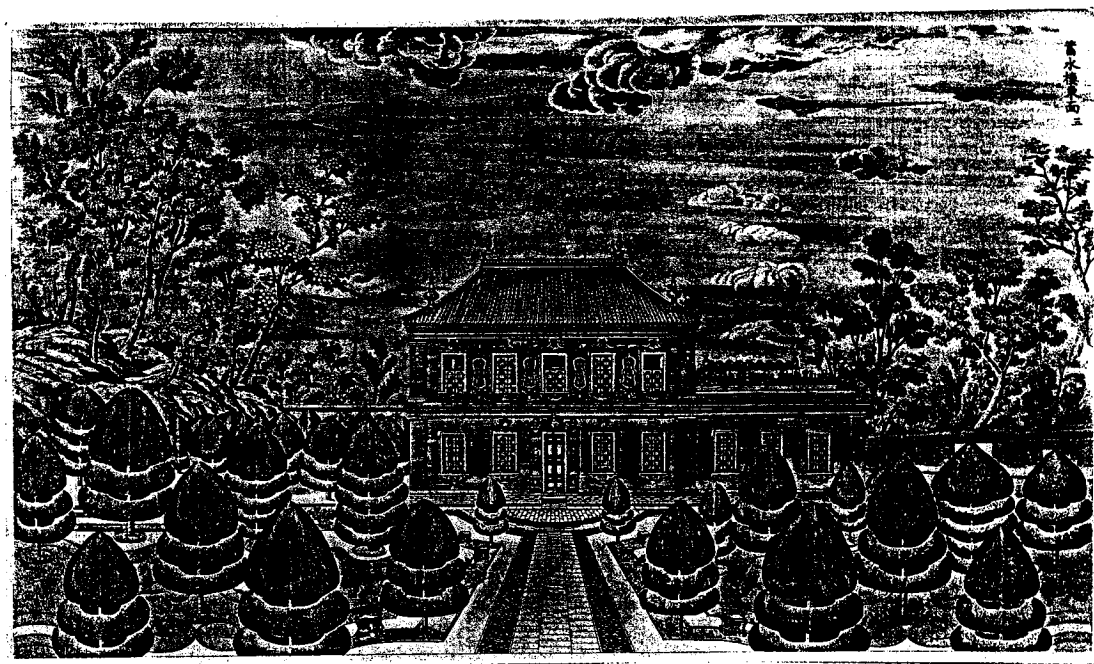


FIG. 24



FIG. 25

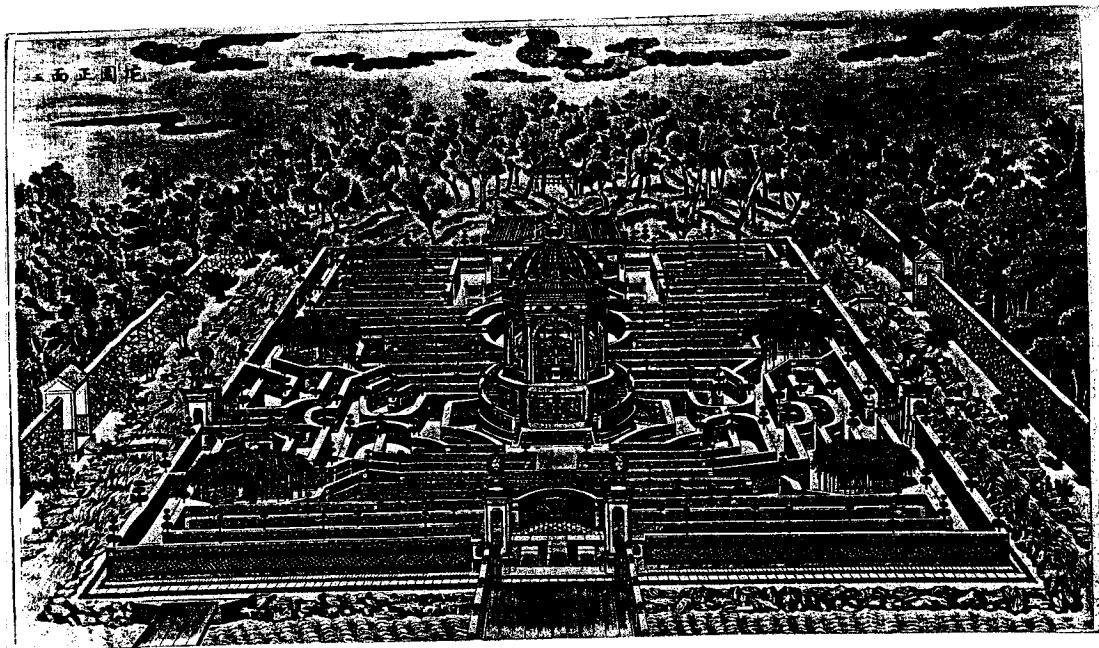


FIG. 26

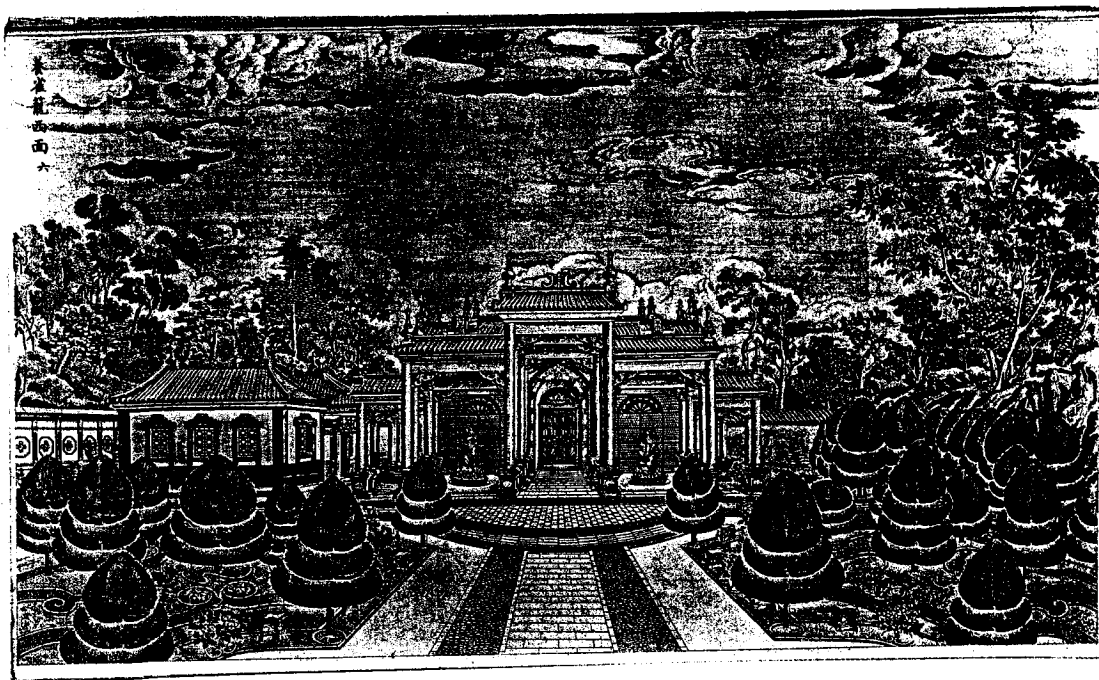


FIG. 27

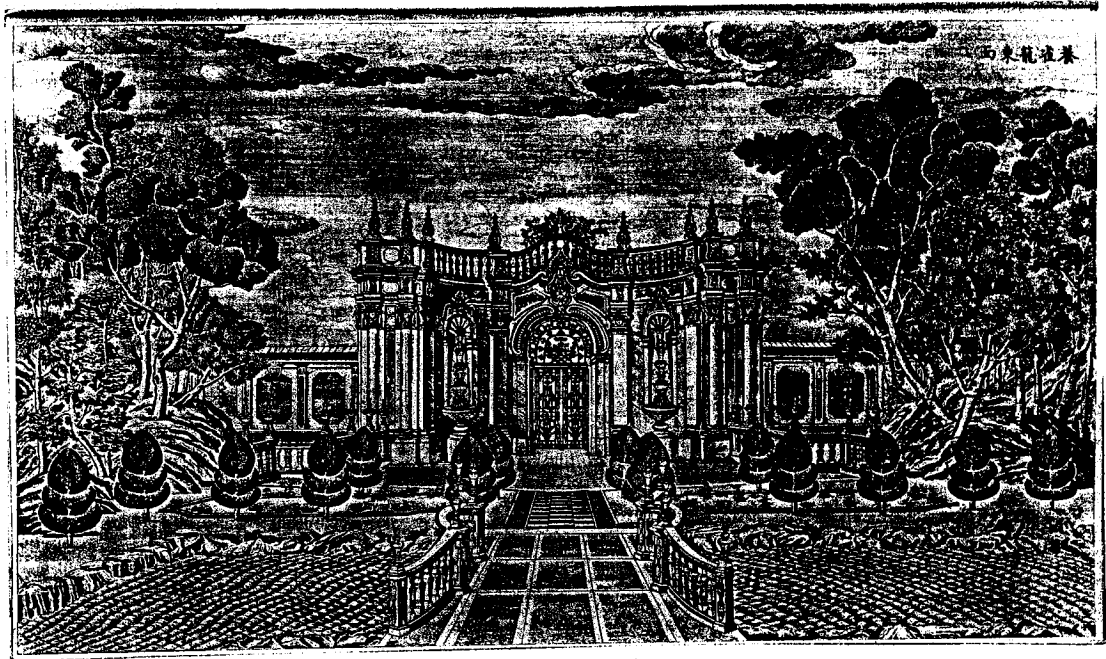


FIG. 28

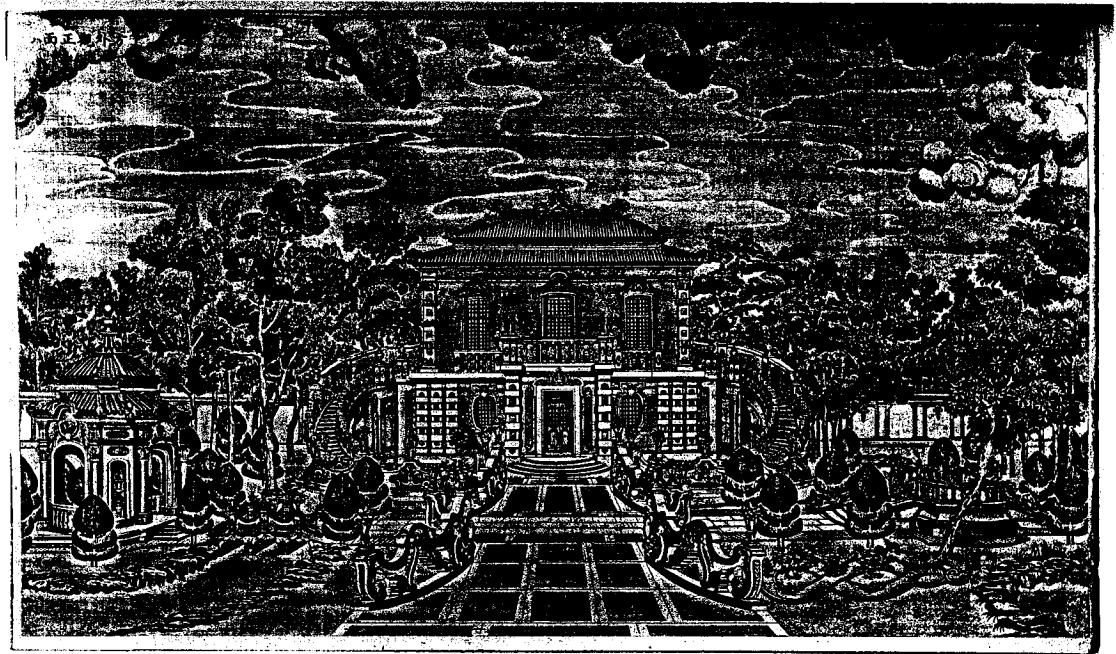


FIG. 29

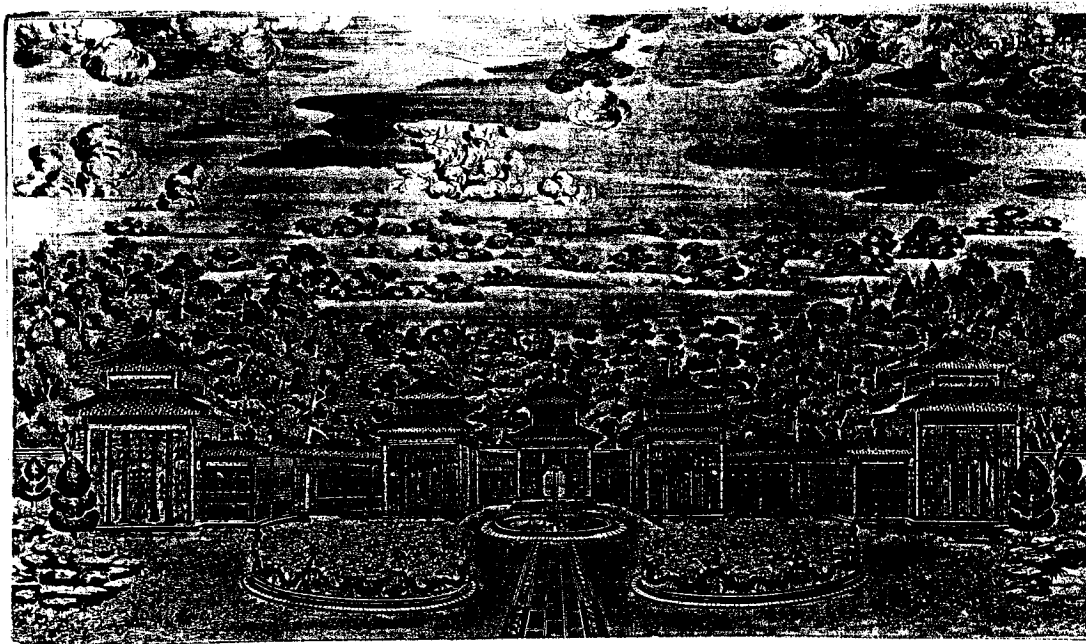


FIG. 30

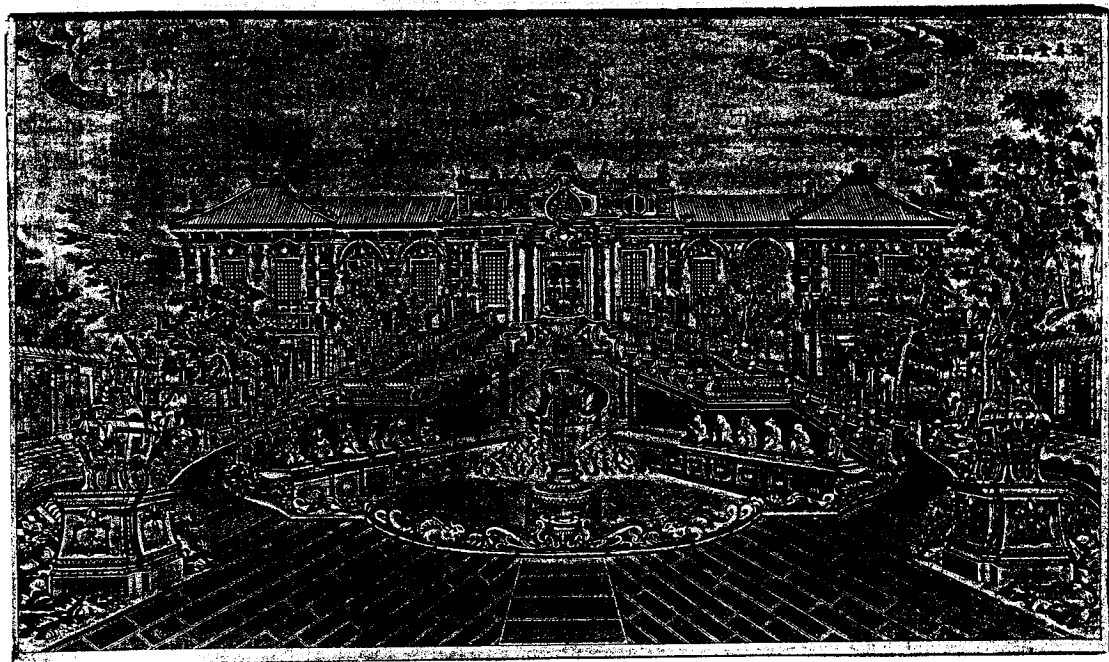


FIG. 31

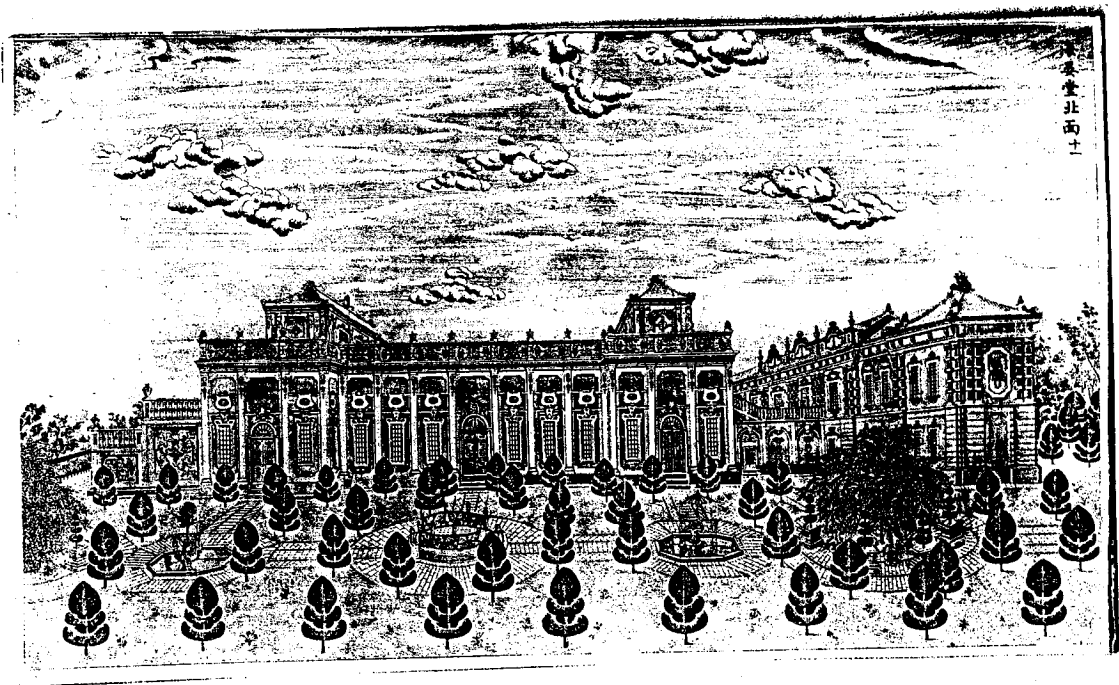


FIG. 32

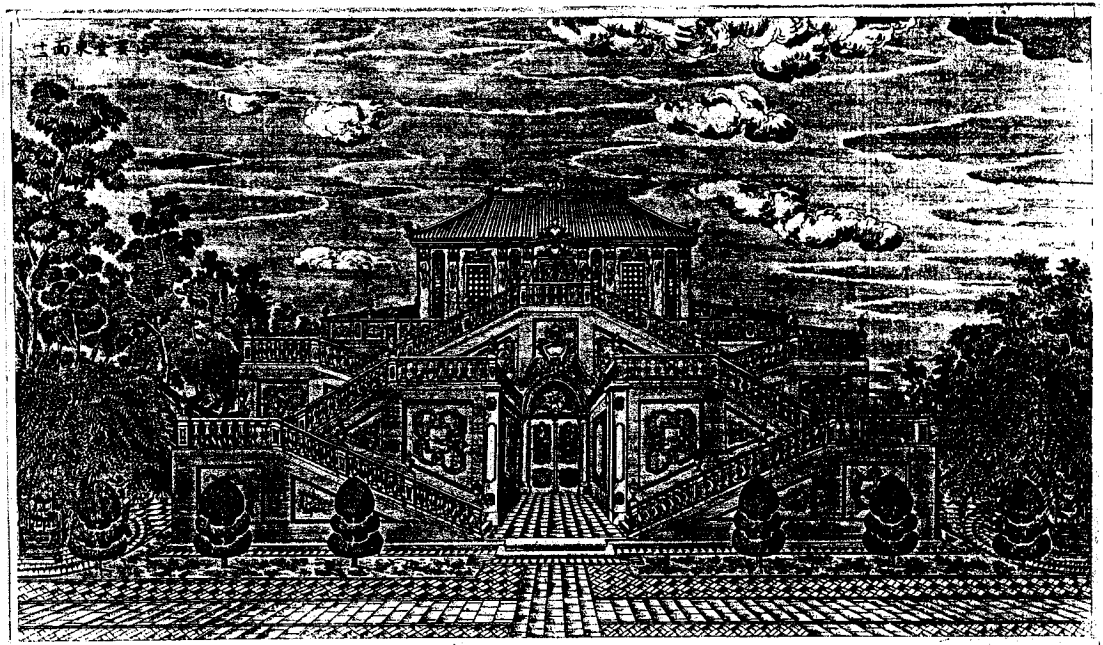


FIG. 33



FIG. 34

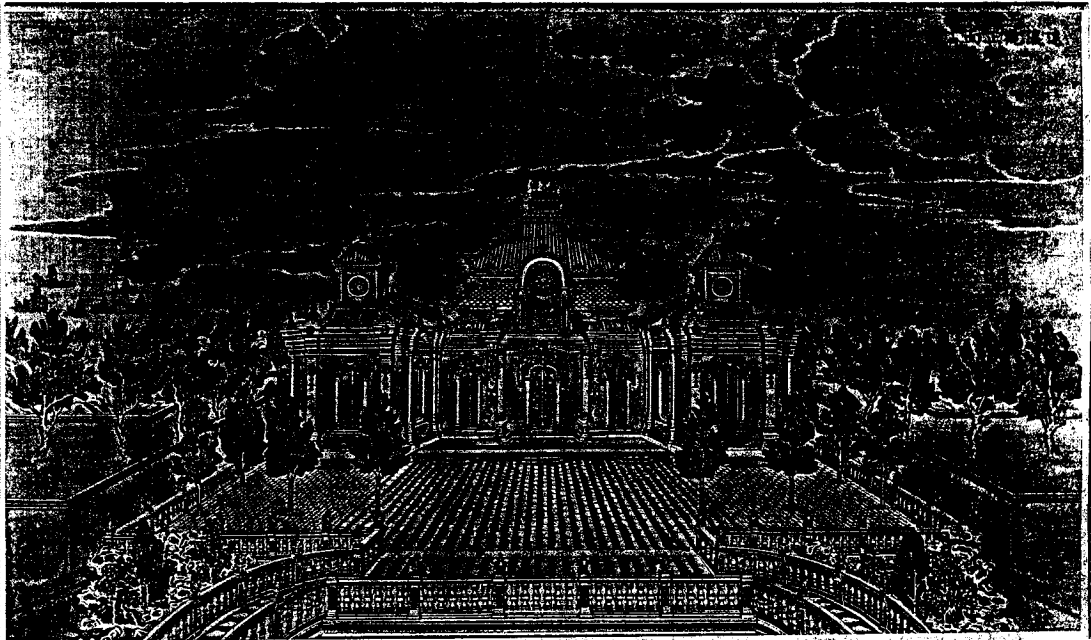


FIG. 35

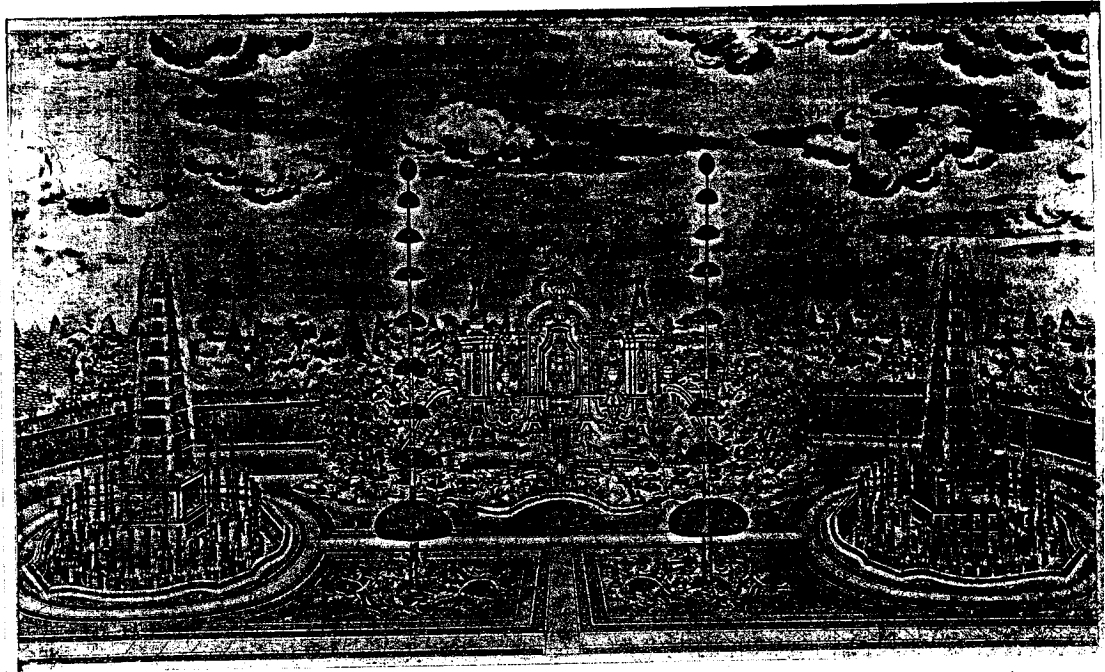


FIG. 36

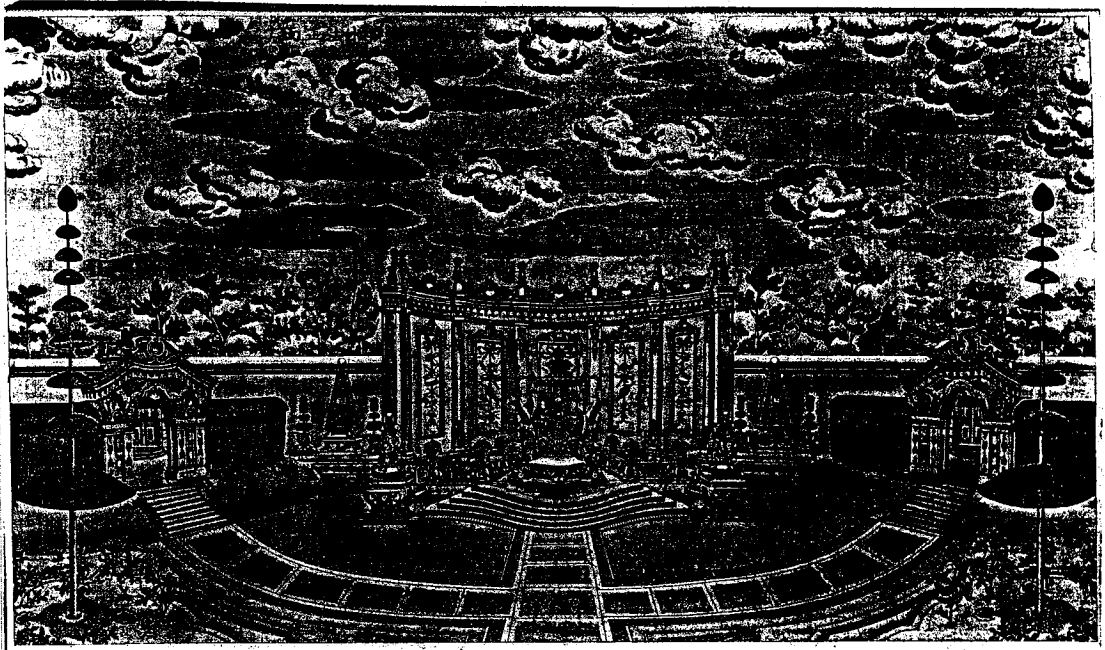


FIG. 37

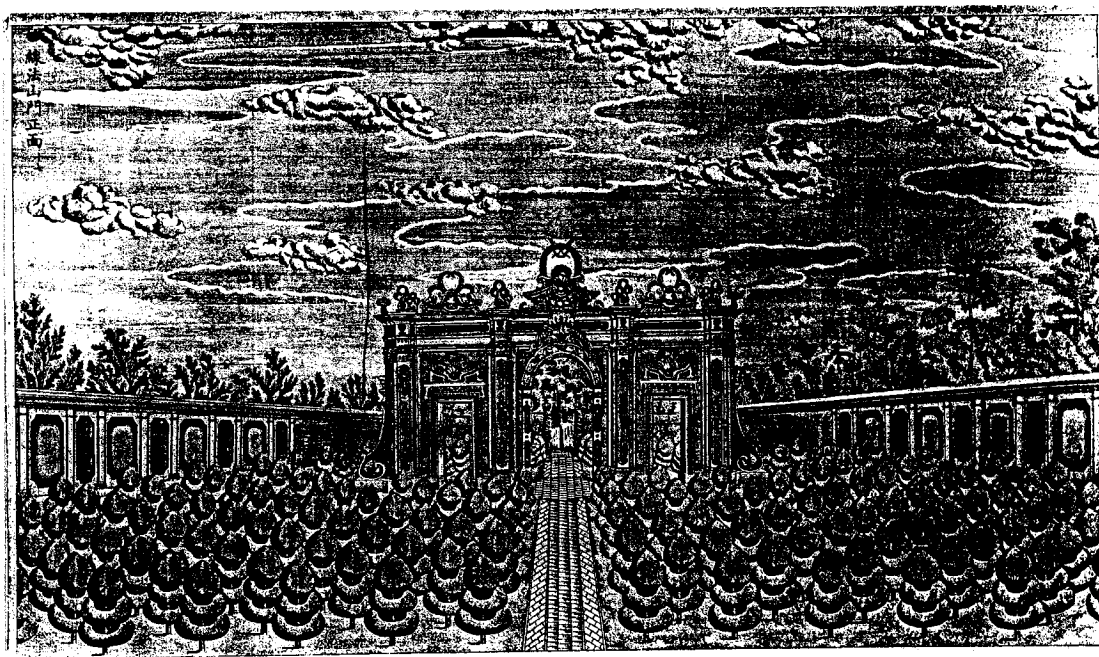


FIG. 38

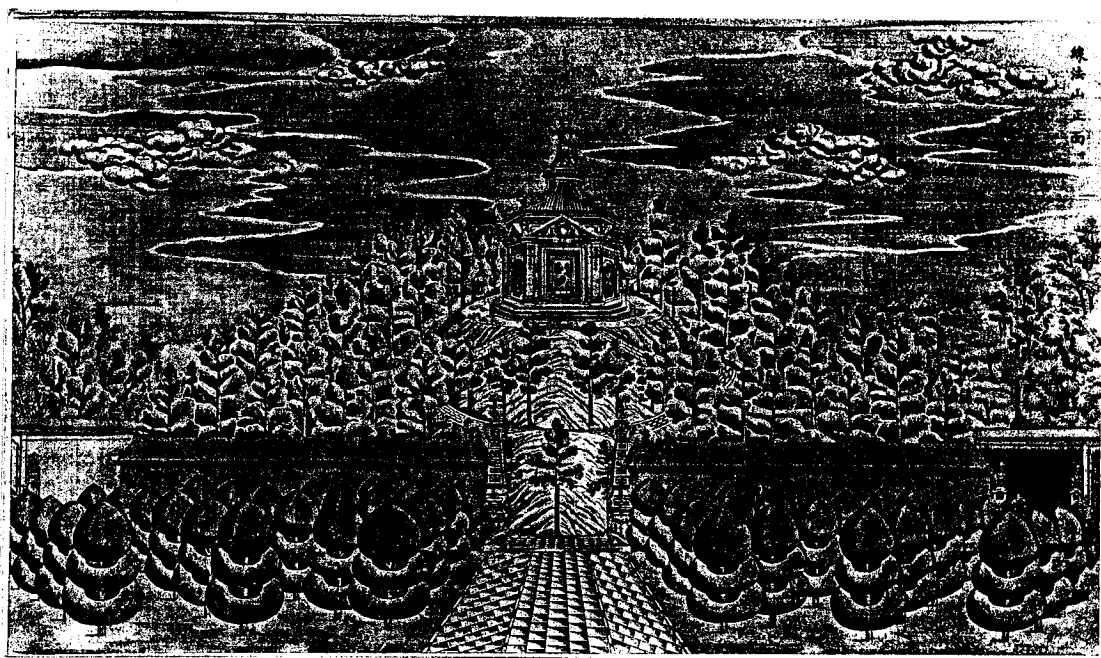


FIG. 39

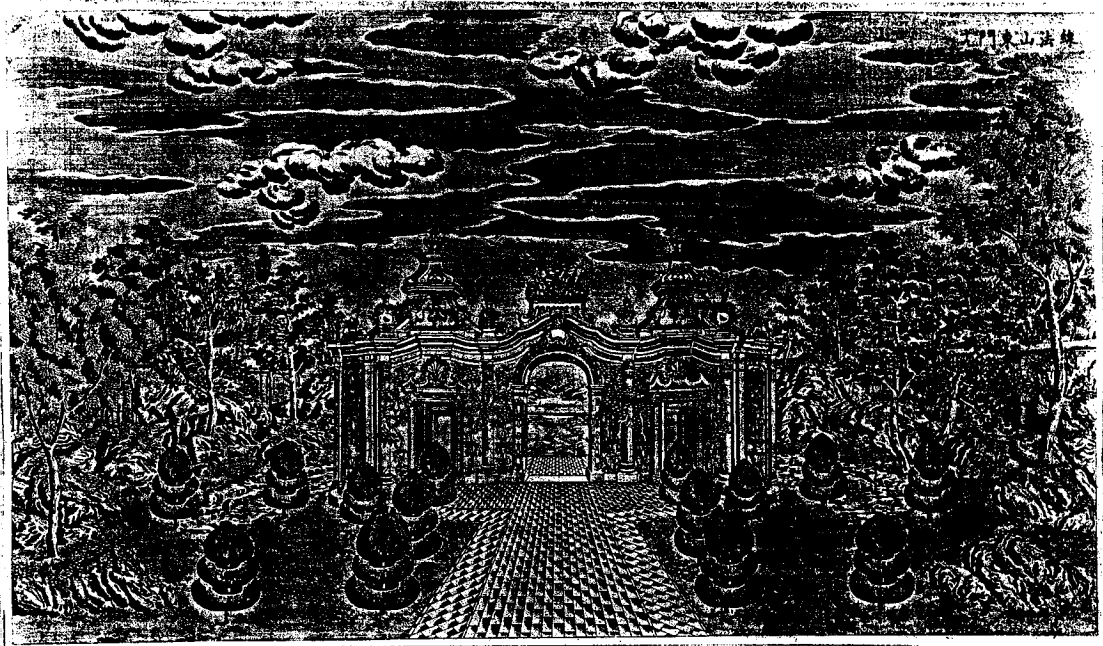


FIG. 40

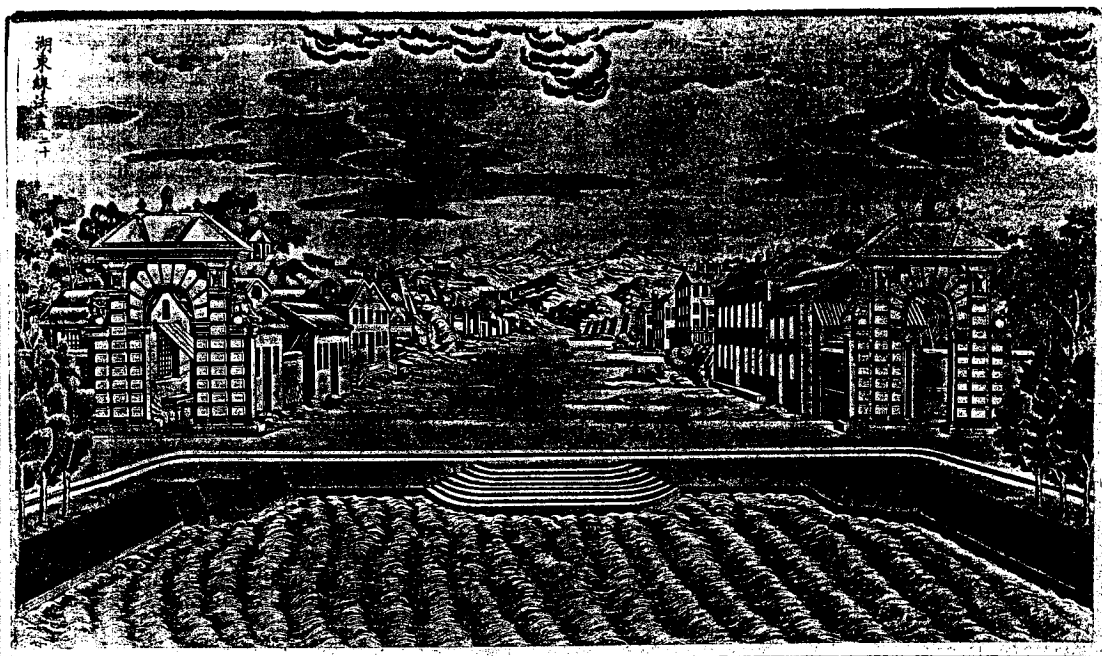


FIG. 41

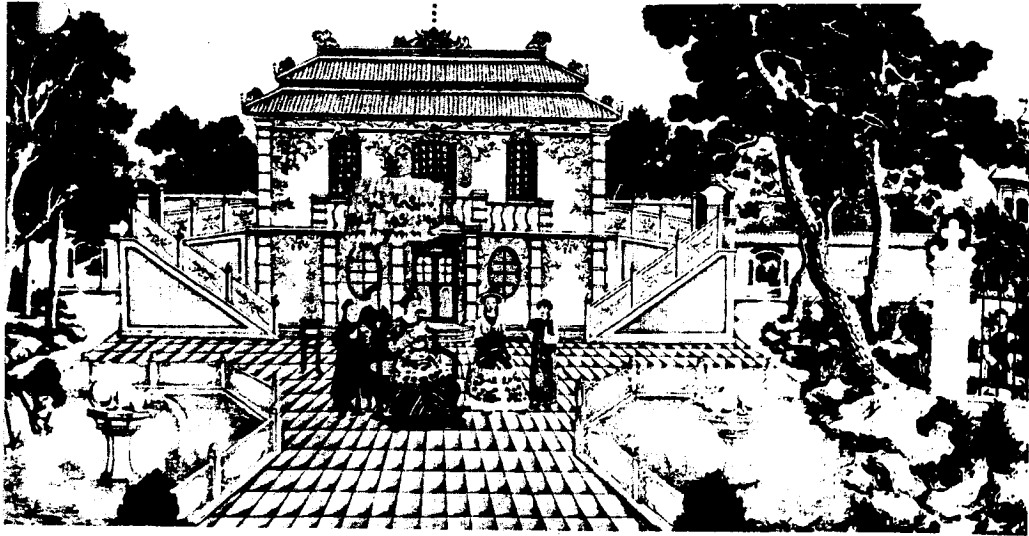


FIG.42

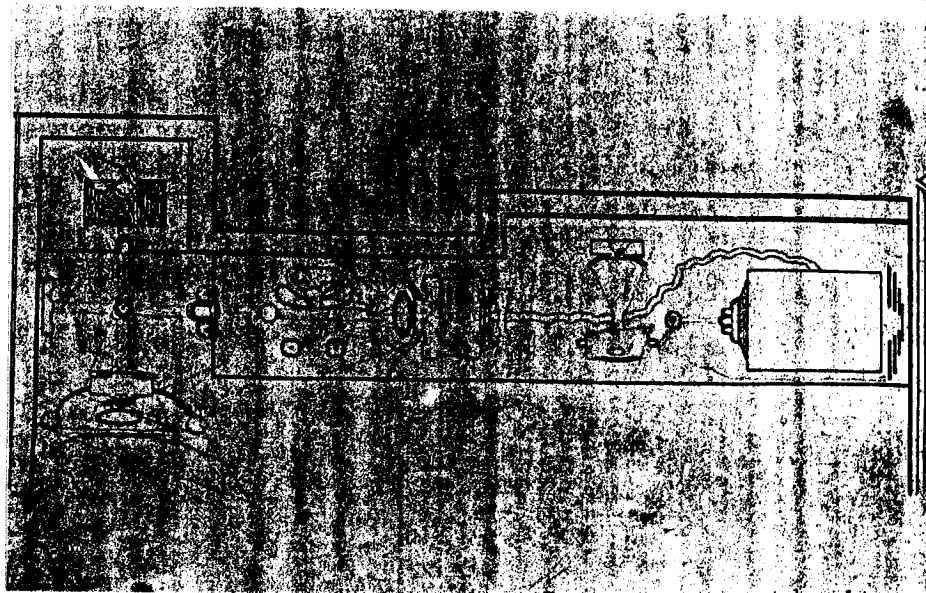


FIG.43



FIG. 44

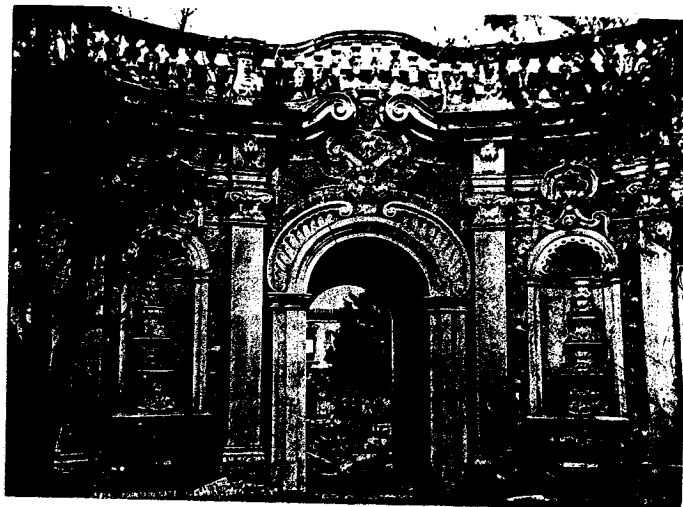


FIG. 45

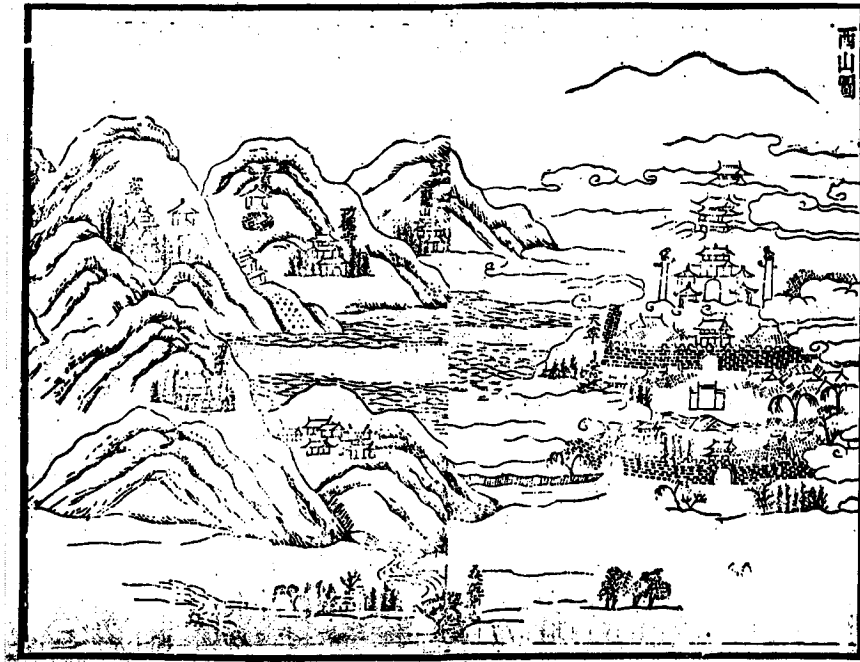


FIG.46

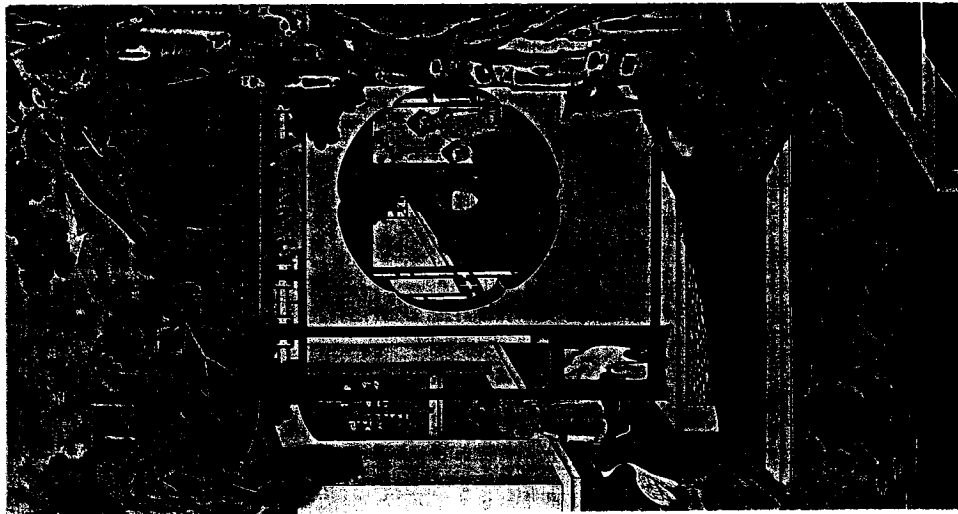


FIG.47

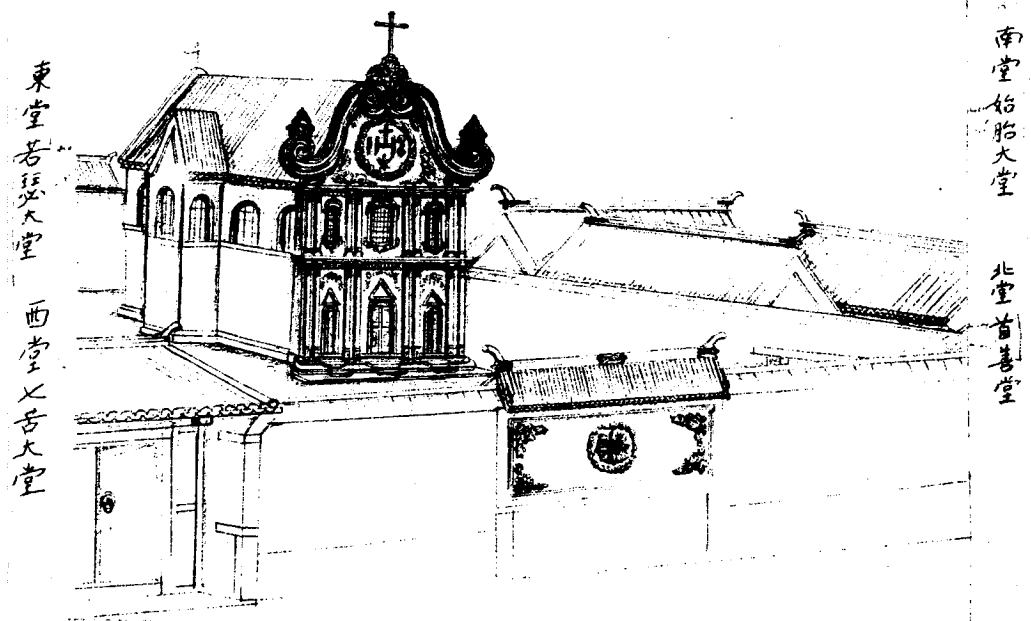


FIG.48

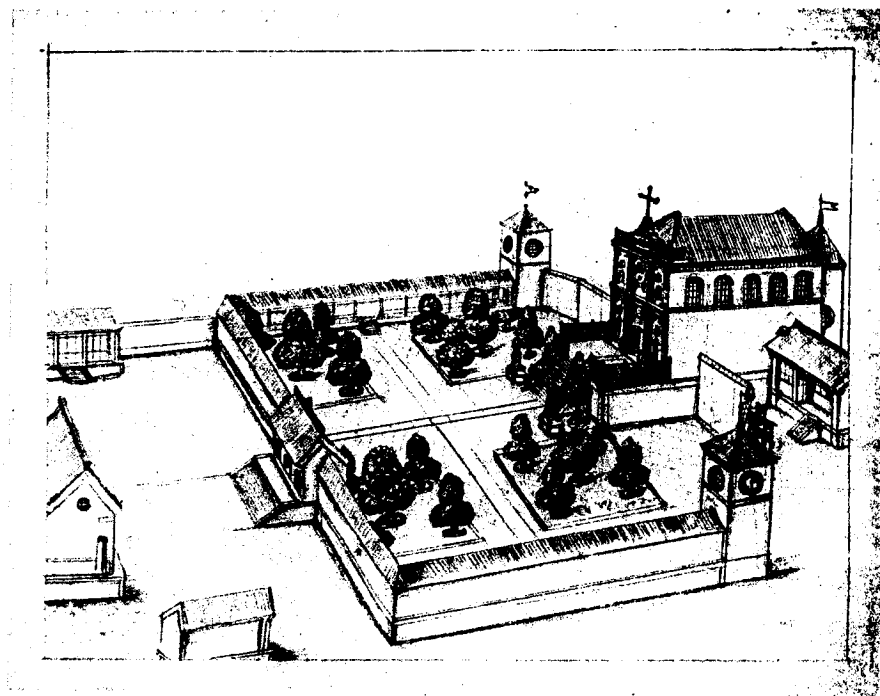


FIG.49

位方卦八王亥

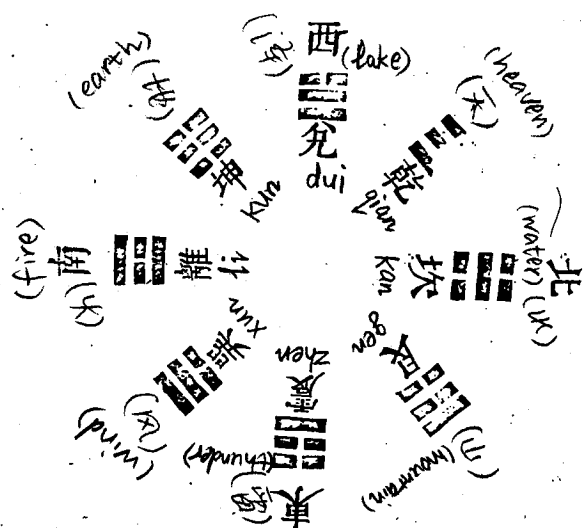


FIG.50

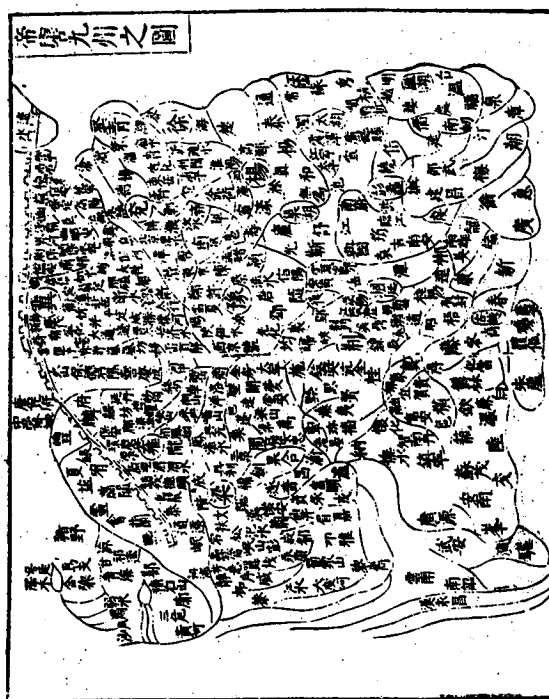


FIG.51

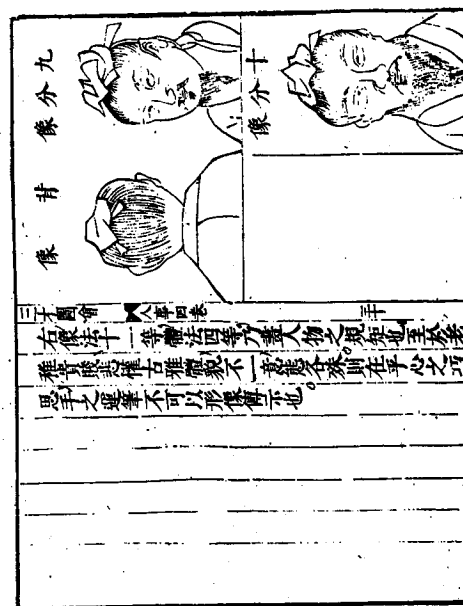
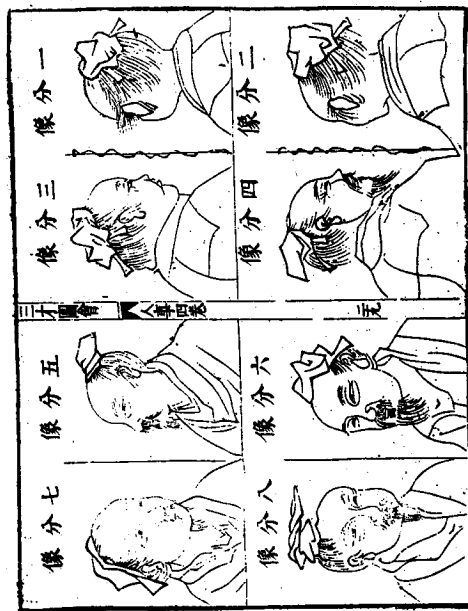


FIG. 52



FIG. 53

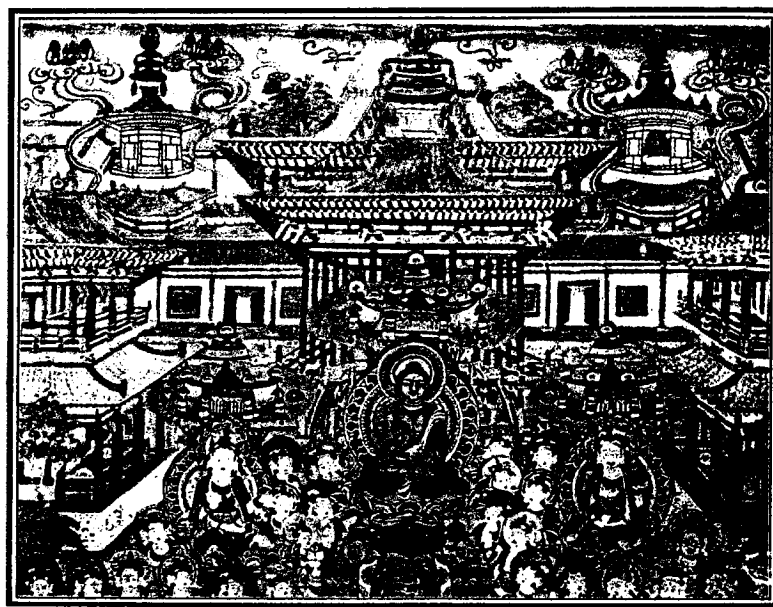


FIG. 54



FIG. 55



FIG. 56



FIG. 57

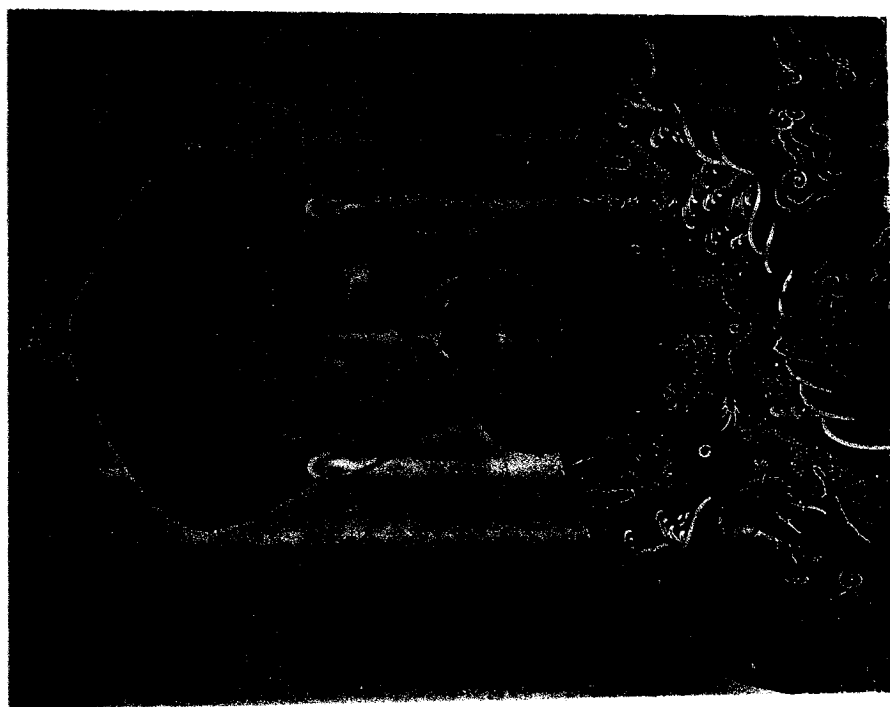


FIG.58

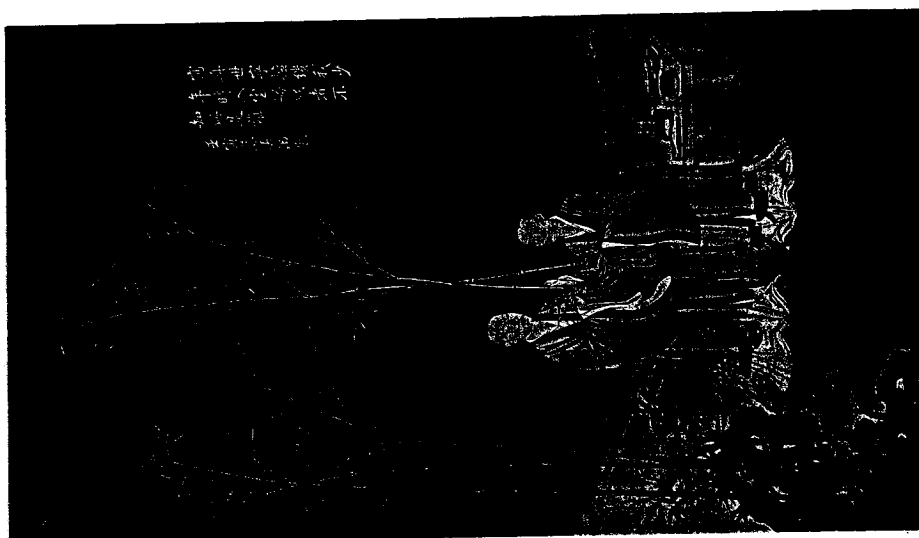


FIG.59



FIG. 60



FIG. 61

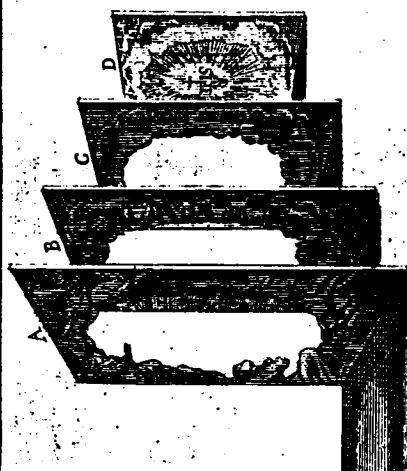


FIG. 62

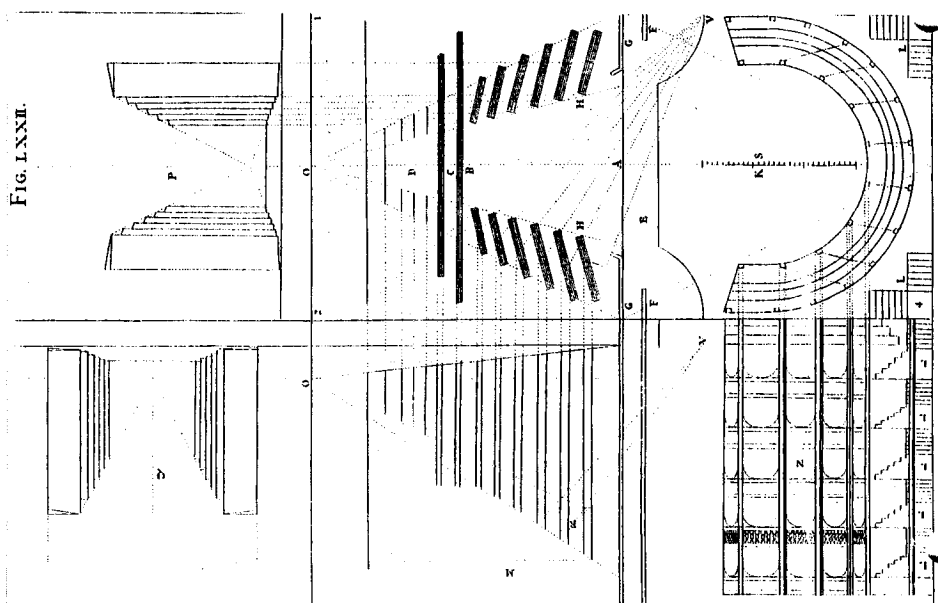


FIG. 63

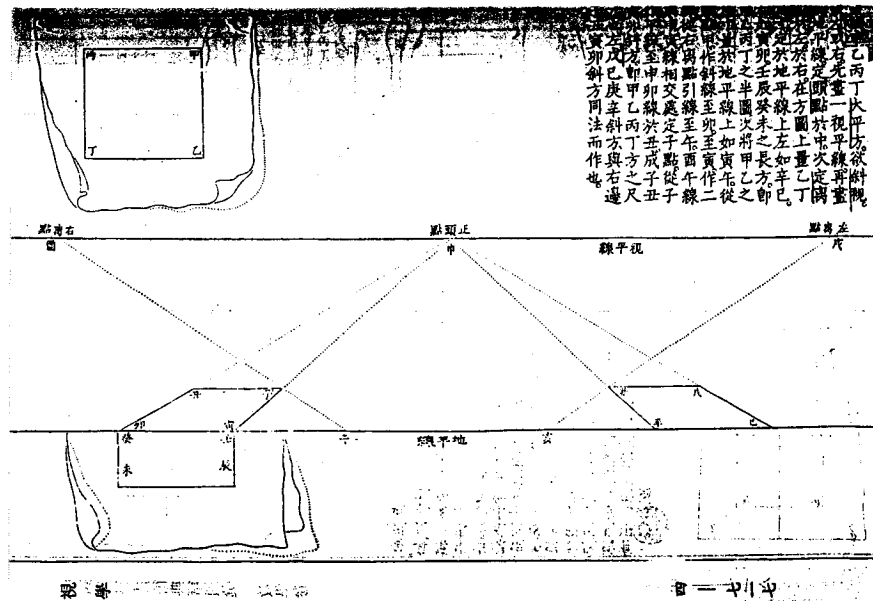


FIG. 64

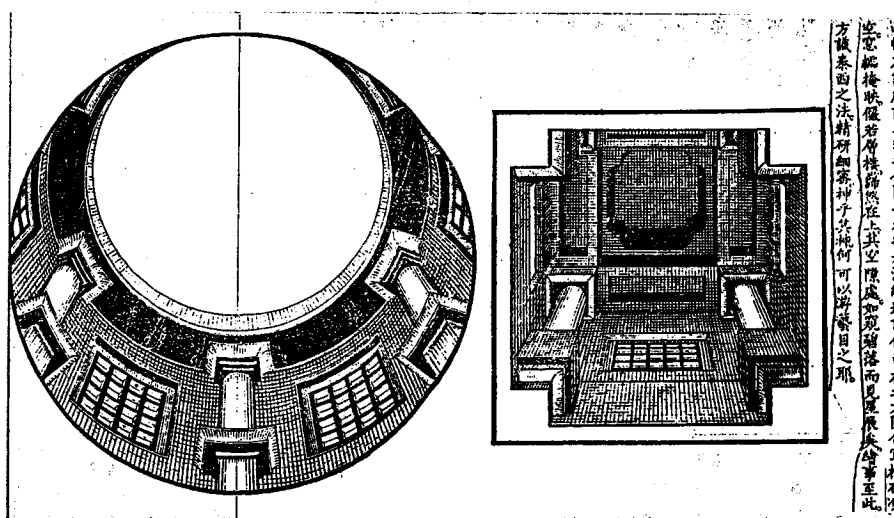


FIG. 65

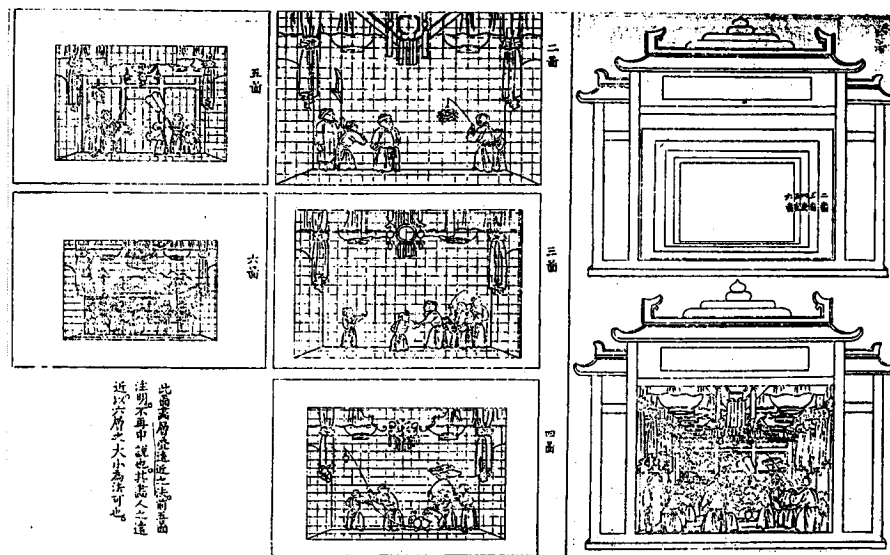
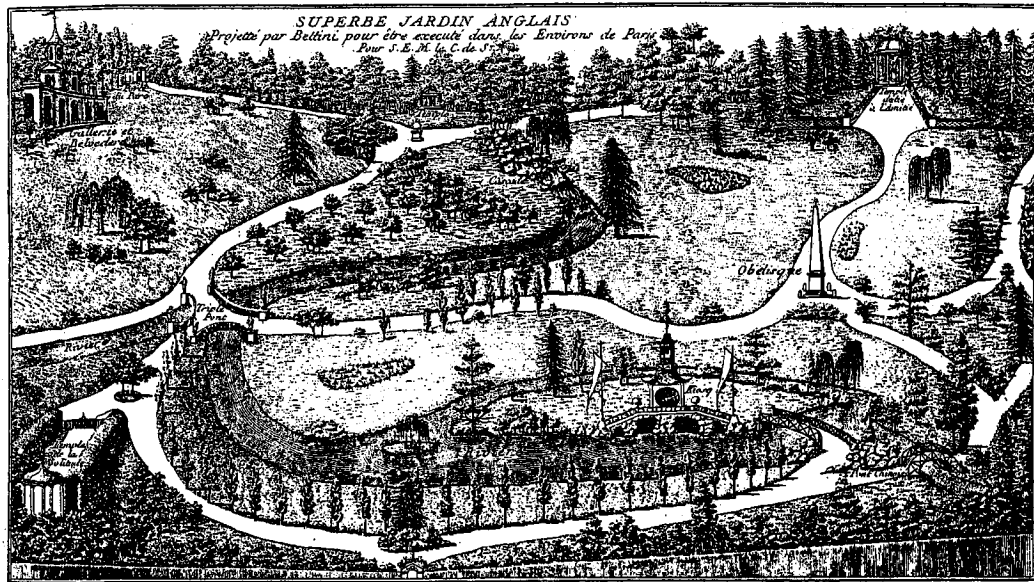


FIG. 66



Sans les Élévations. Plan de 3. toises pour Toise. On peut dire que Belzoni est réellement plus de l'ancien. M. le Duc pour l'aider pour faire un jardin anglais à Rome. Comme on en voit dans tous les Rois de l'Europe présentement.

FIG. 67

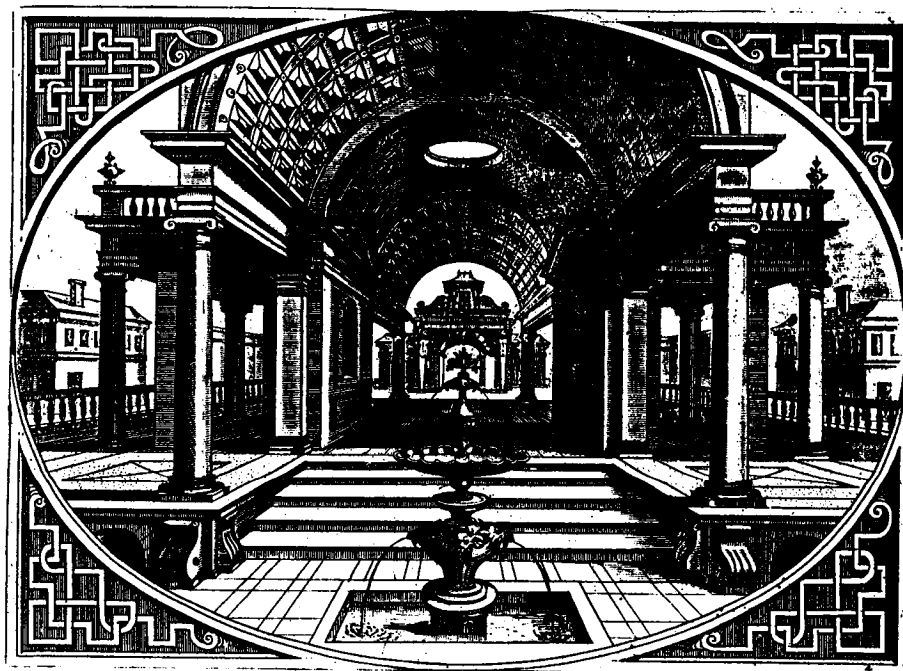


FIG. 68

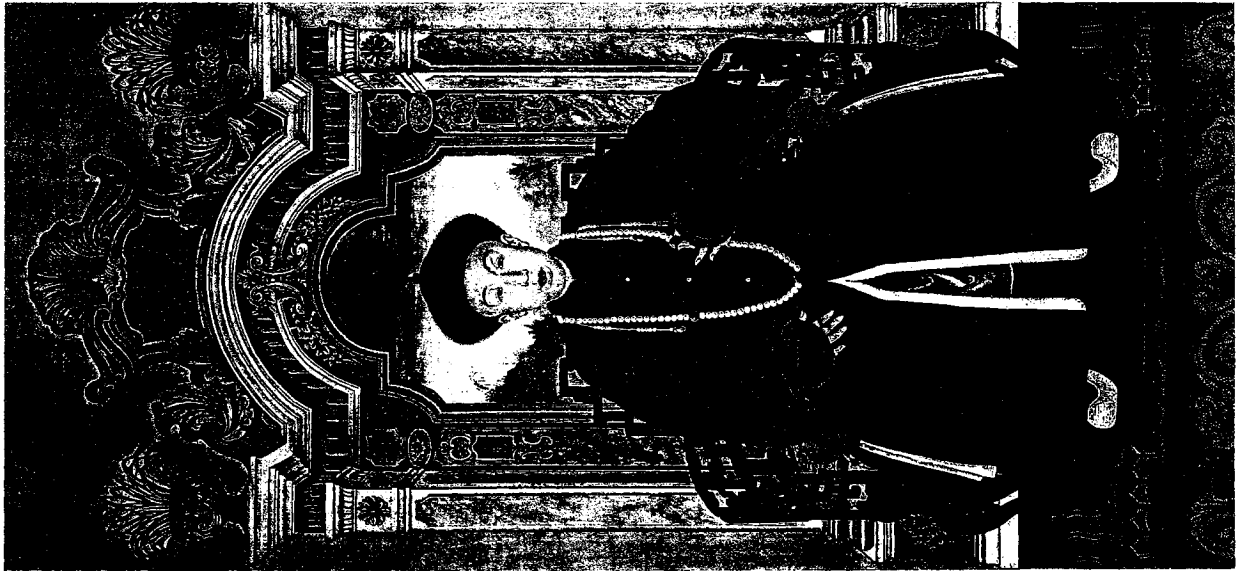


FIG. 69

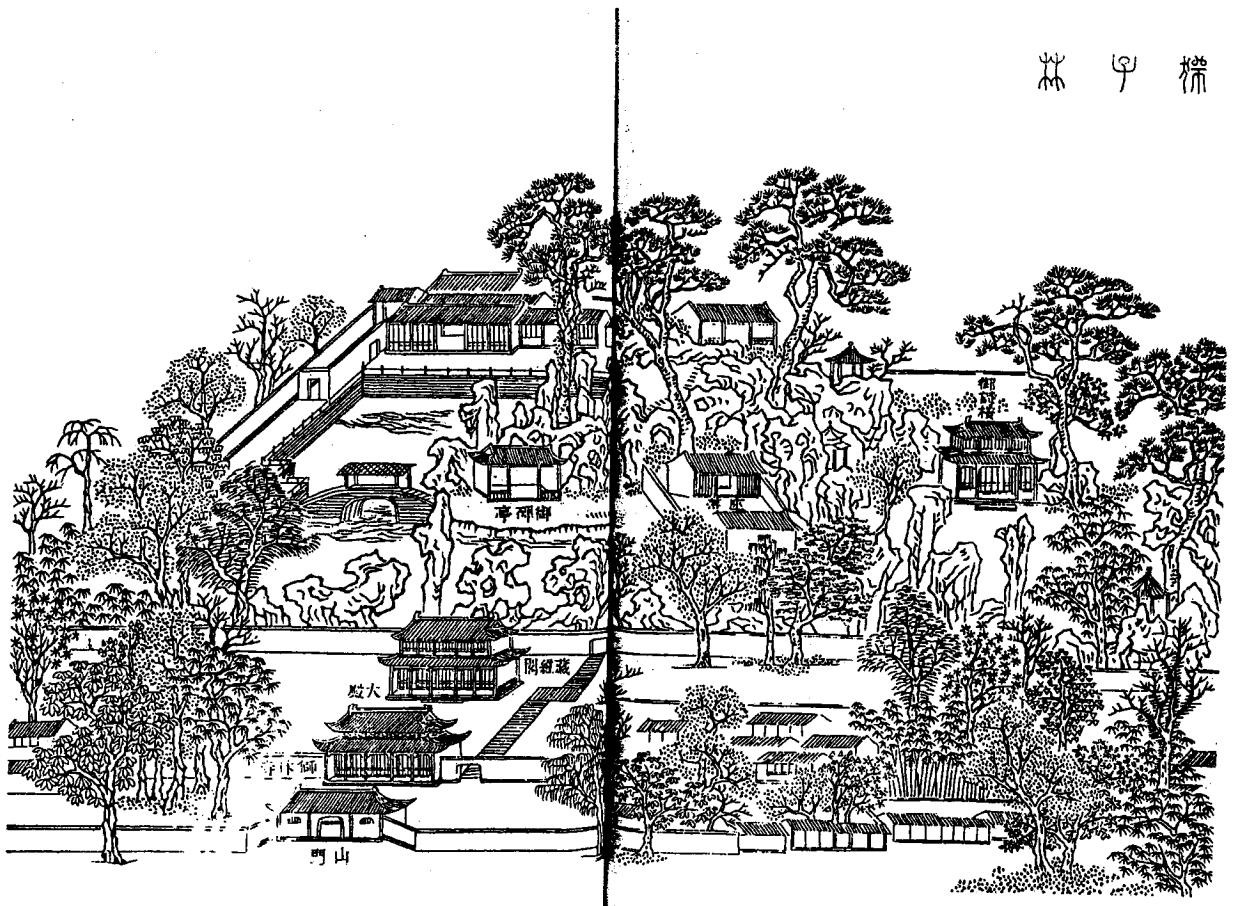


FIG. 70