

GARDENS OF CHINA

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WALLS AND GATES OF PEKING, A HISTORY OF EARLY
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PAINTING, THE CHINESE ON THE ART OF PAINTING, ETC.

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FOREWORD

GARDENS OF CHINA—how delightful a subject for those who have rambled and lived in these fantastic pleasure grounds, but how strange and exotic for those who have never visited the Flowery Middle Kingdom! It belongs to the borderland between the respective histories of art and of civilization in the Far East, and is a field of research that has been allowed to lie relatively fallow, so that the original plantations have been overgrown by weeds and thickets, or have dried up and been effaced by the more utilitarian crops of a later time. This is a province in which it is easy to go astray and difficult to obtain a clear survey of the original main lines, of the paths and water-courses and all the manifold devices reflecting the artistic thought of the designers.

If I have nevertheless ventured to step into this field, it has been due to the retrospective allurements of recollection, to the peculiar charm it has retained for me ever since my stays in the Far East in the years 1922, 1929, and 1935. The present work is not the result of any systematic preliminary studies, it has not been prompted by the ambition of scientific research, but is simply a résumé of the memories I have preserved from former years of wandering abroad, of impressions I received in the course of rambles in Peking parks and the gardens of Suchou. What has stood out most clearly in my recollection has been, not the formal elements of the gardens, but the impressions of them as a whole, the atmosphere and the emotional values attaching to this: elements of garden Nature growing wild, and half-effaced decorative arrangements which, despite the far-advanced decay that has overtaken them, still retain a certain measure of living charm and expressiveness.

Fortunately, I took my camera with me on these rambles—a friend that has accompanied me during four decades in many parts of the world, and has been invaluable as a means of seizing and retaining momentary impressions and atmospheric undertones that a better trained observer might perhaps have caught with a few strokes of the brush. It is these pictures that have rendered the work possible; they communicate much that could never have been expressed in words, and make their appeal directly to visual perception, which in a subject like this is of primary importance. The camera has thus been a great aid to the writer, and consequently at several points has also exercised a decisive influence on the shaping of the text.

The latter falls into two parts, one analytic and the other descriptive; the former may be considered to represent the main substance of the text in which the general fundamental features and compositional elements of the Chinese gardens are briefly dealt with, while the latter contains historical and descriptive additions of more restricted local importance. These parts for obvious reasons are more fragmentary, and constitute indications rather than exhaustive descriptions referring to a number of private gardens and imperial parks, each of which might in itself provide the subject for a special publication. As an introduction to the second part of the book, I have included a

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chapter on "Gardens in Literature and Painting," which has been based upon historical material and by quotations from the writings of older Chinese authors.

Yet, considering our subject from the artistic point of view, far more important are the extracts given in a number of the earlier chapters from *Yüan Yeh*, a treatise on gardening dating from the end of the Ming period. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this is the only work of its kind, and although its main function seems to be to serve as a practical guide for the laying out of gardens, it also contains æsthetic reflections and judgments that are calculated to give us some insight into the artistic aim and the intimate experience of Nature that constituted the prerequisites for the activities of the Chinese garden amateurs.—Other Chinese works, from which I have taken a number of pictures and historical data, are of comparatively subordinate importance; they are given more or less detailed mention in the text and also in the bibliography. The same applies to the relatively few works in occidental languages that have served me in the preparation of the present volume; they are referred to in the text and included in the bibliography.

The acknowledgments of indebtedness that an author generally makes in the foreword should in this case have been addressed chiefly to the official personages, influential friends and kindly park attendants who in years gone by more or less effectively smoothed the way for (or at least did not prevent) my studies in the Chinese gardens; but a list of their names would serve no purpose with an occidental reading public, and the majority of them are now, moreover, probably forgotten in their own country. I will therefore restrict myself to addressing a thought of gratitude to the Unknown Helpers in China and expressing the hope that for them too—if the work should chance into their hands—my book would appear as an act of homage and admiration for the ancient garden-art of China. The only persons here in Sweden with whom I have had occasion to discuss and revise certain parts of my material have been the well-known gardening experts Mrs. Emma Lundberg and Professor Erik Lundberg, whose experience and artistic judgment have served me as support and guidance in several points. It is pleasant to have such friends when one is dealing with gardens.

Nor can I refrain from expressing my gratitude to my translator, Mr. Donald Burton, who has spared no pains in rendering my Swedish text into English.

I am also greatly indebted to several friends who have placed some interesting material for illustrations at my disposal, and among whom I wish particularly to mention Mr. A. G. Wenley, director of the Freer Gallery in Washington, Dr. Gösta Montell of the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm, and Mr. C. T. Loo of New York.

OSVALD SIRÉN

Lidingö
July, 1948

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169. Pei Hai. I Lang T'ang (The Hall of the Lapping Waves).
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175. Pei Hai. View over the Ching Hsin Chai gardens with a number of smaller buildings intended for various artistic occupations, and a broad canal spanned by bridges.
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177. Section of a painting showing one of the imperial gardens. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
178. Yüan Ming Yüan. Fang Hu Shêng Ching. This extensive building-complex, which was erected on a high marble terrace just north of Fu Hai, was built in 1740, and was considered to be the stateliest in Yüan Ming Yüan. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
179. The same building as on the preceding picture. Drawing by F. M. Piper after one of the 40 Chinese woodcuts, representing the same views as the paintings by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Academy of Arts, Stockholm.
- 180-181. Yüan Ming Yüan. Tz'ü Yün P'u Hu (Merciful Clouds Protecting All). An establishment on an island in the "Farther Lake," consisting of three small temples consecrated to Buddha, to Kuan Ti (the war god), and to the Dragon King, as well as a tower with a sundial. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
182. Yüan Ming Yüan. Wan Fang An Ho (Peace and Harmony Everywhere). A building on a swastika-shaped ground plan, rising out of the water. The swastika is a symbol for Wan, (i.e., ten thousand, here corresponding to "everywhere," but also a symbol for Buddha's heart).
183. The same swastika building drawn by F. M. Piper after one of the 40 Chinese woodcuts. Academy of Arts, Stockholm.
184. Yüan Ming Yüan. P'êng Tao Yao T'ai (The Islands and Green Terraces of the Immortals), in the middle of Fu Hai (The Sea of Bliss). The upper picture was painted by Shên Yüan and others; the lower one drawn by F. M. Piper after a woodcut.
185. Yüan Ming Yüan. Pieh Yu Tung T'ien (There Is Another Cave of Heaven), a designation which may possibly refer to the fact that from the great lake Fu Hai one must pass through a thick wall in order to gain access to the sequestered bay. On its shores lay Hsiu Ch'ing Ts'un (The Beautiful and Pure Village). Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
186. Yüan Ming Yüan. Ch'ü Yüan Fêng Ho (Wind and Lotus), the tavern of fermented wine, so called after a celebrated wine tavern at the West Lake in Hangchow. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
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189. Yüan Ming Yüan. Yang Ch'iao Lung (The Aviary, or Room for the Rearing of Birds). *A* representing an engraving from the year 1786; *B*, a photograph from 1922.
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193. Wan Shou Shan. View over a part of the lake K'un Ming Hu, which in summer is entirely overgrown with flowering lotuses.
194. *A*. Wan Shou Shan. Shore view with the temple-crowned hill in the background. *B*. Wan Shou Shan. Bridge over a canal in the park.

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195. Wan Shou Shan. Fo Hsiang Ko (Pavilion for Incense to Buddha) with terraces in front, staircases, and gateways.
- 196-197. Wan Shou Shan. A section of the long shore-gallery. From here the views extend over the marble-lined shore and across the lake itself, flowering in the foreground and farther off mirroring the white clouds.
198. *A.* Wan Shou Shan, Jên Shou Tien, the ceremonial hall of the dowager empress. *B.* Wan Shou Shan. P'ai-lou on the shore below Fo Hsiang Ko.
199. Wan Shou Shan. An interior in the long gallery. At certain points in this gallery there are divisions like small rooms which may be shut off with doors. The pillars are deep red, but from beams and ceiling gleam flowers and landscapes in gay colors.
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202. Wan Shou Shan. Hsieh Chü Yüan. During the warm summer the water flowers more abundantly than the shores, while the atmosphere is filled with the heavy scent of lotus.
203. Wan Shou Shan. The Camel Bridge and the long bridge leading across to the island on which is found the sanctuary of the Dragon King.
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205. Yü Ch'üan Shan. The Park of the Jade Fountain; canal near the entrance gate.
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207. Yü Ch'üan Shan. Overgrown terraces and steps in the park.
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GARDENS OF CHINA

Chapter 1

THE CHINESE GARDEN— A WORK OF ART IN FORMS OF NATURE

THE Chinese garden, considered as a special type of landscapè gardening, may with more reason than most other parks or gardens be characterized as a work of the creative imagination, or, in other words, as something corresponding to the demands that must be made upon a work of art. It is not a direct imitation of Nature, slavishly dependent upon given types of scenery or landscapè motifs, nor is it the result of an abstract, schematizing activity which does violence to the natural elements of composition; rather is it an expression of artistic ideas and conceptions that have emerged from an intimate feeling for Nature. It is distinguished by the surprising charm and the picturesque beauty of an imaginative creation, though it may also degenerate to artificial intricacy and an almost bewildering lack of unifying plan. At its best, it lives with the infectious rhythm of a spontaneous work of art.

Such gardens, in the nature of things, cannot be described or analyzed as exhaustively as the geometrically arranged gardens of Europe or the more stereotyped gardens of Japan. Much of what is most essential in the Chinese garden eludes formal analysis, for it is due less to the layout and the formal arrangement than to what vibrates through and around the various elements of composition, enhancing their power to bring out the rhythm of Nature. It is not easy to describe the elements of an atmosphere that is due to the picturesque shadow-play of the hollowed rocks, or the slow pulse of the water and its flowering loveliness where it is overgrown with lotuses, to mention only a few of the intangible elements which shift with the hours and the seasons and are subject to the constant change inherent in Nature. The more a

garden grows wild or becomes overgrown, the more these elements are freed from all limitations and constraints, the more they dominate the ensemble. It is in this liberated form that we now meet them in the majority of Chinese gardens.

This does not, however, imply that the Chinese have not followed certain rules and principles in shaping their gardens, but these have not led to the same degree of relative uniformity that characterizes the successive stages in the development of the art of gardening in Europe. As far as we are able to follow it, the Chinese garden has retained a more intimate contact with untrammelled Nature, and in its irregular and unexpected features appealed more to the imagination than to the reasoning faculty of the beholder. But however important these elements of feeling and imagination may have been, they cannot be taken as the basis of a general survey; this must be built upon the more concrete factors with which the designers of the Chinese gardens have worked, and upon the general principles that have always, as far as we are able to judge, retained their importance in the Far East.

Especially characteristic of Chinese garden art is its intimate relation to painting. It was in very large part the great painters who created the typical gardens in China, and in this they were inspired by ideas similar to those which found expression in their painting. The gardens may with almost as good reason as the landscape paintings be referred to as *shan shui* (mountains and water), for also in these compositions of living matèrial "mountains" and water are the most essential elements. To these are then added trees and flowers, the manifold elements of decorative garden architecture and, since the compositions are developed

in the horizontal plane, meandering paths and enclosing walls, bridges, and balustrades. (Plate 3.)

The Chinese garden can never, in the same way as the formal parterre garden, be completely surveyed from a certain point. It consists of more or less isolated sections which, though they succeed one another as parts of a homogeneous composition, must nevertheless be discovered gradually and enjoyed as the beholder continues his stroll: he must follow the sinuous paths as they take him past mountains and lakes, wander through tunnels or winding galleries, linger for a while to ponder the water which flows under worn stone bridges, to reach finally, perhaps, on steps of unhewn stone a pavilion on a height from which a fascinating view unfolds between the trees. (Plates 4, 5.) He is led on by ever new impressions, farther and farther into a composition that is never completely revealed, and which for this reason retains something of the secret charm and allurements of the unknown. The enjoyment may be compared with the study of a landscape painting in the form of a long horizontal scroll. As the successive sections unfold themselves the beholder is enticed always farther into the ideal world of the painter, and captivated more and more by the changing sections of the picture. One must not, of course, press the comparison between the landscape paintings and the garden compositions too hard, for it is a matter of two different art forms in which the respective mediums of expression differ widely, but the comparison is nonetheless valuable, and it serves to illustrate the attitude of the Chinese toward problems of composition. (Plates 1, 2, 3.)

When trying to summarize impressions of the gardens of China, one is immediately confronted with the essential difficulty connected with the vast geographic extent of the country, and the consequent differences in climate and vegetation in the north and south. A garden in Canton obviously cannot be the same as a garden in Peking, even if they have been designed according to the same principles, just as a garden on the banks of a river cannot be created from the same elements as a garden on a mountain terrace. The variations due to climatic differences, to varying situations and practical aims, are almost endless; but we

will here simply dwell on certain main types that have prevailed in China since ancient times.

In China, no less than in other countries, there have always been town gardens as well as gardens in the country; but the relative importance of these two types has been different in China from what it has been in the Occident. The town gardens were developed in more manifold and richer forms, and occupied a much more important place than in our cities, at least since the beginning of the Middle Ages. The majority of the more aristocratic towns in China were to no small extent garden towns whose character derived precisely from the circumstance that large areas were taken up with plantations and pleasure gardens with luxuriant vegetation and a plentiful supply of water, even though they were commonly hidden behind walls. For these gardens were not intended for the outer world, but exclusively for the owner of the garden, his family and friends; they constituted, as a matter of fact, an essential part of his dwelling. (Plate 7.) Hence their charm, their frequent occurrence, and their arrangement. The garden, whether it consisted of a single willow and a couple of large stones in a wall-enclosed courtyard (Plate 8), or of more extensive park-like grounds with ponds, pavilions, "mountains," and winding paths, was a natural extension of the dwelling, as inviting for recreation and rest as for study and meditation. Here, as a rule, were to be found pavilions and smaller halls, intended not only for the drinking of tea and the taking of meals, but also for the contemplation of the flowers and the "welcoming of the moon," for music and the composition of poetry, for philosophical studies and religious meditation. All these and divers other intellectual or practical occupations were pursued during the greater part of the year in the garden rather than indoors. No such distinction between indoors and out-of-doors as we are accustomed to make has ever existed in China, a circumstance which cannot be explained merely with a reference to the relatively mild climate in large parts of the country, but which is doubtless also due to the uncommonly intimate kinship with Nature that is part of the Chinese temperament. They have listened to the thoughts of Nature and felt the beat of her pulse in quite a different way from our-



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ua (*Nelumbium speciosum*). Lotus. Woodcut after a painting by Huang Ch'üan (about 900–965).

selves. Consequently, the garden has meant something more for them than for us.

In order to observe this more closely in the traditional planning and composition of the gardens, one should pay special attention to the merging of the buildings with elements of the landscape in the older gardens. This may be illustrated by two pictures representing different parts of Pan Mou Yüan, a celebrated old garden in Peking, which at the end of the Ming period was arranged by Li Li-wêng and at the beginning of the nineteenth century belonged to Lin Ch'ing, the former inspector-general of the imperial waterways and author of an illustrated journal called *Hung Hsüeh Yin Yüan T'u Chi*. One of the pictures shows the author with his wife and daughter sitting on a veranda which opens on a part of a garden with hollow rocks, shrubs, and a weeping willow by a pond. It is early spring and, according to the text, the day is a festival celebrating some mark of imperial favor. They are observing it by sitting out on the veranda, enjoying the budding trees, the strutting love-play of the peacocks, and the giddy dance of the herons. The whole scene is so intimate and complete in itself that one cannot but feel the perfect harmony obtaining here between the elements of Nature and the buildings, in which even the birds and the people partake. (Plate 97.)

The other picture shows a smaller court, which opens before a broad hall with a patio or veranda in front. Rows of lower buildings flank the courtyard at the sides; in the foreground is a little pond or pool, and before it are some pot-plants and an urn with lotus flowers. This arrangement, like the trees in pairs and the decorative pedestals at the opposite end of the court, is characterized by a certain stiff symmetry, but this is broken by the huge tunneled rock, partly covered with trees, in the foreground. The contrast is very effective, but it does not prevent the ensemble from merging into a harmonious unity, thanks to the openness of the buildings and the well-balanced proportions between the architectural and natural elements. (Plate 97.)—

A Chinese garden without buildings to divide, surround, or complete it is simply inconceivable. It is

around these or between them that the various sections are arranged; it is from the pavilions, the verandas, and the galleries that the choicest views are to be enjoyed. Some pavilions were intended for the contemplation of the first spring flowers; others, perhaps rising from the middle of a pond, for the enjoyment of the lotus in summer; in others, again, one might delight in the chrysanthemums in autumn, or admire the shadow-play of the bamboos on the white wall on a clear moonlit evening. These pavilions and verandas offer relative isolation and protection, while at the same time giving one the feeling of being out in the open air, in a fanciful landscape to which the twittering of the birds and the chirping of the cicadas sometimes also give a voice. (Plate 10.)

In the Chinese treatise of gardening, *Yüan Yeh*, it is pointed out that in a well-situated and planned garden one may live as a hermit even in the middle of the town. It should lie in a quiet corner of the town, says the treatise, so that all noise is excluded when the gate is closed. "A single 'mountain' may give rise to many effects, a small stone may evoke many feelings.—The shadow from the dry leaves of the banana tree is beautifully outlined on the paper of the window. The roots of the pine force their way through the crevices of the hollow stones. . . . If one can find stillness in the midst of the city turmoil, why should one then forego such an easily accessible spot and seek a more distant one?"

This last reflection is certainly characteristic of these Chinese scholars and philosophers who tried to create a substitute for real landscape at their town dwellings.—The gardens in the Chinese towns have probably always been more numerous than those in the country, and of recent years this uneven proportion has been progressively increased, owing to the fact that the country gardens have been less protected against all sorts of devastation than those in the towns. As an instance of princely summer dwellings with gardens one may adduce the establishments in Hai-tien near the so-called New Summer Palace. These probably date from the Ch'ien Lung period, but they were maintained and occupied by Manchu and Mongol princes right up to the end of the nineteenth century, so that

twenty-five years ago they were still relatively well preserved. Here one might see, for example, a whole court planted with white peonies, partly surrounded by trellises for creepers and open galleries from which the plantation might be enjoyed. (Plate 44.) In other courts the vegetation consists of trees and shrubs, which are dispersed between the pavilions and the hillocks. (Plate 10A.) In *Yüan Yeh* we read that "the white peonies should be enclosed, but the red roses need no support; they can lean against the stones . . ." In the same description there is mention also of pavilions intended for the "retention (enjoyment) of the spring," and others offering protection against the summer heat. And the charms of the spot are indicated in the following words: "The moon is concealed, but peeps between the plum trees and the bamboos beside the house; here is created an atmosphere that evokes deep feelings."

The gardens best corresponding to the Chinese feeling for Nature were those attached to the huts of recluses or the study pavilions in the mountains. The poets and the artists loved to establish such retreats for themselves, and to reproduce them in their poems and paintings. Such small hermits' gardens are doubtless still to be found, but in places so difficult of access that uninvited visitors seldom reach them. The best notion of their general nature and composition may be obtained from paintings of the Sung and later periods, for the motif has always been popular. A noble painting of this kind is Li Wei's depiction (in the Boston Museum) of a summer villa consisting of several more or less open pavilions, situated in the shade of a dense bamboo grove on the slope of a hill. The road leading to the building winds down the steep, at the foot of which flows a river. (Plate 11.) The scenery has the right romantic character; it was simply a matter of framing the different prospects and of placing the buildings in such a way that the views from them were done full justice.

A more common version of the motif is to be found in Hsü Shih-chang's painting (in the Freer Gallery). This shows a mountain landscape with "peaks and valleys, crevices and depths, sheer precipices and overhanging rocks, but also open level stretches—natural

scenery that does not need to be worked out by the hand of man," to quote some words from *Yüan Yeh* referring to gardens in the mountains.—In this case the pavilion lies at the foot of the steep, where the waters flow together to form a stream. Twisted trees shade the graceful building, and the grounds are enclosed by a bamboo fence. We must imagine the garden proper as lying behind the study pavilion. (Plate 12.)

More instructive as illustrations are a number of paintings from the Ming and the beginning of the Ch'ing periods, as for instance a little picture by Hsiang Mo-lin, the well-known art collector and dilettante. It has an idyllic atmosphere; the thatched hut of the poet lies on the banks of a little mountain torrent at the foot of a slope partly covered with trees. He is sitting there in the company of a friend, enjoying the view, while another visitor, followed by his servant, is approaching on the stone bridge in the foreground. In the shade of the trees by the main pavilion lies a smaller hut where a servant is engaged in preparing tea, while the ground on the opposite side is disposed as an orchard with banana trees and is enclosed by a wattle fence. The slope behind the hut is planted with fruit trees, still bare in the early spring. (Plate 13.) It was at this time that the poets most enjoyed rambling in the mountains, in order (as the Chinese so aptly phrase it) "to nourish the heart."

A painting with a similar motif, but shrouded in the chillier and more solitary atmosphere of the autumn, is Kao Fêng-han's depiction of a chrysanthemum garden in front of a little whitewashed building under a roof of thatch. The trees behind the house are bare and twiggy, but the bamboo among the stones in the foreground is fresh and green. The doors are open; we see a table and some tabourets, but the room is unoccupied and silent. The owner of the house is out in the garden, where he is tending the high stand of chrysanthemums that is bounded with bamboo trellises. Even if the picture is painted from Nature, possibly representing the artist's own little plot in the mountains, he certainly had in mind T'ao Yüan-ming, the fifth century poet and amateur cultivator of flowers, whose passion for chrysanthemums contributed so

largely to making him celebrated and loved by his countrymen. (Plate 14.)

Those who had not the possibility of building their study pavilion in the mountains, where the view was free and the air exhilarating, often placed it in the immediate vicinity of a watercourse down on the plains. Such gardens have also been depicted in paintings ever since the Sung period, as we may see, for instance, in Chao T'a-nien's scroll (privately owned in Japan) from the end of the eleventh century. The open-pavilion, where two old men are sitting lost in admiration of a bronze vase, has here been erected in a bamboo grove on a low spit of ground jutting out into the river. Down on the bank grow flowering shrubs, possibly mutan, and some large-leaved trees, but the bamboo vegetation predominates. The damp atmosphere enshrouds the pavilion like a light mist, but the view over the river is free. (Plate 15A.)—One is reminded of the description of such a garden in *Yüan Yeh*, where we read:

If one chooses a spot on the banks of a river or a lake for the erection of a little hut one can obtain an extensive view. The misty water stretches far, far away; the cloud-swept mountains fade in the distance, the fishing boats drift in the wind, the gulls glide gracefully. Streaks of light through the gloom of the foliage; a kiosk half hidden between the trees. If one wishes to greet the new moon one ascends to the terrace. Rhythmic music, sailing clouds.—The wine cup is raised—the afterglow lingers.

It would be easy to give a long list of such pictures of small pavilions for study or meditation, placed in various milieus and completed with more or less extensive plantations of trees, bamboos and flowers; but it would take us too far if we embarked upon detailed descriptions of the manifold variants of the motif.

All these paintings illustrate one main type of garden art in China. They represent the unpretentious, picturesque type of garden that was developed by the Nature lovers and poets in contradistinction to the town and country dwellings of the wealthy, not to mention the imperial palace gardens. One or two illustrations from the *Hung Hsüeh Yin Yüan T'u Chi*

by Lin Ch'ing, a kind of illustrated journal composed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, may serve to convey some notion of the general nature and compositional elements of such larger gardens. One of the most celebrated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the so-called Chi Ch'ang Yüan in Wuhsi, a place highly esteemed for its "mountains" and trees as well as for its tea-water, which was considered to be "the next best in the whole world." (Plate 16.) Both K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung visited the spot. To judge from the woodcut, the garden contained a pond or lake of considerable dimensions whose deep bays and confluent canals were spanned with bridges. In the farther part of the lake appears an island or promontory with fantastically formed rocks. The shores rise in a gradual gradient towards the background; on one side, where the dwelling houses are situated, the slope is terraced; on the other side the bank rises in the form of a medley of deeply creviced rocks with narrow paths winding up through the crevices, and with trees and pavilions on the highest terraces. The wooded part is extremely rich and varied, comprising tall pines, several kinds of deciduous trees, and clumps of bamboo. The whole seems really to have the character of a complete pictorial composition, probably more inclusive than appears in the wood engraving here reproduced.

Another frequently mentioned garden, referred to and depicted by Lin Ch'ing, is that which was attached to the Lan-t'ing pavilion near Shan-yin in Chekiang. Its fame was connected with the tradition that it was here that Wang Hsi-chih, in the middle of the fourth century, wrote his masterpiece, the so-called Lan-t'ing manuscript, for centuries accounted to be the most perfect production in Chinese calligraphy.—The place became a sort of Mecca for the Chinese lovers of calligraphy; it was protected and maintained as a sacred grove. As the old pavilion fell into decay, the emperor K'ang Hsi had a new one erected, and in this was set up a stone tablet upon which the emperor's copy of the famous manuscript was engraved.—The pavilion, the pond in front of it (where Wang Hsi-chih washed his brushes), as well as the leafy trees and the dense bamboo grove can

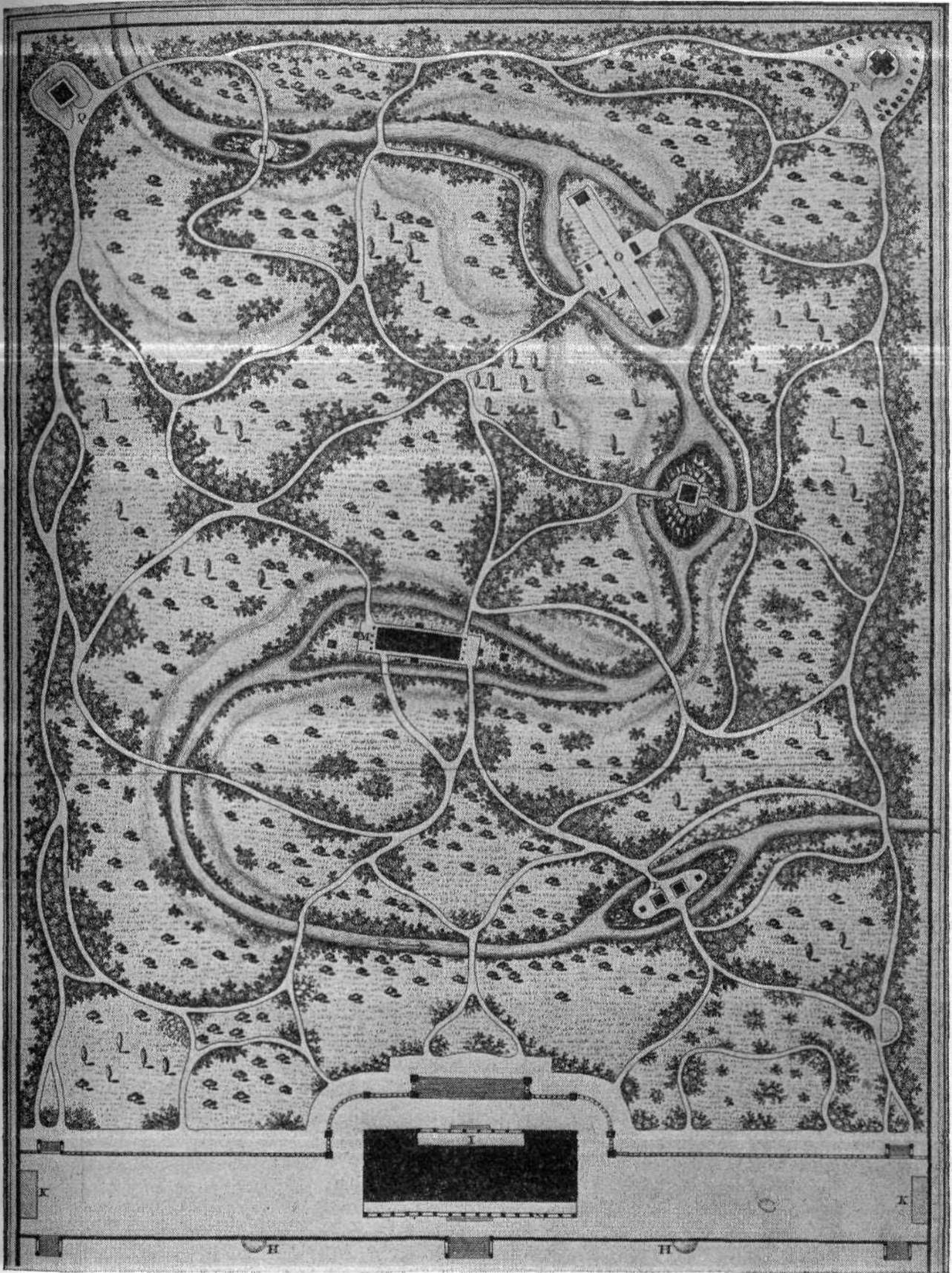


The Lan-t'ing garden near Shan-yin in Chekiang. Woodcut from *Hung Hsüeh Yin Yüan T'u Chi*.

be made out clearly in the woodcut, and one can also observe how the picturesque garden, with its hills and ponds, its groups of trees and pavilions, surrounded by a wall, stood out, as Lin Ch'ing remarks, against a background of lofty mountains and high peaks.

No less celebrated during the K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung epochs was the so-called Sui Yüan in Nanking. This, too, was of older date, but was renewed by the poet Yüan Mei, who acquired it in the year 1757. He afterwards became known as "the master of Sui Yüan"; and it was said that this garden, which despite its limited extent was very compendious, was reminiscent of the poet's rather intricate style. Especially famous were the luxuriant bamboo plantations and all the flowering trees; here grew one hundred plum trees and ten cassia trees (kuei-shu). When there was a breath of wind the fragrance from the latter was diffused over the whole locality.—In summertime one

could enjoy a walk through the avenues of bamboo as they swayed in the wind; in winter one contemplated the magnificent view of the snow-clad mountains from the galleries, which were provided with glass windows; autumn and spring afforded other delights. The place was richly supplied with water; it is said that the water flowed right up to the house. In the picture we see it in the form of a lake by which an undulating and meandering path seems to wind, in part on an earthen bank where there is also room for some weeping willows, and partly on bridges connecting different sections of this bank. The picture does not convey any clear idea of the inflow and distribution of the water, nor of the rather numerous buildings; but it does give a convincing impression of picturesque irregularity and luxuriant bamboo vegetation along the rugged shores. (Plate 17.) A picture like this confirms the general observation that the designers



Plan of a Chinese garden outside Peking. From Ch. Kraftt: *Plans des plus beaux jardins pittoresques*. 1810.

of the Chinese garden tried to avoid everything that might give the impression of stiffness or symmetry.

Of great importance in this respect, i.e., for the creation of movement and variety in the plan, were the paths and waterways, while the mountains, the buildings, and the plantations signified more for the modeling and the play of light and shade. As far as we are now able to judge, the paths in the Chinese gardens seem in their design to have been dominated by an irregularly winding and undulating system of lines, but not by the ornamental figures we find in the European imitations of the Chinese garden. The plan of a garden outside Peking reproduced by Krafft¹ is characterized by an S-shaped waterway that is in several places divided into two arms enclosing small islands with buildings, and also by paths that meander along with ingenious irregularity, enclosing and traversing the plan in different directions. They do not describe any small curves, but wide bends that run together at various points yet never directly cross or intersect one another. They are distinguished by a certain supple softness and endlessness. When one sees such a plan, one gets a rough idea of what the author of *Yüan Yeh* meant when he wrote that "the paths meander like playing cats," a rather bold metaphor, which illustrates, however, the supple movement in this system of paths which seems to invite to endless rambles. But it should also be remembered that the grounds were modeled by the excavation of ponds and the building of mounds, which were thrown into relief with pavilions and rocks.

Whatever one may think of paths like these, it must be admitted that their merit, or *raison d'être*, scarcely consists in being direct lines of communication. Above all things one must not be in a hurry when strolling in such a garden; rather should it be regarded as a kind of enchanted pleasure ground, from which one seeks a way out in vain.—Where the paths do not describe winding bends they have as a rule been broken in angles or in a zigzag pattern, as may be seen

¹ Cf. J. Ch. Krafft, *Plans des plus beaux jardins pittoresques*, etc. Paris, 1810, vol. II, Plate 95-96. The drawing is described in the following way: "Plan général d'un jardin chinois et habitation exécutés à 45 lieues de la ville de Peking appartenant à un mandarin, levé et dessiné par M. Stomberg, jardinier, qui est resté dans ces contrées plusieurs années."

in Lin Ch'ing's drawing from the Yü Ch'un-ting garden in Hui-chou (Anhui). The path, paved with coarse shingle, leads in broken lines from the pavilion to the foot of the sloping ramp leading up to the town wall. The stone paving was in many cases ornamental, and laid according to patterns that were calculated to connect the paths with the ornaments adorning the buildings, as we shall have an opportunity of observing more closely when studying garden architecture.

The rhythms of the paths were often continued in the bridges, which either rise in high arches or describe zigzag lines. The latter was a common device, particularly for the long wooden bridges by which pavilions standing out in the water were connected with the shore; these were also sometimes made of stone, as may be seen in one of the old Suchou gardens. Other bridges form continuations of the long winding galleries or complements to the waterways, whether the latter consist of streams and canals or of winding lakes. (Plate 18.)

No less essential for the planning of the gardens was the modeling of the ground, the throwing up of earth in hills and terraces, the excavation of ponds and lakes, and the building of the hollow mountains, grottoes, and tunnels to which we shall revert in a special chapter. In *Yüan Yeh* there are several references to such work, as well as to the excavation of the ponds and canals. The following lines may be adduced as an instance:

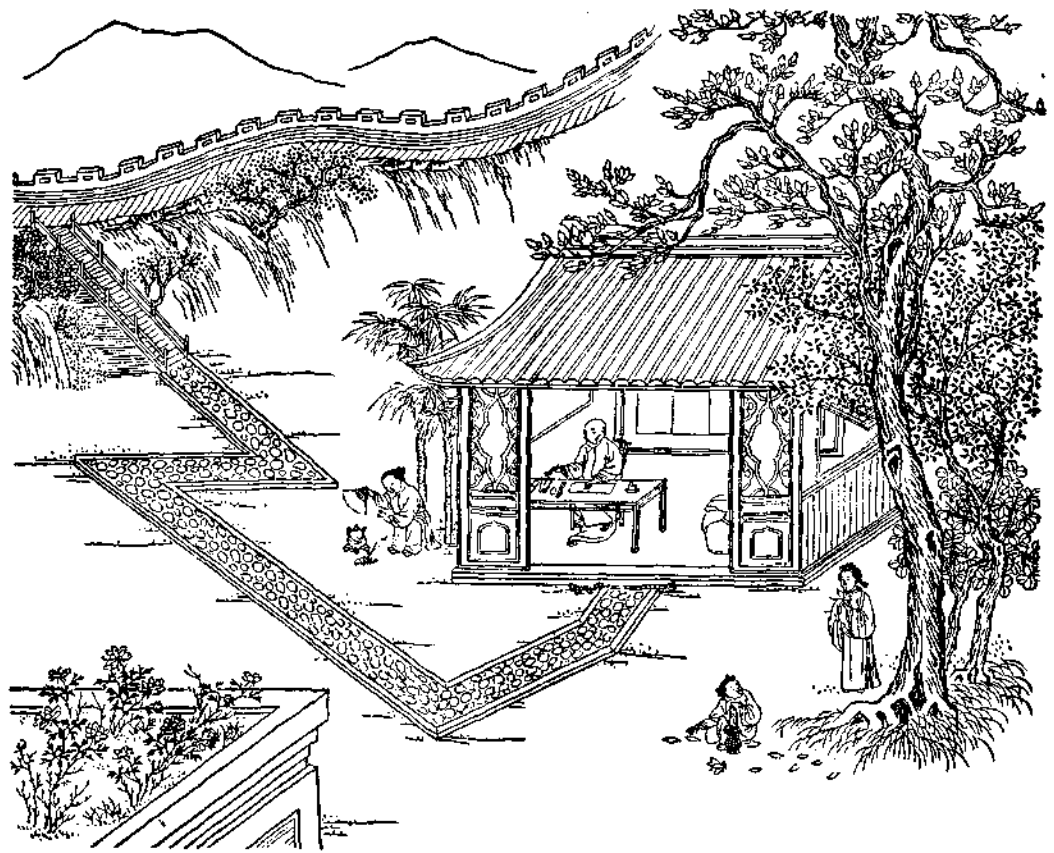
Plan the walks and footpaths. Yield to the enchantment of the flowers and the willows. Make a setting of stones round the pond; then pack down the earth around them hard. The soil that has been dug up may be used to throw up a "mountain ridge," which (whether it is high or low) will produce a good effect.—If you would learn the secret of throwing up earth, then imitate the fine details in the formation of mountains.

Clearly the general endeavor was to imitate as perfectly as possible, or to give the impression of real landscape, to create something (as we read further on in the same text) that might evoke "the thoughts of the mountains and woods." The throwing up of earth was of importance in this connection, but still more



Printed in Sw

Weeping willows and blossoming plum tree beside a garden stone, with a man watering a magnolia tree. Part of a painting from the sixteenth century called *Early Spring in a Palace Garden*. Cf. Plate 92.



Yü Ch'un-ting garden in Hui-chou, showing paved path leading to the rampart of the city wall.

essential were the hollow rocks and stones that made the "mountains" so fascinating. It was especially through these that something of the magic of wild Nature and of its power to stir the imagination was introduced into the gardens. (Plate 30.) For it was their function to serve as a substitute for the wonderful landscapes seen in dreams and magically represented with Chinese ink and brush, but so seldom reached in this dusty world. And since they were to appear wild and natural, it was necessary that the rules should remain elastic.

It may be pointed out in this connection that although *Yüan Yeh* contains a number of instructions concerning the planning and the compositional elements of the gardens, yet in the final, summarizing chapter it is emphasized that what is most essential is constituted not by any regular arrangements but by a breath of Nature's own pulsating life: what was referred to in painting as *chi yün*.

After giving a number of practical instructions the author writes:

There are no definite rules for the planning of gardens, and the reason for this is that one borrows scenery from Nature. In this connection, however, the four seasons should be taken into consideration.

When the woods and the open fields appear in contrast, only scattered trees and bamboos are required. If the garden is situated in a noisy town one should choose a secluded spot offering an extensive view; one must be able to see remote mountains standing in a curving row, like a screen.—When one opens the hall the fresh air reaches the people. The streams of spring flow from the gate to the pond. The flowers gleam in hues of red and violet. There are fairies everywhere.—You may drink your wine like an old philosopher or an official who has finished his career, and in your leisure hours you can write poetry. Inspiration is aroused by the fresh plants.

Sweep the paths and tend the orchids with care; their fragrance may also be introduced into the study. Roll up the bamboo blind [before the door] and let the swallows fly in with the wind. The petals of the flowers hover like snowflakes. The leaves of the willow are as supple as silk. . . . The swing rises high and the wind is keen. Let your feelings dwell among hills and valleys; there you

may feel removed from all the unrest of the world. In your fancy you enter a painting.

From the woods floats the song of the oriole; on the winding mountain paths wander the singing woodcutters. The wind bears fresh wafts from the wood. The hermit croons poems in his hut, and the old official plays upon his *ch'in* in the bamboo grove. . . .

The scenery of Nature is of the greatest importance for the garden, whether it be regarded at close quarters or at a distance, whether one looks upwards or downwards, and it must be created with an eye to the different seasons.—The things you love are to captivate you; they appear to your eye and touch your heart. Your thoughts then fly more quickly than the brush. How is one to describe all this?

As a supplement to my notes concerning the general character and disposition of Chinese gardens, I will here give in translation the most important of the chapters in *Yüan Yeh* that refer to these matters and to the different situations of the gardens. Their historical interest would seem to be sufficient motivation for such a rendering, even if some of the information contained in them may appear to be rather vague and difficult to appreciate fully, owing to the somewhat artificial mode of expression in terse parallel phrases of four or six characters. This, in connection with a number of technical terms and references, has rendered translation exceedingly difficult, and it is thus in several places only tentative. It is presented as an attempt at interpretation rather than as a literary translation.

The introductory paragraph is called *Yüan Shuo* (*Discourse on Gardens*) and contains a number of general reflections on the nature and importance of the subject. Then follows Chapter I, *Hsiang Ti* ("The Selection of a Suitable Site"), which includes six subsections devoted to different sites or localities: Among the trees in the mountains, In the city, In a country village, Out in the country, Beside the dwelling, By a river or a lake. The second chapter in the book is called *Li Chi* ("The Preparation of the Ground") and deals for the most part with building operations.—I shall for the time being restrict myself to the Introduction and Chapter I with its six subsections.

Discourse on Gardens

When about to make a garden, whether in the town or in the country, one should preferably select a sequestered spot from which one then clears the trees and the undergrowth of the swampy ground. The prospects are arranged according to the nature of the site. On the banks of streams one should plant orchids and irises, and paths should be laid down for "three kinds of good friends."² The garden should be made to last for a thousand years.

The surrounding wall may be hidden by creepers. The buildings are disposed in such a way as to be partly concealed by the trees. From a high building on a hill one can see a great distance. In the bamboo grove on the river bank there is stillness; there the heart is captivated.

The row of pillars before the house should be tall and spacious. The view from windows and doors must not be obscured by neighbours; one must be able to gaze far away, as over endless waters, and enjoy the shifting hues of the four seasons.

The shadow of the *wu-tung* tree falls upon the ground, and the courtyard is shaded by *huai* trees.³ Willows are planted on the river bank and plum trees around the house. A straw-thatched hut is erected in the bamboo grove. One digs a channel for water from a remote source.

The mountains stand in a row like ornamental screens; they rear aloft with deep blue peaks. They look as if they had been created by heaven, although they are the work of human hands. Through a round opening in the wall appears a hidden temple as in a painting by little Li.⁴ The steep rock formations are built up of rugged stone blocks, jagged and split as in Ta-ch'ih's⁵ paintings. The site is chosen in the vicinity of a temple; then one may hear the recitation of sutras.

The remote mountain peaks, gleaming with wondrous hues, form a fascinating background. When the atmosphere has shifting violet tones and the clouds are shot with blue one may hear, after retiring to rest, the cry of the cranes. White and red water plants, *p'ing* and *liao*,⁶ sprout among the stones where the gulls flock.

If one desires to look more closely at the mountains one may use a bamboo sedan, but one goes down to the water on foot, supporting oneself on one's staff. The crenellation of the rising and falling wall seems to float in the air; the

² *San-i* is a term derived from the *Analecta* of Confucius, and is used by Tao Yüan-ming to designate three kinds of good friends.

³ *Wu-tung* = *Sterculia platanifolia*; *Huai-shu* = *Sophora japonica*.

⁴ Li Chao-tao, called little Li to distinguish him from his father, Li Ssu-hsün, active about 670-730 A.D.

⁵ Ta-ch'ih is a by-name for the celebrated landscape painter Huang Kungwang, 1269-1354.

⁶ *P'ing* = *Hydrocharis morus-ranae*; *Liao* = *Polygonum orientale*.

THE CHINESE GARDEN

long bridge is like a rainbow. In a spot like this one does not need to envy Mo-chi his Wang-ch'uan⁷ or Chi-lun his Chin-ku.⁸

A little lake is sufficient to make the summer-pleasant, nor is it necessary to have extensive grounds covering 100 *mou* to retain the spring. Tame deer entice to walks; fish that have been introduced may be caught here. In the cool pavilion one may drink one's ice-chilled wine while the breeze plays among bamboo canes and trees. In the heated room one may sit by the coal basket and melt snow for tea-water. One quenches one's thirst and all worries soon vanish.

The raindrops of the night, which fall on the banana leaves, are like the tears of the weeping mermaid [like pearls].⁹ When the morning breeze blows through the willow trees they sway like the slender waist of a dancing girl.

Before the window one plants bamboo, and pear trees between the courtyards. The moonlight lies like glittering water over the countryside. The wind sighs in the trees and gently touches the lute and the book that lie on the bed. The dark undulating mirror of water swallows the half moon. When day dawns one is awakened by the fresh breeze that reaches the bed; all the world's dust is blown out of one's mind.

The Selection of a Suitable Site

Whatever site the garden may have, it naturally includes eminences and hollows. When one enters through the gate one is confronted with a natural view in accordance with the ground. It may be limited by mountains and trees, or else by a river or a lake. If one is looking for a beautiful spot in the vicinity of the city one should avoid the busy streets, but if one is looking for a suitable spot in the country one should pay particular attention to the various heights and groupings of the trees. In a country village one has a view over open fields, but in the town one has comfort.

The preparation of the ground for a new garden is not difficult; here one plants only willows and bamboo; but an old garden that is to be transformed offers greater possibilities, for here one finds a number of older trees and flowers. The garden may be given the form of a square

⁷ Wang Wei, hao Mo-chi (698-759), was the owner of a wonderful garden, Wang-ch'uan, whose praises he sang in several poems and which he depicted in a celebrated painting.

⁸ Shih Ch'ung, hao Chi-lun, who was executed in the year 300 A.D., was one of the wealthiest men in China and owner of the legendary Chin-ku garden.

⁹ According to a popular account in *Shui Chi*, Chiao-jen was a mermaid whose tears were like pearls.

or a circle; it may be made irregular and surprising; it may be surrounded with a curving wall like a *huan*¹⁰ or be dispersed like a great cloud. Where the ground rises one may build terraces and pavilions; in the depressions one may excavate ponds and lakes. The whole should be planned in relation to the water level. Before beginning to dig one should investigate the sources and note how the water flows. Where it flows in an open channel one builds the pavilion on posts.

From a narrow [enclosed] footpath one sees only a streak of the sky, but it may be crossed with a "floating gallery." If one can take advantage of a neighbour's view one should not cut off the communication, for such a "borrowed prospect" is very acceptable. When the flowers in one's neighbour's garden are opening, one may bid them welcome as the ambassadors of continual spring [enjoy a spring without end].

If one throws a bridge over the water one may erect the study pavilion on the opposite bank. If one piles up stones to form a surrounding wall, it may seem as if one lived among mountains. If the site is covered with many old trees, one must erect the house at a certain distance from them, and only cut off those branches that stretch over the roof. According to the proverb, it is easy to embellish the pillars and insert the beams, but hard to get a *huai* tree to grow.

If the spot is selected with due care, then the garden may be executed in the proper style.

Among the Trees in the Mountains

The best site one can choose for a garden is among trees in the mountains. Here one finds heights and hollows, crevices and deeps, precipices and overhanging rocks, but also open, level stretches. These offer wonderful scenery in themselves, and do not need to be worked upon with human hands.

One must seek in hidden places and dig deep to reach a source from which water may be conducted. Dig out a grotto at the foot of the mountain, throw up the earth to form a hill and then contrive a covered passage to the latter.

Many kinds of trees grow here right up to the sky. The tall buildings emerge from and disappear among the shifting clouds. A wealth of flowers covers the ground. Pavilions and terraces arise variously from the ponds. Over the deep bed of the stream one throws a rustic bridge, and along the steep one builds a gallery on posts.

¹⁰ *Huan* is the name of a ring-shaped ritual object that was generally designed in jade.

Here one may enjoy Nature at liberty, and quietly await the spring. The lovely birds call to their friends and the deer come together to mate. The fragrance from the flowers is often wafted right up to the threshold of the house; before the gate winds a stream. The path leads through the bamboo grove to a shady spot where a solitary hut is situated between tall firs. There one may hear the melancholy sound of water. The cranes begin to dance and to flap their wings. Before the steps leading to the house one sweeps away the clouds oneself, and perhaps one may even dig in the moon on the top of the mountain.

A thousand peaks gleam blue, and ten thousand little streams flow green. Hither one may journey in T'ao Yüanming's sedan of bamboo; one need not have recourse to Hsieh's sandals.¹¹

In the City

One should preferably not plan a garden in the city, but if one does so it should be situated in a sheltered corner; even if the neighborhood is vulgar, all noise is shut out when the gate is closed. One opens a path that is uneven and undulating. Over the tops of the trees and bamboo canes the crenellation of the city wall appears as if floating in the air. The winding canal that runs just outside is spanned before the gate by a long "rainbow bridge."

In the big courtyard one may plant *wu-t'ung* trees, while willows are set along the meandering stream. Without such trees one cannot create a hermitage, but where there are trees it is easy.

The buildings should be placed so as to harmonize with the natural formation of the ground. The drainage canal for water should be paved with stone. One erects a pavilion where the view opens and plants flowers that smile in the face of the spring breeze. Another open pavilion is erected in the shade of the *wu-t'ung* trees. The moon is swallowed in the clear water of the pond. When the rain and mist have passed and all the buildings [in the city] look as if newly washed, one may take one's books and paintings out in the open air.

The waterfall looks like white silk in the mirror. The mountains, which stand in a circle like a tall screen beyond the town, are blue.

¹¹ Hsieh Ling-yün, a poet and vagabond who lived at the beginning of the fifth century. He loved to ramble through the woods and over the mountains in the company of jolly comrades. It is said that he used to wear wooden sandals that were provided with "teeth"; when he was going up the mountainside he removed the foremost teeth, and when descending the mountain he removed the teeth at the back. Hsieh's sandals is thus an expression that is used to signify climbing in the mountains.

The white peonies should be enclosed, but the red roses do not need any support; they can lean against the stones. One should above all avoid making an espalier of them. Those which have been tied for a long time must be renewed, while those which have been permitted to grow freely last longer.

A little mountain may give rise to many effects; a small stone may evoke many feelings. The shadow of the dry leaves of the banana tree is beautifully outlined upon the paper of the window. In the hollows of the bulging rocks the crawling roots of the pines are entwined.

In such a garden one may live as a hermit even in the city, which is better than living in a bird's nest. If one can thus find stillness in the midst of the city turmoil, why should one then renounce such an easily accessible [nearby] spot and seek a more distant one? As soon as one is free one can go there and ramble as one pleases, hand in hand with one's friend.

In a Country Village

In former times it was said that those who take a pleasure in tilled ground and gardens take up their abode in the midst of the cultivated fields. Those who nowadays desire to live sequestered lives choose the site of their dwelling in a country village. Here [bloom chrysanthemum-like] balls along the fence, and mulberry trees and hemp grow here and there. One digs down to water and leads it into a channel. One throws up earth to form a bank, and along this one plants willows. The tilled fields come right up to the gate, and weeds grow up beside the veranda.

If the garden covers ten mou, then three mou may be excavated to form a pond, whose irregular shape will captivate the beholder and whose inflow should be cleared [of weeds]. Of the remaining seven mou, four may be made into a little eminence, upon which one plants bamboo.

The wide hall opens upon a green-clad landscape. The courtyard gate is concealed by plant life, so that it looks as if it were closed. The stones should be so piled that one cannot see that the "mountains" are artificial. When one comes to the bridge one might imagine oneself confronted with a real river-crossing. Peach and plum trees grow along the paths. The tall buildings and terraces stand out as in a painting. The surrounding fence is wattled with jujube branches, but there is an opening in it through which the watchdog can jump out to welcome guests. A winding path runs beside the fence. A boy sweeps away the dry leaves, so that the moss emerges. The autumn is

far advanced, but the honeycombs have not yet been cut from the hives. It is harvest-tide, it is time to set up shelters [barns?] for the cranes. He who enjoys his ease, however, need not worry about rice and seed; but if it is a matter of going to fetch wine one must not allow oneself to be hindered by storm and snow. Those who return to Nature are well rewarded. The old gardener gets more than he needs.

Out in the Country

If one selects the site for one's garden out in the country one should choose a plateau or a river bank where the soil is deep and the trees tall. Water is taken from a source through a channel, over which one throws a bridge.

The spot should not be too far removed from the town; one will have most pleasure from it if one can come and go as one pleases. In this connection, attention should be paid to the nature of the ground and the modeling of the country; it is in relation to this that one determines the size and extent of the garden. The surrounding wall is made by stamping earth between planks. The design may follow the pattern of the Hsi family's garden.¹²

If one desires to till the fields, one digs long irrigation canals, if beautiful views are what one wants, one makes good use of the groups of trees. If one finds that water collects around the roots of the trees; one should prop ["lift"] the latter with stones. The creepers should be led along the curving bridge spanning the stream. The cold gusts of wind [from the crevices] touch the peach trees growing among the willows along the winding brook. The moon is concealed, but gleams through the plum trees and bamboo that have been planted around the house; here is created a fascinating atmosphere that arouses deep feelings.

Two or three buildings at the end of a winding path are intended for the retention of the spring; one or two spots offer protection against the summer heat. In the nearby copse the doves are cooing, and the horse neighs in the wind down on the river bank.

When the flowers wither one calls for a servant [to sweep them away]. The guests are invited to recline in the deep [cool] bamboo grove.

One may visit such a garden without enquiring after the owner, but one should not leave any trace [of the visit] or write one's name. One may appreciate the rustling of the wind and the splendor of the moon without insulting the

¹² During the Chin dynasty (fifth century) the Hsi family was renowned for its wealth and its wonderful garden. The latter was situated in the vicinity of Hsiang-yang in Hupeh, and contained, *inter alia*, a large pond called Kao Yang-ch'ih.

mountains and the trees [by daubing]. A cultivated person retains his equanimity even among common people; it is only vulgar individuals who dirty the walls.

Beside the Dwelling

If there is a piece of open ground beside or behind the dwelling that might be used for a garden, this not only gives occasion for enjoyment, but also forms a pleasant frame for the house. One digs a pond, lets in water and collects stones with which to build up a mountain. One makes a gate where the guests are welcomed, and from here one opens a way to the inner dwelling-rooms.

The bamboos are tall and the trees luxuriant, the willows are dense and the flowers brilliant. Even if the spot does not cover more than five mou, one may nevertheless, like Wên Kung,¹³ feel happy in solitude. There are to be found plants for the four seasons, and one may walk with Hsiao-yü.¹⁴

On the morning of the birthday of the flowers and on the evening of the festival of the full moon¹⁵ one sits with one's family and drinks wine that has been fetched from the supply ["behind embroidered draperies"]. The guests are assembled to participate in poetic competitions, and [those who have no time to complete their poems] must empty the cups as a punishment, as was the custom in Chin-ku.¹⁶ In this way innumerable poems are written, and one may imagine oneself to be in the land of the immortals.

The couch is partly occupied by books and a *ch'in* (table harp). When rain and fog veil the bamboo grove, all boundaries disappear. If one may thus find quietude indoors, why should one then go farther away from home? The house has the character of Hsieh T'iao's¹⁷ noble dwelling. Halfway up the mountain one hears Sun T'êng's¹⁸ sharp whistle. When one goes out to search for blossoming plum trees one rides upon an old hack. When sitting in company with one's mistress one melts snow [for tea-water].

¹³ The renowned historian Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) was called Wên Kung after his death.

¹⁴ Hsiao-yü, the name of a lovely lady, possibly Ssu-ma Kuang's mistress.

¹⁵ The twelfth of the second month (i.e., about the time of the vernal equinox) is traditionally referred to as the birthday of the flowers, while the Moon or Mid-autumn Festival is celebrated on the fifteenth of the eighth month.

¹⁶ Festivals and poetic competitions that were arranged in Shih Ch'ung's wonderful Chin-ku garden served as a model for later times.

¹⁷ Hsieh T'iao was a prominent poet in the fifth century who belonged to a noble family.

¹⁸ Sun T'êng, a hermit-philosopher from the end of the third century. When he was visited one day by the Taoist Yüan-chi he only laughed, and uttered not a word; but when his guest had departed and was half way up the mountain, Sun T'êng whistled like a phoenix.

GARDENS OF CHINA

As long as the body still lives in this world one should not look around with green and white [i.e., critical] eyes.¹⁹ One can, true, create something that will last for a thousand years, but one cannot know who will be living in a hundred years. It is sufficient to create a spot for pleasure and ease, which envelops the dwelling with harmonious stillness.

By a River or a Lake

If one selects a site on the bank of a river or the shore of a lake for the erection of a little hut among reeds and willows, one may enjoy a wide view. The misty water stretches far, far away; the cloud-swept mountains fade in

¹⁹ Yüan-chi (210-263), the intransigent poet and musician, was in the habit of looking down upon ordinary scholars with white eyes; but when Chi-kan came to visit him, bringing wine and a fine stringed instrument, he was so glad that his eyes were shot with green.

the distance; the fishing boats drift in the wind; the gulls sail gracefully. Streaks of light through the gloom of the foliage; a kiosk half concealed between the trees. If one should desire to greet the new moon, one ascends to the terrace. Rhythmical music, sailing clouds.—The wine cup is raised.—The afterglow lingers in suspense.

A spot like Hou-ling where one plays the flute with Tzu-ch'in,²⁰ or else like Yao-ch'ih²¹ where Mu Wang²² is expected as a guest.

Happiness consists in enjoying one's freedom. He who can do this is indeed an Immortal.

²⁰ Wang Tzu-ch'iao, called Tzu-ch'in, is considered to have lived in the fifth century B.C. He was one of the immortals of Taoism, renowned also for his gifts as a flutist. He once appeared riding on a white crane on the Hou-ling mountain, and suddenly vanished, ascending to heaven.

²¹ Yao-ch'ih is a designation for the abode of the immortals.

²² Mu Wang was the fifth regent of the Chou Dynasty, and is believed to have ruled in the ninth century B.C. He has gained great popularity as a legendary figure.

Chapter 2

MOUNTAINS AND WATERS

CERTAINLY, in all places and times, water has been an element of primary importance for gardens; but nowhere has it been exploited to a greater extent, or occupied a more prominent place, than in the gardens of China. In the majority of these, it constituted the actual sounding board, as it were, for the shifting moods and the atmosphere. The Chinese idea of the significance of water was, moreover, different from ours, and in the main was determined by the Taoist philosophy of Nature, according to which the rivers, whether visible or concealed underground, constituted the arteries of the earth, while the mountains were considered to represent its skeleton. The earth, like the other planets, was in their view a living organism built up of elements similar to those of which man is made, and it was the task of the artist, whether he worked with brush and ink or with Nature's materials, to exploit the different elements and in this way to invest his creation with an expression of life, whether in the symbolical or the actual sense. Water was thus, both figuratively and in fact, the life-giving source for the gardens, a circumstance that can perhaps best be observed when it has dried up, and the pulse-beat has stopped.

In various connections the author of *Yüan Yeh* points out that the site for a garden should be selected with a view to the water supply; for example: "before digging the foundation one should investigate the sources and note the flow of the water." In other places we read how the water should be conducted through channels and stream-beds; "over these one can throw a bridge." In a garden covering ten mou (approximately 50,000 to 70,000 square feet) "three mou may be excavated for a pond,¹ which will captivate the

¹ The majority of ponds were excavations in the ground, but there were also ponds that were walled with stone. Concerning the building of ponds, we read in the chapter on "The Building of Mountains" the following instructions: "The method of building stone ponds is my invention. For this purpose one should choose flat stones. The slightest

beholder by its irregular form . . . and of the remaining seven mou, four may be used as a little eminence, upon which one plants bamboo."—In many cases, however, the lakes and ponds have occupied a relatively larger area; William Chambers was not greatly exaggerating when he wrote:² "Where the situation permits of this, and in the greater compositions [i.e., the imperial pleasure gardens] every valley has its stream, which winds round the foot of the hills and flows into larger rivers or lakes." These data are in a greater or lesser degree confirmed by several of the old Suchou gardens, and especially by the old imperial pleasure parks in Peking, among which Yüan Ming Yüan was the noblest and that having the richest supply of water.

William Chambers has rightly expressed the matter by remarking that the designers of Chinese gardens attach such great value to water because it has a refreshing effect during the season when gardens are chiefly frequented, and it is the source of the greatest variety, as it can so well be combined with other things and be used for the evocation of different moods. To this, however, must be added a purely æsthetic or romantic appreciation of water, which Chambers expresses in the following words: "They compare a clear lake to a rich piece of painting, upon which the circumambient objects are represented in the highest perfection; and say, it is like an aperture in the world, through which you see another world, another sun and other skies."

That such pronouncements are not based on pure imagination is borne out by the fact that similar view-

leak makes the pond useless as a water-container. Consequently, one must know the right way of choosing and balancing the stones. When they are set in their places they must be fixed on three or four sides; if they are only fixed on one side fine cracks will arise between them and the pond will not be able to hold water. Even if you use mortar, you cannot prevent the water from running out. The method must be carefully observed."

² *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London, 1757).

points are found also in *Yüan Yeh*, where the significance of the ponds for the poetical atmosphere is alluded to. In the chapter concerning the foundation (Li Chi) we read: "The mirror of the pond reflects the shadows; here is opened an entrance to the mermaid's palace" . . . Further: "The moon shines through the willow trees by the pond when it 'washes its soul' in the clear waves. As far as the eye can reach, the lotus blooms sway in the wind, it carries their fragrance all the way to the chamber."—The short phrases evoke well-known recollections from the Chinese gardens, especially in summertime, when their ponds and waterways are quite overgrown with lotus blooms and leaves swaying on tall stems.—In short, the water is most essential for evoking the atmosphere that is conveyed by the shifting lights and the vibrating images dissolving in an impressionistic play of colors. We realize that there is a meaning even in such terse words as these: "In an inlet of the pond is reflected the autumn; deep shadows indicate the end of summer." Finally, the author adds a very characteristic practical instruction: "The waterways should be so planned that one cannot see their end." We have already observed the application of this rule in a few of the illustrative pictures from older Chinese gardens, and on the plan where the stream wound like a great S through the grounds. Such a waterway cannot be completely surveyed or measured in a glance from any one point. The same applies to these garden ponds and lakes of winding form with deeply notched shores and long narrow bays, which are spanned with bridges.

The most comprehensive and fascinating instance of the significance of the water in the great park grounds is now to be found (since the wiping out of *Yüan Ming Yüan*) in the so-called Sea Palace in Peking. (Plate 20B.) The water that fills these lakes comes from the Jade Fountain, situated about nine miles from Peking at the foot of the Western Hills. (Plate 20A.) Here it flows out not only in large sheets, but also in smaller ponds and canals which have in some cases been formed in ornamental patterns. We find such ponds at Liu Pei T'ing (The Pavilion of the Floating Cups) in Nan Hai, which is situated beside

a pond framed by magnificent, hollow rocks. (Plate 22.) To the pavilion leads a bridge, and its stone flooring is cut through by an ornamental loop of canal, where the water flows in. To judge from the name, this was intended for the arranging of competitions in poetical composition: it was a matter of writing a poem while a little wine cup floated on its saucer from one end of the canal to the other. The competitor who did not succeed in completing his opus within the time prescribed, had to empty the cup.³ At the side and at the further end of the pond study pavilions are situated under the leafy crowns of the ancient trees. (Plate 21.) The composition is complete in itself; the atmosphere is one of timeless, dreaming peace. A spot like this might perhaps be called "the entrance to the mermaid's palace," to quote the author of *Yüan Yeh*.

Not far from here in Chung Hai, the Middle Sea, there is a so-called Swastika Gallery (Wan Tzu Lang) consisting of four arms, which together form a big swastika; and with these are connected canal loops which follow the same fundamental pattern. (Plate 23.) The water isolates the scheme and throws it into relief, something that was no doubt observable in several gardens, though such ornamental convolutions of water now seldom exist in their original form. Especially in Peking, where the water supply has been relatively limited, many of the ponds and canals in the old gardens have been allowed to dry up and become partly overgrown. Here one lacks precisely the element that once conveyed the impression of vibrating and changing life; that which caught the light and reflected the trees and the pavilions. The latter, which once seemed to float on the surface of the water, now stand stiltedly upon stone pillars that were never intended to be seen. The pulse has stopped, the enchanted veil has been torn. (Plate 24.)

Such impressions are not uncommon in the once princely gardens of the northern capital, while the case is rather the contrary in the Yangtze Valley and the more richly watered tracts of South China. Here

³ This custom is mentioned also in *Yüan Yeh*, where we read: "Guests are assembled to take part in the poetical competitions, and by way of a forfeit must empty the cups (i.e. if they do not have time to complete their poems within the prescribed time), as was customary in Chin-ku. In this way innumerable poems are written, and one may imagine oneself to be in the land of the immortals."



香玉滿包仙液揚
弘圖錄蘇猶

Printed in Sweden.

Shih (Nephelium litchi). Litchi fruits and a kingfisher. Woodcut after a painting by Wu Yüan-yü
out 1050—1105).

the water has seldom dried up, for it bubbles up from copious underground sources; in many places it has overflowed and cut away the banks, so that the trees have lost their foothold and lean out over the surface of the water. Something of this kind may be observed in several of the old gardens in Suchou and Hangchou. Here the water pulsates as abundantly as it did two or three hundred years ago, and its mirror is as polished as ever. (Plate 25.) Not only the leaning trees, but also the pavilions on the little islands, the bridges and the galleries on the banks are all doubled and lifted up—or sunk?—in an intangible dream-world: an atmosphere of playing shadows and reflected light. The particular fascination of water here comes into its own, as does also its stimulating influence upon the vegetation, which sometimes, as the summer advances, becomes so overwhelmingly luxuriant that the surface of the water disappears entirely. But even if it is not seen, it is felt as a presence, for the air is saturated with moisture and heavy fragrance from the swaying flowers.

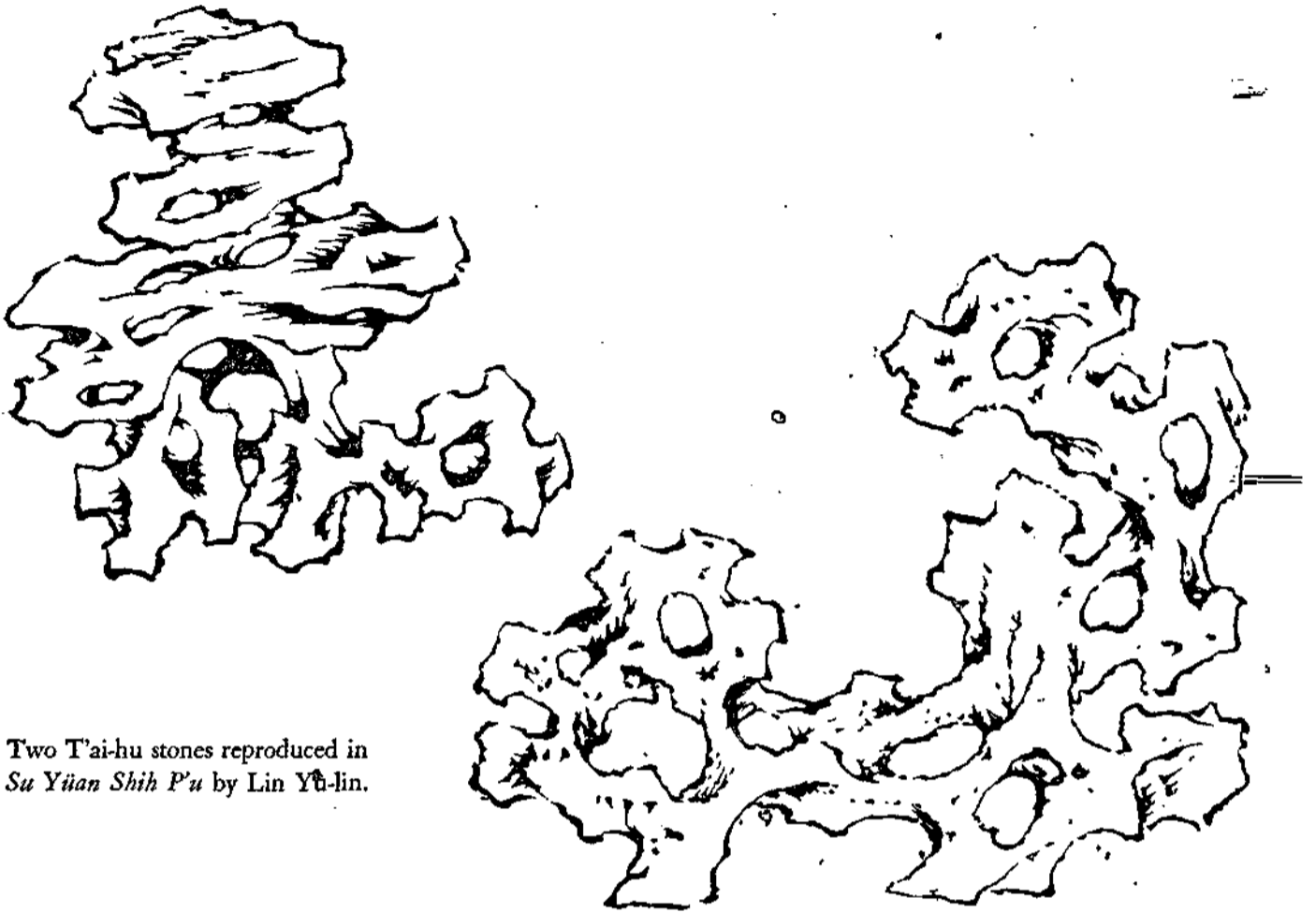
It should be added that in certain places in China, as also in Japan, recourse has been had to the method of creating a substitute for water by constructing stream beds and canals filled with specially selected stones and sand, to give the illusion of real waterways. Such constructions are also mentioned in *Yüan Yeh*, where the following lines occur: "Artificial mountains appear more beautiful if they have water; but even if one cannot conduct water from higher regions, one should nevertheless dig stream beds and excavate ponds without water. They may seem just as wonderful as if they were filled with water." The last assertion goes rather too far, it must be admitted, in its recommendation of the dry substitutes; but it is nonetheless true that really fascinating and illusory effects can be attained with the aid of empty waterways.

Despite all this, and much else that might be added concerning the water—the constant shifting and mirroring, the moving and pulsation—as the life-giving element of the gardens in every sense of the term, it must nevertheless be admitted that the "mountains," i.e., the hollowed and furrowed blocks of stone, have played a still more prominent rôle in the Chinese

gardens. They are without doubt the most original and the most specifically Chinese of all the elements constituting the peculiar character of these gardens. Ponds, pavilions and winding paths of various kinds are to be found in pleasure gardens in many lands, but hollowed-out rocks assembled in the form of mountains and grottoes occur only in China, or in gardens that have been planned according to Chinese models. In their irregular and surprising forms is reflected the special temper of Chinese garden art. At their best, they contribute more than any other compositional element to bring out what I will call the expressionistic feature in this picturesque art.

The garden rocks are the expression of a very old cultural tradition, a deeply engrained interest in the beauty and significance of the mineral kingdom which has been directed not only towards the "mountains" of the gardens, but also towards smaller picturesquely formed stones that are used as ornaments in dwelling-rooms or on desks—not to speak of the popular ink-stones, or the more costly specimens of jade, rock crystal, or other semiprecious minerals that the Chinese have collected as eagerly as any works of art.

The extraordinary estimation accorded by the Chinese to richly modeled rocks and stones in their gardens reflects one of the most characteristic aspects of their conception of Nature. They have never tired of praising and painting the towering mountains and the sharply cut rocks with their furrows and crevices. Such phenomena have always been regarded by the Chinese as the most magnificent symbols for the creative force of Nature, fascinating in virtue of their grandeur and their wild inaccessibility.—The heaven-storming height and the majestic shapes could scarcely be adequately transposed in the mountains of the gardens, but expression could to a certain extent be given to the elements of picturesque and fantastic wildness. In this connection, it is pointed out by the author of *Yüan Yeh* that "when building up artificial mountains and endeavoring to make them so beautiful that they will arouse admiration, one should see to it that the mountains and rocks appear wild [rustic]; as on the Tiger Mountain in Suchou and on the Phoenix Terrace in Nanking."



Two T'ai-hu stones reproduced in *Su Yüan Shih P'u* by Lin Yü-lin.

This was and has remained one of the guiding principles in the art of gardening, as also in painting. Whether the mountains are built of rocks furrowed and colored by Nature, possibly against the background of a white wall, or whether they are painted with ink and brush on paper, they must appear wild and fantastic. The author of *Yüan Yeh* writes: "Try to make your mountains resemble real mountains. Follow Nature's plan to a certain extent, but do not forget that it is to be executed by human hands. Select the peculiar and seize upon what is good. Those who have the right interest will understand the matter."—The right interest in this connection implies also a certain measure of creative imagination.

To give a systematic survey or an exhaustive account of these garden rocks is practically impossible, for their forms are almost as shifting as those of the clouds in a stormy sky. Among the descriptive notes about a garden included in the well-known novel of the seventeenth century, called *Hung Lu Mên*, there is a passage referring to the fantastic garden rocks.

The party walking through the garden perceives "rugged rocks looking either like goblins or resembling savage beasts, lying crossways or in horizontal or in upright positions, on the surface of which grew moss and lichen with mottled hues or parasitic plants which screened off the light, while slightly visible wound around the rocks narrow pathways like the intestines of a sheep."⁴ If one attempts to group them from a formal viewpoint one can distinguish two main types: recumbent stones and standing stones, but there are also those which occupy an intermediate position between the horizontal and the vertically disposed stones. The former as a rule are of smaller dimensions and are commonly used en masse, laid in uneven layers, forming whole mountains, grottoes, tunnels and the like, or embankments or enclosing walls. These stones rarely have any more pronouncedly individual shape or type, but when assembled to form winding and undulating masses with deep hollows and boldly jutting shelves or beaks, they give rise to

⁴ Translation by H. B. Joly (1892).

picturesque play of light and shade that may be very effective. (Plates 26, 27, 28.)

The vertical stones may of course also be assembled to form mountains, grottoes or other complexes, but for this purpose only those of relatively small dimensions are used, while the larger and more nobly shaped are treated as monuments, in some cases set up on sculptured pedestals (Plate 29), in open pavilions or in ponds. Their decorative function in the Chinese gardens is often the same as that of the statues, obelisks, and urns found in European gardens, only with the difference that they merge so much more naturally in the picturesque play of light and shade of their surroundings. (Plate 31.)

The most valued of these monumental garden stones are limestone blocks that have been modeled by water and taken from the bed of the T'ai-hu or other lakes in South China. They are full of bumps and hollows, deeply furrowed and scooped out, modeled with strong contrasts of light and shade that are caught in clumps or furrows whose gliding and whirling movements follow the most capricious rhythms. In the description of the T'ai-hu stones that we find in *Yüan Yeh* it is pointed out that they are "solid and shiny."



An old T'ai-hu stone from *Su Yüan Shih P'u*.

Some of them have deep hollows, others are honey-combed with holes, while others again are curved and strangely silhouetted. The coloring may vary from white to bluish black. "The surface is full of so-called bullet-holes that have been made by the hammering of the waves in stormy weather." The size evidently varied considerably; the largest and costliest (which might be taller than a man) were to be "placed under a stately pine tree or combined with wonderful flowers," if they were not set up in a pavilion. The author adds: "They have been collected since time immemorial, and are now [i.e., at the beginning of the seventeenth century] very rare." In consequence, wealthy amateurs vied with each other to acquire such stones from old gardens, and the best specimens fetched prices amounting to as much as "200 measures of rice."⁵

One could, certainly, find beautiful stones also in other places, in certain mountain regions that the author mentions, and some of these were actually not inferior to the T'ai-hu stones, but they were not valued so highly and not invested with the same nimbus. In short, ever since the Sung period (eleventh to twelfth centuries) the T'ai-hu stones have been regarded as the unexcelled masterpieces of Nature herself, "the greatest of all artists." Whether genuine T'ai-hu stones are still to be found may be left an open question, for as concerns these, as also many other rare antiques, the Chinese have shown an admirable capacity to create substitutes when the originals have begun to run short. One must indeed be an expert on the subject of garden stones to be able to judge their age and origin, and such special knowledge can be acquired only

⁵ As has been briefly mentioned above, water-modeled stones were collected not only for the gardens, but also for living rooms and the writing table, and for the miniature gardens that were built up on trays or in bowls. The chief constituents of these gardens-in-little were the richly formed stones in combination with mussels and gravel, as well as several kinds of skilfully devised miniature trees, grass, bamboo and other plants lapped with water. Such miniature gardens were regarded, after the Sung period, as among the most important of the appurtenances in the study pavilions of the scholars; their function was not only decorative, but above all symbolical: they represented The Isles of the Blessed or the abode of the Immortals, and their wonderfully shaped trees, mountains and grottoes were looked upon as concentrated expressions for the creative forces of heaven and earth.—As an indication of the value set upon such small stones intended for miniature gardens or the writing desk, it may be mentioned that Su Tung-p'o, the poet and statesman of the end of the eleventh century, acquired such a stone, called *Chiu hua* (the nine-peaked one) for 100 gold coins. Cf. R. Stein, *Jardins en miniature d'Extrême Orient* in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*. 1943.

through practical experience. We can, however, form a certain notion of the appearance of the most celebrated stones by studying older descriptions and pictures of them, for example in such works from the Ming period as *Yüan Yeh* and *Su Yüan Shih P'u* by Lin Yü-lin and in the well-known book on painting from the Bamboo Studio (*Shih Chu Chai Shu Hua P'u*). The costliest of these stones were regarded as works of art; they were placed upon pedestals, they were reproduced in paintings and exalted in poems.

When suitable stones had once been found, it was then a question of setting them up in their right places. This was no easy matter, according to the old authors; knowledge and experience were required: "only scholars and real amateurs of gardens could do this." The author of *Yüan Yeh* condemns the common method of setting up three pointed stones, (one high stone in the middle and two smaller ones at the sides) as a screen before the main building. This looks ridiculous. The mountains must be scattered about the garden. One of the best places for a mountain is in the middle of the garden pond; here it occupies a dominating position. (Plates 24, 32.)—From the mountain a "flying bridge" can be thrown (to the bank). Under this, in the interior of the mountain, grottoes and tunnels are made which open upon the water. Here the moon peeps in, and one can welcome the clouds. "Who can then deny that there are fairies and an Island of the Blessed in this world?"

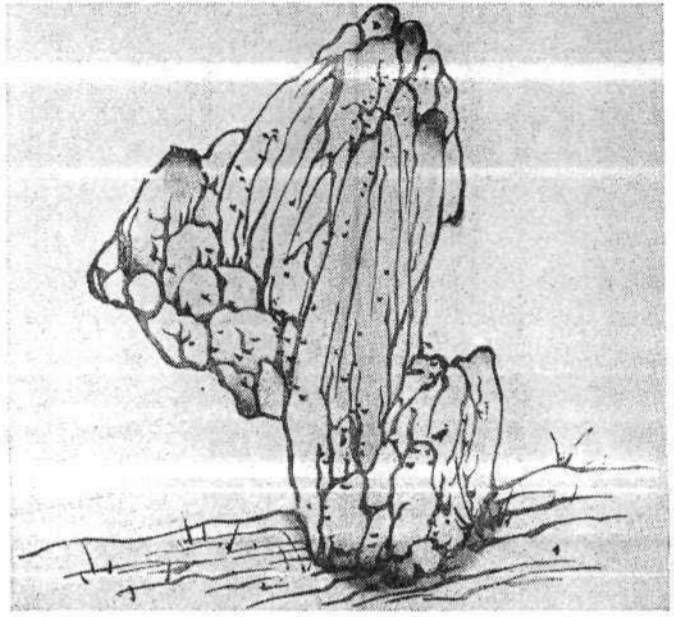
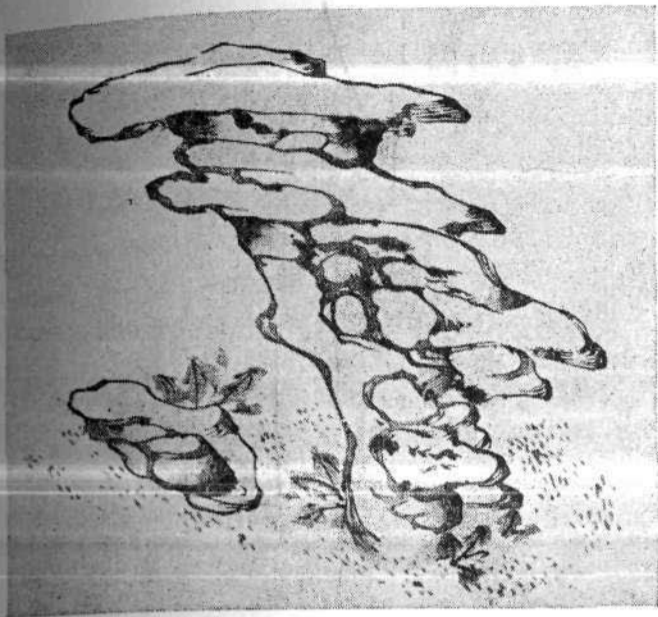
Of particular interest, in consideration of the kinship of the garden with a painting, are the instructions concerning mountains that are set up before the garden wall. "The white wall serves as a paper, and upon this one paints with stones. Those who perform such work should in the first place pay attention to the furrows and lines of the stones, and then dispose them in the light of the old masters' ideas. One may then plant Huang-shan pines and firs, or old plum trees and beautiful bamboo [beside the stones]. If one contemplates such a painting through a round window it is like 'wandering in a mirror!'"

The author also gives certain instructions concerning the building up of mountains with one or several peaks. As regards the latter, he warns the reader

against placing the stones in a row like a screen. They should have an irregular form in order to be able to contribute to an impression of natural wildness. (Plate 33.) The single-peaked mountains—in other words the high, detached stones—when possible through being worked upon and suitably disposed, should be given silhouettes that taper downwards and widen upwards. Concerning this form, which is extremely characteristic for the treatment of garden stones, the author writes, *inter alia*: "If it is a matter of a stone with a single peak, its form should be carefully examined so that other stones with similar furrows may be chosen. Let an artisan then hollow them out in such a way that they may be fitted together. The whole should be made broader towards the top and narrower towards the bottom, then it will be worth looking at.—One may also set up two or three top-stones together; these, too, should widen towards the top and taper downwards; they may then give the impression of flying and dancing. This can be achieved by piling up several large stones on the top and placing them in a position of equilibrium so that all risk is eliminated. If the stones have a certain inclination at the outset, this will increase in time until the whole peak topples over. It is necessary to use care."

Similar instructions are given concerning the setting up of "overhanging cliffs," which as a matter of fact were nothing but large rocks: "One begins by making a little foot, and then allows them gradually to widen towards the top. They must be well safeguarded from the side, so that they may then lean over."—The curious form with a wide, spreading upper part (which may look like a cloud) is regarded as the most desirable; it is certainly not an invention of the author's, although there may be a certain truth in his statement that "in former times only *one* overhanging (or jutting) stone was used; it was not known how to add several more." He continues: "I do this with the help of the law of equilibrium, and let the overhanging stones spread out in front, while they are firmly secured at the back. They may jut out a distance of several feet; it looks dangerous, but there is no risk."

These boldly constructed stone monuments with overhanging or almost hovering peaks had at the end



Two garden stones reproduced in *Shih Chu Chai Shu Hua P'u*.

of the Ming period evidently attained a very richly developed variety, which—*mutatis mutandis*—may be compared with the culmination of expressionistic ink-painting at the same period. Here, too, the artists gave to the objects they represented a kind of imponderability, boldly freeing them from the rigid formalism of a symmetrical arrangement. Their mountains and trees appeared, as it were, out of the void, balanced against each other in a state of labile equilibrium.

It was the painters who exercised the greatest influence on the art of gardening, especially such more or less imaginative painters as Huang Tao-chou or Ni Yüan-lu, who worked in the so-called *hsieh-i* style (idea-writing). For them, the fantastically formed rocks and the towering mountains with overhanging peaks (in apparently labile position) were full of suggestive ideas. (Plates 34, 35.) According to contemporary evidence, there were many such stone enthusiasts among the painters, both under the Sung and the Yüan and Ming periods. They took a delight in interpreting the fantastic forms of the stones, and some of them even called themselves Yü-shih (stone lovers). Some of them actually felt a personal relation of friendship with the silent and imperturbable representatives of the mineral kingdom. It is, for instance, related of Mi Fei, the celebrated painter and very acute art critic of the early twelfth century, that he was in the habit

of bowing to a wonderful garden rock and greeting it reverently as his elder brother.

Mi Fei's "stone brother" naturally became famous, and was admired and reproduced by the amateurs of a later period, and the same applies to his manner of arranging and setting up his stones in the garden. Stories of his Pai-shih pavilion (i.e., the pavilion for the adoration of stones) survived in more or less fantastic versions, and seduced amateurs of gardens as much as 500 or 600 years later into making similar arrangements. Thus, in the previously mentioned Pan-mou garden in Peking, Li Li-wêng introduced a so-called Pai-shih pavilion, where he assembled a number of remarkable stones from Ling-pi, Ying-tê, T'ai-hu, Ching-chu and other places; and it is reported that some of these stones were later appropriated for the Imperial Gardens in the northern capital.

A picture of this "pavilion for the adoration of stones," together with the court in front of it, is to be found in *Hung Hsüeh Yin Yüan T'u Chi*.—One may observe here how the tall T'ai-hu stone has been set up like a statue in the middle room of the open building, while the side rooms are decorated with screens and a temple gong. (Plate 36.)—Before the barrier in the court two men are sitting at a little tea table—obviously silent and sunk in thought. The whole conveys an impression of solemn stillness. The two friends



The stone which Mi Fei used to greet as his "elder brother."

are in the precincts of a sanctuary that for several generations of Chinese art lovers doubtless meant just as much as any temple or any dwelling of the gods, for in this sanctuary was preserved a fascinating and imposing symbol (infinitely rich in form) for the creative force of Nature. Only a stone block, it is true, yet just as unfathomably expressive as any idol, and able to stimulate the imagination and to take the thoughts of the beholder far beyond the narrow horizon of this dusty world—perhaps to the abode of the Immortals or to the Isles of the Blessed. These are the intangible things and the uncharted regions that the Chinese wished to open for us in their gardens (as also in their painting), and it is through them that we are fascinated without being able to say how or why.

By way of addition to my notes on the stones and mountains of gardens I will append here in translation the chapter in *Yüan Yeh* entitled *Hsüan Shih*, "The Selection of Stones." Here are brief descriptions

of stones from fourteen different finding-places in the provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu, but the author points out that there are several such finding-places that he has not visited. The introductory reflections should help to give a notion of the qualities that the Chinese especially esteemed in these stones, and also of the pains that were expended in the selection and securing of the material.

The Selection of Stones

One must know where the stones come from, whether from a distance or from sites in the vicinity. The stones in the mountains have no value [price]; this they acquire through the work put into them by man. They must be sought out in the course of long wanderings on difficult paths in the mountains. The cheapest way is to take them up out of the water; then the distance does not play any rôle worth mentioning. The day-work is counted only in terms of the manual labor. When the distance is not too great, the stones may be borne on the shoulder [i.e., with the help of a pole].

If one wishes to produce something beautiful, one must not content oneself with the merely ornamental; the finished work must also be simple and all of a piece. If you want something lasting, you should use strong, old stones, which should be set up in layers. But first you must pay attention to the nature and shape of the stones. If you cannot find a stone with [suitable] furrows, be patient; for they should be set up with due respect to their furrows. If they are too deeply furrowed, they may fall apart. If they have big hollows, it is best to place them high up.

In former times the most beautiful old stones came from T'ai-hu, and the connoisseurs appreciated only the so-called flower-stones. Nowadays, ordinary people who do not know Huang Shan arrange their minor stones according to Yün-lin [Ni Tsan], and the larger ones according to Tzu-chiu [Huang Kung-wang].⁶ Even if the stones are clumsy, they may be piled up in layers, and one can find good stones even in the wildest mountains. Stones are not like grass and trees; once they have been taken out they are not replaced by a second crop. Human beings look for profit and reputation, and overlook the importance of creating something for a remote future.

T'ai-hu Stones. The island of Tung-ting is situated in the Suchou-fu district. On its shores are found stones in

⁶ Ni Tsan and Huang Kung-wang, the two most famous landscape painters during the Yüan period, had each his own way of painting stones and mountains.



A Lin-hsi stone taken from a river bed.

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A K'un-shan stone taken from a mountain, and intended for a miniature garden.

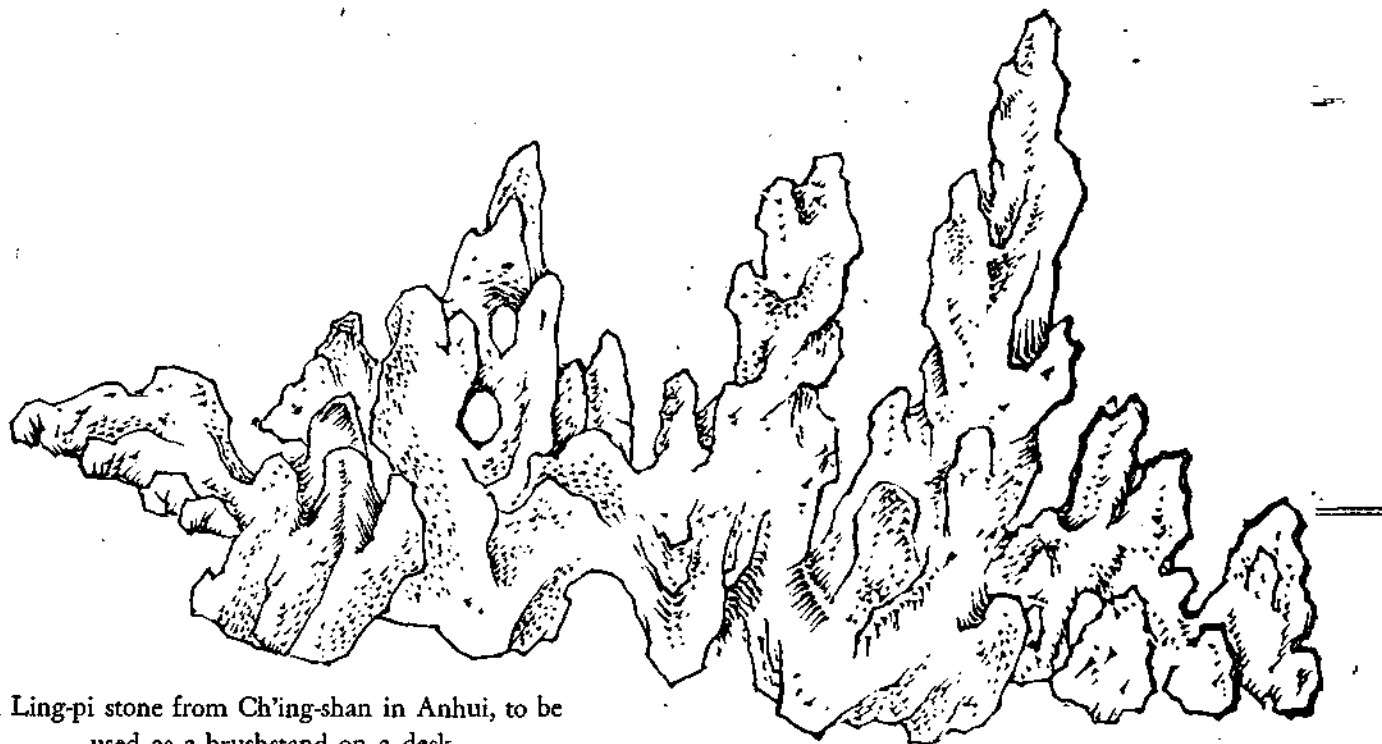
the water—the best in the Hsiao-hsia Bay. They are solid and shiny. Some have deep hollows, others are riddled with holes, others again are curving or curiously carved. Some are white, others bluish black, while others have a fainter blue-black hue. Their substance is apparent in horizontal and vertical furrows, which stand out and disappear as in basketwork. The surface is full of hollows that have arisen through the hammering of the waves; these are called bullet holes. If one strikes these stones they give forth a faint sound. The stonecutters [who collect them] are equipped with hammer and irons and wade in the deep water. They choose the most remarkable and beautiful specimens, knock them loose and fasten them to strong ropes. The stones are then dragged out with the help of big boats.

Among these stones, the biggest are most highly valued. Such large stones should be set up in front of big halls. They may be placed under a stately pine or be combined with wonderful flowers. They may be used as mountains set up in a big pavilion out in the garden, [where] they will produce a magnificent effect. They have been collected since time immemorial, and are now very rare.

K'un-shan Stones. These are dug out of the Ma-an [Horse-saddle] Mountain, but as they are coated with a layer of red earth, they must be scraped and washed after being extracted. They are of very uneven material, full of holes, like hollowed-out rocks, but they are not tall and peaky. If one strikes them, they do not give forth any sound. The color is clear white. In their strange hollows one may plant dwarf trees and irises. They may be placed in bowls and used in miniature landscapes; they are not suitable for larger gardens.

I-hsing Stones. These stones are found in the mountains in the vicinity of the Shüan-chan Temple near the Chang-kung Grotto in the I-hsing district. They are suitable for the decoration of bamboo groves where the water flows out. Some are very solid, riddled with holes and curiously formed, like T'ai-hu stones; others have a dark color and are of coarse material, yellow inside; others again are white and soft. These cannot be used as overhanging stones in piled mountains; they are not sufficiently solid for this.

Lung-tan Stones. Lung-tan is situated more than seventy li from Nanking. These stones occur in different variants [within a region extending] from Chi-hsing-kuan on the



A Ling-pi stone from Ch'ing-shan in Anhui, to be used as a brushstand on a desk.

Yangtze River to the vicinity of Ts'ang-t'ou. Many of the stones are found lying on the surface of the ground, others are half buried in the earth. Some of them are bluish and hard, furrowed and riddled with holes like the T'ai-hu stones; others have a lighter bluish hue and are somewhat clumsier. These may be used as foundation stones for the mountains [in water?]. Others are much worn and furrowed, but not riddled with holes; others again are, as it were, shriveled and wrinkled like walnut shells. If they are set up in such a way that the folds [striations] harmonize, they remind one of wonderful paintings.

Ch'ing-lung-shan Stones. Ch'ing-lung-shan stones are found near Nanking. They have large, round hollows. The stonecutters shape them with chisels to give them the form of peaks. They are beautiful in front, and are commonly set up as central peaks on a mountain of T'ai-hu stones. "Flower stones" [*hua shih*], in contradistinction to the foundation or so-called foot stones, may be set up as incense burners. If one places a blue top-stone on this, the whole will resemble "rocks of knives and woods of swords."⁷ They may be placed under bamboos, but they must not be made tall.

Ling-pi Stones. These occur on Ch'ing-shan in Ling-pi hsien, near Suchou [Anhui], and are found buried in the earth under layers tens of feet in thickness. The reddish clay is stuck so fast that they must be scraped with metal knives. Not until after three scrapings does the color of the stones

⁷ *Tao shan chien shu* is a term which is used as a designation for something very intricate or confused.

appear, and after this they must be polished and ground with brushes of steel wire or bamboo and pulverized porcelain. If one strikes them, they give forth a metallic sound. On the under side the earth has penetrated so deeply that it cannot be removed. These stones remind one of various objects; some of them are like mountain peaks, sharply cut and riddled with holes. But the hollows seldom form a beautiful pattern; they have to be chiseled and polished for their beauty to emerge. Some are one-sided, but there are also those with three and four sides. They should be selected with an eye to their most beautiful parts and chiseled flat on the bottom, so that they may be placed on a table. They may also be used for the building up of small landscapes. There is another sort [of such stones], which are thin and flat and as if they were of mist [?]; these may be hung up in rooms and used as music stones. They are called vibrating stones from the banks of the Su River.

Chien-shan Stones. These are found to the south of the town Chên-chiang, near the great Chien Mountain [in Kiangsu]. The small ones are of the best quality; connecting parts are chiseled out on the big ones. They are very peculiar, yellow in color, glossy and hard. If one strikes them, they give forth a musical sound. One also finds specimens that are gray and riddled with holes from both sides. They may be used for building mountains.

Hsüan Stones. Hsüan stones occur in Ning-kuo-hsien [in Anhui]. They are pure and white, but as a rule spotted with red earth. They have to be washed and brushed for their real quality to appear. Or else they may be placed

under a rainspout during the rainy season; the water then washes off the earth colors. The greater their age, the whiter they are; they acquire the appearance of snow-clad mountains. A special sort [of these stones] is referred to as Ma-ya-hsüan [horse-tooth stones]. These may be placed on the table.

Hu-k'ou Stones. At Hu-k'ou, near Chiang-chou, several kinds of these stones are to be found. Some are taken up from the water. These are blue in color and form peaks and valleys or all sorts of objects. Others are thin and flat, with hollows and holes running right through them. They may have the appearance of boards that have been carved with a sharp knife. The lines are as fine as silk threads. If one strikes them, they give forth a sound. Su Tung-p'o valued them very highly; in his eyes they were one of the world's nine wonders. [He has praised them in a poem.]

Ying Stones. These occur in the streams between Hanguang hsien and Chên-yang hsien in Ying-chou [Anhui]. Some have a bluish color and are covered with a net of fine white lines. Another variety is darker; others again are light green, have the form of peaks and are riddled with holes. They are rather glossy, and give forth a sound when struck. They may be placed on the table or in a bowl, and may also be used for small landscapes. There are also white specimens with sharp peaks and jutting parts on all four sides. They are crystalline and shining, like metal mirrors. They do not give forth any sound when struck. The stone collectors wade out to them and knock off the portions they find most beautiful. This variety can be used only on the table.

San-ping Stones. [Here follows a legendary explanation of the origin of this place-name.]⁸ The spot is situated to the south of Chao-lu [Anhui]. The stones occur in different sizes and very varied shapes, and lie strewn about on the ground. They are hard and dark blue; some of them remind one of the T'ai-hu stones; they have coarse veins [old and shriveled]. The inhabitants of the district collect and sell them. The amateurs in Yang-chou [Wei-yang] buy only this sort of stones. The biggest, most beautiful, and most hollowed-out are quite as good as T'ai-hu stones. Better stones than these have never been found.

Huang Stones. Huang [yellow] stones are found in many places. They are so hard that no ax or chisel has any effect upon them. Their veins are old and shriveled. They occur on Huang-shan near Ch'ang-chou, on Yao-fêng-shan near Suchou, on T'uan-shan near Chen-chiang

and along the Yangtze River as far as Ts'ai-shih-chi. Ordinary people are only struck by their curious shapes, and do not understand their wonderful beauty.

Old Stones. Amateurs make great efforts to acquire old stones. When they hear talk of an old garden in which there is a conical stone with an inscription by some famous man from an earlier period, e.g., a real T'ai-hu stone in a ruined garden whose owner is willing to sell the stone, they offer considerable sums for it. This may be reasonable if the stone is an [historical] antique, but there are those who pay a high price for a stone simply because it is old. T'ai-hu stones have, certainly, been collected by amateurs since time immemorial; they are becoming increasingly rare. But it may perhaps be possible to find [similar] stones on hitherto unexploited mountains. If one chooses those which are riddled with holes and are of bluish color and hard quality, they will be found to be not inferior to the T'ai-hu stones. If, moreover, they have been exposed to weather and wind for a long time, then there is no longer any difference between old and new. The price depends simply upon the work required for the transport of the stones. What can it be worth to convey them to the garden? I have heard talk of a stone that was called "the peak of one hundred measures of rice," and when I enquired concerning the reason, I was told that the name derived from the fact that the costs had amounted to as much as 100 measures of rice [for the laborers]. Its price is thus 100 measures of rice; and as the transport had cost just as much, the stone may now be called "the peak of 200 measures of rice."—Stones which are exposed to weather and wind become old, but those which are taken up out of the earth seem new. They are covered with earth, but if this is washed away by rain and the stones are exposed to the air, then they, too, will assume an appearance of age.

Chin-ch'uan Stones. [Stream-patterned stones.] Stones of this kind should be old. They are either five-colored or quite green. They are furrowed like the bark of pines. The most valuable specimens measure over ten feet in height and one foot in breadth, but the majority are smaller. Nowadays one finds such stones near I-hsing, but their grain is not continuous and the coloring is not beautiful. They have furrows and holes running right through them, their substance is clear and glossy. They may be set up among flowers or under trees. If one builds up a mountain formation they may be used as jagged peaks.

Hua-kang Stones. The Hua-kang stones of the Sung period are found everywhere on the border between Honan and Shantung. They have been left there since the Sung period. The majority are wonderfully formed, but as it is a matter of great difficulty to transport them overland,

⁸ San-ping = drive away (scatter to the winds) soldiers. The name is supposed to have originated when General Chang Liang, fighting enemies from the Ch'u kingdom at the beginning of the Han Dynasty, had his men sing songs from Ch'u, so that the enemy began to think of their homes and were routed.

amateurs use only small fragments of these stones for their gardens.

Liu-ho Shingle. One finds cornelian stones [*ma nao*] in the sand and in the stream beds at Ling-chü in Liu-ho hsien [Kiangsu]; they are very small. Others, as large as one's fist, are black and white with lines in five colors; others again are multicolored. They are very beautiful, glossy and semitransparent. One should collect the most colorful and use them for brocade-like mosaics in the ground. If one places them in a boisterous mountain stream or in other running water, their natural sheen appears.

There are amateurs everywhere, and stones that may be used for the building up of artificial mountains in gardens; but one does not find the [right] man. If you ask where the stones are to be found, the answer is that they occur everywhere in the mountains. If you cannot find the most wonderful stones, then you may use simpler ones, as long as they are provided with beautiful furrows [or striae]. I have studied Tu Kuan's *Shih P'u* [Book of Stones] from the Sung period, [according to which] stones

are to be found everywhere. In my youth I visited the places with stone finds, concerning which I have made notes in the foregoing; the others I have not mentioned.

THESE concluding words in the chapter "On the Selection of Stones" are well worth careful attention, for here, as in a number of other summarizing or concluding reflections, the author clearly indicates that he has neither exhausted the subject nor formulated any final rules. As concerns garden stones, then, it is to be observed, finally, that these can be found here and there in the mountains, but those who know how to find them and use them are very rare. In the matter of creating works of art, the man is of far greater importance than the material, however valuable this may be.]

FLOWERS AND TREES

WHEN we in the West speak of gardens we think chiefly of the growing material, the trees and the flowering herbs, not to mention the lawns. For the Chinese the matter wears a somewhat different aspect.

For them, the flowers are not the most essential feature of the garden; they do not form its permanent groundwork in the same way as the "mountains" and the water, even if they sometimes occupy rather prominent places and help to invest the gardens with picturesque beauty and charm during flowering time. Especially does this apply to the flowering bushes and trees which, even in smaller gardens in China, play more prominent rôles than in corresponding compositions in Europe. Lawns, on the other hand, are completely absent, and the Chinese have never attempted to make patterns with flowers, despite their proclivity for ornamental elaboration. The plants and trees are for them more or less individualized representatives of the shifting thoughts and forms of universal life; they are of importance as expressive symbols just as much as for their decorative qualities. This aspect of the subject will be further developed in the following, but by way of introduction I will first adduce a number of pronouncements by some old authors and artists, to throw light upon the intimate relation of the Chinese to the plant world and their ability to interpret the charm of flowers in words, as well as in pictures.

Yüan Chung-lang, an author from the end of the Ming period,¹ mentions how in former times flower lovers set off on long excursions "over high mountains and through deep ravines" to find one or another rare variety. When a remarkable tree was about to bloom, they moved their beds out of doors in order to be near it and to be "able to observe how the flowers developed from childhood to maturity and

finally faded and died. Others planted masses of flowers in their gardens in order to study all the variants, or introduced a few into their dwellings to observe their habits more closely. Some could deduce the size of the flowers from the smell of the leaves, others could judge from the roots what color the flowers had. These people were real flower lovers, and cherished a deep feeling for flowers."

Yüan Chung-lang, who lived at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the last heyday of Chinese painting, was a typical representative of the refined aestheticism which found expression in flower-cult and garden art just as well as in the spontaneous ink painting referred to as *hsieh-i* (idea-writing). When he writes about flowers it is as if he were telling the reader about individual beings, personal friends, whose thoughts and moods he is endeavoring to interpret. He speaks of the way the flowers wake and sleep, how they are happy and sad. "When they stand in the sun and their sensitive bodies are protected against the wind, they are happy. When they look intoxicated or silent and weary, and the day is foggy, then the flowers feel sad. When the bloom-laden branches droop and are not able to draw themselves up, it is as if the flowers were dreaming in their sleep. When they seem to smile and look around with a gleam in their eyes, the flowers have awakened from their slumbers."

It would take us too far to quote more of this author's poetic interpretations of the feelings and needs of flowers, or his description of their behavior in the sometimes rather trying situations in which they are placed by persons lacking in understanding. But we cannot omit a glance at the pictorial interpretations of flowers and trees that for more than a thousand years have formed a continuous series in Chinese painting.

¹ In *The Importance of Living* (p. 314), Lin Yu-tang quotes certain portions from Yüan Chung-lang's *Ping Shih*.

The oldest naturalistic flower paintings were doubtless executed as early as the end of the T'ang period (618-906 A.D.); but no specimens of these have been preserved. On the other hand, there are numerous representations of flowering trees and herbs, often in combination with birds, from the period of The Five Dynasties (first half of the tenth century) which in their intimate renderings of Nature have since scarcely been excelled. These are commonly ascribed to the most celebrated masters in this field: Huang Ch'üan, Hsü Hsi and Chao Ch'ang, who were characterized as follows by an author who lived about a century later: "In the matter of paintings of flowers and fruits, learned men commonly express the view that the works of Huang Ch'üan and Chao Chang must be regarded as the finest, since these are drawn and colored directly from Nature. As compared with the paintings of Hsü Hsi, however, they are inferior. Ch'üan's works belonged to the divine category [*shên*], but not to the mysteriously wonderful category [*miao*]; Ch'ang's works were wonderful, but not divine. Those of Hsü Hsi were beyond both the divine and the wonderful.— Good painters produce as a rule nothing but colored representations of forms, and do not know how to reproduce the spirit and the skeleton [the structure]. But Hsü Hsi began his works by drawing the branches, the leaves and the pistils and petals of the flowers with Chinese ink, and applied the colors afterwards. In this way he gave expression to the spirit and the structure before proceeding to the final stage, and his flowers were completely living, almost like Nature's own creations."

In this pronouncement it is not only the references to the artists' various technical procedures that are of interest, but above all the hint that the most important thing in the painting of flowers was considered to be not to make faithful reproductions of Nature, but to render the inner structure of the flowers and to capture their life-breath (*ch'i yüan*). There are, for the rest, several traditions concerning these and other artists from older times, traditions calculated to underline the way in which they tried to listen to Nature's pulse and capture her rhythm with the brush. (Plate 37.)

The same endeavor was predominant in the Emperor Hui Tsung's famous academy of painting in Pien-liang during the heyday of the northern Sung dynasty (1101-1126). Contemporary authors relate how the emperor used to invite his artist friends to the palace gardens to compete in the painting of flowers, birds, and insects; and here, too, it was a matter of reproducing, as faithfully as possible, the shifting thoughts of Nature in the form and appearance of the flowers. The point is well illustrated in the story of how the emperor's attention, when he visited one morning a pavilion in the garden that had been decorated by several painters, was drawn especially to a composition over the entrance, representing a branch of a climbing monthly rose. He expressed his great admiration and ascertained the name of the master who had executed the painting, rewarding him afterwards with costly silk and an embroidered robe. As, however, the other artists could not understand the cause of the emperor's appreciation of just this painting, one of them made bold to question the royal art critic concerning the matter, whereupon he was given the following explanation: "Few artists know how to paint monthly roses, for the petals of the flowers and the leaves of the branches appear quite different not only at different times of the year but also at different hours of the day. This rose is correctly represented without the least deviation from nature, just as it is at noon on a spring day, and the painting is therefore worthy of the highest praise."

The incident is calculated to throw light upon the niceties of the naturalism that was applied to flower painting at the imperial academy, a naturalism in which the emperor himself was a real master, to judge from a number of smaller paintings of flowers and birds that were honored with his name. In his footsteps followed several prominent artists such as Ai Hsüan, Li An-chung, Li Ti and others, all of whom interpreted the habits and the individual features of flowers with extraordinary care. And it should be observed that practically all the flowers that they depicted—e.g., roses, lilies, peonies, chrysanthemums, hollyhocks, lotuses, narcissi, orchids, etc.—were among the most outstanding ornaments of the gardens.



百草競奇華
罌粟最
蘇

Printed in Sweden

ing Su (*Papaver somniferum*). Opium poppy. Woodcut after a painting by Ch'ien Hsüan (1235—1290).

By the side of this delicately detailed naturalism, which was practised by the imperial academicians and their imitators, there appeared at the end of the Sung period another kind of flower painting which gradually assumed great importance. This school did not aim at a reproduction of the flowers in color, but tried to capture their life-breath—what the Chinese called *ch'i yün shên tung*—in quick strokes of the brush with monochrome ink: a naturalistic picture-writing, so to speak, in which the impressions of the living motifs were interpreted spontaneously and directly in much the same way as one may commit a lyrical improvisation to paper. It was not without reason that this sort of painting was referred to as *hsieh-i* (idea-writing), a designation that certainly covers what is most essential in its special aim and mode of expression.

We cannot here enter upon any detailed description of the various schools or styles in Chinese flower painting, but some remarks concerning the symbolic significance of certain popular trees and flowers will not be out of place, as this doubtless influenced their occurrence in the gardens as also in the paintings.

We may refer first to the white blooms of the plum tree, which gained a popularity in China comparable with that of cherry blossoms in Japan. (Plate 38.) This popularity is connected with the fact that the plum tree blossoms so copiously earlier than any other flowering tree of correspondingly common occurrence. The blossoms appear while the ground is still covered with snow, as the harbingers of spring and awakening life. Although they seem frail, they are hardy enough, and well able to stand the chilly winds of early spring. They are characterized by a peculiar combination of freshness and delicate charm that is irresistibly captivating. The blossoming plum tree was often depicted in paintings together with the pine and the bamboo, a combination that was referred to as "the three friends of the cold season." (Plate 39.)

They are cultivated in the gardens (like the cherry trees in Japan), not for their fruit, but for their blossoms; and certain species grow wild even on the mountain slopes of North China, which they clothe in bloom early in the spring. More than any other tree they have inspired the Nature worship of the poets and

the painters. Many fascinating anecdotes might be adduced in this connection; among these may be mentioned the traditions associated with the painting monk Hua-kuang of the Sung period. He is said to have planted great numbers of plum trees around the temple where he lived: "When they were in blossom he moved his bed out under the trees and lay there humming to himself all day long. When the moon shone brightly he was unable to sleep, and contemplated the light and graceful play of the shadows on the paper blind, trying to catch their forms with his brush. And when day dawned his paintings were full of moon-bright thoughts..." A friend who saw them said: "They evoke in me the feeling of strolling through peaceful gardens; only the fragrance is lacking."

Hua-kuang is also regarded as the author of a treatise on plum blossoms, from which some lines may be cited here:

The flowers weep dew or fill their calyxes with mist as if they grieved and lamented. They can endure biting frost and snow. Some are large, others small; some stand upright, others lean to one side. They are the harbingers of the first beginnings of spring. Shyly blushing, they turn their smiling faces to the sun. Then they open wide, before they begin to fade . . . The buds form real necklaces. They are well protected against cold and biting fog; well preserved until the spring prevails upon them to open.—Then come the bees and the butterflies, and after them the wind that tears the blossoms from their stems. In this way their life cycle is accomplished, but from the first moment of their opening and until they fade they express their love in a glorious way.

If Hua-kuang's paintings reflected the shifting moods and the delicate charm of the flowers as well as did his words, they must certainly have been of great value. Unfortunately, they have not been preserved; but one can find a good substitute in ink paintings from the Yüan period and the beginning of the Ming period, executed by such masters as Tsou Fu-lei, Wu Chên and Wang Mien, to mention three of those who followed in Hua-kuang's footsteps. Also Wang Mien is said to have stayed awake on moonlight nights, when the trees were in blossom, in order to observe the vibrating shadow-play of the flowers on the transparent window paper. And no one can say



A branch of a blossoming plum tree. Painted on a moonlit spring night when the shadow of the branch is seen on the window-paper. By Wang Ku-hsiang. National Museum, Stockholm.

that he did not succeed in seizing their light charm with his brush. He himself speaks of his enthusiasm for plum trees in the following words: "I live in poverty and paint plum trees, of which I have planted several thousand. On frosty nights when the moon shines clear I often wander among the trees, singing

like a madman, and am unable to return to my dwelling. . . . My beard is as white as frost, my eyesight is becoming weaker, but I can still read and write. My white hair is falling out like withering flowers. . . ." Further on, he speaks of seeing two cranes dancing in the moonlight, and expresses his wish to sing in time with the winds of spring. Wang Mien was a real poet, not only in his lyrical outpourings, but also in his paintings, which have kept so much of the exhilaration of the spring breezes. (Plate 40.)

During the whole of the Ming period, Wang Mien remained a much admired model for artists who specialized in the painting of plum blossoms. Among the numerous examples of such paintings, there is a small picture by Wang Ku-hsiang (1501-1568) in the National Museum in Stockholm. According to the poetical inscriptions with which it is provided, it was executed one spring night when the artist sat before the window in his studio in company with a couple of friends, enjoying his wine and observing the vibrating shadows of the branches on the transparent window paper. They interpreted their impressions both in picture-writing and in improvised poems, of which one may be cited as an instance:

"The ancient tree trunk feels the saps of spring,
Its erst dry limbs are clad in jade-white bloom.
Our wine is finished, but the moon shines full—
And shadows dance upon the paper blind."

Similar lyrical apostrophes to the full moon, the flowers and the genii of the spring night appear on several of these ink paintings, which give an indication of the artists' capacity to enter sympathetically the individual beings of the flowers and capture their vital rhythm in strokes of the brush. The same thing is confirmed also by the magnificent colored woodcuts after paintings of fruit and flowers by celebrated masters that are reproduced in two well-known handbooks for students of art, to wit, *Shih Chu Chai Shu Hua Pu* (*Repertory for Writing and Painting from the Studio of the Ten Bamboos*), published for the first time in the year 1624, and *Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan*, which began to appear in 1679 and was continued with the last part coming out in 1701 (not to mention

an appendix that was not published until 1814). Both of these publications are worth attention in this connection, for they contain not only reproductions of numerous garden flowers, but also of the "mountains" set up in the gardens and of graceful little birds and popular insects. In *Shih Chu Chai* three volumes are devoted to bamboos, orchids (*lan hua*) and plum blossoms, one volume to mountains and stones, while the remaining four contain compositions for paintings, partly in the form of landscapes and in part consisting of flowers and fruits, as, for instance, tree peonies, hibiscus, chrysanthemums, roses, lotuses, etc., and pomegranates, persimmons, cherries, plums, finger-lemons, Chinese oranges and other fruits—in a word, typical garden motifs, represented with the greatest accuracy. The best of these woodcuts are quite on a par with ink paintings or water colors.

Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan, the second of these handbooks, offers still more (as regards both illustrations and text) concerning plants and trees and their uses in art. The first part, comprising five sections, contains rather detailed historico-aesthetic instructions for art students and systematically arranged series of illustrations of trees and bushes, mountains, stones and water, human beings, animals and birds, as well as buildings, walls, bridges, boats, and other elements that might be used in landscape compositions. (Complete compositions in this style fill the last section in this part.)—The second part, which was published twenty-two years later, is arranged in a way similar to that of the main parts of *Shih Chu Chai*, i.e., its four sections are devoted to the four kinds of plants and trees that were considered to be of the greatest importance for painters, namely: bamboo, the plum trees, orchids, and chrysanthemums.—That precisely these four plants were chosen is due to the fact that from time immemorial the greatest importance has been attached to them, not only as artistic motifs, but also symbolically, as emerges from the accompanying text.

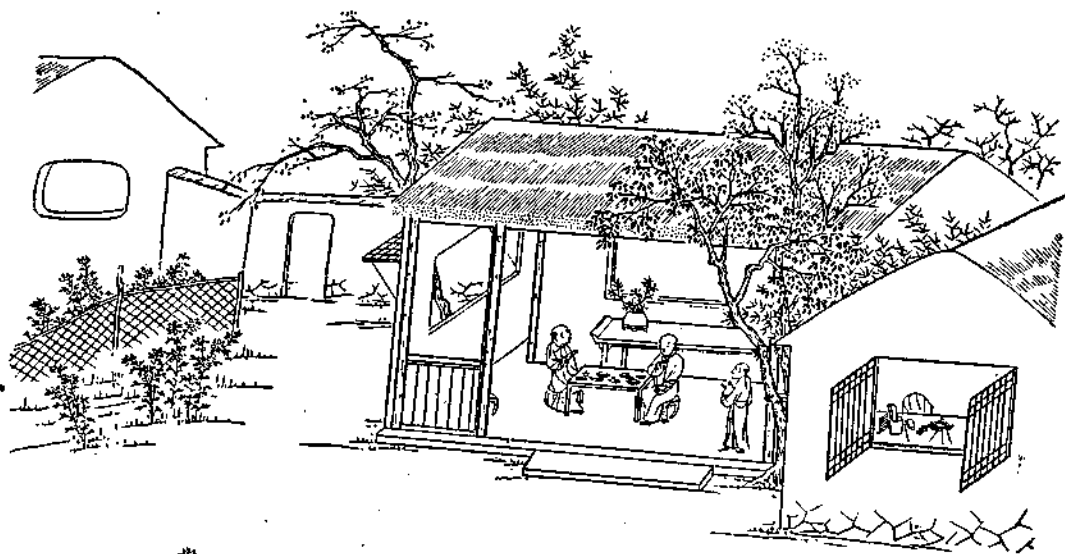
The bamboo was valued so highly because it represented a combination of pliability and strength, suppleness and hardiness. Bamboo thus became a symbol for lasting friendship and hardy age, but also especially

for *chü-jên* (a gentleman) for it bows to the storm, but rises again when the storm has abated, and it always remains green. The way it is grouped with the pine and the plum tree has already been mentioned. The bamboo grows wild in the form of real woods in South and Middle China, but certain species were also cultivated in the gardens; more than one hundred different species of bamboo are said to have been distinguished as early as the Sung period, and the majority of these were used both for practical and for decorative purposes. The dominant importance of this plant in the gardens should have emerged clearly enough from several sections in the foregoing text; in fact, one can scarcely speak of gardens in China—or at least not in the tracts to the south of the Yellow River—without speaking of bamboo. (Plates 41, 43A.)

The only tree that has been able to compete with bamboo in Chinese painting and in the gardens is the plum tree (*Mei hua*, i.e., *Prunus mume*). I have already mentioned what it signified for the painters; and it was not less loved and cultivated by the poets. Plum blossoms are the harbingers of spring; however dry and lifeless the old tree may appear during the cold season, it breaks into the most delicate bloom with the advent of spring. Can one imagine a more fascinating witness to Nature's inexhaustible power of self-renewal? (Plate 42.)

The following five points, formulated in *Chieh Tzu Yüan*, are typical of the Chinese view of the plum tree: (1) the trunk should have the appearance of an old man's body, crooked and bent by age; (2) the main branches should be gnarled (forming knees and angles); (3) the twigs must appear in a certain order; (4) their points must give an impression of force; it is the energy that is admirable; (5) the blossoms should be wonderful, full of charm. Nor should they be too dense.—In a word, the contrast between the gnarled branches of the gray tree and its delicate blossoms should be well marked, for the beauty of the motif is thereby enhanced and its symbolic import made clearer.

Since bamboo and the blossoming plum tree are often combined with the pine ("the three friends of winter"), it may be pointed out also, that the last-



A small garden with
chrysanthemum beds.
Woodcut from *Hung
Hsüeh Yin Yüan T'u Chi.*

mentioned tree symbolizes hardiness and strength of character. Its gnarled branches are in harmony with the curiously formed garden rocks. The previously cited artist, Li Li-wêng, writes, *inter alia*: "When one sits in a garden with peach trees, flowers, and willows, without a single pine in sight, it is like sitting among children and women without any venerable man in the vicinity to whom one may look up."²—The pine has the poise of a hermit—it represents silence and solitude.

Of flowering plants the Chinese have cultivated and depicted especially the orchid and chrysanthemum. *Lan-hua* is the Chinese designation for orchids of the *Epidendrum* or *Cymbidium* genus. (Plate 43B.) The plants have long lancet-shaped leaves, and iris-like white flowers; but they are valued less on account of their formal beauty than for their fragrance, which is mysterious and pungent; this is the reason why the flowers have become the symbols for feminine charm as well as for the scholar's reputation. Their scent is discreet but distinct, like the behavior of a cultivated person. A good explanation is given by a Chinese writer in the following words: "We speak of a beautiful young lady who lives in seclusion, or of a learned man, who lives alone in the mountains, despising all

personal renown, as of a hidden orchid in a desolate valley."

According to a pronouncement by a monk from the Yüan period, cited in *Chieh Tzu Yüan*, one should paint *lan hua* when in a cheerful mood, whereas bamboo paintings should be executed with vehemence. The long, waving leaves of the orchids must look "as if they wanted to fly"; their "flowers and buds open with joy."—They must be caught with the brush like flying butterflies. The water must be fresh and pure, the Chinese ink of the best quality, the brush soft, the hand quick and light. In short, it was considered to be as difficult and exacting to paint orchids as it was to paint bamboo; several prominent painters devoted themselves exclusively to this specialty. In the gardens, these plants were given a secluded place in the shadow of the trees, but when they bloomed they filled the atmosphere with a mysterious magic charm.

Chü hua, the chrysanthemum, is the flower of autumn. The varieties are numerous, but they all flower after the splendor and opulent beauty of summer has merged into the chilly light of autumn. For this reason they are also called "those who defy the frost." Juxtaposed with the pine, the chrysanthemum is considered to signify "that which survives all else"—*sung chü yu tsun*. Consequently, the flower has also served as a

² Cf. Lin Yu-tang, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

symbol for long life; the name *chü* is pronounced in about the same way as the word *chiu*, which means "for all time."—In the handbook of painting it is pointed out that if one wishes to capture their charm, the strokes of the brush must be proud, and the color should preferably be "the color of the center," i.e., yellow, the most honorable hue, although other shades also occur. The flowers of spring are pleasing and feminine, but they cannot be compared with chrysanthemums; when these have been painted on the paper one feels as if confronted with "the late fragrance."

As garden flowers, chrysanthemums have a front-rank place that is comparable with that of peonies in summer. They occur in great masses, in opulent groups or shrubberies, and they were cultivated especially by old officials, philosophers, and authors, among whom T'ao Yüan-ming (365-427) is the best known. His passion for chrysanthemums has become almost legendary, and his chrysanthemum garden has been a popular motif both in poetry and in painting for more than a thousand years; his own description of a return to this garden after several years of absence is accounted one of the classical works of Chinese literature. A short quotation from this garden hymn is given in a later chapter.

In *Yüan Yeh*, chrysanthemums are mentioned, as well as the plum tree and bamboo, and their place in the garden is indicated in one passage as follows: "Beside the wattled fence one plants chrysanthemums, as T'ao Yüan-ming did in his time. One should plough up the mountain slope and plant it with plum trees, so that it may be compared with Yü Kung's gardens in former times.—In sequestered spots in the garden one may plant [wild] bamboo. Flowers are planted where they may enhance the view.—Peach trees and plum trees stand silent; it may seem as if they pointed the way to 'The Peach Garden.'"³

In addition to these four plants, which are treated in the most detailed way in *Chieh Tzu Yüan*, numerous other plants are depicted that have occupied more or less prominent places in the gardens. I cannot here give

³ "The Peach Garden" is the traditional name of the legendary paradise that, according to Taoist legend, was discovered by a fisherman deep under the water—but all subsequent attempts to identify the place remained fruitless.

a detailed account of all these plants and flowering trees, for this would easily swell to the proportions of a botanical treatise; but a list of the Chinese, Latin and possibly also English names may help to give an idea of the flora in the Chinese gardens. As regards the special significance of the flowers from the decorative point of view, however, I will dwell for a moment upon peonies, lotuses, camellias and certain fruit trees.

The peony has from time immemorial been referred to as "the king of flowers" in China. It is opulent and colorful, and thus also a symbol for material prosperity, wealth and happiness. It forms a contrast to the refined charm of the plum blossom, and also to the cool magnificence of the chrysanthemum. It is cultivated in masses or in extensive fields, bordered with bricks or low walls. The white peony is now the most valued, but more colorful species also occur. (Plate 44.)

More captivating, more wondrously lovely and alluring, however, is the lotus flower—the most wonderful of all the inhabitants of the Chinese garden. In its quality of water plant it has certain requirements in point of ponds or canals in the garden, but even where these are lacking the lotus is not excluded, for it is planted in large urns or bowls that are set up in the courtyard during the warm season of the year. This stately plant attains its full glory in the muddy lakes of the old parks, whose surfaces in summer are completely covered by the large leaves, which float like green-lacquered bowls or trays on the water, forming a bed for the big flowers that sway on soft stems.—Such a field of blooming lotus, rising out of invisible deeps and extending as far as the eye can reach, emanates a peculiar magic, an atmosphere that intoxicates like fragrant incense or lulls like the rhythm of a rising and falling mantra. (Plate 45.)

Ever since the dissemination of Buddhism in China in the fifth century, the lotus has been the object of reverent admiration and care. A well-known poet of the eleventh century, Chou Tun-i (1017-1073) describes it in the following lines: "Since the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it has been the leading fashion to admire the peony, but my favorite is the water lily (the lotus). How stainless it rises from its bed of mud! How modestly it reposes on the clear pool—a symbol of

purity and truth! It emerges symmetrical and perfect in its spotless purity; its subtle perfume is wafted far and wide . . . something to be regarded reverently from a distance, and not profaned by familiar approach.

"In my view the chrysanthemum is the flower of retirement and culture; the peony a symbol for high rank and wealth; the water lily is the matchless 'lady of virtue.'—But few have loved the chrysanthemum since T'ao Yüan-ming, and none now loves the water-lily like myself, whereas the peony is a great favorite with all mankind."⁴

The symbolic meanings of the lotus are manifold, partly owing to the central place it occupies in Buddhist art (long before this came to China), and partly because of its Chinese names: *Lien hua* or *Ho hua*. Quite generally speaking it may be said to be a symbol for noble endeavor, spiritual purity. It grows up spotless out of the mud (the material world) through the water (the emotional middle region) to the surface and the free air (the world of the spirit), where it opens its perfect perianth to the sun, thus illustrating the unfolding and flowering of the human spirit or Buddha-nature. But the full-blown flower may also stand for the pure doctrine (*pundarika*) and Buddha's throne (*padmasana*); Buddha sits, as a rule, on the lotus flower, while the Bodhisattvas at his side generally stand on smaller flowers that have not fully opened. In the representations of Amitabha's paradise, the pure souls are commonly placed on lotus flowers. They are thus also the flowers of paradise, as may be observed in the ponds before the temple dedicated to Amitabha.

The Chinese designations for the flower, *Lien hua* and *Ho hua*, have, as I have mentioned, given rise to various metaphoric significances, as there are other Chinese characters with the same pronunciation but a different meaning. Thus *Lien* may mean to unite or connect; *Ho* signifies harmony, concord. The lotus has consequently been used as a sign for complete union, friendship, harmonious marriage and the like, as also in connection with other symbols for peace, concord and the fulfilment of all wishes.—It should be added that the different parts of the lotus plant, its leaves,

stems, seed-vessels and seeds, are valued also on account of their practical usefulness.

The peach tree (*Tao-tzu*), its blossoms and fruit have also been made the object of much admiration, cultivation, and care. It is commonly held to be the tree of the taoist "Immortals"; its fruit endows one with long life, more or less like the apples of the Hesperides. The tree was, moreover, considered to protect people against demoniac influences, and for this reason amulets and door-panels (decorated with guardians) were made of peach wood. In the southern parts of the country it is the herald of spring; it flowers when winter's dominion is broken, when Nature awakens from her short trance and the watercourses flood their banks: *Tao hua shui*. According to an old tradition this is also the right time to contract marriage, and the blossoms and fruit of the peach tree have consequently become symbols of congratulation with reference partly to the time of the wedding and partly to a long and happy life. When peaches are combined with pomegranates and finger-lemons in a decorative composition, this implies wishes for a long life, numerous offspring (the pomegranate) and happiness (*fu* on account of the phonetic similarity with *Fo-shou*, i.e., the name of the finger-lemons). Peaches are included in several other congratulatory emblems of a more or less rebus-like character which we cannot dwell upon here.⁵

Much might be added concerning the Chinese view of flowers and their interpretation as symbols for Nature's ideas and those of human beings, but what has already been adduced must suffice in this connection. It may, at all events, serve as an indication that the Chinese saw in the flowers something more than simply decorative and useful objects; they sought a meaning and expressiveness in these silent beings, and if the meaning was in many cases rather freely constructed, it was nevertheless calculated to strengthen and deepen the appreciation of the living symbols of the vegetable kingdom. And it helped, of course, to establish their importance in the gardens.—The Chinese view of natural objects was thoroughly symbolic,

⁵ Further information about the symbolism of the flowers may be found in Ferdinand Lessing's articles: "Über die Symbolsprache in der Chinesischen Kunst," in *Sinica*, 1934-35.

⁴ Cf. Giles, *A History of Chinese Literature*, p. 219.

and thus opened up quite other possibilities of artistic interpretation and use of such objects than a more objective or "scientific" way of looking at them would have done. The connection between the cultivation of flowers and their representation in art has therefore been intimate in China. What was valued most in the flowers was the same as that which the artists sought to capture and express.

When one tries to form a notion of which flowers were most appreciated in the Chinese gardens, one may thus find a certain guidance in the artistic representations, i.e., in paintings, drawings and woodcuts from older times. There is a wealth of such art; and among the best, as regards both trueness to Nature and decorative beauty, we may certainly reckon the colored woodcuts in *Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan*, the above-mentioned illustrated handbook for art students. The third volume of this work contains pictures of about seventy flowers, which with very few exceptions may be designated as the most popular plants in the Chinese gardens. The following list of the pictures should thus be of considerable interest. Only three or four flowers, which could not be identified, have been omitted.⁶

The following flowers are included in Section 3 of Part III:

- Shao Yao, *Paeonia albiflora*, White peony.
- Yeh Ho, *Lilium Brownii* (?), White lily with long, trumpet-shaped flowers.
- Ying Su, *Papaver somniferum*, Opium poppy.
- Sêng Hsieh Chü, *Aconitum Fischeri*, Monkshood.
- Chin Ssu Ho Yeh, *Saxifraga sarmentosa*, Saxifrage.
- Ch'iu K'uei, *Hibiscus abelmoschus* (or *Hibiscus mani-kot*), Mallow.
- Ling Hua, *Trapa bicornis*, Water chestnut (or *Limnathemum nymphoides*).
- Fêng Hsien, *Impatiens balsamina*, China balsam.
- Mi Hsüan, *Hemerocallis grammaea*, also called *Balan-canda chinensis*, Day lily.
- Chi Kuan, *Celostia cristata*, Cockscomb.
- P'u Kung Ying, a *Taraxacum* species (?).
- Chin Hsien and Yen Lai Hung, *Amaranthus gangeticus*.
- P'in Hua, *Hydrocharis morus-ranae*, Frogbit.
- Hung Liao, *Polygonum orientalis*, Water persicaria.

⁶ Valuable assistance in identifying some of the plants has been rendered by Dr. Harry Smith in Upsala and Dr. Asplund at the Museum of Natural History in Stockholm.

- La Chü, *Chrysanthemum sinense*, Winter chrysanthemum.
- Tan Chu Yeh Hua, *Commelina communis* (?).
- Lien or Ho Hua, *Nelumbium speciosum*, Lotus.
- Lan Hua (also Fêng Lan), *Epidendrum* or *Cymbidium ensifolium*, and *Rosa setaria*.
- Shu K'uei, *Althea rosea*, Large-flowered stock rose.
- Tzu Yün Ying, a creeping shrub called "Purple cloud" and a *Zea mays* (?).
- Yu Mei Jên, *Papaver Rhoas*, Small-flowered poppy.
- Shui Hsien, "Water fairies," *Narcissus tazetta*, and a rose.
- Ling-Chih, *Fomes japonicus*, Fungose plant, symbol for long life.
- Feng T'ou Hsüan, *Luteola major* (or a *Hemerocallis* species).
- Yen Mai, *Avena fatua*, Wild oats, but more like *Spodiopogon sibiricus*.
- Yü Erh Mu T'an, *Dicentra spectabilis*, Showy bleeding heart.
- Ch'un Lan (Spring orchids), *Epidendrum* or *Cymbidium* species.
- Tzu Hu Tieh Hua, Iris, "purple colored."
- Têng Chü, Climbing chrysanthemum.
- Chin K'uei, *Althea rosea*, Stock rose with small flowers.
- Mei Jên Chiao, *Musa paradisiaca*, Banana tree.
- Ch'un Lo Yeh Ho, *Gentiana* with white and red flowers.
- Ch'iu Hai T'ang, *Begonia Evansiana*.
- Shui Hsien, together with Ch'a and Mei, *Tazettas* with branches of *Prunus* and *Camellia*.
- Yü Tsan Hua, *Hosta Sieboldiana* or *Funkia ovata*, Plantain lily.
- Chien Ch'iu Lo, *Dianthus chinensis* (?).
- Hung Huang and Ch'iu Chü, *Chrysanthemum indicum* with yellow and red filled flowers.
- Fu Yung, *Hibiscus mutabilis*, Large-flowered white hibiscus.
- Hsüeh Li Hung, Climbing plant with red flowers (over bamboos) together with three mantises.

The following flowers and trees are included in Section 4 of Part III:

- Yü Lou Ch'un, "Spring of the jade tower," A large-flowered species of mallow.
- Chih Tzu, *Gardenia florida*.
- Hsi Fu Hai T'ang, Two small birds on a branch of a wild apple tree.
- Hua Yin Ch'un Liu, A summer oriole in a willow tree.
- Mu Fu Yung, Tree-like hibiscus and a little bird.
- La Mei, *Meratia praecox*, Winter plum.

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Li Chi, *Nephelium litchi*.
 Ch'a Yeh Hua, *Thea sinensis*, Tea flowers.
 Mei K'uei, *Rosa chinensis*, Red-flowered park rose.
 T'ung Shih, *Sterculia platanifolia*, Branch of a wu-t'ung tree with a bird and of *Rubra coreata* with plant lice.
 Huang Ch'iang Wei, Yellow cinnamon or cassia roses.
 P'u Tao, *Vitis vinifera*, Grapevines.
 Ying Tao, *Prunus pseudocerasus*, Cherry.
 Pai Mu T'an, White Tree peony.
 Liu Hua, *Punica granatum*, Pomegranate.
 Li Hua, Pai Yen, Pear blossoms and white swallows.
 * Fo Shou Kan, *Citrus medica digitata*, "Buddha's hand-fruit."
 Chien Niu Hua, *Ipomea hederacea* (or *Convolvulus*).
 Shan Ch'a, Camellia.
 Hsiu Ch'in, Hydrangea species or *Hortensia*.
 Tzu Wei Hua, *Lagerstroemia indica*, Pride of India.
 Huang Mu Hsiang, *Aristolochia debilis* (?).
 Hung Pai Tao Hua, Red and white peach blossoms.
 Ch'ien Yeh Chiang Tao, Purple-colored peach blossom.
 Lü Mu T'an, Green Tree peony.
 Hsing Hua and Hsing Tzu, Apricot blossom and fruit.
 Ch'iu Chih Tsui Niao, Autumn pond and a kingfisher (by a weeping willow).
 Chin Ssu Tao, *Hypericum ascyron* (and a dragonfly).
 Ch'iu Ssu Hai T'ang, *Pirus spectabilis* (?), Wild apple or wild pear blossom.
 Hsing Yen, Apricot blossoms and two swallows.
 Ling Hsiao Hua, *Tecoma grandiflora* (with a bird).
 Shih Liu, Pomegranate, with a bird on a branch.
 Yü Lan, *Magnolia conspicua*.
 Ch'iang Wei, Red cinnamon rose. Yeh Ch'iang Wei, Wild rose.
 Hsüeh Mei, *Prunus triloba*, Blossoming plum tree in snow.
 Ch'a and Mei, Camellia and plum tree.
 Tan Kuei, *Osmanthus fragrans*, or *Cinnamon camfora*.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this list, which is in the main restricted to garden flowers and fruit trees, might easily be supplemented with various climbing plants like *Vistaria chinensis* (T'eng Lo) and *Lonicera japonica* (Chin Yin hua), not to mention roses of various colors and varieties, which in China have preferably been cultivated as climbing plants on espaliers, as appears from descriptions and pictorial representations from older times.

Also very popular in Chinese gardens are a number of bushes and trees whose leaves and flowers remind

one somewhat of acacia plants. Chief among these may be mentioned Huai Shu, *Sophora japonica*, sometimes called the pagoda tree, which has been cultivated in China since time immemorial, and is highly valued because of its excellent timber and the usefulness of the leaves, bark and flowers for medicinal and other purposes. Reminiscent of this tree in the form of its leaves and position of its flowers is Tsao Chiao, *Gleditsia chinensis*. (Plate 48.) Somewhat smaller is the so-called pseudo-acacia or locust tree, *Robinia pseudo-acacia*, the Tsu Hai of the Chinese, a tree that also flourishes in the parks in Scania and Blekinge in Sweden. In addition to this, however, Yeh-ho Shu, *Albizia lebbak*, and the mimosa proper, *Albizia julibrissa* (and the less delicate *Albizia Kalkora*) have been cultivated in Central China and also in the Peking area. The scent of these trees and of the jujube-bush, *Zizyphus jujube*, are among the most unforgettable memories from the advancing summer in the former imperial city.

Among the most beautiful and curious trees in North Chinese parks may also be reckoned *Catalpa ovata*, Chin Shu, and *Catalpa Bungei*, Tzu Shu, which on account of the shape of their large white flowers are often called trumpet trees. (Plate 47.) Their decorative effect is excellent, and they are, moreover, valued for their good timber.—More impressive in their dimensions, though more modest in respect of their flowers, are *Ailanthus glandulosa (altissima)*, called Chou Ch'un Shu, or tree of heaven, owing to its uncommon height, and *Ginkgo biloba*, in Chinese called Yin Hsing, silver almond, on account of its edible seeds, but better known under its English name of "maiden-hair tree." Both these trees are found at the Buddhist temples in North China, especially *Ailanthus*, which is known for its hardiness and powers of resistance to drought; the *Ginkgo* tree may attain a height of up to forty meters. This tree, moreover, is the most convincing evidence of the ancient character of the Chinese flora. In the remote past it occurred not only over large parts of Asia, but also in western Europe and even on Greenland, as appears from fossils from the Jura period; but it is now found only in China and Japan, where it is cultivated near the Buddhistic tem-

plēs.—Another rare temple tree is *Ficus infectoria*, the Banyan tree.

The trees around the old temples and in the older parks in North China for the most part, however, comprise *coniferae*, *cupressacae* and other conifers. The most remarkable in the first-named group are *Pinus Bungeana* and *Pinus senensis*, the former because of its color, the latter thanks to its mode of growth. Few trees have such an elegant and bright appearance as *Pinus Bungeana*; it grows tall and slender, the trunk has a silver-white sheen after the thin outer bark has flaked off, and its needles are lissom and as soft as silk. (Plate 50.)—*Pinus senensis* grows in quite another way; at its most beautiful it does not shoot up into the air, but stretches out on the horizontal plane. Its powerful branches reach out protectively like gigantic arms over the ground; the mighty silhouette of the branchage is like a flat cupola or a gigantic umbrella, and as the tree generally grows on hills and mountain slopes the sculptural body of the crown often seems to follow the modeling of the ground in complete harmony. (Plates 52, 53.)

The so-called cypresses, which occur in such numbers in older temple grounds in and around the northern capital, consist for the most part either of *Thuja orientalis* or of *Juniperus chinensis*, two trees which may resemble each other so closely that it is difficult for the untrained eye to distinguish them; but the real cypress (*Cupressus funebris*) is also not unknown. It is, however, *Juniperus chinensis* that dominates in the solemn temple groves; these trees still stand like guardians around the former imperial sanctuaries such as The Altar of Heaven, The Altar of Agriculture, The Temple of the Ancestors (T'ai Miao), The Temple of Confucius, etc. Many of these mighty trees have become hoary with age or partly withered, but they present something of the venerable air, the blending with the creative forces of Nature that has taken shape in these sanctuaries.

The list of the trees in the Chinese parks and gardens might easily be extended by including the representatives of such well-known families as the maple, oak, elm, poplar, *salix* and others, but this seems rather superfluous in this connection.—As regards the fruit

trees, some of the most beautifully blossoming ones have been noted in the list given above; others of these already mentioned are the plum trees (*Prunus mume* and *P. communis*), the peach tree (*Pr. persica*), the apricot (*Pr. armenica*), the cherry (*Pr. pseudocerasus*), which occur in the wild state more frequently than in the cultivated form. Pear trees are very common, both cultivated and in the wild state; the majority are considered to derive from *Pyrus serrotina* and *P. assuriensis*; their fruit is seldom of high quality. The same applies to the apple tree, also cultivated for its blossoms rather than for its fruit. More esteemed are the quince (*Chenomeles sinensis*) and the loquat, *Eriobotrya japonica* (the P'i-pa of the Chinese), which both occur cultivated as well as in the wild state, and the stately persimmon tree, *Diospyros kaki*, whose tart fruit, when fully ripe and touched by a light frost, offers a most refreshing regalement on rambles in Northwestern China.—Another valuable fruit tree is the Hei-tao of the Chinese, i.e., *Juglans regia* or the walnut tree, highly esteemed not only for its nuts with their rich content of oil, but also for its hard timber. Among other already mentioned fruit-bearing trees and bushes, reference may be made to Litchi (*Nephelium*), Jujubē (*Zizyphus*) and the pomegranate (*Punica*). To these might be added several *Rubus* species, which occur in both the cultivated and the wild state, and water plants such as the lotus and the water chestnut (*Trapa natans*), whose seeds and fruits are popular sweets. But real chestnuts and hazelnuts are also not uncommon in Central and North China.

A country of such vast extent and with such climatic differences as those characterizing China must naturally offer an extraordinary field for botanical studies, and prominent specialists have exploited this field extensively during the past generation.⁷ Those who are interested will find valuable information concerning the wild flora of China in their works, but very little concerning the flowers and trees of the gardens, perhaps because so little of the old gardens has been preserved. I have thus been unable to give more than fragmentary data about the flowers and trees in the

⁷ Cf. Ernest A. Wilson, *China, Mother of Gardens* (Boston, 1929). E. H. M. Cox, *Plant-Hunting in China. A History of Botanical Exploration* (London, 1945).

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gardens, and here, moreover, the illustrations are a better source of information than any descriptions. For the Chinese themselves the cultivation of flowers was not by any means a scientifically systematized occupation. Rather were they guided by artistic considerations; they cared for and tended the trees and flowers in their gardens above all because of their poetic or symbolical significance and the manifold associations that were traditionally connected with these charming representatives of Nature's inexhaustible forces. Something of this has already been hinted, but as an addition to the associative viewpoints it may not be out of place to offer the following passage by Chao Ch'ang, a flower-lover of the seventeenth century:

"By planting flowers one invites butterflies... by planting pines one invites the wind... by planting banana trees one invites rain, and by planting willow trees one invites cicadas."—The combinations are not Chao Ch'ang's invention; they are traditional, and

occur from the oldest times, both in poetry and in painting. The flowers and trees all had their natural attendants in the form of insects and birds, or rain and wind which helped, as it were, to explain their significance and lent them their voice.

Something of the same sort of notion appears also in the chapter in *Yüan Yeh* called "Discourse on Gardens." The last lines in this chapter may here be repeated, as they refer to certain trees:

The rain drops of the night, which fall upon the banana leaves, are like the tears of the weeping mermaid [like pearls]. When the morning breeze blows through the willows, the latter bend like the slender waists of dancing girls.

Before the window one plants bamboo and between the courtyards pear trees. The moonlight lies like glittering water over the countryside. The wind sighs in the trees and gently touches the lute and the book that lie on the couch. The dark, rippled mirror of water swallows the half moon. When day dawns one is awakened by the fresh breeze; it reaches the bed, and all the dust of the world is blown out of one's mind.

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE GARDENS

THERE is undoubtedly some truth in the assertion that even if there were no flowers or trees in a Chinese garden, it would nevertheless give the impression of a garden, because of its winding paths and canals, its fantastic hollowed rocks and the glassy stillness of its ponds, and thanks especially to the architectural elements that are rarely absent from these gardens. These elements consist partly of the surrounding walls with their decorative doors and windows, and partly of a multitude of pavilions, kiosks, bridges and galleries, which, owing to their picturesque character, their interplay of light and shade, and their rhythmically balanced lines, blend harmoniously with the other elements of the composition.

Now both the walls and the pavilions are among the most typical features of Chinese architecture, and pavilions, particularly, have been of greater importance and have exercised a more general influence in Europe than any other products of Chinese architecture. As soon as the Chinese pavilions with their bridges and galleries had become generally known in Europe about the middle of the eighteenth century, not only through paintings and drawings but also through minor reproductions in wood and porcelain, they aroused great admiration and soon became essential elements in the so-called Anglo-Chinese gardens. They corresponded to a desire which had grown out of that feeling for the picturesque and the intimate which was so characteristic a feature of the rococo period, and helped to stimulate interest in the garden art of the Far East. It was, of course, a good deal easier to produce something that looked like a Chinese pavilion, an alcove, or even a pagoda, than to lay out a garden with hollowed rocks, winding waters

and high, arched bridges. Even though the imitations were frequently very much simplified, yet they retained in their curved roofs and ornamental balustrades elements of the original style which fascinated the beholder like reflexes from the fairyland of imagination. Despite the arbitrariness of the copies, the Chinese pavilion remained the most popular of the exotic features in these romantic landscape gardens, where it often had to compete with a "Turkish tent," an Arabian mosque, a Roman tempietto, or a Gothic ruin, to mention but a few of the most common elements in these gardens.

The Chinese pavilion, as it appears in the gardens dating from the end of the Ming and the Ch'ing periods, is the final product of a long period of evolution during which this type of centralized building had assumed a variety of shifting forms and was used for many purposes, both sacred and profane. Pavilions are still to be found in large numbers in the grounds of the temples and the Confucian shrines, just as they still occupy dominating positions on the terraces of the city gates and the corner bastions of the walls, not to speak of all the smaller open pavilions on bridges and islets or on the hillocks and "mountains" of the gardens. The uses to which they have been put have been as varied as their forms. There have always been pavilions for study and for meditation, as well as open pavilions of a more picturesque type, the latter being placed preferably as crowning motifs on terraces and mountains and in the gardens.

The first-mentioned type, which are in the nature of a closed room, are usually called *ko*, or *chai*, while the other, more or less open, decorative buildings, are called *ting*, or *hsieh*. (The word *hsien* is used also

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to designate open, pavilion-like buildings.) Both these terms are translated as "pavilion" or "kiosk"; but as far as I have been able to ascertain, the first of these words is used in a more general way than the second, which may be said to be the most specific expression for a garden pavilion. We are told in *Yüan Yeh* that *hsieh* lies hidden among flowers, while *t'ing* may be found close to the water, on the crest of a hill, in a bamboo grove, or sheltered by dark firs.

There are, according to the same source, no definite forms or types for these structures. They all have, of course, central plans, but their forms are modified according to local conditions and the fancy of the builder, as may be observed in many gardens even today. One meets with pavilions and kiosks erected on square, polygonal or round foundations, but the square may be extended to a rectangle, or have rounded corners; the polygon may be provided with apses on some of its sides; the circle may be cut in half or to the shape of a sickle moon. One finds, too, plans of a more unusual form, shaped like an open plum blossom, or a Greek cross (i.e., the Chinese character for ten), to mention only two instances. The Chinese took great delight in playing with the formal possibilities of such small decorative buildings. (Plate 54.)

The structural system of the pavilions is the same as that of practically all Chinese wooden buildings: the framework consists of supporting posts or pillars (square, polygonal or round), placed on a stone floor or a platform two or three steps above the level of the ground. The tops of the posts are connected with beams supporting the purlins under the eaves, in some cases by means of struts or brackets. When the roof is stepped in two storeys the upper section is usually supported by an inner circle of taller pillars. (Plate 51.) The walls in most of these buildings have no structural function. When the pavilion is open they are often partly or entirely dispensed with; when they do occur they usually consist, at least in their lower section, of a mixture of clay and straw (or similar materials), packed or stamped between the posts and faced with colored plaster. The upper part of the walls is then often treated as large latticed windows

and doors. Complete wooden walls are less common in the garden pavilions, while those of an earlier date and of a more permanent character were usually made of brick. Thus, generally speaking, the pavilion, like most other architectural forms in China, is a wooden structure of posts and beams with filled-in walls, placed on a terrace or a platform of stone which may be raised several steps above the ground.

The decorative character of these structures is determined first and foremost by the treatment of the roof and by the ornamental balustrades. The shape of the roof is obviously dependent on that of the ground-plan; the round pavilions have conical tent roofs; on the polygonal ones the roof is divided into sections by means of raised ribs; on the square ones the roof is hipped equally on all four sides, and on the rectangular ones, it turns into a saddle roof, sometimes with half gables, etc. (Plate 55.) But whatever the form, the roof is always projected far beyond the supports, and characterized by the flowing curves, the lines of which are accentuated by the raised corner ribs and the boldly tip-tilted snouts.

The roofs usually are tiled, and on the more important pavilions they may be glazed in dark blue, yellow or green colors; this, in combination with their shape, tends to give them the appearance of gigantic parasols glistening in the sun. (Plate 57.) The contrast between these light-absorbing, gleaming surfaces and the deep shadows under the eaves is very effective, especially in so far as it gives the impression that the roof is hovering on widespread wings over the body of the building. The structural parts by which it is joined to the supporting frame are often so deeply shadowed that they are not visible at a distance, but they fill their function wonderfully by lifting it, thus producing an impression of something floating in the air. This does not mean that the form of the roof had not a practical rather than an æsthetic origin, though the decorative motives gradually gained the upper hand. How important the roof is from a decorative point of view may be realized if one compares the projecting tent roof of one pavilion with the flat terraced roof of another. The latter seems to have lost its wings, that is to say, precisely the part which

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should raise the whole structure and make it harmonize with the trees and the rocks around.

No less essential elements in the Chinese garden compositions are the open galleries, called *lang-tzu* or *lang-fang*. These, too, have many variants—from the patio-like verandas or open porticos in front of the halls to the more corridor-like passages connecting the buildings which enclose a court. (Plate 58.) These buildings thus serve essential practical functions, but in a way which makes them extremely effective elements in the composition as a whole. They are not only decorative frames for different sections or parts of the garden, but also links with or openings upon the most beautiful views. They invite to walks and repose, even when sun or rain makes a prolonged stay in the open less agreeable. It is through these galleries, with their long lines, their moving rhythms, their interplay of light and shade, and their changing views, that the composition acquires unity and its picturesque character. When extending from the main hall, they may be said to reach out like long arms gathering in their embrace the beauties of a garden court. When they follow the sweeping lines of a lake or look out on some distant scenery, they may be transformed into a kind of diorama, offering changing views in changing decorative frames. (Plates 59, 60.) They blend with nature in a more intimate way than most other buildings. One might perhaps call them a leading voice in a polyphonic composition. This conjunction of the galleries with the ground and the landscape is also emphasized in *Yüan Yeh*, where it is said that the *lang-fang* “follow the rise and fall of the ground, sweep in curves and are sometimes visible, sometimes invisible” (i.e., when following such winding lines as the paths and the watercourses). No buildings were prized more highly; “they should never be missing from any garden,” the same writer asserts. Indeed, no Chinese garden would be complete without an open gallery, a veranda, or similar construction; these are no less important for the composition as a whole than the trees, the “mountains,” or the water.

The construction of the galleries is too obvious to require comment. The space between the supporting



Pavilion with a flat roof in the garden of Kung Wang Fu, Peking.

posts is usually fairly wide, but the roofs have not such broad eaves as those of the pavilions. The roofs on the older galleries are as a rule saddle-shaped, but there are also those with flat roofs, provided with balustrades—possibly intended as places for viewing the garden. As the walls are missing, the transverse and longitudinal beams of the ceiling are the more visible; they may be seen from the outside and are often richly decorated with floral or geometric designs in bright colors: red, green, blue and white. (Plate 60.) More important than this painted ornamentation, however, are the ornamental balustrades and lambrequins between the pillars. We have already observed them on the pavilions, but in the galleries they appear in longer series, and consequently attract more attention. Their continuous lines emphasize the enclosing and framing function of the galleries, and their transparency contributes to the picturesque interplay of light and shade which is so essential to these garden structures. (Plate 62.)

How to designate these ornamental girdles may be subject to discussion, but regarding their fundamental decorative importance there can be only one opinion: the lower one is a regular balustrade or railing, but

in the upper girdle the balustrade is turned upside down. It is placed under the beam of the eaves, and usually carried by brackets projecting from the pillars. It thus forms a decoration under the eaves, and may be said to resemble a lambrequin. The ornamental patterns in the lower and the upper girdles are usually the same.

Most of these balustrade patterns are rectilinear, composed of square, rectangular, triangular, rhomboidal or polygonal units in different combinations and positions, but preferably in arrangements which avoid any interruption of the flow of lines. This effect of pattern running ad infinitum is a significant part of the fascination of the galleries. The possibilities of variation are considerable, as the patterns may be given a diagonal direction or placed in a horizontal position.

Some idea of the way in which these possibilities of obtaining different combinations could be utilized (at least theoretically) may be formed through a study of the illustrations in *Yüan Yeh*. Introducing this series, the author writes:

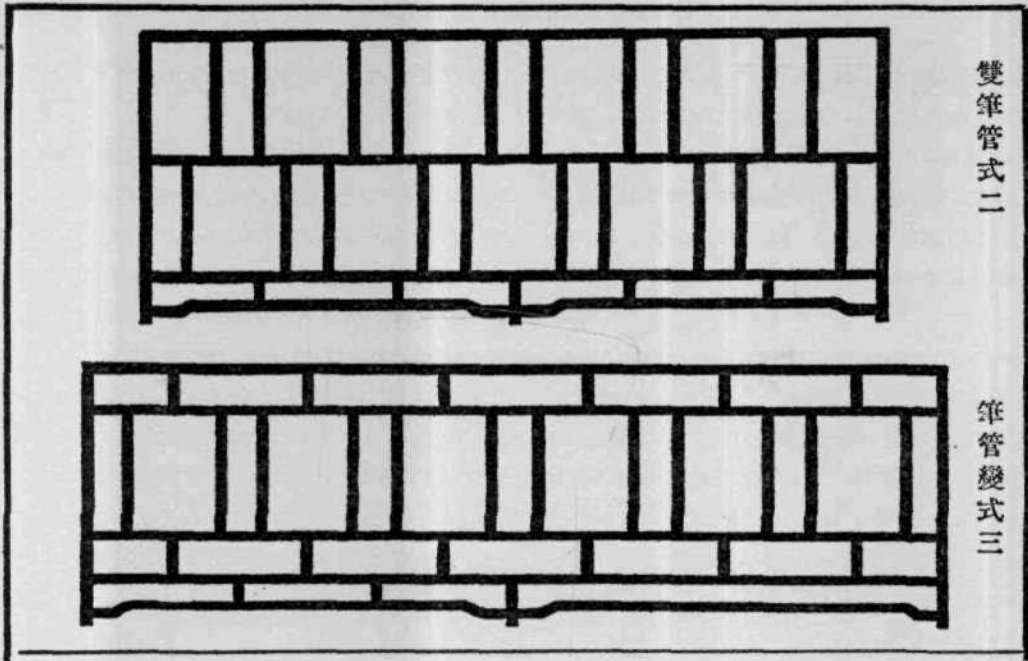
I have been collecting patterns for many years; some of them are quite intricate, others are simple and in good style. These patterns I have arranged in a series, grouped according to their variations. From this you can take your choice. The series begins with the brush-handle pattern.

Nowadays balustrades are sometimes made with [ornaments of] seal-characters, but these are not distinguished by uniformity and they do not express any coherent meaning.—Nor is the series presented in the following complete; you may vary the patterns as you please.

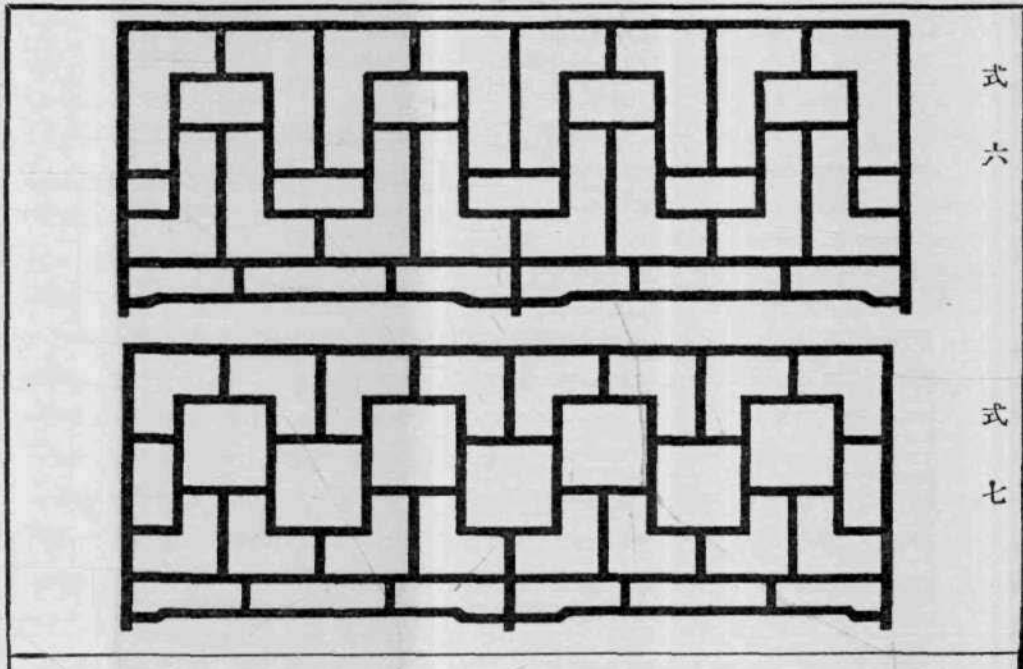
The statement that stylized seal-characters had been used towards the end of the Ming period as an ornamental motif on the balustrades is more surprising than convincing; if such was really the case the characters must have been very simple; but no such balustrades have been preserved, either in the original or in reproduction. The series illustrated by the author can in no way be considered complete; it includes some sixty different patterns, arranged in groups according to their essential components. A full description of all these patterns would take us too far; we

must restrict ourselves to a few examples of the most characteristic types.

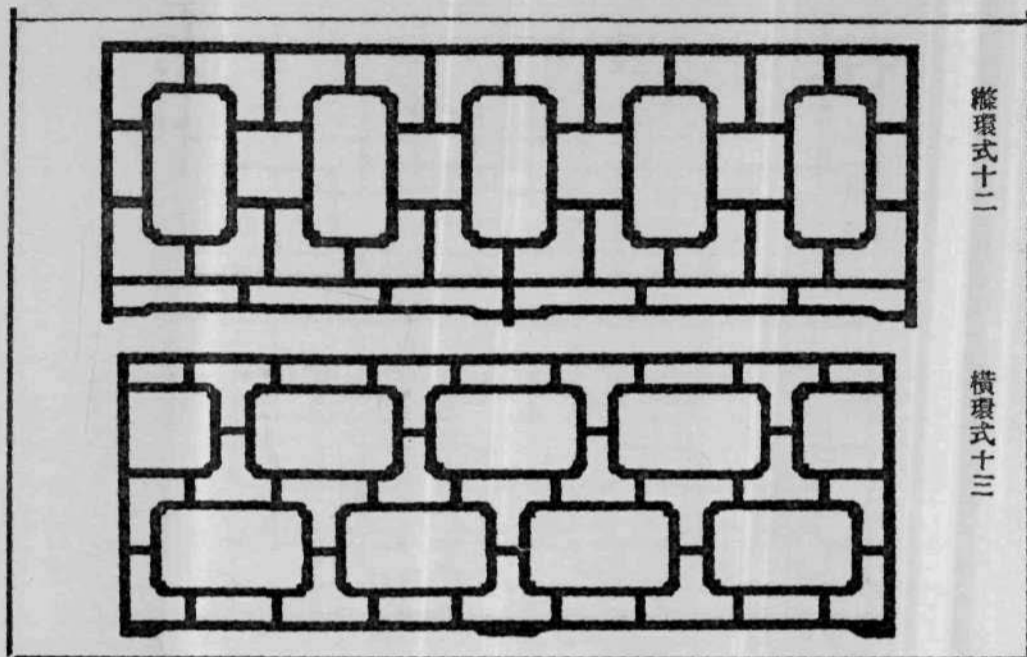
The first group, as already mentioned, is called the "brush-handle" pattern, presumably because the perpendicular lines stand out as the dominating feature, but they are combined with short horizontals which tie them together or divide them in suitable proportions.—The second group comprises "horizontal and vertical ring-patterns," so called from the rings, or links, in the form of rectangles with rounded or chamfered corners which form the chief motif. They may be placed either horizontally or vertically, and varied as in cruciform figures.—A third group is called "embracing [or enclosing] squares," since these squares [or rectangles], also with rounded corners, are interlaced by overlaps of their corners, thus forming chain-like series. This group contains several variants of a more richly ornamental character, arrived at by duplication or complex overlaps, or by square figures being replaced by lozenge shapes.—The fourth group comprises the three-cornered patterns. The chief figures in this case are equilateral triangles linked together either by overlaps or by connecting lines. There are numerous variants. The same applies in a still higher degree to the patterns contained in the fifth and the sixth groups, which are named after certain flowers: the hibiscus, plum blossom, sunflower, and others. As may be readily understood, these patterns are made up of small arc-segments, joined together to form open calyxes. They have not been used as often as the rectilinear patterns, perhaps on account of technical difficulties. Some of them appear, at least in reproduction, like brocade-patterns. Another very complicated design is called "the mirror pattern," because it is made up of circular figures within ornamental squares, joined together by smaller figures; but whether such a pattern was ever executed except in the author's drawings is questionable. It does seem as if he had been unable to resist the pleasure of varying or playing with several of these patterns; and it must indeed be admitted that some of them were not suited for execution in wood and would hardly have proved durable, as for instance the wave-pattern which calls for metal rather than wood as its material.



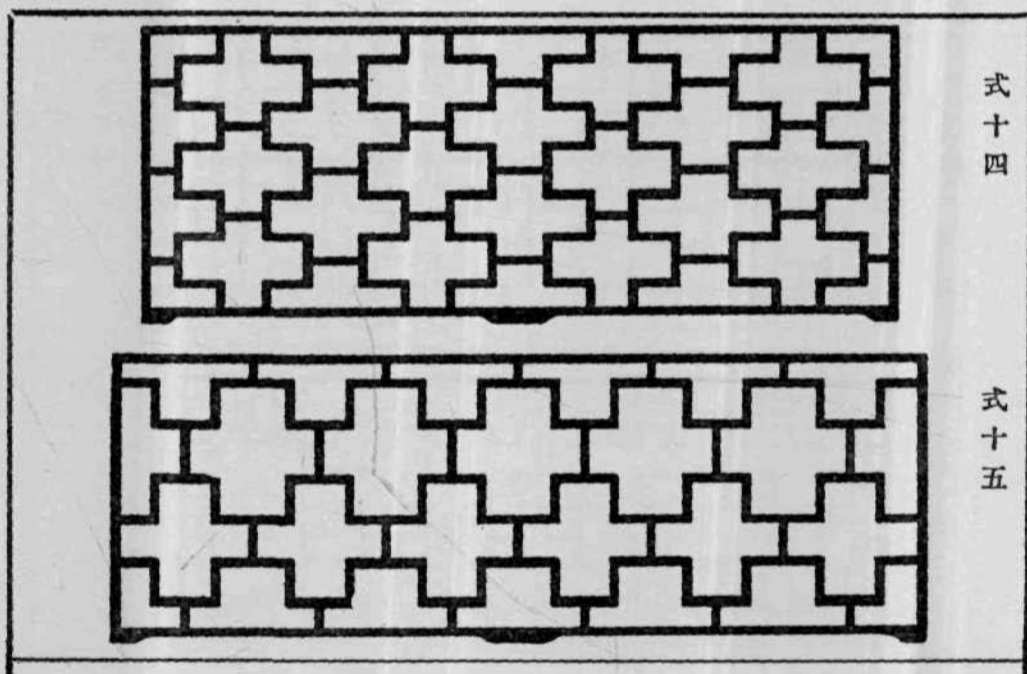
Ornamental balustrades from *Yüan Yeh* representing the brush-handle pattern.



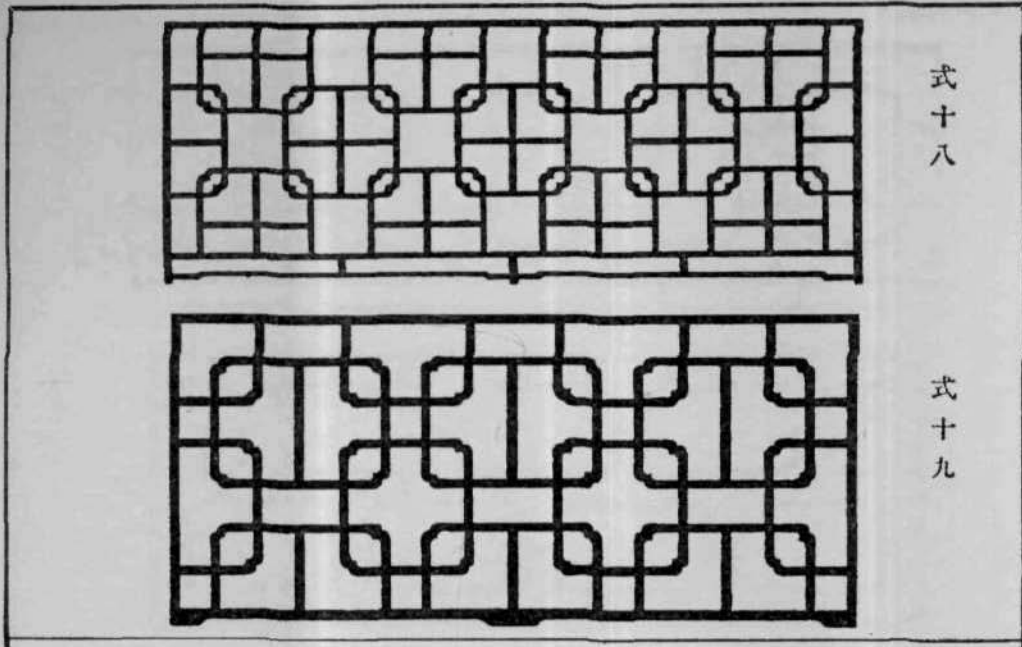
Ornamental balustrades representing variations on the brush-handle pattern.



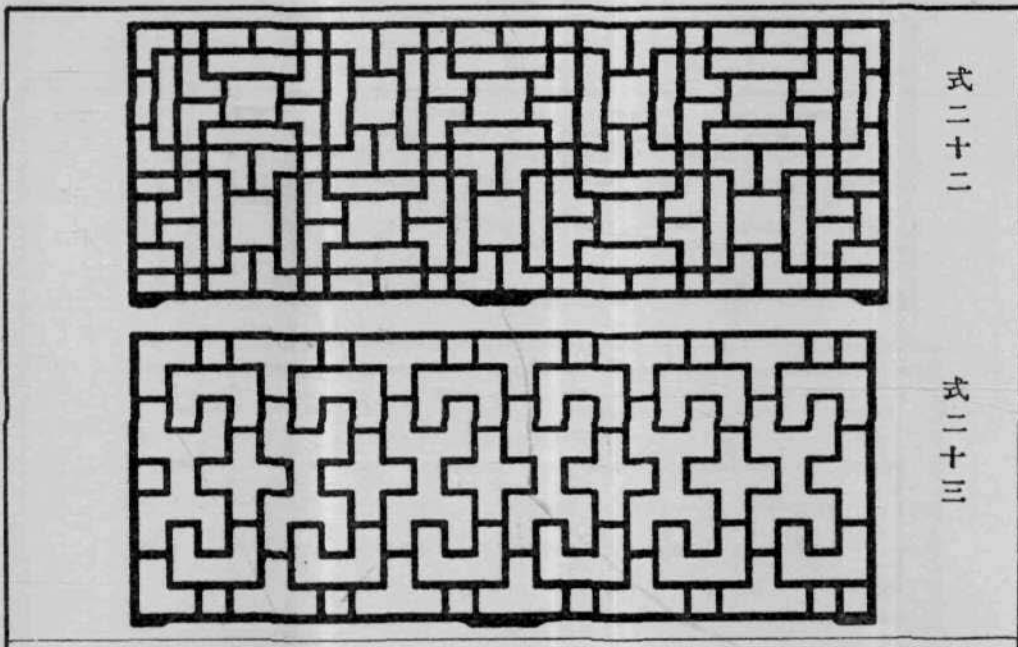
Ornamental balustrades showing the horizontal and vertical ring pattern.



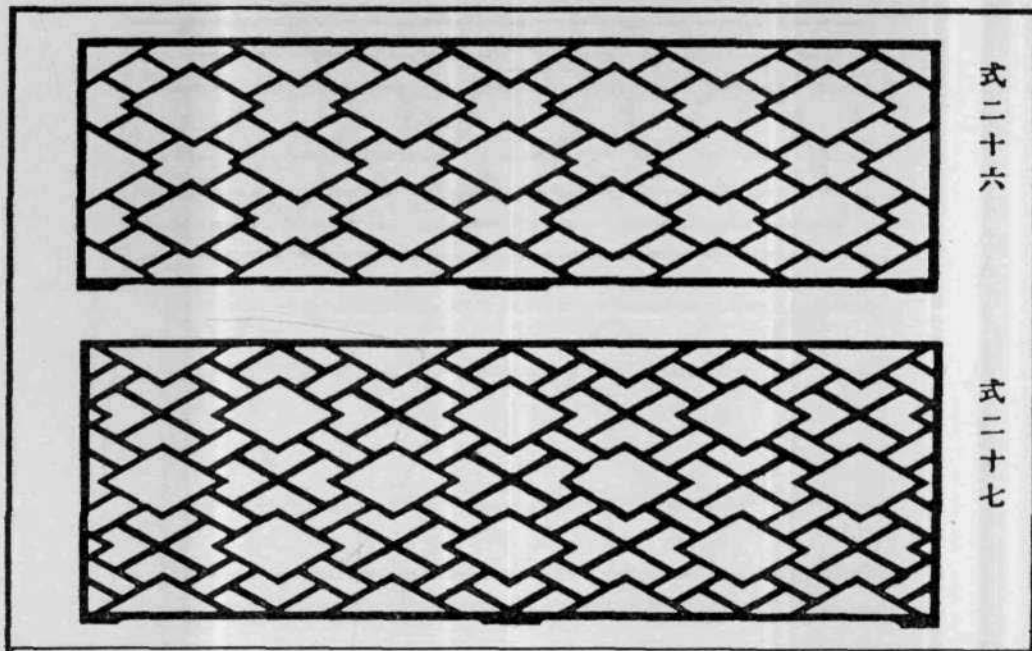
Ornamental balustrades showing variations on the horizontal and vertical ring pattern.



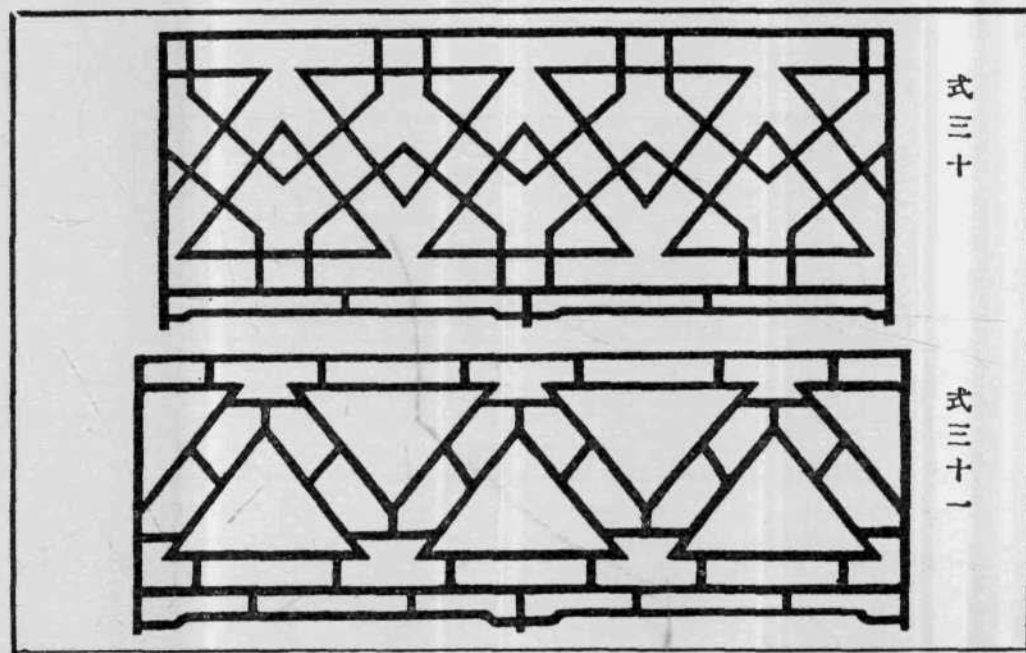
Ornamental balustrades showing patterns consisting of enclosing or overlapping rectangles.



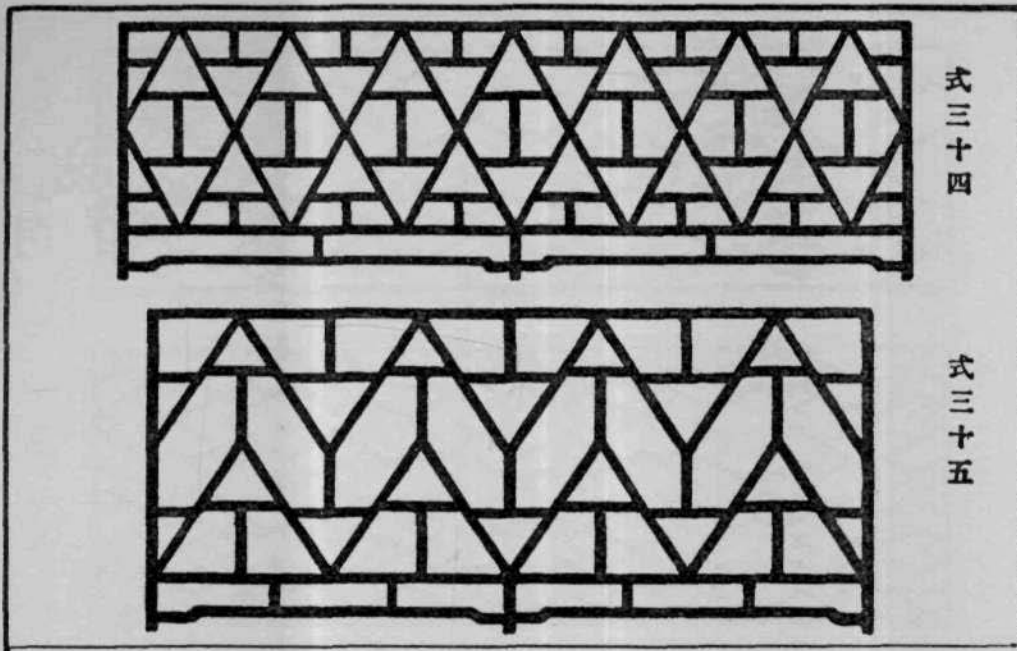
Ornamental balustrades showing variations on the pattern of enclosing or overlapping rectangles.



Ornamental balustrades showing patterns of diagonally linked lozenges.



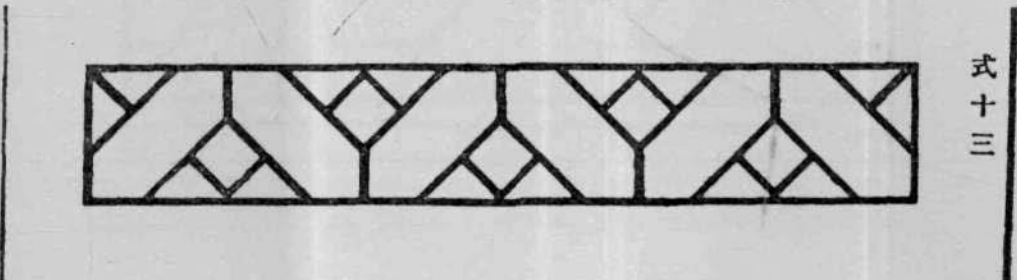
Ornamental balustrades with patterns of overlapping or linked triangles.



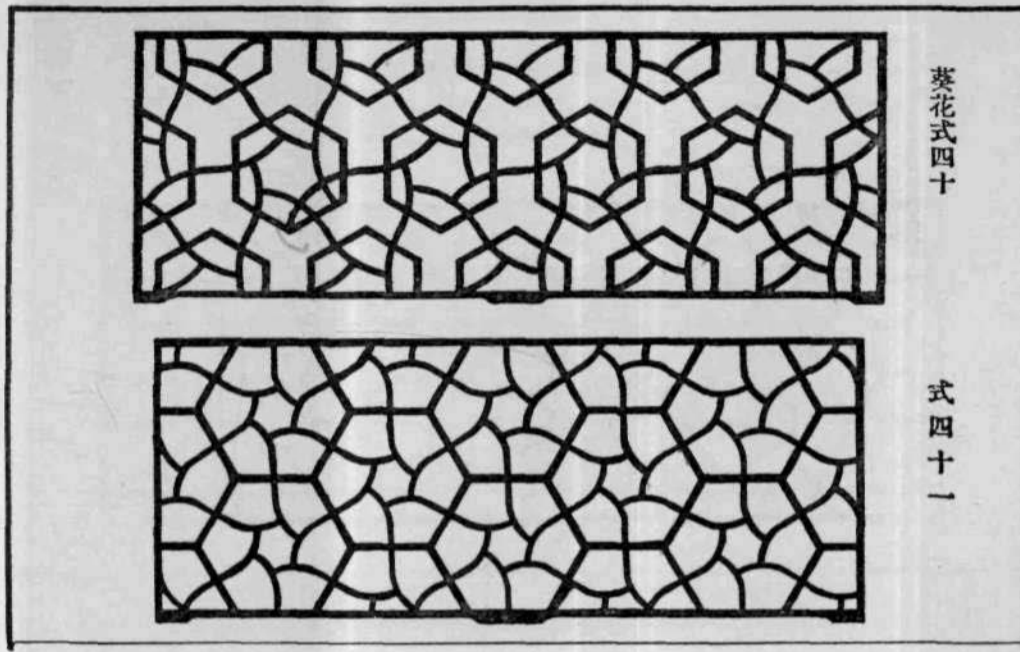
Ornamental balustrades showing variations on the triangular patterns.



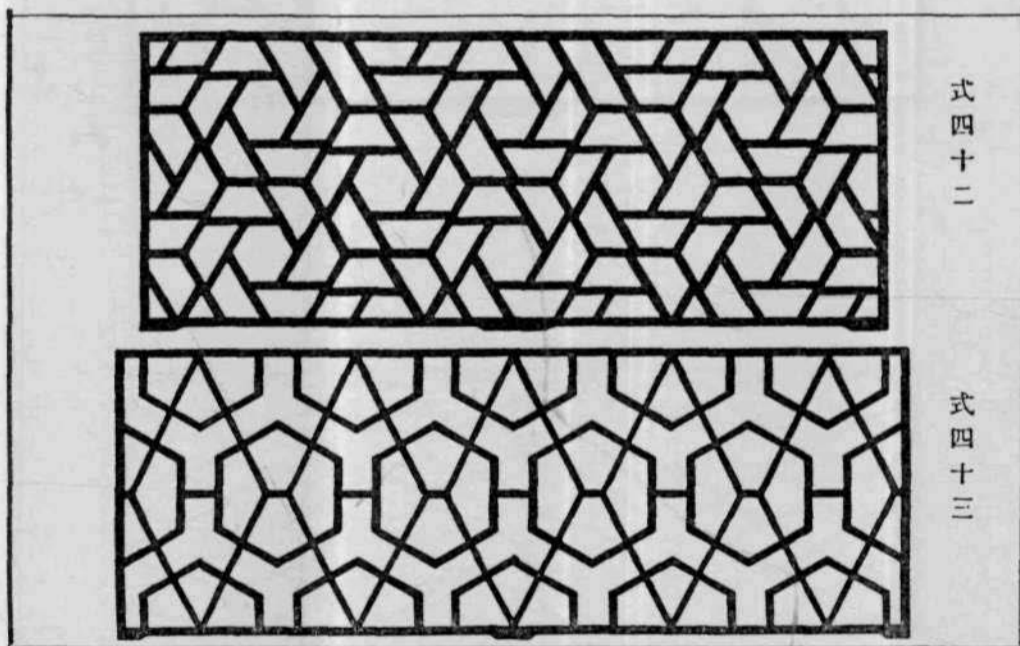
Ornamental balustrade showing floral or brocade-like pattern.



Pattern for an ornamental border.



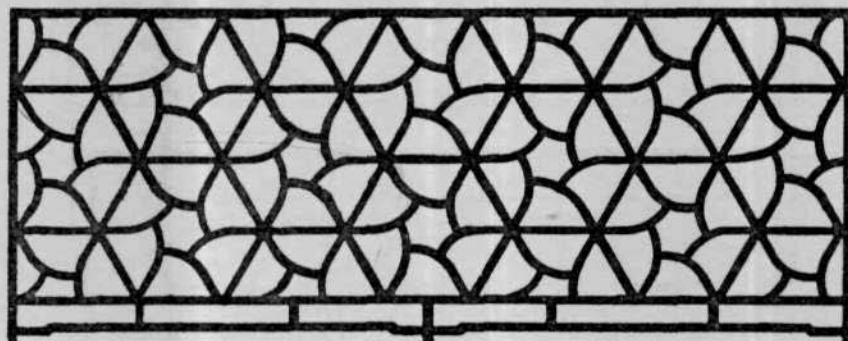
Ornamental balustrades showing sunflower patterns.



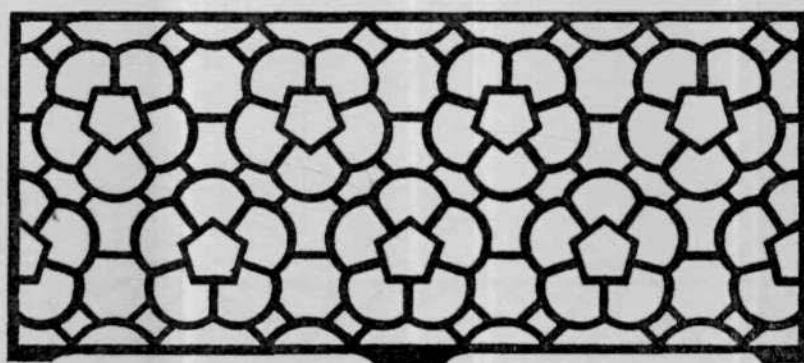
Ornamental balustrades showing conventionalized variations on the sunflower pattern.

做可料一斯惟

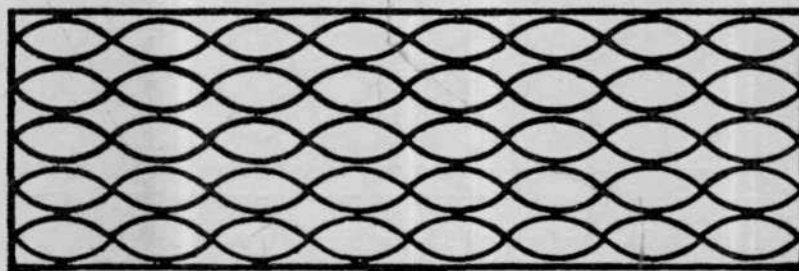
聯瓣葵花式五十六



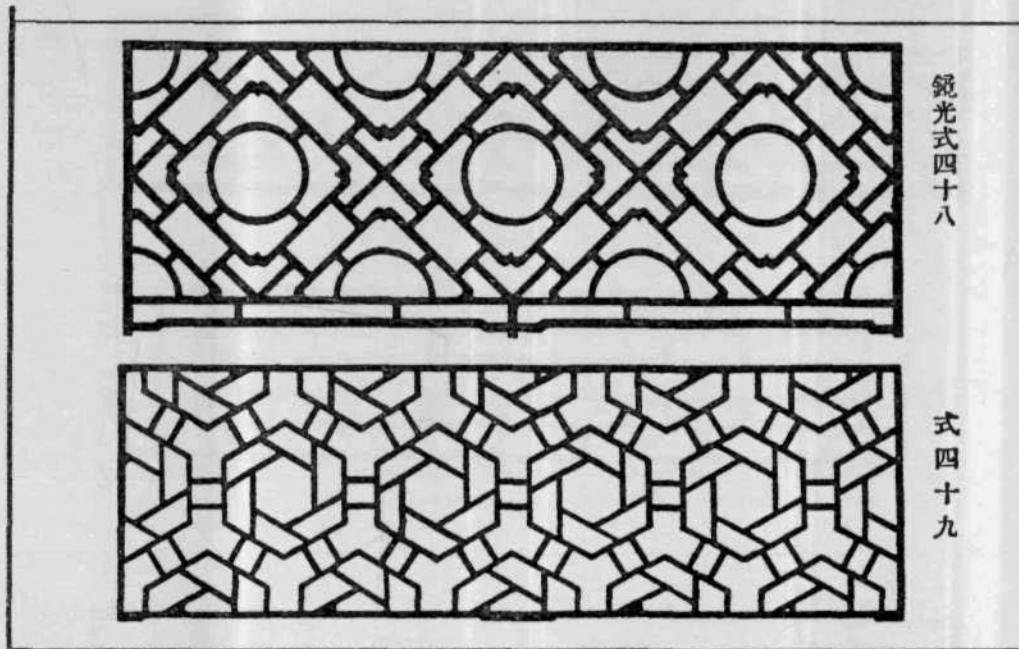
Ornamental balustrade showing patterns composed of the petals of the sunflower.



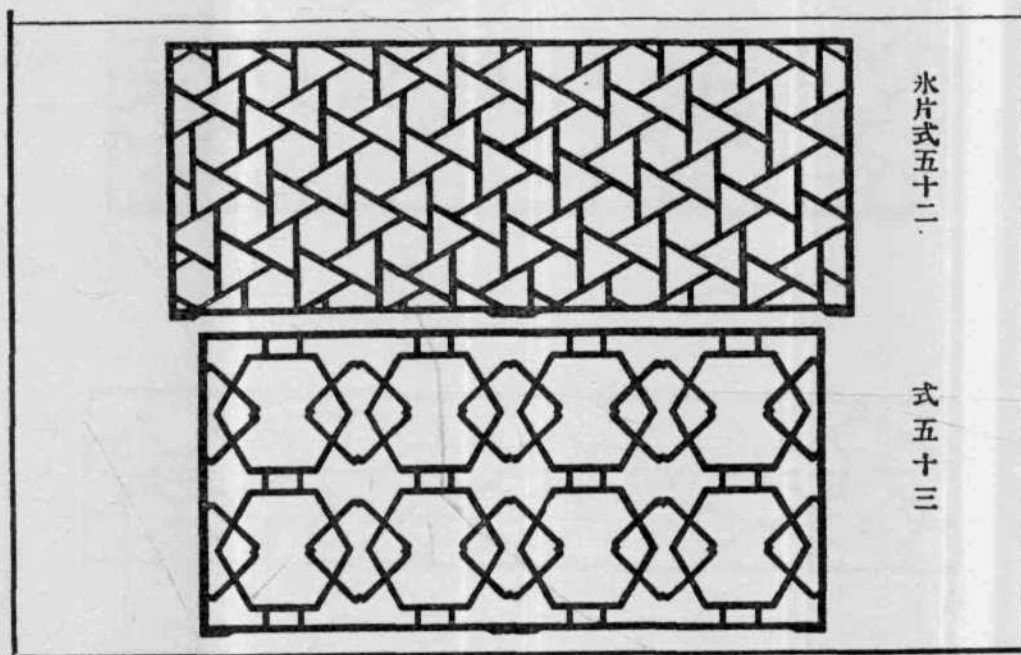
Ornamental balustrade showing plum-blossom pattern.



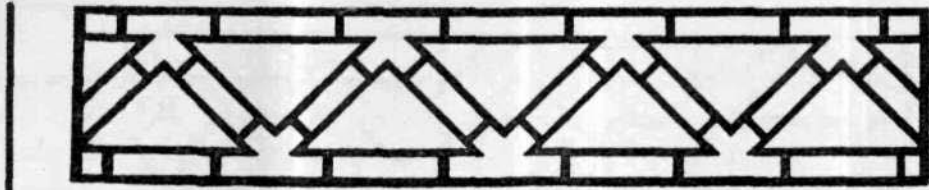
Ornamental balustrade showing wave-line pattern.



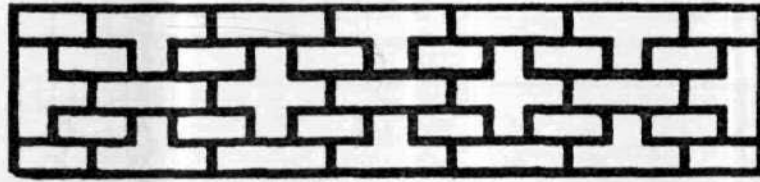
Ornamental balustrades showing two variations on the mirror pattern.



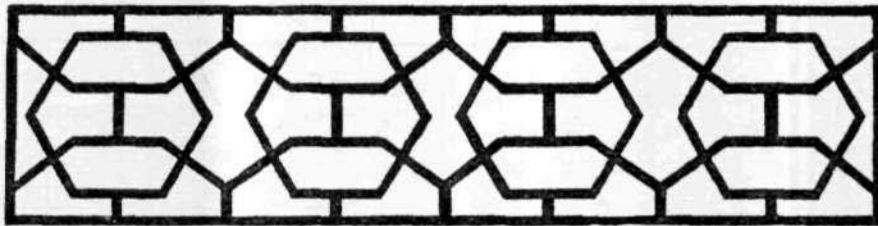
Ornamental balustrades showing the icicle pattern and a variation on the ring pattern.



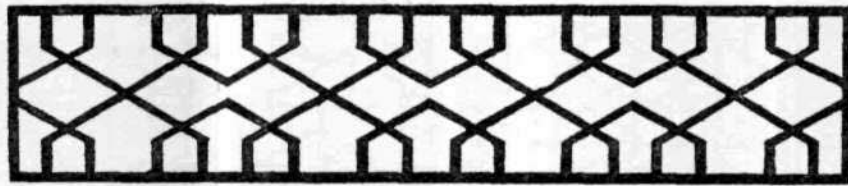
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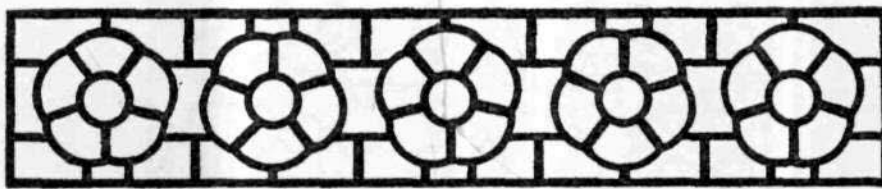
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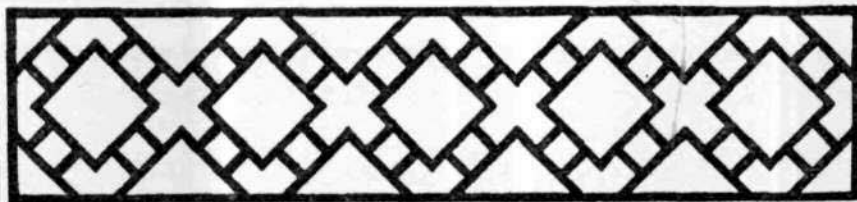
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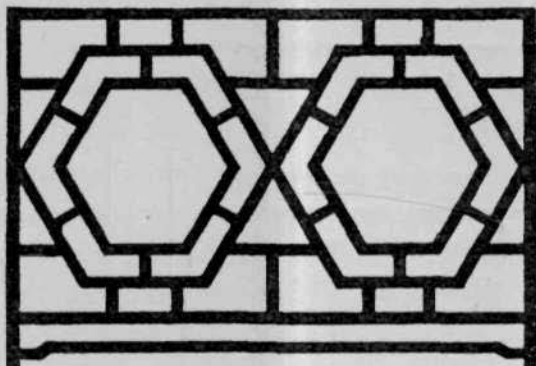
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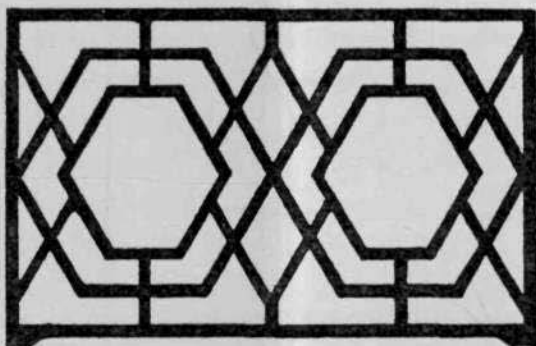
式十二

Various patterns for ornamental borders to be used on the wall or around couches.

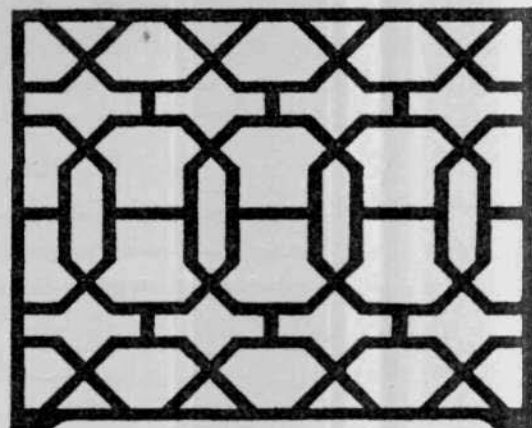
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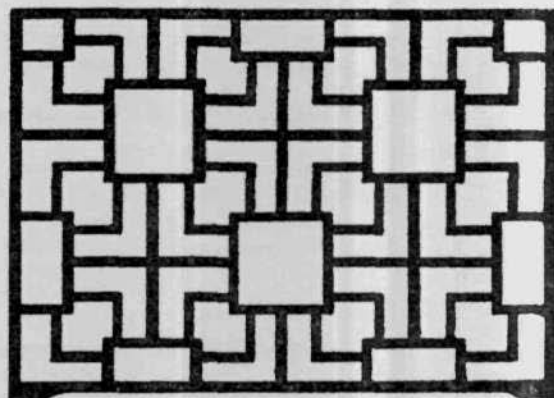
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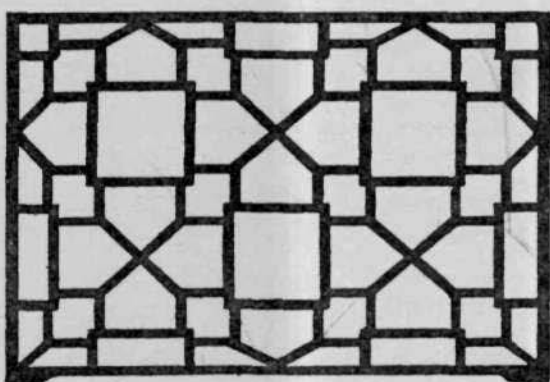
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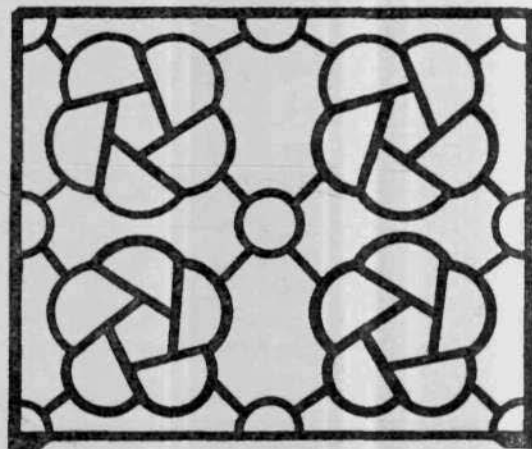
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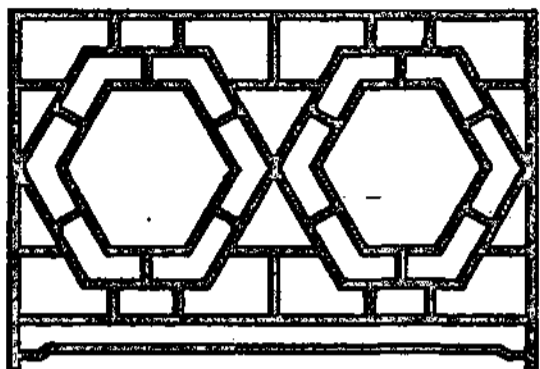


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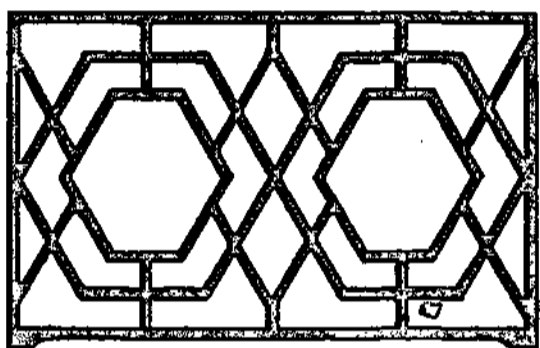


Various ornamental patterns for so-called "short balustrades."

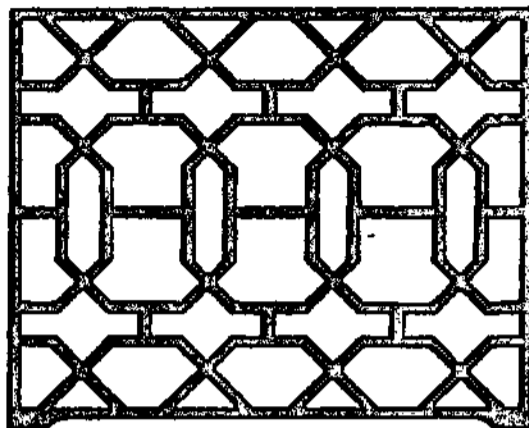
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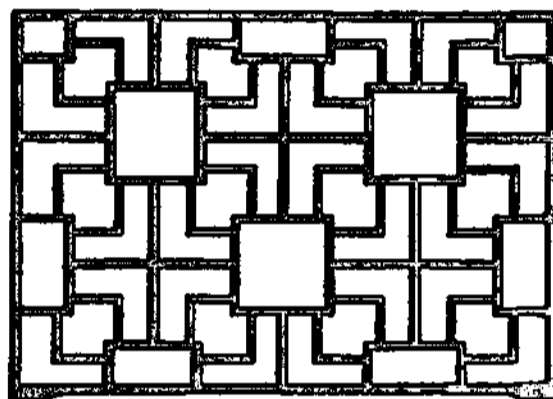
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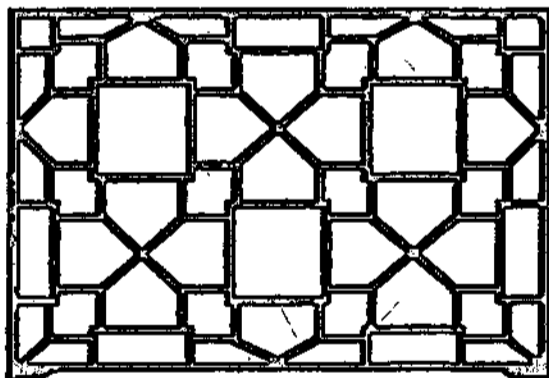
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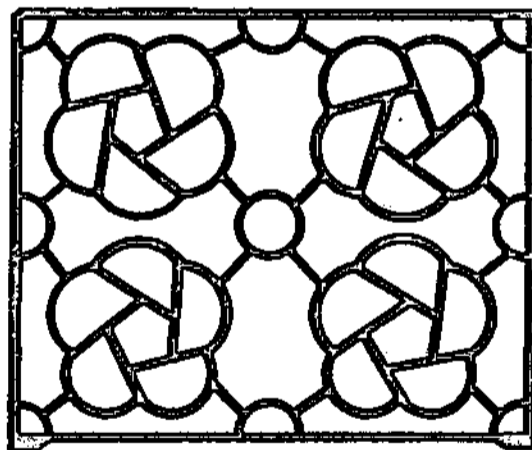
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Various ornamental patterns for so-called "short balustrades."

The popular pattern called "cracked ice," on the other hand, was frequently used in balustrades and in the lattice-work of doors and windows, as will be shown presently.

As an addition or complement to the balustrade patterns we find in *Yüan Yeh* designs for the "girdles on the wall," which probably refer to a sort of framework of ornamental borders or crestring for the walls and also for couches and beds. These patterns here are similar to those of the balustrades, though they are simpler and narrower, looking more like braid. *Yüan Yeh* also furnishes illustrations of so-called "short balustrades," which might equally well be called "stumps of balustrades," or ornamental panels. They were evidently not intended to be executed in long sections like the balustrades of the galleries, though they are akin to them from an ornamental point of view. It may at first seem surprising that a work intended to serve as a guide for the laying-out of gardens should put so much stress on the patterns of the balustrades; but this is really only a proof of how important they are from the Chinese point of view for the picturesque effect of the whole composition. Very little is said, on the other hand, about the ornamental lattice- or trelliswork which in the larger buildings as well as in the garden pavilions is often used in the windows and upper sections of the doors.

In order fully to understand how important this latticework is, it should be borne in mind that in China transparent rice-paper, not glass, was used in the windows; and in order to reinforce and decorate them, wooden laths arranged in ornamental patterns were placed in front of the paper. They stand out like silhouettes against the white paper, and enhance the impression of elegance and airiness which is characteristic no less of the walled than of the open buildings in the Chinese gardens. Yet despite this openness, there is also a feeling of seclusion caused by the fact that one cannot see through paper-covered doors and windows as one can see through glass. So there is an eerie atmosphere about these low, small buildings as they lie hidden beneath their projecting eaves. When the buildings are lit up, the occasional appearance of some shadowy figures gives one a sense

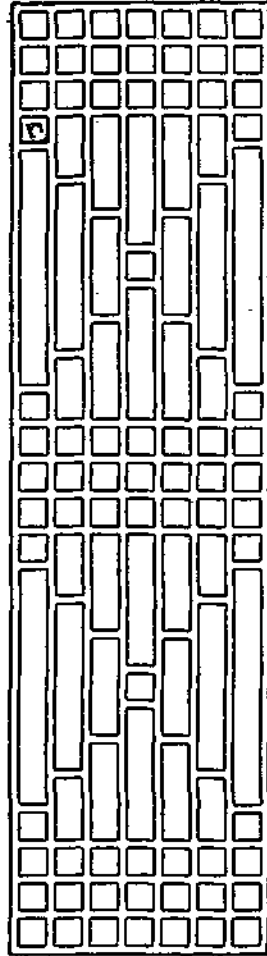
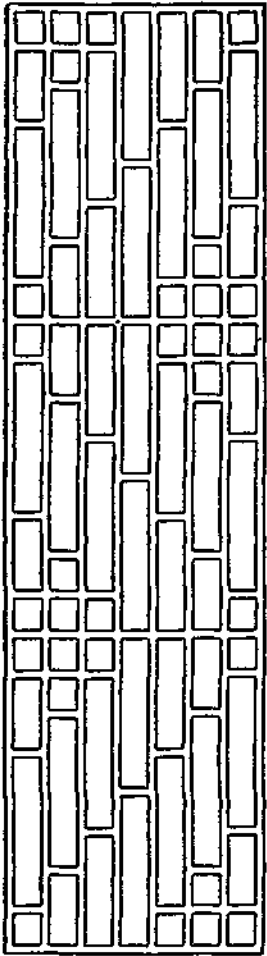
of mysterious life, fascinating by its elusiveness. (Plate 65.)

The ornamental latticework of the windows was indeed of some importance for the decorative effect of the buildings, though its connection with the garden as such was quite peripheral, a view also held by the Chinese garden amateurs, but since a large selection of such ornaments has been made easily accessible for students in Daniel Sheets Dye's *A Grammar of Chinese Lattice*, a few notes about examples borrowed from this publication may be added here.

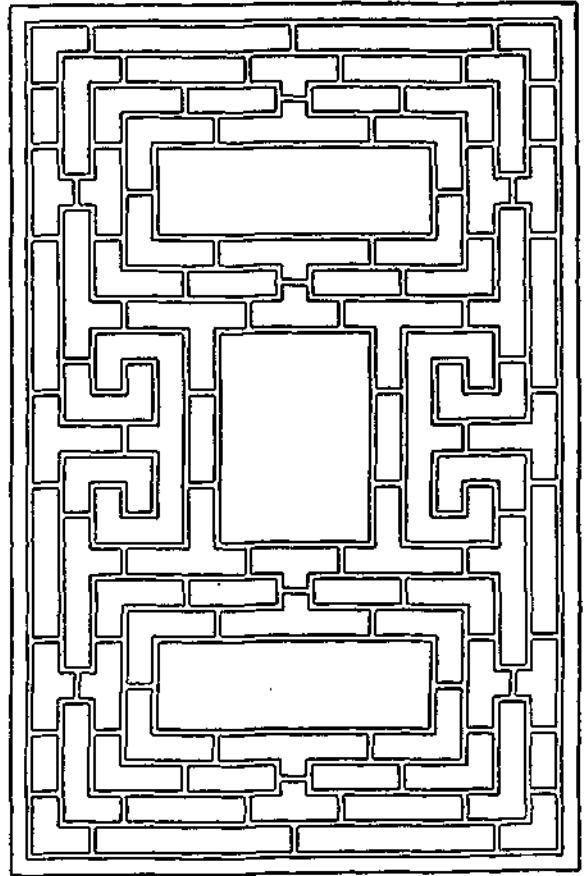
Among the most common designs, particularly in door panels, are the parallelograms and squares, joined together in fields, in which cruciform or star-shaped patterns are formed by eliminating some of the squares. (Plate 65.) Other frequently occurring patterns consist of hexagons or octagons, which can be combined with squares or other figures and repeated ad infinitum. When the openings and figures are very small, the patterns look like plaited cane or bamboo ribs.

An entirely different type of pattern is achieved when, instead of plaiting, a framework consisting of multiple horizontal and vertical lines is built up around one or more central openings. The successive laths may be joined either by simple transverse ribs or by ornamental flowers, buttons or hooks. The parallel laths may, however, be transformed into extended rectangles, which are cut and divided into rhythmic proportions or set squares, which, when the one end is folded over, may give rise to a meander or an angular spiral-pattern—an almost universal ornament that is also well known from the old ritual bronzes in China. It can be developed in many ways, either as a frame around a central opening, or to fill out a whole field, sometimes combined with horizontal and vertical lines.

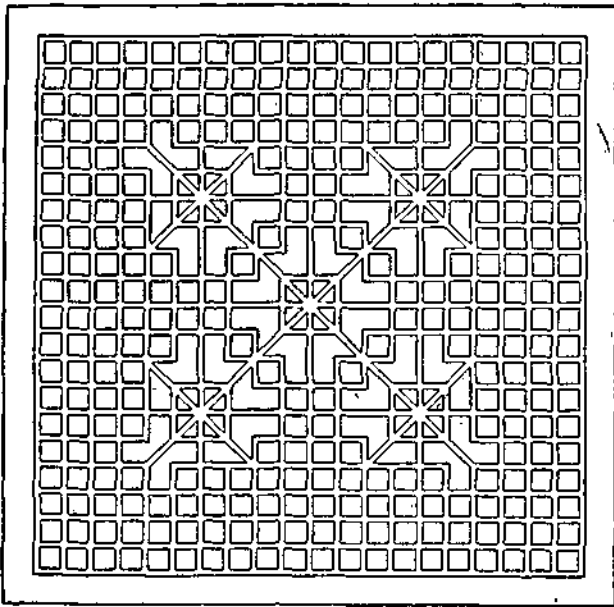
Related to the spiral or meander pattern is that formed by linked swastikas, which may be placed either parallel to or intersecting each other. The possibilities of obtaining different combinations with swastikas are practically endless, and there is probably some truth in the assertion that the swastika has been the mostly frequently used ornamental motif, at least



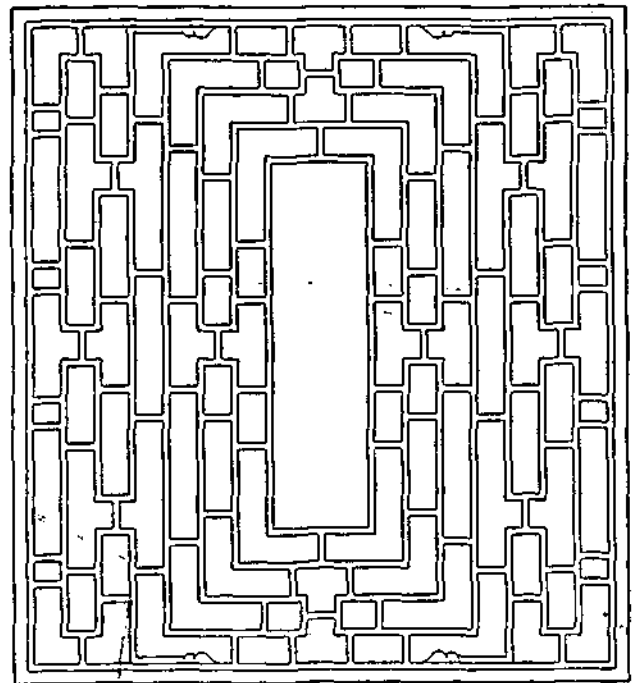
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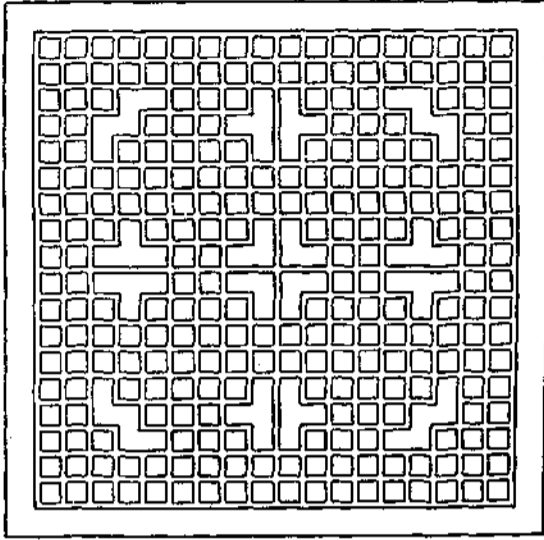


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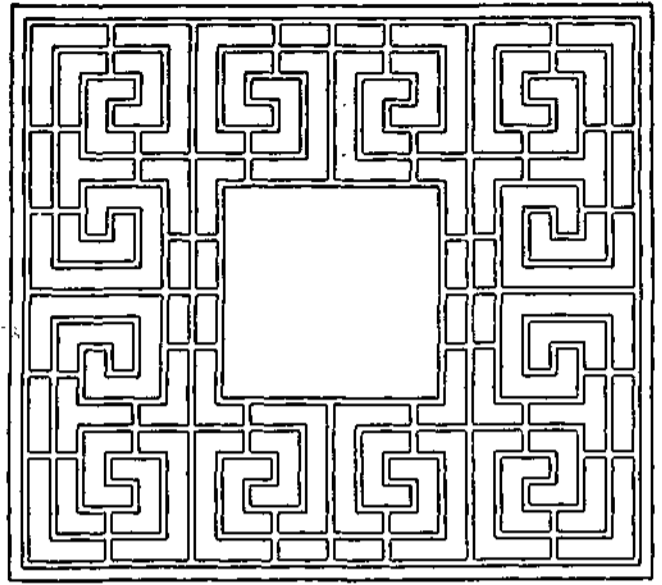


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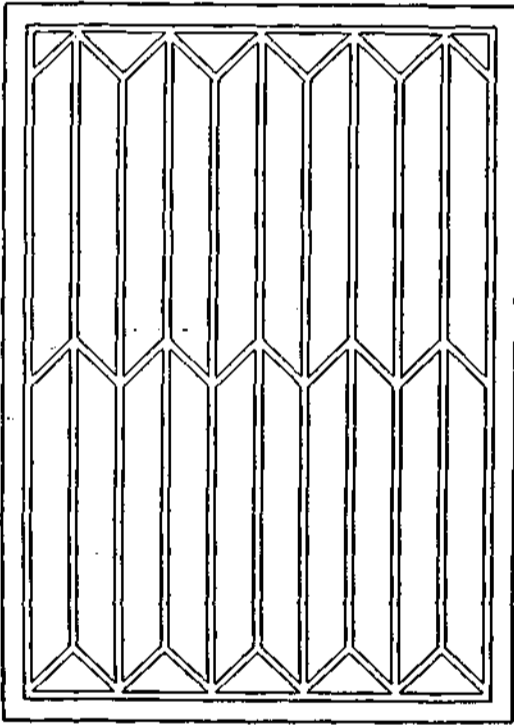
Window-lattices. 1. The parallelogram pattern. 2. Parallelogram pattern of squares with stars. 3-4. Frames composed of rhythmically divided parallelograms around central openings. From Dye, *A Grammar of Chinese Lattice*.



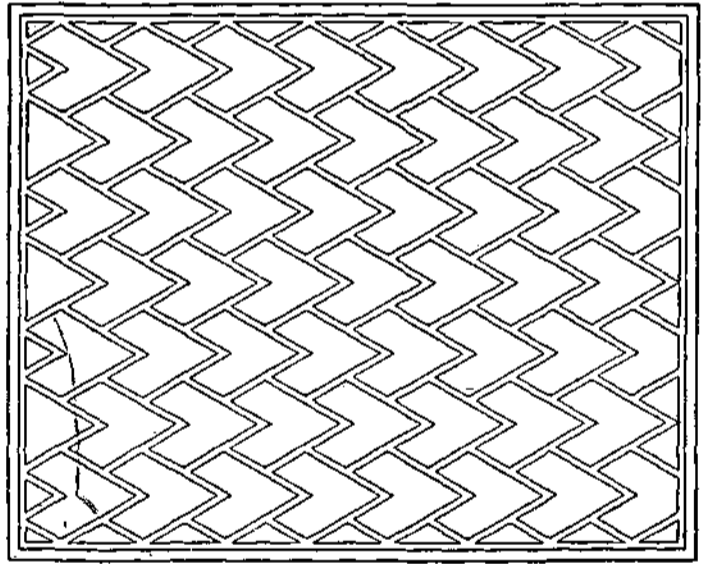
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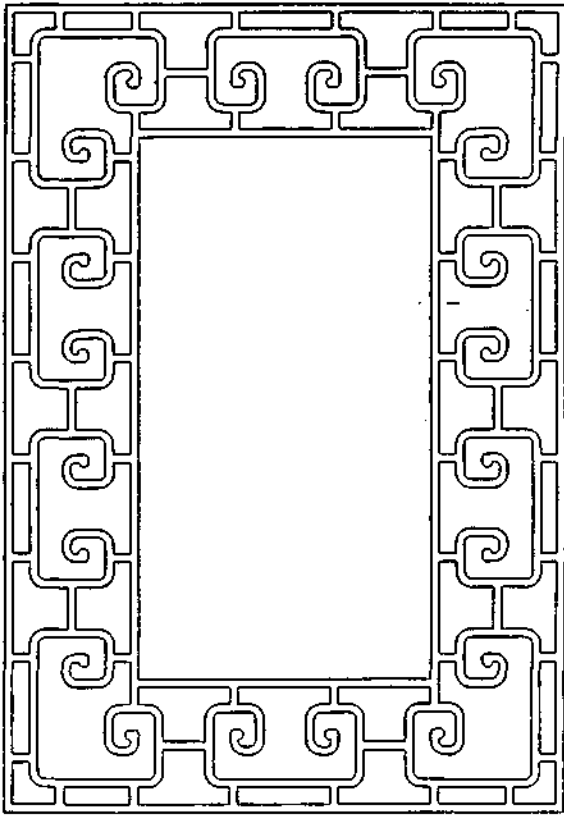


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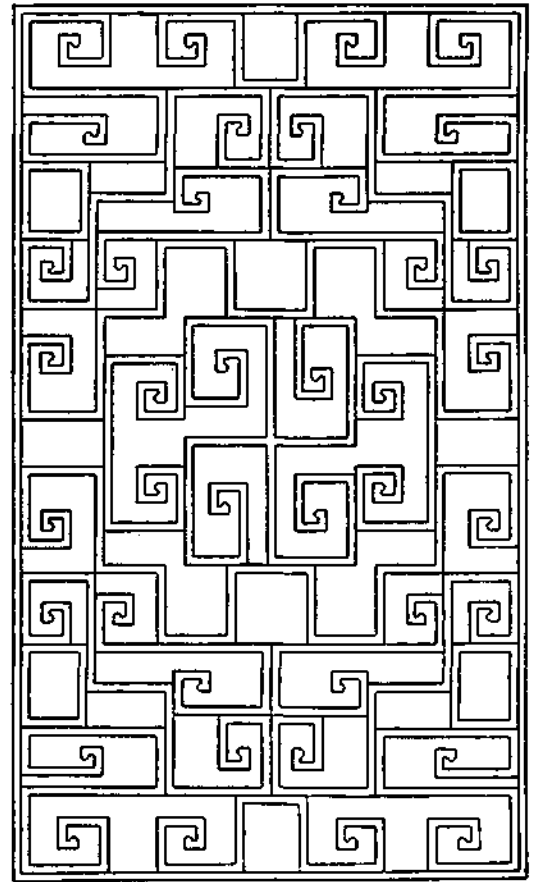


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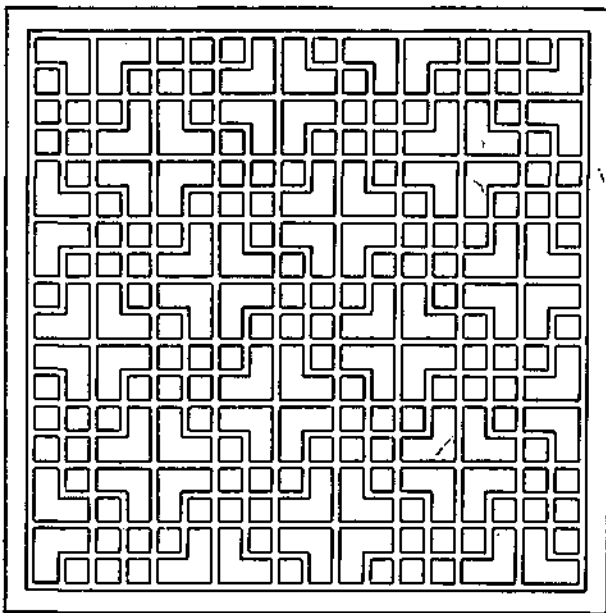
Window-lattices. 1. Parallelograms forming squares and crosses. 2. Meander patterns, enclosing a central opening. 3-4. Wave patterns. From Dye, *A Grammar of Chinese Lattice*.



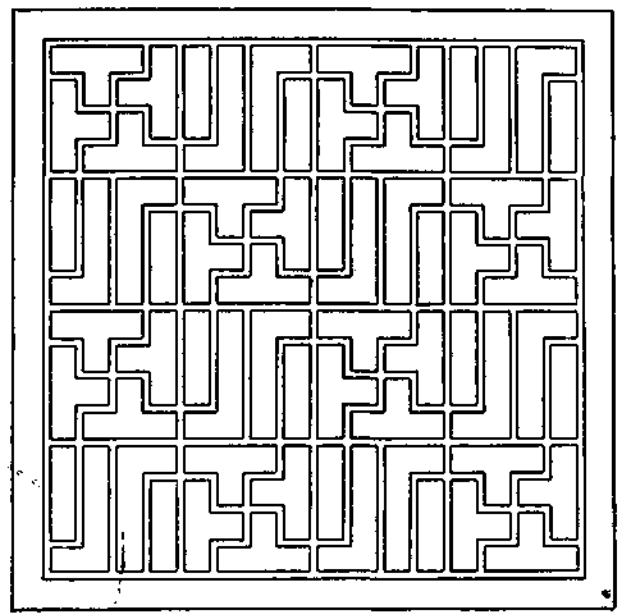
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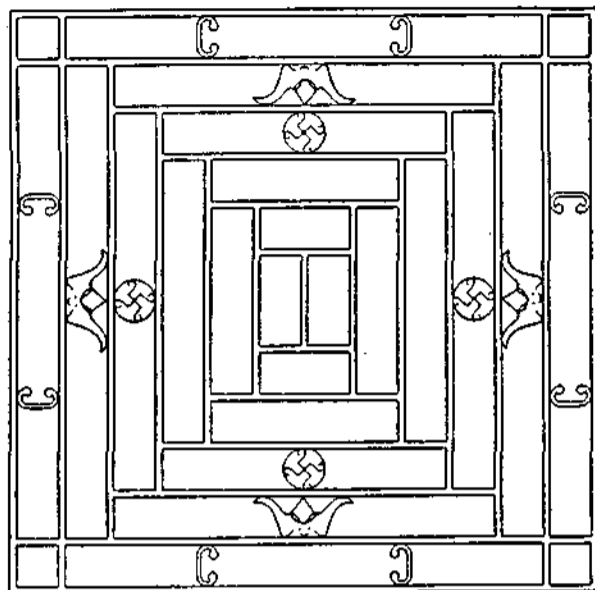
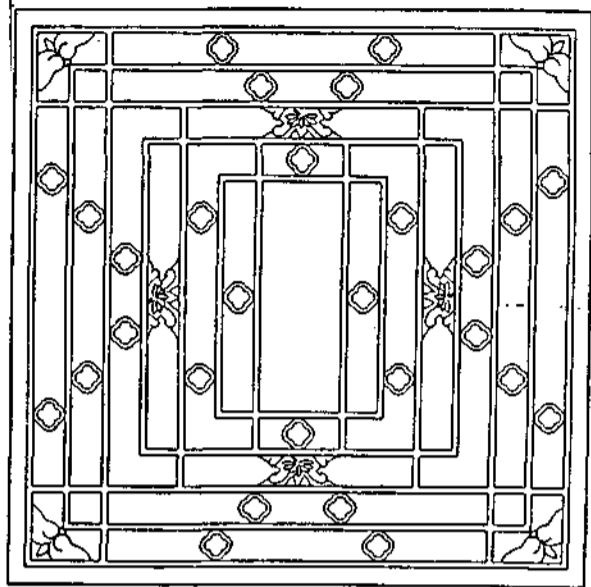


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Window-lattices. 1-2. The Lei-wen or cloud-spiral pattern. 3-4. Variations on the swastika pattern. From Dye, *A Grammar of Chinese Lattice*.



Window-lattices. Parallelograms combined with conventionalized flowers, bats, and other figures framing a central opening. From Dye, *A Grammar of Chinese Lattice*.

in Western China, during the last two or three hundred years. Its profane symbolism is connected with its Chinese word, *wan* (10,000), but in Buddhistic art it symbolizes the traces of Buddha's footsteps. It is therefore often combined with the character denoting long life, or with other symbols of felicity, and is used to convey good wishes for lasting happiness.

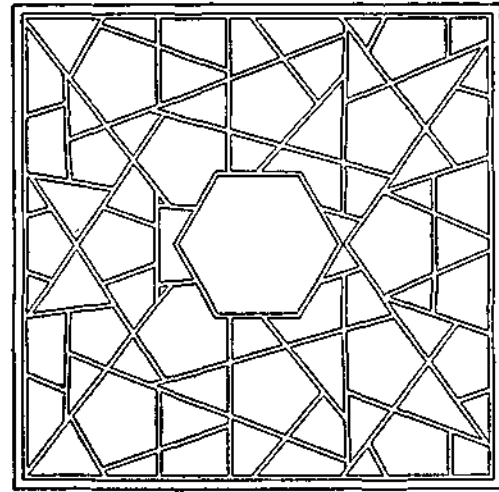
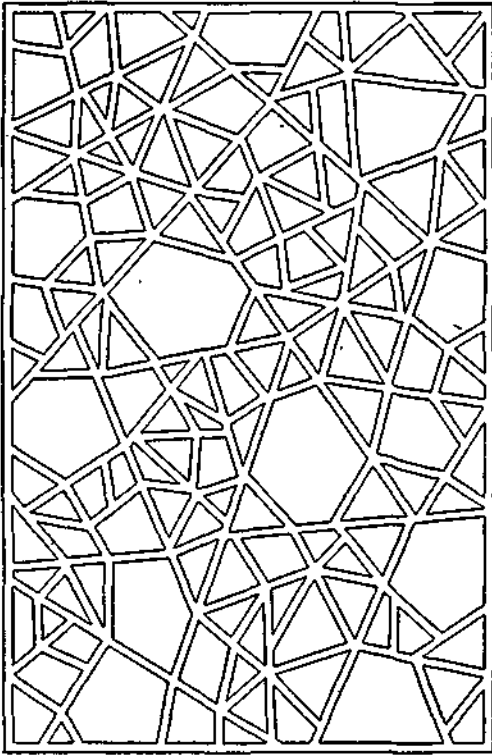
Another very popular ornamental motif which is also of very long standing in China is the so-called cloud or thunder pattern, *lei wen*, formed either in the shape of an S or as a U with the staples turned inwards. This has been executed in all kinds of materials, from jade and bronze to wood and silk embroideries, at least since the Chou period. In the window lattices the pattern is used chiefly as a border motif, but there are instances of cloud ribbons which spread out in several sections over a whole window.

The examples here reproduced may serve to give some idea of the wealth of variations in this particular group of materials, which forms the continuation of a very ancient, deeply rooted tradition of style. The Chinese have thought and worked along the same lines in the most heterogeneous materials.—As further evidence of this, some window-lattice designs of the so-called "cracked-ice" pattern may be shown. This pattern is supposed to represent the network of cracks which occasionally occurs in newly formed

ice, and it appears stylized either in regular trilateral, quadrilateral or pentagonal figures, or else irregularly, and composed of larger and smaller separate fields. It has been very popular in China as a decorative design, for instance on the ginger jars, and it has also occasionally found its way to the West. Its picturesque character makes it peculiarly fitting in the windows and balustrades of the pavilions, as may be seen in numerous eighteenth century and later examples (Plate 64.)

As already mentioned, the author of *Yüan Yeh* does not devote much attention to the latticework of the doors and windows; but on the other hand, he does dwell on the ornamental fillings in the apertures of the walls, which were made of cast bricks. These were rightly considered to have a closer connection with the composition of the garden as such. In speaking of these he says: "The fine ornamental work is done in brick, and it must be carefully fitted. The views seen through these apertures should appear unexpected or surprising, and attract the attention to certain points. One must avoid decorating the gateways with engraved or sculptured ornaments, but the windows may be provided with polished [glazed?] decoration. One should be secluded from all neighbors, but at the same time have a view of the landscape in all directions."

These apertures in the walls, and in certain similar



Window-lattices showing the icicle pattern. From
Dye, *A Grammar of Chinese Lattice*.

structures which sometimes enclose the gardens, will occupy us presently; but it may be added here that they, too, are sometimes filled in with ornamental compositions, although these are not made of laths but of bricks. They are, of course, more compact and complicated than the lattices which fill the windows of the ordinary buildings. They may, as stated in *Yüan Yeh*, give a surprising effect, and draw attention to certain points, but they scarcely enable one to obtain a view of the surrounding landscape, particularly not when they are silhouetted in the form of birds, clouds or trees, executed in relief.

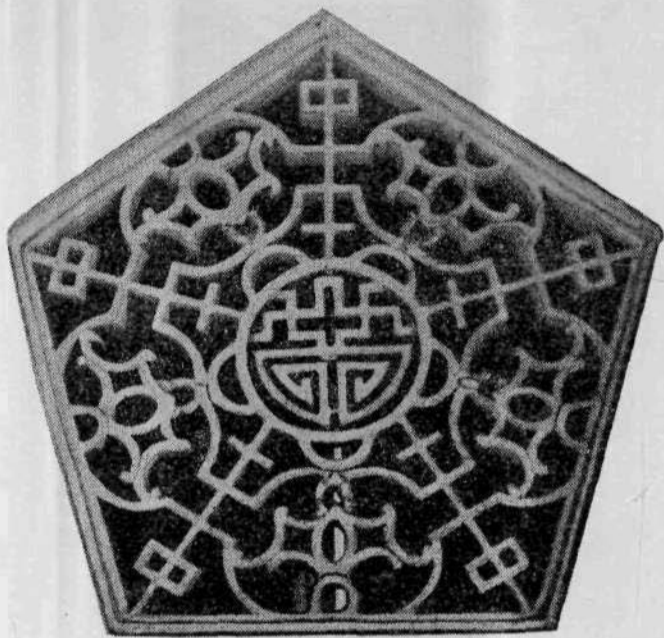
The apertures are, however, only one of the æsthetic attractions of the walls. Their own course is in many cases also of fundamental importance as setting or background for different sections of the garden; they are therefore deserving of closer attention.

In turning to the walls it should at once be pointed out that the word "wall" signifies something entirely different in China from what it does in Europe. The Chinese word for wall, *ch'eng*, is the same as the word for a city; but it is not only the cities which in common parlance are identified with their walls; many

of the villages in North China, as well as the residential quarters in the towns, take their monumental character from the walls surrounding them. The so-called Great Wall has occasionally been regarded as a symbol for the Middle Kingdom.

The practical function of boundary walls, which was first and foremost defensive and isolating, need not detain us here, but it may be emphasized in passing that there are no more monumental structures in the whole of China than the old city walls. They consist in most cases of a core of packed layers of gravel and earth faced with several coats of brick. Their width is seldom less than their height; and on the top, to which one ascends on long ramps, there is room for cartroads as well as for watchtowers, not to mention the more or less abundant vegetation of trees and shrubs that makes some of the old city walls such pleasant places for a walk.

Garden walls cannot of course be compared with the walls round the old cities and the imperial palaces or shrines in respect of impressive height and magnificence; but they do nevertheless introduce a monumental feature into the general picture, and thus stand out in contrast to the other architectural elements of



Ornamental window grating of baked clay, showing five conventionalized bats and the character Fu (happiness).
From *Chinese Houses and Gardens*.

the garden, which, as we have seen, are pronouncedly picturesque. The contrast is noteworthy, and is calculated to throw into relief the special architectural features both of the walls and of the garden pavilions and galleries.

According to *Yüan Yeh*, the walls surrounding the gardens were usually made "of earth stamped between boards, or of stone." But, the author adds, "there are also walls made of plaited bamboo or branches of the jujube bush; such wattled walls (i.e. fences) are better than trellises; they are more rustic in appearance, and have a fragrance of woods and mountains." This as regards the construction of the common garden walls; as concerns the surface treatment, this is described in the passage under the heading: *White Plastering*. "Paper pulp and chalk have of old been used for plastering the walls. Connoisseurs, who wished to give the walls a glossy surface, used for this purpose white wax, which they rubbed or patted into the wall. Nowadays one uses for the ground yellow sand from the rivers or lakes, mixed with a small quantity of chalk of the best quality, and over the whole is spread a little chalk as a covering surface. If this is rubbed carefully

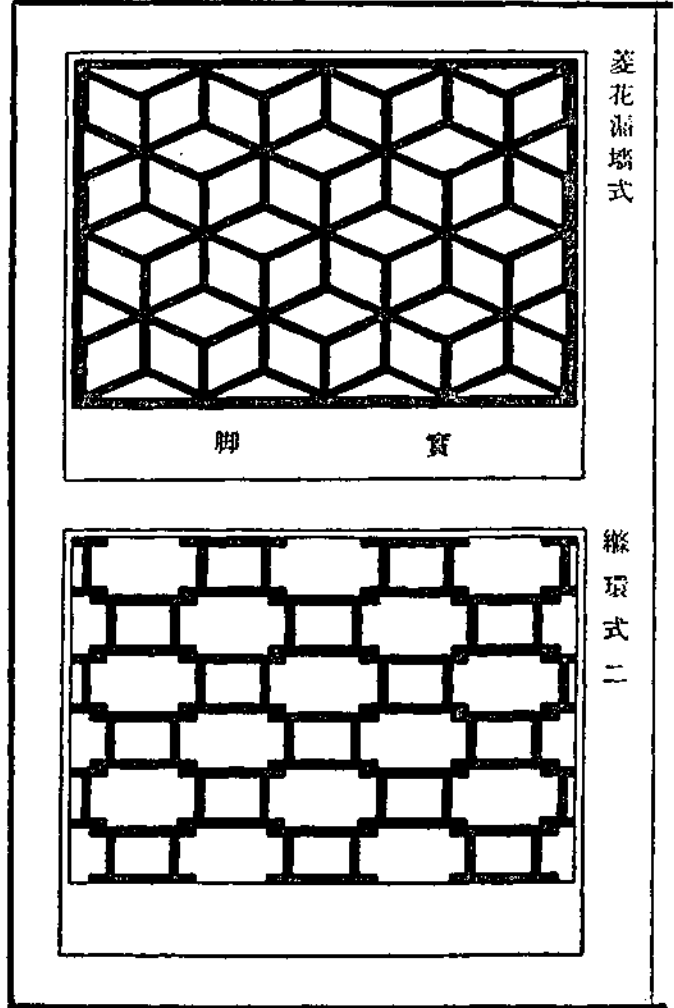
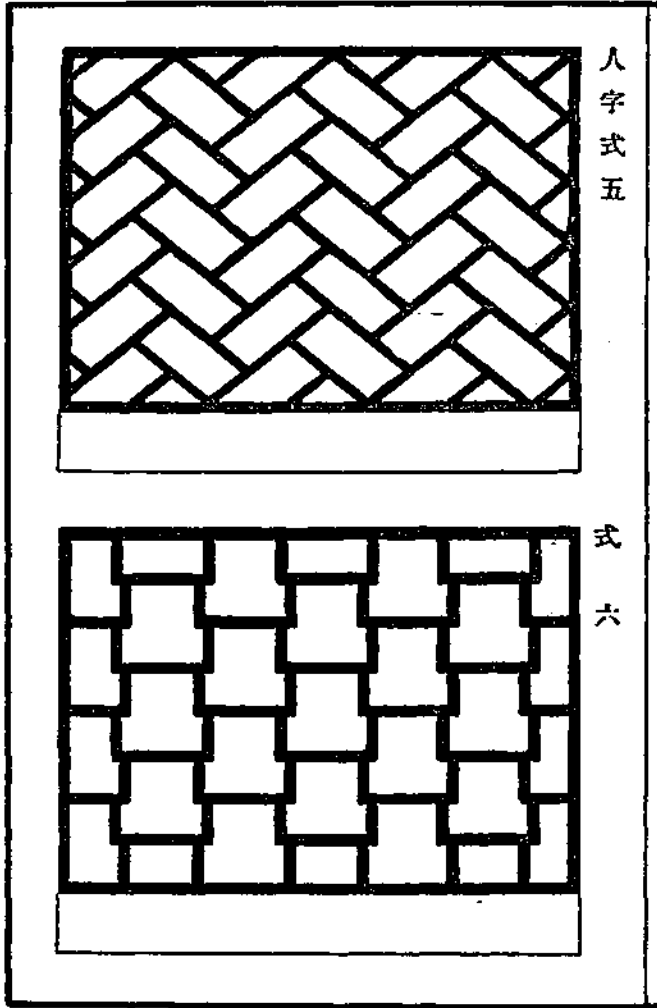
with a hempen brush, a mirror-bright surface will be produced; and should any dirt or dust collect thereon, it can be washed off. This is called a mirror-wall."

What above all makes these walls so fascinating as organic elements in the garden compositions is, however, not the materials of which they are composed, or their surface treatment, but the fact that they are so intimately linked with the landscape and the formation of the ground. They seldom follow straight lines, and as a rule are not broken in sharp angles; they rather sweep in wide curves, ascending and descending according to the formation of the ground and thus often have the appearance of being elastic or modeled rather than built up. This applies also to the fences, whether they are made of bamboo or of the branches of the jujube bush, for wattled fences, too, may give an impression of a certain elasticity. (Plates 66, 68.)

The smooth white plaster of the garden walls forms an excellent background for the vibrating silhouettes of the trees and bamboos. (Plate 67.) On moonlit nights the shadows of the trees stand out against these walls as if painted with Indian ink on grayish white paper. Besides white there exists also for garden walls, particularly around the imperial parks and shrines in the northern capital, a reddish finish which, under the influence of time and weather, takes on hues ranging from brick-red to the greenish brown tints of moss, colors which harmonize perfectly with



Fan-shaped window with an ornamental filling of plants and birds. From *Chinese Houses and Gardens*.



Patterns to be used for brick walls.

the soil and with the hoary thujas and cypresses in the old parks. The decorative effect of the walls around these imperial parks is enhanced by their roofing of yellow, black or deep blue tiles, whereas the common garden walls are topped with an ornamental coping of thin bricks.

The function of the walls was indeed not only to serve as enclosing frames or girdles; they also provided backgrounds and settings for certain sections of the garden, and in this connection the views through the gates and the windows were of great importance. Several references to the picturesque silhouettes of windows and gateways show that these were a result of the endeavor to create surprising views and pictorial compositions. (Plate 69.)

In order to enter a Chinese garden that is situated within a residential compound enclosed by walls, it

is necessary to pass through several gates of which at least the first, which shuts off the compound from the outer world, has the form of a small pavilion with saddle-roof and is provided with heavy doors and bars. It is not this, however, that interests us. We proceed across two or more courts before we come to the gateway leading into the garden; and once inside, we observe that this gateway is seldom rectangular in form, and has no wickets or doors. In most of the older gardens it is octagonal or circular: the latter form, known as the "moon gate," is certainly the most popular. (Plates 70, 72.) According to the traditional Chinese conception, it makes the most harmonious and perfect setting for a view, like a picture in a round mirror. This form has been used from time immemorial, whereas the more ornamental forms to be seen in some Chinese gardens, reminding one of vases,

野舟雅黃兼物能知系
 以沈暖顏色與探履
 劉攽深

草色如猩染
 秋光正鴈來
 翻階勝紅藥
 鏡砌映蒼苔



Chin Hsien Yen Lai Hung (*Amaranthus gangeticus*). Ornamental plant. Woodcut after paintings by Lü Chi (about 1500).

gourds, flower petals or leaves, are later inventions. (Plate 73.) The inclination to elaborate the silhouettes of the gateways as well as other decorative elements has undoubtedly increased during the centuries. At the end of the Ming period, gates were built also in the form of flower petals, ju-i sceptres, musical instruments, etc., as may be seen from the drawings in *Yüan Yeh*. Other forms, inspired by the crescent moon, mussel shells or certain flowers, may be observed in gardens existing today.

Still richer and more surprising, however, are the ornamental flora of the windows; they take the shape not only of flowers, leaves and fruits, but also of such objects of utility and adornment as fans, half-opened scrolls, vases, carafes, urns, teapots or other articles which are more surprising than appropriate. (Plates 74, 75.) The vegetable forms might possibly be explained as an endeavor to create optical illusions: a person looking into the garden through such a window might possibly get the impression of a gigantic flower or fruit silhouetted against the sky or the trees. It is also conceivable that views seen through a window shaped like a section of a scroll or a fan might appear like fragments of paintings. But such explanations are scarcely possible when it comes to windows with the forms of teapots, lanterns, or musical instruments: they seem to be simply the result of an excessive desire for playful ornamentation.—A rich variety of ornamental window-silhouettes was no doubt used as early as the Sung period, but these cut-out, every-day objects were probably not introduced until fairly well into the eighteenth century. Their purpose is exclusively to amuse and decorate, and it may be conceded that they contribute considerably to the picturesque effect of the whole, which is created first and foremost by the sweeping undulations of the walls themselves.

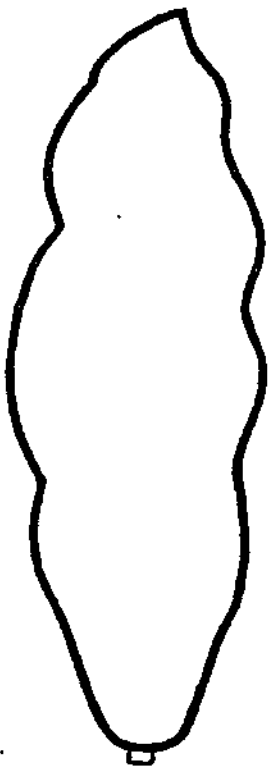
Finally, it may be repeated that some of these windows in the walls, as well as in the brick buildings, were filled in with geometrical (Plate 76) or naturalistic ornaments, which might take the form of pictorial compositions with trees, birds and flowers executed either in baked clay or in iron plating.—But it is noteworthy that the exaggerations in this sphere were sub-

jected to criticism by connoisseurs as early as the Ming period. The author of *Yüan Yeh* condemns in many places the naturalistic adornment of the walls, as, for instance: "In olden days it was common to have craftsmen decorate the walls with sculptured and engraved representations of birds, flowers, animals and fabulous beasts, which seem to be executed with great skill, but such things look vulgar in a garden, and are not proper in front of the hall. The sparrows build their nests in them and the grass grows over them as thick as creepers. If one drives the birds away they come back, and if one taps [to clean the wall], one spoils the whole thing. There is no remedy for this, but this sort of thing has been done by stupid and vulgar people. Intelligent people should be careful in such matters."

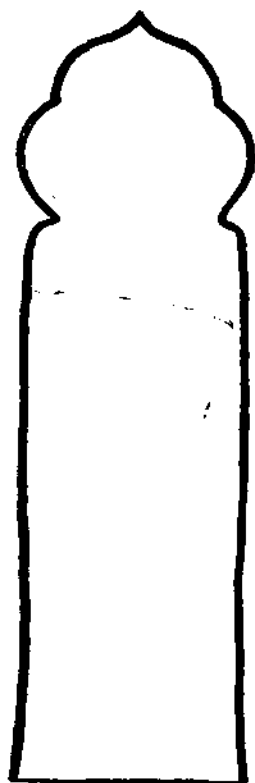
In connection with decorative garden architecture, the author of *Yüan Yeh* mentions also the ornamental paving of the paths. Patterns intended for the roads are reproduced as continuations or complements of those for the balustrades. Curiously enough, he has nothing to say about the bridges, although in many cases these are more akin to the balustrades of the pavilions and form, moreover, direct continuations of the paths. Bridges and pavilions have always, especially in Europe, been regarded as the most characteristic features of Chinese gardens; and the form of bridge which in nine cases out of ten has been considered most typical of China is the high, arched bridge whose curving lines are so effectively completed by their reflection in the water. Such arched bridges, built of marble and provided with sculptured balustrades, occur particularly in the imperial parks and represent the noblest type of garden bridge. (Plate 77.) In private gardens one finds simpler arched bridges, not mortared, but made of large hewn and jointed blocks. Others consist of long, flat blocks arranged in a zigzag pattern to form a broken path. The same type of bridge is also made of wood. (Plate 78.) To judge from reproductions, it was very popular in the gardens of the K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung periods; it formed a natural complement to the linear play of the open pavilions and the zigzag paths.

When the watercourses are not too deep and perhaps

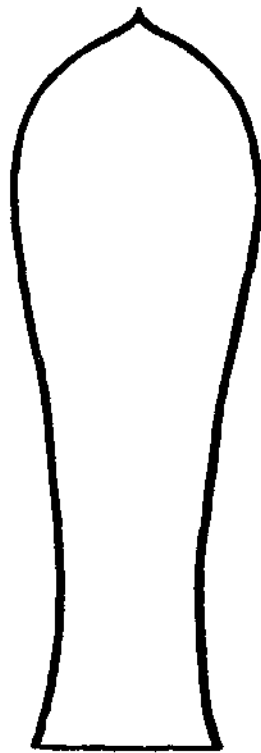
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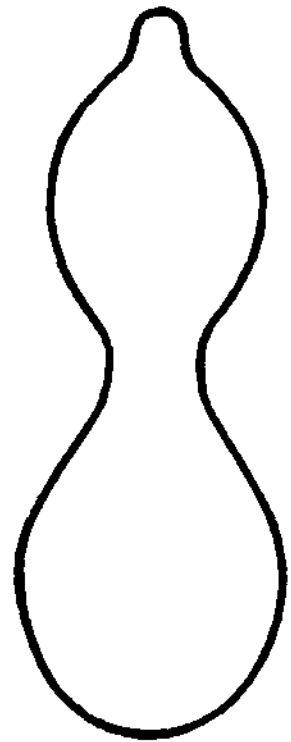
1. Shell shape.



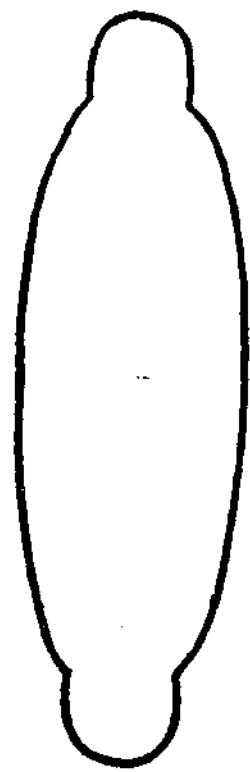
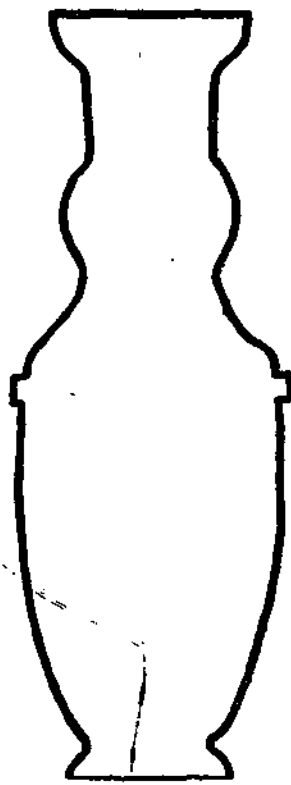
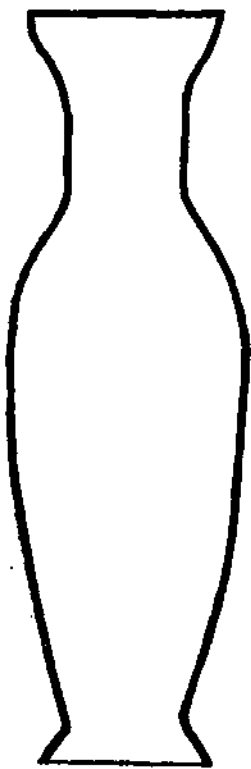
2. Ju-i shape.



3. Lotus-petal shape.

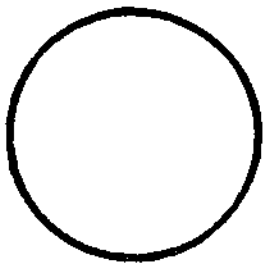


4. Gourd shape.

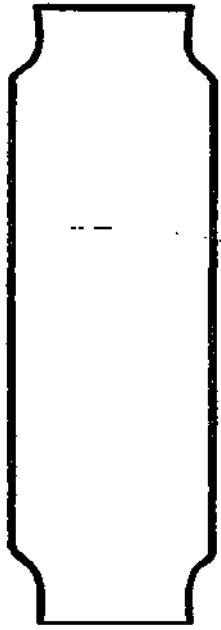


Three variations of Han vase shape and one sword-guard shape.
Ornamental doorways.

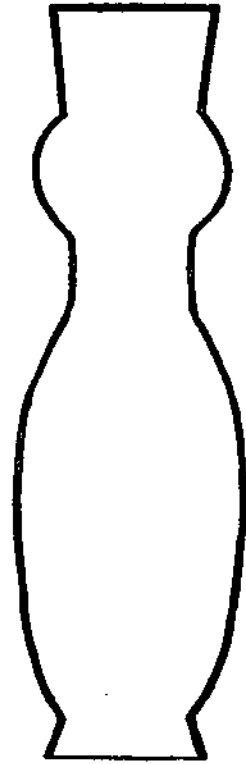
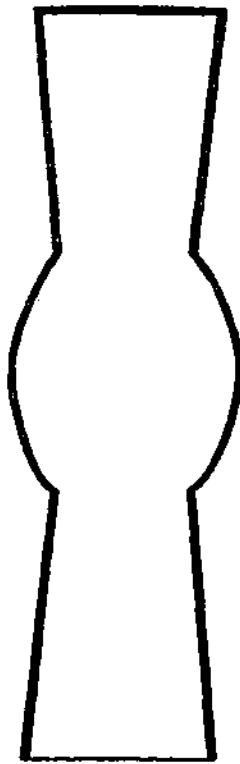
大者可為門空



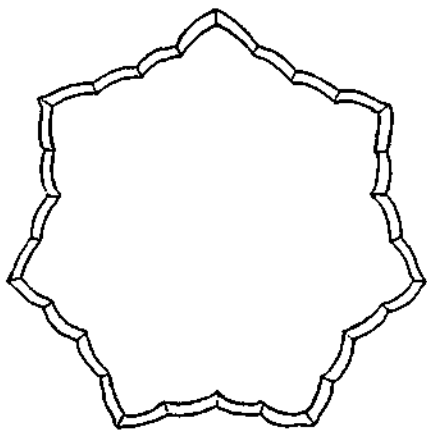
片月式



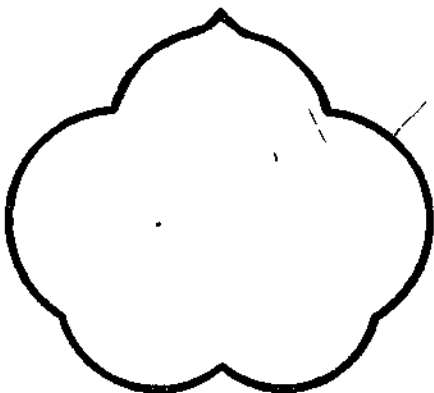
Full moon, sickle moon and Ku vase.



Flower-vase shapes.



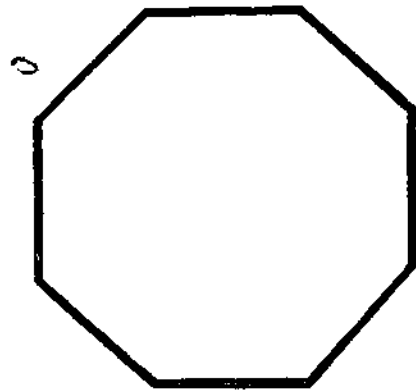
菱花式



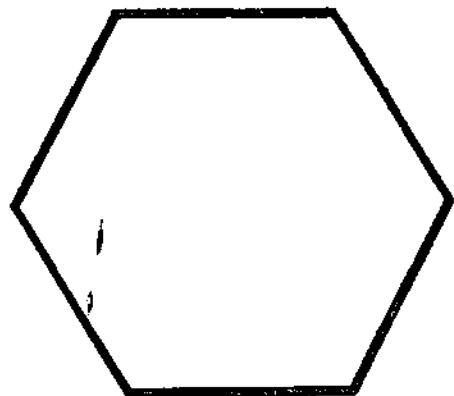
如意式

Water-chestnut and Ju-i shapes.

斯亦可為門空



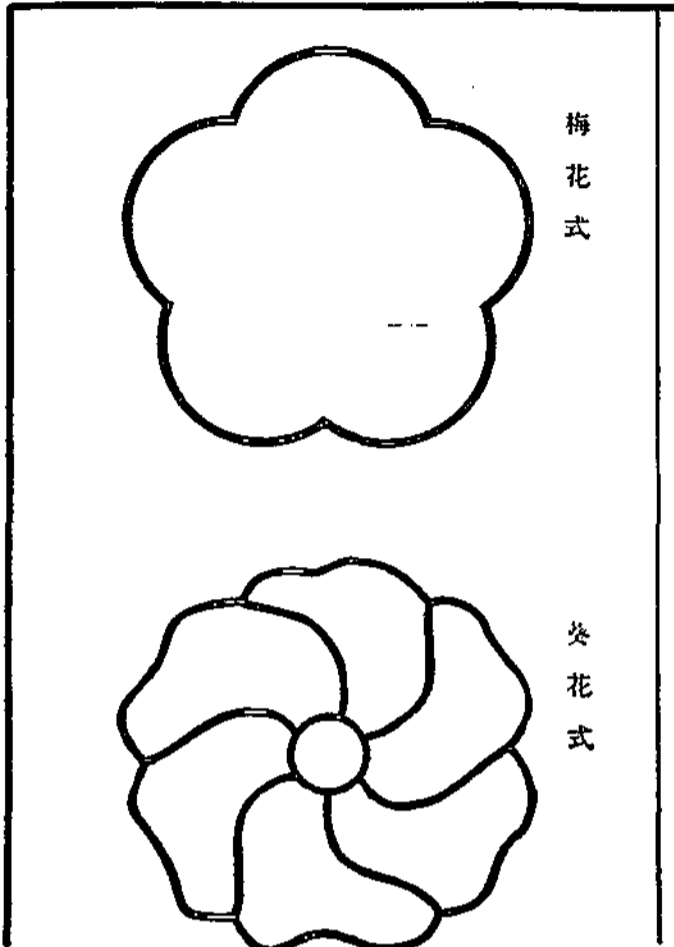
八方式



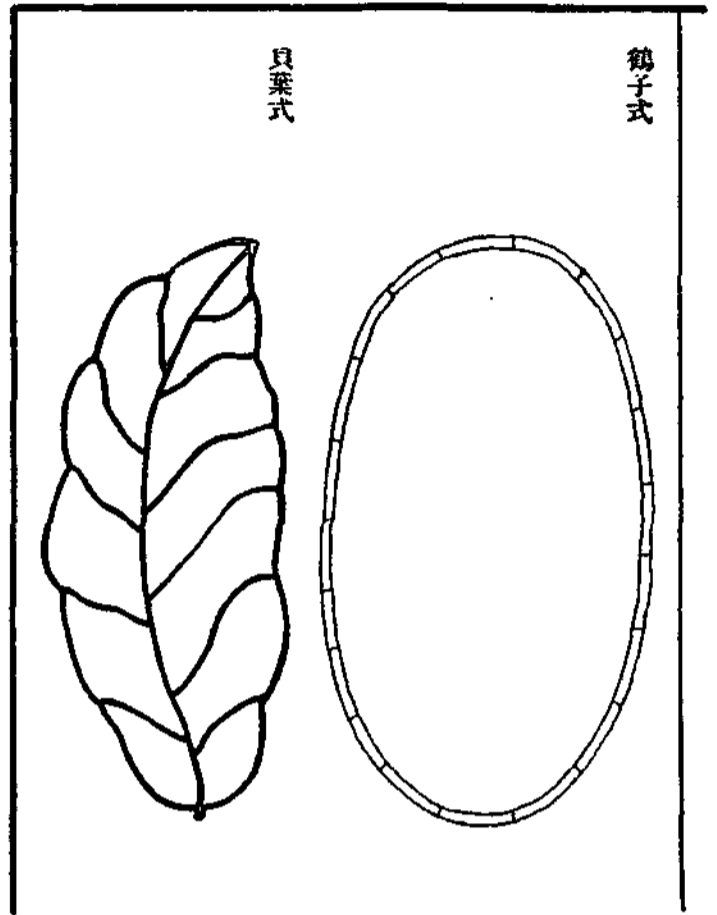
六方式

Octagon and sexagon.

Ornamental doorways.



Conventionalized sunflower shape.



In the shape of oyster shell and ostrich egg.

Ornamental windows.

dried up during a great part of the year, the bridges may be replaced by large stepping stones. These rise out of the stream bed or the water channel at a suitable distance from each other, and the more rustic they appear, the more they contribute to the impression of a wild and inaccessible landscape so highly esteemed by the Chinese scholars. (Plate 57.) Limestone slabs or marble plates are also used as a paving for garden paths, either by themselves or in combination with shingle and small stone chips. (Plate 79.) Graveled sand paths have never been popular in China, perhaps because they are so little suited for the soft footgear of the Chinese.

Of the greatest importance from the point of view of decorative composition, however, were the path-mosaics, sometimes reproducing ornaments of the same kind as found on the buildings. These mosaics were made of brick, shingle or stone chips, stamped

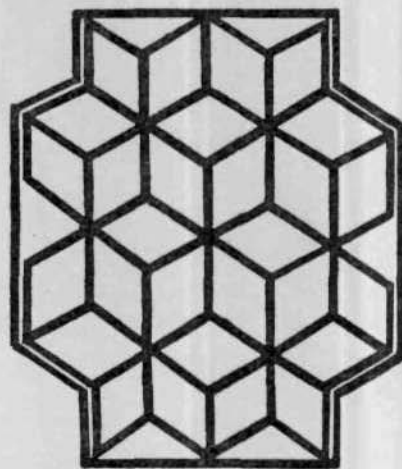
into a well prepared ground. When only shingle was used, the patterns were emphasized by variegated colors, but when bricks were added or used alone, it was easier to produce straight-lined ornamental figures. The bricks could be cut in different shapes, or placed on edge, thus serving to produce such geometrical patterns as those reproduced in *Yüan Yeh*. To judge from the illustrations, the Chinese developed considerable ingenuity also in these path-mosaics; but the main idea was evidently to cover the path with something recalling a plaited carpet. In many cases the bricks were used only for the borders, while the inner spaces were filled out with shingle or stone chips of different colors. It is pointed out that "even small bits of waste brick may be used for paving. The small square bricks should be collected; they can be used around the plum trees, where they are laid out in a pattern of cracked ice."

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

The instructions given for paving with shingle are also interesting in this connection: "In the gardens one should pave the paths with stones not larger than pomegranate seeds; they will then become beautiful and durable. Such paths can be made to follow bends and curves, up hills and down valleys. Some use stones as large as goose eggs to produce the patterns, but such patterns are not lasting, and tend to produce a vulgar effect . . . The goose-egg stones may be used in places where one does not walk much; it is best to mix larger and smaller ones, but I fear that the workmen do not understand this. In between the stones one may use roofing tiles with which to form patterns representing herons, deer, lions with globes and so on, but they make a ridiculous impression."¹

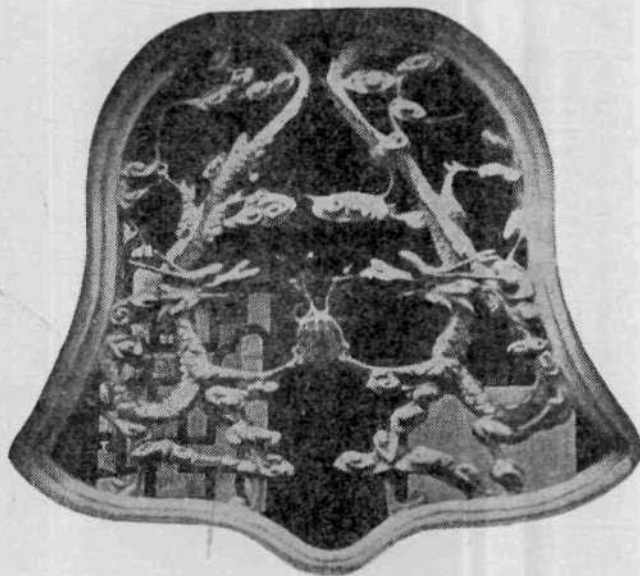
The author thus warns his readers against the naturalistic motifs, as in his view they are vulgar. In this he is perhaps right; but on the other hand it must be admitted that the long rows of birds, deer, camels and

¹ Concerning the stone material, we find also the following remarks in *Yüan Yeh*: "In the sand and in the stream beds at Ling-chü in Liu-ho hsien (Kiangsu) one finds cornelian (*ma-nao*); these stones are very small. Others, as large as one's fist, are pure white, with lines in five colors; others again are multicolored. They are very beautiful, shiny and semitransparent. One should collect the most colorful and use them for brocade-like inlays in the ground. If one places them in a boisterous mountain stream or other running water, their natural sheen appears."



Ornamental window. Urn-shaped. From *Yüan Yeh*, like those on pages 64-66.

other animals, which even today may be seen on the paths in some of the old gardens, are both amusing and effective from a decorative point of view. One may refer to a fragmentary path-mosaic of this kind



Modeled and silhouetted window ornaments of baked clay. From *Chinese Houses and Gardens*.

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

in Prince Kung's former palace in Peking, representing a camel caravan. (Plate 80.) Some of the animals, it is true, have been obliterated by wear or buried by sand storms; but others may still be seen jogging along at the same steady pace as is set by the bells of the real caravans when they pass this quiet spot on their

way out through one of the northern city gates. The wear of time has hardly lessened the illusion; it has only left the imagination freer play to fill in what is missing.—Even a subordinate detail like this seems intended to lead the thoughts of the beholder beyond what was presented in a tangible form.

Chapter 5

GARDENS IN LITERATURE AND PAINTING

CHINESE authors who have devoted attention to the history of the art of gardening have as a rule sought to show that this, like other arts, has very old traditions in their home-country.¹ They base these assertions on a number of expressions in *The Book of Ballads* (*Shih Ching*), referring to terraces and ponds, and to orchards; but the old songs do not give us any picture of actual gardens. Nevertheless, the custom of excavating ponds and throwing up the earth to form hills and terraces near the dwellings (originally intended for sacrifices to the earth spirits) probably formed a point of departure for grounds that were afterwards developed into gardens or parks.

The great emperors of the Ch'in and Han dynasties, who tried to maintain the position of the consolidated kingdom as a great power partly through pomp and outward magnificence, built residences for themselves that are said to have comprehended entire palacetowns, including pleasure grounds with costly trees, terraces crowned with pavilions, "flying bridges," fish ponds and galleries, which in their dimensions and their decorative arrangements excelled all later palace gardens. Such grounds are mentioned in connection with Ch'in Shih Huang Ti's residence, Ah Fang Kung, and Han Wu Ti's (140-87 B.C.) marvelously beautiful palace, Wei Yang Kung, in the vicinity of the present Hsien-yang in Shensi. As far as one can judge from the vague and fantastic descriptions, these grounds had rather the character of hunting parks, well stocked with rare birds and animals and with richly decorated pavilions and wonderful trees.

¹ Cf. *Yüan Yeh* (new edition, 1933), the introductory chapter by Kan To. Also "Notes on the Origin of Chinese Private Gardens," condensed from the Chinese of Wu Shih-chang by Grace M. Boynton in *The China Journal*, July, 1935, and Chu-in Tung, "Chinese Gardens" in the *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, October, 1936.

It was by no means merely a highly developed feeling for Nature or practical requirements that inspired these rulers to establish such magnificent pleasure parks, but also their interest in Taoist Nature mysticism: they desired to transform their residences into earthly paradises or fairylands where, with the aid of secret elixirs of life and yoga exercises, they hoped to attain immortality—methods which in several cases seem to have resulted in premature death. Artists from the Sung and Ming periods who tried to render pictorially the legendary narratives of these marvelously beautiful palaces and parks have been lavish with marble terraces, with elegant pavilions, slender towers, high-arched bridges, open galleries and other architectural elements set among colorful trees and gilt-edged rocks under coiling white clouds. Their paintings are in the best cases both striking and fascinating as illustrations, but they have no documentary value at all. (Plate 81.)

Another famous ground of the Han period was Prince Hsiao Liang's Yao Hua palace with adjoining pleasure park, known as T'u Yüan. According to the tradition there were in this garden, among other things, a "mountain," Po Ling Shan (intended for the Immortals), a grotto called Ch'i Lung Hsiu, fish ponds, magnificent birds and rare trees and plants, that is to say, several of the compositional elements that became characteristic features of the Chinese parks in later periods.

There are, for the rest, several accounts of pleasure parks from the same and succeeding centuries, in which there is mention of grottoes and mountain peaks, winding paths and watercourses, tall trees, creeping plants and bamboo groves, which give the impression of a rich and "wild" ideal landscape. The

most important feature in these gardens was, however, the ingeniously constructed "mountains," consisting of more or less richly formed stone blocks which had been fetched from Pei Mang Shan or other nearby mountains. The descriptions leave no doubt that the fundamental compositional elements in the more elegant pleasure parks at this time were "mountains and water."

The development of the art of gardening followed in the main the same lines as did that of landscape painting; both arts were closely dependent upon the romantic views held by the Taoist philosophers. Taoism led "back to Nature," in an inner as well as an outer sense: the human individual was placed in the most intimate connection with spiritual and with material Nature. His life was considered to reflect the same rhythm as the universal life in Nature's shifting forms. This view emerges, for instance, from the notes by the great painters Ku K'ai-chih and Tsung Ping (fourth and fifth centuries). According to these old masters, paintings should serve as substitutes for actual scenes from Nature; and when Tsung Ping asserts that a well executed painting can serve the beholder in place of a ramble among gloomy and dangerous cliffs, he is formulating a view of fundamental importance for the art of gardening as well as for painting.

The gardens laid out round their simple dwellings or hermit's huts by the Taoist philosophers and artists were not designed to the same scale and according to the same criteria as the pleasure parks of the wealthy noblemen. They were of modest dimensions and situated preferably in some more or less inaccessible spot among the mountains or on the bank of a river. On the mountain terrace were planted bamboos and plum trees, on the river bank willows, around the hut fruit trees and chrysanthemums; and the whole was surrounded with a fence of bamboo or jujube branches, as we have had occasion to observe in several later instances. These gardens were intended above all to facilitate a more intimate communion with Nature, and thus bring the owners into contact with the creative forces that they tried to express in their lives and works.

How highly these philosophers valued their garden plot, and how closely akin to its flowers and trees they felt, emerges for example in T'ao Yüan-ming's classical prose-poem, "The Homecoming," which was written at the beginning of the fifth century. He returned from his service as an official to his country dwelling with a joy that has lent an enduring lustre to the poem, from which some lines may here be cited:

Homeward bound! Fields and garden at home are growing wild; how should I not return? Of my own accord I have forced my soul to serve as the slave of my body; to what end, then, further torment and care?—The boat rocks in the light breeze; the wind plays in my fluttering robe . . . Now my eyes light upon my door and the ridge of the roof, exultingly I hasten forward . . . The paths are overgrown, but the pine tree and my chrysanthemums are as of yore . . .

To ramble in my garden is my daily joy; its stillness is guarded by a constantly closed gate . . . The evening mist rises lingeringly out of the valleys; tired birds find their way home. The shadows float out and soon they have disappeared; leaning with my hand against my solitary pine I still linger.²

It was, however, by no means only the Taoist Nature-mystics and the poets who were interested in the gardens. The converts to the newly introduced Buddhist religion also contributed to the development of the art of gardening. During the fourth and fifth centuries, when this religion gained more and more converts, brotherhoods and monastic foundations were established which were located as a rule in spots of great natural beauty, where gardening activities of various kinds were carried on. One of the best known of these foundations was "The Society of the White Lotus," which was founded by Hui Yüan (333-416) and had its headquarters on Lu Shan in Kiangsi. Here, among other things, was a large natural park where the disciples who came in great numbers from different parts of the country received their instruction; and when they afterwards returned to their native districts they tried as far as possible to found similar institutions with so-called Lu Shan parks. Buddhist phi-

² Translation by B. Karlgren in Norstedt's *Världshistoria*, Vol. XV, p. 141.

osophy, too, contributed to a deeper penetration into the inner life of Nature, and became in its turn a source of inspiration both for painting and for the art of gardening. This development became the more marked when the Chinese had transformed the Indian religion in accordance with older national forms of thought, as, for instance, in Ch'an or Dhyana Buddhism. This form of introspective religion and pantheistic conception of Nature, which in so many respects appeared as a renewed and refined form of Taoism, exercised time and again—particularly during the Sung and Ming dynasties—a decisive influence upon painting and indirectly upon gardening.

It seems also to have become common for wealthy converts to the new religion to leave their gardens, on their deaths, to Buddhistic monasteries, in order thus to assure themselves of privileges in another world. Such a garden, which had belonged to a certain Chang Lun, is described in some detail in *Lo-yang Chia Lang Chi*, a chronicle published in the year 547, in which the following passage occurs: "With its hills and ponds this garden excelled in beauty many princely pleasure grounds. Here had been built up a number of hills that were called the Chin Yang Mountains; they looked as if they had been formed by Nature. Within these heights there were double peaks and curving ridges by the side of deep streams and valleys. There were plenty of tall, leafy trees which afforded protection against the rays of the sun and moon, and hanging creepers which did not prevent the mist from stealing in. The paths ran zigzag up the hills and down in the valleys; it looked as if they had suddenly been broken off at certain points, although actually they continued in another direction. The stony and curious watercourses flowed in some places in winding bends, and in other places straight on. Nature lovers were so captivated by this spot that they forgot to go home."

The description is rather vague, but it does give a fairly good idea of such characteristic elements in the general plan as the paths and watercourses, as well as of the use of the "mountains" to enhance the picturesque effect of the whole. The agreement with the principles of the gardens of later times is obvious.

Still more renowned was the so-called Chin Ku garden (The Gold Valley), which existed as early as the fourth century and belonged to Shih Ch'ung, the wealthiest man in the country; but we can scarcely get an adequate notion of its appearance from the romanticized descriptions of this magnificent princely residence, in which lived the seductive lady known as "The Green Pearl." Nor are later artistic pictorial representations of The Gold Valley—e.g., Ch'iu Ying's great painting in Kyoto—of any real help to us in this connection, for the artist has mustered the whole of his talent as a delineator of festive splendor and female grace to translate the whole into the academic formal language of the Ming period. (Plate 82.)

If, to begin with, we concentrate on the graphic representations from the older periods, we shall find that the motifs of a more or less garden-like character more frequently consist of study pavilions or hermits' huts under shady trees situated on mountain terraces or in deep ravines than they do of decoratively adorned palace gardens of any size. The latter, for obvious reasons, were much rarer than the former, which more closely corresponded to a general need of living in contact with Nature, a need which found expression in poetry and painting as well as in the art of gardening, to use a somewhat inflated term for these simple plots of ground.—Among the poetical descriptions of such smaller grounds around solitary huts or pavilions, a poem by the poet Hsieh Ling-yin (from the beginning of the fifth century), who is held in high esteem to this day, is especially worthy of mention. It is entitled "Tree Planting in a Garden in the South." Despite the terseness of the style, the poet has really succeeded in evoking a romantic atmosphere. He writes:

"I have banished all worldly care from my garden; it is a clean and open spot. I chose the place in the lee of the mountains to the north; the windows open towards the hills in the south. I have dammed up the stream and built a pond. I have planted stock roses in front of the round window, but beyond them appear the hills..."³ This was evidently an intimate little garden, protected to the north by high moun-

³ Cf. *The China Journal*, July, 1935.

tains, open to the south with a view over a river. Of the flowers, only the stock roses are mentioned, but there were doubtless also chrysanthemums and bamboos, as well as larger trees which stretched their shady branches over the pavilion.

The period of the Liu-Sung dynasty in Nanking (420-478) was characterized by a considerable intensification of artistic activity in connection with a deepened feeling for Nature. Landscape painting now became an independent branch of art, as is clear from the elder Wang Wei's notes concerning the shifting moods of Nature. It would take us beyond the scope of this survey to give an account of these notes and the observations of other more or less contemporaneous painters, though these have importance as parallels to corresponding trends in the art of gardening. Even at this time the two branches of art were inseparably connected. As far as may be judged from copies, the great landscape painter Chang Sêng-yu (active at the beginning of the sixth century) seems in the main to have developed the typical forms for representations of a thatched hermit's hut among leafy trees at the foot of a mountain, an open pavilion on the bank of a mountain stream, or a flowering pool in a wood and other similar motifs which have in the course of time appeared in many variants, sometimes with the addition of a little garden or orchard and sometimes augmented with gnarled pines and waving bamboos. As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, however, the hermit's hut could also with advantage be situated on the shore of a lake or the bank of a river where willows and other leafy trees afforded shade and where there was plenty of space for orchards and flower beds.

These various types of composition have already been illustrated with characteristic paintings from the northern Sung period by Chao Ta-nien and Li Wei, the former representing an open pavilion on a low spit of land jutting out into the water, and the latter showing a hermitage or a summer dwelling consisting of several pavilions surrounded by a wall at the foot of a mountain slope where bamboo grows dense and luxuriant. (Plates II, 15A.) Of not much later date is a small ink painting ascribed to Yang Pu-chih (in the

Freer Gallery, Washington). This represents a garden enclosure, where the low thatched hut occupies a central position; certain areas to the side of and behind the building have been marked off, probably for the cultivation of flowers or medicinal herbs. (Plate 83.) The garden is not quite complete in the painting; but as far as one can see, it contained both rocks and gnarled pines as well as bamboo and flowers, and the little hut provided an undisturbed place of meditation for its owner. From about the same period is the previously mentioned painting by Hsü Shih-ch'ang, representing a study pavilion by a watercourse which flows right up to the foot of a mountain where a small plot of ground is enclosed with a picket fence. Bamboos and budding plum trees incline over the fence, while tall pines and a naked willow form, as it were, the wings in the foreground. The arrangement is typical, as is also the misty atmosphere from which emerge the sharply silhouetted mountain peaks. Artists belonging to the so-called Ma-Hsia school of the southern Sung period and later had a predilection for paintings of this kind. (Plate 12.)

From the Yüan period there are many romantic representations of Nature, including those inspired by garden motifs. Among these are Ni Tsan's paintings of the Shih-tzu-lin garden in Suchou and of "The Meditation Hut in the Western Grove" (formerly in the Yamamoto Collection in Tokyo), two small ink paintings executed with a brush that suggests more than it defines, and thus gives us an idea of the tone and atmosphere of the idyllic gardens rather than of their formal elements. (Plate 84.)

More instructive in respect of the characteristic fundamental features and essential compositional elements of the motifs are a number of paintings from the Ming period. Wên Chêng-ming, for example, has repeatedly returned to this motif, which reflected essential aspects of his own life as a philosopher and artist. Thus, in a characteristic painting, we see him sitting among his books in an open pavilion surrounded by leafy trees at the foot of a high mountain. Before the hut winds the mountain stream; it is spanned by a stone block, and here a visitor is approaching—as is often the case in these pictures.

(Plate 85.) The composition is continued toward the background with another pavilion, which stands at an angle with the little studio, and beyond this, in the lee of the steep rock, one can observe an enclosure with plants. What is being cultivated here it is impossible to say, but it is evidently a garden that completes the idyll among the mountains.

In another painting Wên Chêng-ming has represented the pavilion for study or meditation on a low spit jutting out in a broad watercourse. We see him sitting inside in conversation with a friend. Several open buildings belong to the grounds out there on the spit, which is surrounded by a wattled fence and shaded by gnarled and leafy trees. (Plate 15B.) This accords well with the longing of these philosophers for an unobstructed view out over the water, and with their desire to let their thoughts float with the birds and the sailing clouds. The sites down on the river banks were, as already mentioned, no less popular than the mountain terraces, and were certainly far more common in Central China, as for instance in the well-watered Suchou tract, where so many of the best painters lived at that time.

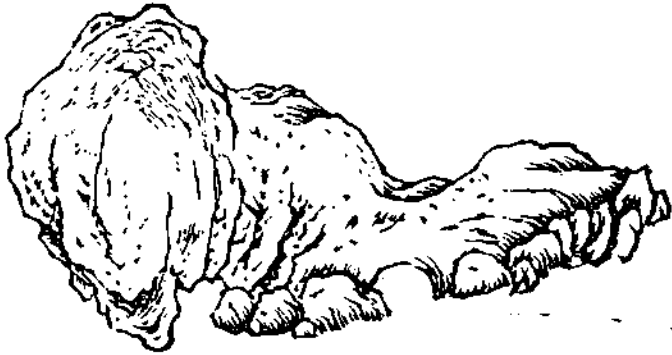
Among the paintings of T'ang Yin may be mentioned an album leaf representing a pavilion for meditation in a grove of large-leaved (*wu-t'ung?*) trees. Around the little building with its sliding lattice doors and thatched roof of the kind still used in Japan opens a court with space for planting, and the whole is enclosed with a high wattled fence. (Plate 86.) The compositional elements in this case are few and simple, but the little picture is executed with an uncommonly fine feeling for atmospheric tones and subtle values. The house, the trees and the ground all merge in an impressionistic play of light and shade, and thus become pictorially alive.

More detailed, and consequently more instructive than the works of these artists, is the painting by Hsiang Mo-lin already mentioned. (Plates 13, 14.) Here we see the traditional philosopher together with a friend, sitting in the open thatched hut, while a servant is preparing tea in an adjacent room and a visitor is approaching on the stone bridge spanning the stream in the foreground. Beside the pavilion one

may observe an orchard of banana trees surrounded by a wattled bamboo fence, and towards the background dense rows of bare fruit trees and a couple of tall pines silhouetted against the mist-veiled hillside. Another fascinating variation of the motif is Kao Fêng-han's depiction of T'ao Yüan-ming's chrysanthemum garden, which has already been described.

All these paintings of sequestered study pavilions or poet's huts with their little plantations of fruit trees, bamboos and flowers illustrate the poetical descriptions from older times. But as they do not convey anything more of importance, even if their literary expressiveness and their suggestive atmosphere sometimes are remarkable, it may not be necessary to linger over Yü Hsin's poem "A Little Garden" (from the middle of the sixth century) or over Sun Chih-wên's poem "The Pavilion at Lan-t'ien" (from the end of the seventh century). They have their literary value, but they are of no particular importance as historical documents or descriptions of gardens. The same applies to the lyrical sketches of his country estate, Wang-ch'uan, in Shensi by the great painter and poet, Wang Wei (699-759); they fascinate us with their musical tone, but not with any concrete descriptions.

The long diorama-like painting of his country estate by Wang Wei, on the other hand, has a certain interest from the illustrative point of view. The original has been lost, and the later copies are somewhat arbitrary in their variations; the most accurate is probably a drawing engraved upon stone, well known from rubbings. Judging from these, the grounds contained a whole series of smaller pavilions or other buildings strewn about on the slopes of a range of hills in very broken country where the water has worn deep furrows and the ground rises in places in stately rock formations. The compounds are surrounded with a fence and shaded by leafy trees, while the smaller pavilions are half concealed in the bamboo groves. Other parts of the grounds are enclosed with a picket fence and planted with various kinds of fruit trees—probably plum, pear and apricot—or else surrounded by walls and presumably intended for the cultivation of vegetables or medicinal herbs. The grounds were evidently not only intended as a pleas-



The drunkard's stone.



The stone of the sober.

These embellished the garden of the famous poet and statesman Li Tê-yü in P'ing Ch'uan.

ance, but also to be of use, like a proper farm, a *ferme ornée*. They contained both gardens and portions of untouched Nature, and thanks to their situation in the broken country, they doubtless made a very picturesque impression against a background of high mountains. (Plate 87.) On his mother's death, Wang Wei left the entire property to a Buddhistic monastery, which entailed some transformations.

A somewhat later poet from the T'ang period, Po Chü-i (772-846), in his poem *T'ao T'ang Chi*, has given a more detailed description of his thatched hermit's hut on the slopes of the Kuang-lu Mountains in Kiangsi:

It had only two rooms and four windows; the walls were of clay without any white facing,⁴ the steps were of stone. The windows were provided with transparent paper and blinds of bamboo ribs . . . Before the hut extended an open court covering about 100 square feet, and in the middle of this court rose a terrace. On the south side lay a square pond, twice the size of the terrace. Around the pond were planted bamboos from the hillside and wild flowers; white lotus flowers and white fish were placed in the water. Farther south wound a stony stream, and along this grew pines and other conifers; bushes thrived at their feet. The paths, which led in and out, were paved with white stones. To the north of the hall steps had been hewn in the mountainside, so that one could ascend to the top, and on cleared places the stones were piled up [in the form of "mountains"]. There was also a spring, and a tea plantation, inviting to the pleasure of tea drinking. On the eastern side of the hall the water fell from a height of three feet, and on the opposite side it was led from the

⁴ A hut of this type is depicted in the ink painting by Yang Pu-chih mentioned above.

height by an open bamboo pipe to the roof [?] of the house, whence it flowed down on the terrace. . . .

Since my youth I have lived in varying circumstances, sometimes in a hut, sometimes in an elegant dwelling, but wherever I have lived, even if it were only for some days, I have built a terrace, piled up stones and excavated a pond, for my passion for mountains and water was irresistible.

Po Chü-i has referred to his own and others' gardens in several poems. He was evidently one of the most devoted and active garden amateurs among the poets at the end of the T'ang period, but there were others who followed in his footsteps. The little hermitage garden on the mountain slope that he describes seems to have been a rather elaborated edition of the Taoist hermit's huts of the preceding generations. By the side of these, however, larger gardens with richer decorative devices were laid out by those who enjoyed imperial favor and the good things of this world. A characteristic representative of this class at the end of the T'ang period was the eccentric poet and statesman, Li Tê-yü (787-849), whose pleasure park at P'ing-ch'uan was one of those marvelous creations of fancy that, with its wonderful trees and plants, its "wild mountains," its tunnels, ponds, winding waterways and magnificent pavilions, was to awake the impression of being the abode of the Immortals. Here lived Li Tê-yü in the days of his prosperity, when he was in favor at court and not exiled to some remote part of the country, like an "Immortal" *in spe*. He was a Taoist with heart and soul, and tried every means of getting into contact with invisible worlds. For this purpose he resorted among other things to drinks

which threw the body into a trance and gave the imagination wings. According to the tradition, he was then wont to lie propped against a stone in his garden, which became renowned far and wide and was considered to have, among other things, the property of making an intoxicated man wake up sober.

At the end of the T'ang period the Taoist ideas and methods for the attainment of immortality were much in vogue also at court, which led to premature death for several rulers and, in the art of gardening, to an endeavor to shape the environs of the palaces to conform with the narratives of the paradise of the Immortals. This was, as we have already observed, one basic line in the development of Chinese garden art from the oldest times, while the other may be followed in the evolution of the small Nature gardens attached to the study pavilions and hermits' huts.

During the years following the T'ang period, or what is referred to as the period of The Five Dynasties (907-960), there was no central court with a need of great palaces and hunting parks, but the interest in gardening was nonetheless steadily developing, and was concentrated more than before on the cultivation of flowers. In a previous chapter mention was made of the great flower painters who were active as well in the capital of the Shu kingdom, Chêng-tu (in Szechuan), as in Nanking; and we have every reason to assume that the flowers were no less highly valued in the gardens than in painting.

When the country had once more been united under one ruling family, and the Sung dynasty had established its capital in Pien-liang, the present K'ai-feng in Honan, this city was extended and embellished with imperial palaces and gardens. Of these, there now remain only inconsiderable relics above ground (excavations might possibly bring more to light). But from contemporary accounts and traditions we may conclude that these gardens also were inspired by the Taoist romantic view of Nature. They thus had their symbolic import, but were at the same time regarded as the most perfect artistic creations in this sphere in China. The emperor Hui Tsung was not only an eminent painter and lover of flowers, but also one of China's chief amateurs of stones. He collected water-

modeled garden stones with the same zeal as he collected paintings and old bronzes, and had them fetched not only from the beds of lakes but also from many of the older private gardens. It is said that the stone transports were at times so numerous that they blocked all other traffic on the canals around the capital. It was these wonderful stones, especially, that made the imperial pleasure park Ken Yü so incomparable. This park was situated in the northwestern corner of the capital, in a place that had been chosen by Taoist geomantics, and it was probably also intended to convey an idea of the land of bliss of the Immortals.

A special commissioner, Chu Mien by name, was sent to the southern provinces to procure rare plants and trees and wonderful stones, a task which he is said to have carried out with equal ruthlessness and success. The stones and trees were taken, whoever the owner might happen to be, and the local population was forced to work for the emperor's commissioner, whether they would or no. And Chu Mien's own garden in Chekiang, known under the name of Lü Shui Yüan (The Garden of the Green Water), became almost as wonderful as any of the imperial grounds. After the abdication of the emperor Hui Tsung, however, Chu Mien was called to account; he was charged with malversation and extortion, and finally paid with his head for his high-handed conduct. His property was confiscated, but his sons continued as garden-makers and confirmed the family's reputation in this sphere.

No detailed description of the imperial park has been preserved, but according to a statement that has been handed down, the chiefest of the "mountains" was called Wan Shou Shan (The Mountain of the Numberless Years), a name that in later times has been used, among others, for the pleasure park of the New Summer Palace in Peking. A certain notion of the appearance of these "mountains" and wonderful stone formations may also be formed from contemporary pictures. The most remarkable among these stone monuments were depicted—sometimes with poetical inscriptions—in the *Hsüan Ho Shih P'u*, a publication corresponding to the highly valued catalogues of the

一枝濃艷對秋
光落滿風搖倚
物傷曉景乍清
何似謝家新
製紫羅囊



Chi Kuan (*Celosia cristata*). Cockscomb. Woodcut after a painting by Hsü Chung-ssü (eleventh century).

emperor's collections of paintings and sculptures, from which later authors borrowed with great freedom. So, for example, the pictures in Lin Yü-lin's previously mentioned work *Su Yüan Shih P'u* (published in 1614) represent many stones from the gardens of the Sung emperors which had previously been reproduced in *Hsüan Ho Shih P'u*. They were valued as highly as any works of art executed by human hands.

One of these stones, or at all events something very similar, is represented in a large painting belonging to the National Museum in Stockholm. (Plate 88.) According to the inscription, it is "a stone pillar for the wishing of prosperity," i.e., a much shattered garden rock riddled with holes, together with a couple of *ling chih* and two tall plants. The painting is provided with seals and inscriptions connecting it with, amongst others, the emperor Hui Tsung. It is now in a worn and much restored condition, which makes it somewhat difficult to date. The motif, however, can probably be connected with one of the renowned stones in the Kên Yü park of the emperor Hui Tsung, though the execution of the painting is later.

There is much evidence to show that interest in gardens was extraordinarily developed under the Sung dynasties, so propitious for every kind of artistic activity. The imperial gardens were not the only ones; exclusive private gardens were laid out in increasing numbers, as illustrated, for example, in Li Ko-fei's publication: "Celebrated Gardens in Lo-yang." It is said that in this work twenty-five famous gardens were mentioned; but to what extent these were really described must be left an open question, as the publication is not accessible in any occidental library.

The picture of Ssu-ma Kuang's garden in Lo-yang, on the other hand, has been preserved for posterity, thanks to his own descriptions in both poetry and prose. These grounds were laid out in the year 1071 when, under the pressure of Wang An-shih's immature zeal for reform, he was forced to leave his official position (as head of the government) in the capital. The garden became his *tusculum*, the home of his heart for the remaining years of his life (d. 1086). It was here that he wrote his celebrated history, *T'ung Chien*, with which he inscribed his name for all time

in the annals of Chinese literature; but to judge from his own description of the garden and the life there, it was not his literary labors that gave him the greatest satisfaction, but his intimacy with Nature. This was the source to which he owed the peace of mind and the detachment from all vain striving, that was the ideal of the Chinese gentleman. Ssu-ma Kuang's description is valuable because of the information it gives concerning the compositional elements of the garden, of its buildings, plantations, ponds and terraces; but it is above all as a personal document, an expression for the highly cultivated scholar's appreciation of the garden as a home for his mind and his soul.

Tu Lo Yüan. A Garden for Private Pleasure.

Mêng-tzu said: To enjoy oneself quite alone is not so good as to enjoy oneself with others, to enjoy oneself with a few is not so good as to enjoy oneself with the many. Such joys are for princes and eminent men, but not for the poor and those of lowly rank.—Kung-tzu said: Even those who eat only vegetables and drink only water, and use their bent arm as a pillow may find pleasure in this. Yen-tzu consumed no more than a measure of rice, yet this did not diminish his joy.—Such are the joys of holy and wise men; they cannot be attained by the simple.—The little bird in the wood needs only a branch to build its nest. The tapir does not drink from the river more than it needs to quench its thirst. Each one takes what he requires and is then content.⁵ In this way also I (stupid old man) found my pleasure.

In the fourth year of the Ning Hsi era [1071] I settled in Lo-yang, and in the sixth year I purchased some land in the north part of Tsun-hsien with the intention of turning it into a garden. Here I erected a hall, where I collected 5,000 volumes; I called it the Library Hall. To the south of this stood another building. Underneath this, water was led to a square pond three feet wide and three feet deep through five streams, which together formed as it were a tiger's paw, and from here it flowed northward to the steps of the building where it appeared and ran down in the form of an elephant's trunk. It then divided into two arms which embraced the four sides of the building and met again in the northwestern corner. It was called The Pavilion of the Playing Waters.

Farther north lay a pond, and in the middle of this there was an island on which I had planted bamboos in the form of a jade chüeh⁶ with a circumference of thirty feet.

⁵ These metaphors are taken from Chuang-tzu.

⁶ A flat ring with an opening.

When the tops were bound together there was formed, as it were, a fisherman's tent, which was called The Hut of the Angling Fisherman.

To the north of the pond lay a long building with six intervals [inter-columniae], covered with a thick thatch as a protection against the burning sun. The entrance faced eastwards, but both the north and the south sides were provided with pillared porches and windows, which invited cooling winds. In front of and behind this building I planted many beautiful bamboos, which offered protection against the heat. This was called The Studio of the Bamboo Grove [Chung Chu Chai].

The ground to the east of the pond was divided into 120 small squares containing various kinds of medicinal herbs, all of which were provided with labels. To the north of this herb garden were planted bamboos in a square plot with a ten-foot side, and when their tops were bound together a hut was formed here. From this led a promenade gallery consisting of rows of bamboos, overgrown with creeping plants. A number of medicinal herbs formed barriers on either side. This spot was called The Garden of Medicinal Herbs.

To the south of this garden there were six enclosures for peonies and mutan and many other kinds of flowers, but each species was represented by only two specimens as representatives for its name and form. To the north of this garden lay a pavilion called Kiosk for the Watering of the Flowers [Chiao Hua T'ing].

The city of Lo-yang is situated not far from the mountains, but one cannot see these on account of the leafy trees. I therefore built in my garden a terrace with a pavilion, from which one could see Wan-an and Huan-yüan and even as far as the Fai-shih Mountains. It was called The Terrace for the Contemplation of the Mountains [Chien Shan T'ai].

I spend much time in the Library Hall, where the great masters are my teachers and the wise are my company, studying the origin of virtue and uprightness, and reading up the connection between the rites and music. I then become aware of the cause of all things, right from the time when no forms existed, beyond the limits of this universe. The only trouble is that I have not learned sufficient, but what could I ask of others or expect from without?

When I tire [of my studies] I take my rod and go out fishing, or else I go and gather medicinal herbs in my long cape, or I dig channels to conduct water to the flowers, or I take the ax to trim the bamboos. I wash the heat from myself, rinse my hands and ascend an eminence from which one has a wide view. Thus I ramble about as I please when I am not otherwise occupied. The moon often

appears brilliantly clear, and the wind brings coolness. No one can prevent me from rambling or from resting; my ears and eyes, my lungs and entrails are entirely my own, and I am dependent only upon myself. I know no greater joy between heaven and earth; therefore I call my garden Tu Lo Yüan, Garden for My Own Pleasure.

Someone said to the stupid old man: "As far as I know, a gentleman [chün-tzu] shares his pleasures with others, but you keep everything for yourself; can this be right?" To which the old man replies: "I am an old fool, how could I be compared with a gentleman? My pleasures are not rich; how could they be shared with others? They are meagre and simple, of a kind that is despised by the world. Even if I offered them to others, they would not be accepted. Why should I try to force them upon others? But if there is anyone who really wishes to share such pleasures with me, then I bid him reverently welcome with lifted hands and do not keep everything for myself."

Ssu-ma Kuang's garden became widely known, thanks to his charming descriptions in verse and prose, and this naturally led to its pictorial representation; there is at least one such painting, in the form of a long horizontal roll, belonging to a Chinese private collection in Shanghai. It was evidently executed as an illustration to the description quoted above—for several of the buildings and plantations mentioned can be identified—though by a rather insignificant artist not before the beginning of the Ming period.

Another famous garden from the Sung period, which has been represented in several later paintings, is one that belonged to the wealthy art collector and dilettante, Wang Ching-ch'ing. As early as the end of the eleventh century, Li Kung-lin painted a celebrated picture of this garden entitled "A Poetical Meeting in the Western Garden." To this painting Mi Fei appended a longish explanatory inscription identifying the various participants in the meeting and specifying a number of the compositional elements, such as "water, rocks, clouds, herbs, trees, flowers and bamboo," all executed "wonderfully well and very charmingly."

The original has been lost, but the composition is known in its main features through several copies, of which that executed by Chao Mêng-fu (exhibited

in the Palace Museum in Peking) is the best. (Plate 89.) Several of the figures may be identified with the help of Mi Fei's description; but it is of greater interest in this connection to note how the garden has been designed to fit the natural setting of a valley at the foot of high mountains. In the foreground we see a section of the surrounding wall, and the decorative gateway. Just inside the latter rises an enormous garden-rock surrounded by bushes, and thus forming a sort of screen before the gate. Other shattered and hollow rocks, in part overgrown with tree peonies, may be seen in the courtyard; but the largest of the rocks is a vertical block (more than four times the height of the figures) on which Su Tung-p'o is engaged in painting an inscription. In front of this is a banana tree, behind which is a bamboo plantation on a hillock surrounded with water. Here sit two monks, a Taoist and a Buddhist, deep in conversation. The rest of the trees consist of gnarled pines, partly covered with creepers; but the smaller plants and bushes have evidently been left out in order that the figures may appear the more distinctly. The canals and the stone bridge have also been simplified and toned down, in order not to distract attention from the groups of persons, some of whom are placed under the trees, while the others are placed at two long tables, where they are engaged in writing and painting. Thus, even if the depiction of the milieu in this copy has been somewhat abbreviated, it does nonetheless give an idea of the magnificently impressive way in which the composition is built up: the mighty dimensions of the rocks and trees in relation to the figures, and the open situation at the foot of the mountain. How highly garden culture was esteemed at this period is also confirmed by the fact that precisely this milieu was chosen by a great figure painter for the representation of a number of famous personalities.

After the Sung dynasty had managed to reestablish a national government in Hang-chou (1127, following a period of general dissolution and flight "south of the river"), artistic and cultural institutions of the same kind as those which had been of such great importance in K'ai-fêng were organized there. Among these institutions might also be reckoned the gardens

—both the imperial and the private ones; and as Hangchou was a far more suitable place for such creations than the northern capital, the gardens grew and flourished in variety and richness as well as in artistic beauty. Hangchou, which on account of its numerous canals and bridges was aptly named "The Venice of the East," became a real garden city. Marco Polo, who visited the city at the end of the thirteenth century, mentions in his somewhat inflated description palatial dwellings with gardens flanking the main street and others situated on the shores of the lake, where "trees of mighty dimensions rose at the edge of the water." He also gives a detailed description of the emperor Tu Tsung's palace, and of the sybaritic life of pleasure that was followed there before the Mongols took charge and banished the Sung emperor, an event which took place some years before Marco Polo's arrival in Quinsay (i.e., Hangchou). The following passage from his description, based upon the account of a merchant who had belonged to the imperial household, is worth quoting:

The other parts of the enclosure were distributed in groves and lakes and charming gardens planted with fruit trees, and preserves for all sorts of animals, such as roe, red-deer, fallow-deer, hares and rabbits. Here the king used to take his pleasure in company with those damsels of his; some in carriages, some on horseback, whilst no man was permitted to enter. Sometimes the king would set the girls a-coursing after the game with dogs, and when they were tired they would hie to the groves that overhung the lakes, and leaving their clothes there they would come forth naked and enter the water and swim about hither and thither, whilst it was the king's delight to watch them; and then all would return home. Sometimes the king would have his dinner carried to those groves, which were dense with lofty trees, and there would be waited on by those young ladies.⁷

Some of the scenes enacted in the imperial pleasure parks in Hangchou during the last decadent phase of the southern Sung dynasty were evidently intended to stimulate, not only æsthetic feelings, but also the aging monarch's capacity for erotic enjoyment. The young ladies selected for the part doubtless performed their task with a skill equal to their grace,

⁷ Sir Henry Yule's translation of Marco Polo.

which is apparent in a number of illustrative pictures from the lives of the court ladies. Among these are some which might almost serve as illustrations of Marco Polo's description of the romping and bathing girls. I have included, as an instance, some sections from a long pictorial scroll ascribed to Ch'iu Ying (copy after), representing some young ladies amusing themselves with sport, games, and bathing in a typical garden landscape. One is captivated by the intimate grace of these pictures, even though the execution is not on a very high artistic level; they may thus help to give us an idea of the charming scenes that were enacted in the palace gardens in Hangzhou. (Plate 90.)

Another painting of somewhat similar character, probably executed by Ch'iu Ying, represents scenes in a palace garden where groups of elegant young ladies are engaged in various occupations. The painting (belonging to Mr. C. T. Loo, New York) is entitled on the label Han Kung Ch'un Hsiao T'u, "Early Spring in an Imperial Palace during the Han Period," a title that must not be considered as evidence of an attempt at an historical reconstruction. (Plates 92, 93, 94, 95.) Neither the figures nor the scenery have any close connection with the style of the Han period; rather do they represent the elegant modes and the architectural decoration of the Ming period, here elaborated with the gracefulness characteristic of Ch'iu Ying's individual manner. What has primarily interested the artist has not been historical verisimilitude, but the representation of female grace in rich costume, and the princely residence with its various halls, pavilions and galleries with attached terraces and courtyards, in part planted with flowering trees and decorated with large, fantastically shaped garden rocks.

As the picture is unrolled, the beholder is led by degrees into a palace composed of a succession of courtyards surrounded by buildings; the latter, as the setting for the picture, appear only in part. The actual milieu is represented in a somewhat simplified form, more or less symbolically.

The composition is introduced with a broad road leading past a large garden rock and flanked by tall pines. Two richly attired young men approach; as they

stride along, both are evidently animated with joyous hopes. The noble lady or princess who is the mistress of the palace is sitting at a dressing table in an open hall entertaining a female friend; a maid is just entering with refreshments on a tray.—A little higher up on the picture (in the same section) the princess makes her appearance, tall and elegant, standing on the sculptured marble ramp leading to the great central hall, of which only the nethermost part appears in the picture. Before this opens a courtyard, and here we see two stalwart men carrying a great wine jar on a long pole over their shoulders, a task which is evidently being carried out under the supervision of a more important personage who is speaking to the men from his place in the shade of a large garden rock. The ladies, a little higher up on the rising ground, are absorbed in the study of a picture which is being shown by two men, after which they are seen to continue their stroll through the garden, preceded by two female musicians with *pi-p'a* and mouth organ. They follow the sculptured marble barrier which surrounds an irregular space lower down, and possibly intended for the cultivation of flowers, unless it can be filled with water.

A fresh group is formed at the other end of the space enclosed by the balustrade; here we see the ladies in the company of a tame deer (a symbol for long life), while a peacock is strutting near a large garden rock a little higher up in the picture.—The next scene is enacted in a rather large, open pavilion; which is connected by a zigzag gallery with other buildings (not visible on the picture). Here the beautiful princess is once more engaged with her toilet, assisted by ladies-in-waiting. The reason for this fresh endeavor to appear as brilliant and seductive as possible is indicated by the presence of the noble youth stationed at some little distance in the gallery, awaiting his chance.

The section of the picture so far described is separated from the latter half (which has, if possible, a still more intimate character) by an interval in the form of an open courtyard, where we see a man engaged in watering a magnolia tree, and, as a central motif in the courtyard, an enormous, fantastically

modeled hollow rock together with a large willow tree and a blossoming pear tree—in short, a magnificent garden motif executed with a sensitive and careful brush.

The following sections of the picture represent those parts of the palace buildings and gardens that were reserved for the ladies, constituting a sort of gynaeceum to which the men had no access, unless perhaps clandestinely, as is hinted by the presence of three men standing partly concealed behind the wall of paper and latticework listening to the ladies' orchestra playing to the princess as she sits on her tabouret in the main pavilion before a screen decorated with garden motifs.—In another smaller pavilion with shining blue roof we find her drinking tea with two female friends, enjoying the coolness of the evening, while two maid-servants are engaged in rolling up the bamboo blinds. On an open spot under two willow trees the three ladies are catching butterflies (or cicadas?) with their fans; and then we see them once more in a quieter situation, in an open pavilion with a blue roof and richly decorated barrier, occupied with silk embroideries. The adjacent garden scenery is one of the most delightful sections, deriving its character from a half-a-dozen fantastically shaped shattered stones, which rise to a height of three, four, or five times that of the human figures. Behind the stones appear blossoming fruit trees, slender bamboos with soft lapwings and tall trees with red sprigs of flowers between newly opened leaves. In the foreground is a stone bench, on which are set sculptured marble bowls with flowering plants and miniature trees. Behind the green bamboo beside the blue stone appears a white heron, while the ladies linger at the foot of the huge rock, idly swinging their elegant fly-whisks. True, the artist has isolated the various elements and has not painted a coherent garden composition; but what he has represented is so characteristic and suggestive that one can easily fill in what is missing with one's imagination. (See color plate.)

The long picture concludes with a musical scene: the princess is sitting under an ornamental canopy supported on red posts, playing a *ch'in* (table-harp). Her audience consists of three ladies, likewise sitting

on low chairs with backs. There is a certain atmosphere of ceremonious solemnity about the little group (so typical of Ch'iu Ying's graceful manner), but at the same time also something of the intimate mood conjured by the music; one can almost hear the delicate notes from the strings of the table-harp vibrating in the air and shimmering out over the tranquil sheet of water below the balustraded garden terrace.

No less fascinating than the paintings are a number of woodcuts included as illustrations in books from the Ming and Ch'ing periods. Even when not, strictly speaking, garden views, they sometimes contain characteristic compositional elements. Thus, for instance, in *Pa Ch'ung Hua P'u*, where the woodcuts have been executed after drawings by T'ang Yin, we find not only flowers depicted, but also garden scenes or elements thereof. According to the inscriptions, some of these are free imitations after older masters, as, for example, the picture of a study pavilion in a bamboo grove on the bank of a river, which was inspired by Ma H-chih (1130-1180), while others reproduce T'ang Yin's own impressions from contemporary gardens. In one of them we see the poet (or the artist) absorbed in the contemplation of the full moon, sitting in his pavilion on the mountain terrace, where tall bamboos sway on the banks of the stream. Evidently this is an attempt to reproduce the atmosphere of evening, with moon and stars in the firmament; but there is as little indication of any chiaroscuro effects here as in the contemporary paintings of moonlit landscapes.—In another picture we see the poet writing with his brush on a large banana leaf, which has been bent downwards and hanging almost like a scroll.

More incidental, as scenes for figure compositions, are the depictions of gardens occurring in a number of illustrations to the verse-drama *Hsi Hsing Chi* ("The Story of the Western Pavilion"). This popular book was published in several editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and certain of these were provided with illustrations by prominent artists such as Hsü Wei, Wang Fêng-chou, Chên Hung-shou and others. The value of these pictures varies, but some of them contain typical garden elements in the form

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of richly silhouetted and hollowed rocks, elegant pavilions, bridges and terraces, as well as all sorts of trees, bamboos, palms, and banana plants. The scenes are enlivened with human figures, acting in the picturesque garden milieu. Everything is full of movement, light and fugitive in these woodcuts which thus reflect something of the actual atmosphere of the gardens. (Plate 96.)

Of greater importance as contributions to the history of gardening art in China, however, are a number of the illustrations in the previously mentioned work *Hung Hsüch Yin Yüan T'u Chi*, written between 1839 and 1849 by the former inspector-general of imperial canals, Lin Ch'ing, who seems to have been an active garden amateur. He took advantage of the opportunities provided by his tours of inspection to visit a number of famous gardens, and he devoted much time and care to the gardens attached to his own dwellings. (Plate 36.) Several pictures from these have been given in the foregoing, but particularly worthy of mention are two illustrations from his splendid garden in Ch'ing-chiang-p'u (in Kiangsu).

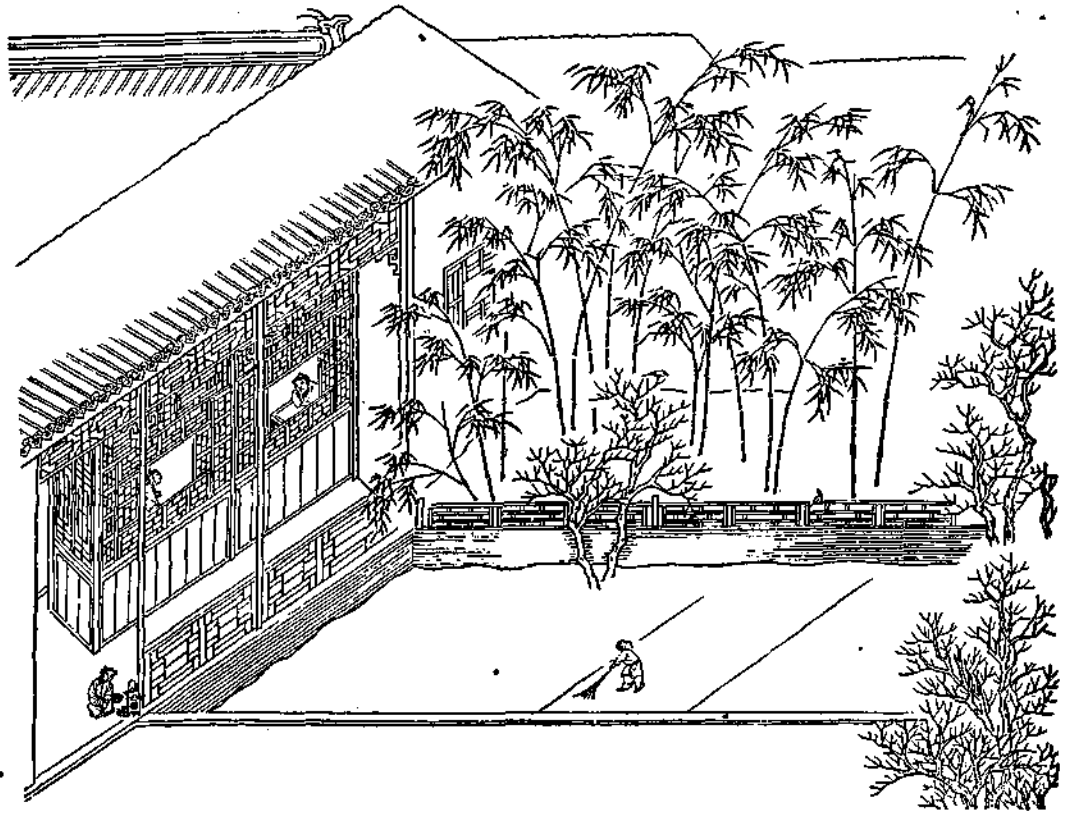
These grounds were fully developed in the Ming period, but probably of earlier origin, for the garden had changed names several times. It had been called Ho Fang Shu Yüan, Huai Yüan, and Chan Yüan before it became known as Ch'ing Yen Yüan. The emperor Ch'ien Lung had his quarters here on his journeys to the southern provinces. As in so many of these gardens of the south, a considerable part of the grounds was taken up by a lotus pond, i.e., a little lake surrounded by more than thirty willows. In the middle of the lake, supported on posts, there stood an open pavilion intended for "the reception of the moon." and this was connected with the shore

self while his gaze wanders over the blossoming water. (Plate 97.)

Another much frequented spot in the same garden was the Shang Ch'un pavilion, according to its name, intended for the enjoyment of the advent of spring. It was built as a central structure jutting out from a long gallery, and offered a view over an open space on the shore of the lake. The picture shows Lin Ch'ing together with his wife and children partaking in a family celebration of two happy events: first, because the good inspector-general has been praised in an imperial decree for his success in promoting precautionary measures against floods; and, second, because his wife and daughter have received personal tokens of favor from the empress on the occasion of a visit in Peking, from which they have just returned. It was in the spring of 1837, a lovely time, when life wore a smiling aspect and all Nature seemed to reflect man's happiness: "There was such a delicious breeze, the sun shone, the willows were enchanting [in their delicate green], the flowers brilliant. From where we sat we saw two herons flapping their wings and dancing towards each other; their feathers and their crests gleamed like jade, while the variegated plumage of the peacocks was as if strewn with diamonds. They strutted about, admiring their own shadows, haughty and magnificent as though strewn with pearls. We were happy, and emptied our brimming wine cups, while the children skipped for joy." (Plate 98.)

This family festival in the stately garden, celebrating the mark of imperial favor, acquired added significance as a culminating point in Lin Ch'ing's career, as two years later he was dismissed from his responsible post by another imperial decree. The reason for the dismissal was a flood. He was then obliged to leave

The little Chu Fang garden at the house in Ch'ing-chiang-p'u, where Lin Ch'ing lived in retirement.



sweeping the courtyard. Through the small windows may be seen the old official and his wife, alone, as if cut off from the sunny and flowery surroundings in which they had previously lived. The contrast between this picture and the earlier one is a simple and fascinating illustration of fortune's changes.

Lin Ch'ing seems, however, to have improved his economic position rather soon, for in the year 1841 he acquired the celebrated garden Pan Mou Yüan in Kung Hsien Hutung near the northeastern corner of the imperial city in Peking, which we have already briefly mentioned. It was considered one of the most beautiful in the capital, especially since the poet and garden-amateur, Li Li-wêng, had altered it at the end of the Ming period, for he was looked upon as a master, particularly in the art of setting up stones. The two gardens in Peking where he worked (viz., Pan Mou Yüan and Chieh Tzu Yüan, situated to the south in the Chinese city) were consequently regarded as superior works of art. Lin Ch'ing tells how he visited these gardens in his youth, and speaks of the satisfaction he felt when in his old age he was finally able to acquire Pan Mou Yüan.

It was at that time in a very ruinous state, for it

had fallen upon evil days, having been used, among other things, as a depot by a merchant; but the work of repair was immediately begun according to a plan in the so-called "southern style." There were quite a few buildings and several very excellent spots. The central hall (shown in Plate 9) was called Yün Ying (The Shadow of the Cloud). By the side of this (and at an angle to it) lay the open building designated as P'ai Shih (For the Adoration of Stones), with which we are already familiar, and the Pao Hua gallery (judging from the name, the place where the paintings could be aired). Other buildings deserving mention were Chin Kuang (Close to the Light) and Tui Ssu (Absorbed in Thought), probably intended for meditation, as well as the open garden pavilions, Shang Ch'un and Ning Hsiang, intended for the enjoyment of spring and the fragrance of the flowers.—Other spots in the garden were given names indicating that they were suitable for reading, for the composition of poetry, and for similar occupations. Certain of the rooms were hung with bamboo tablets in pairs with poetic inscriptions or quotations from the classics.

Neither Pan Mou Yüan nor Ch'ing Yen Yüan exists today; and the same applies to the other celebrated

gardens mentioned by Lin Ch'ing. But thanks to the woodcuts in his book we can in many cases form a fairly good idea of their general character, especially after having become familiar with what remains of a number of similar establishments in the former capital, to which we shall revert in a later chapter.

Paintings with garden motifs become increasingly common as one approaches modern times, which shows that the interest in such motifs by no means diminished during the Ch'ing Dynasty. Among painters of the K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung epochs devoting themselves mainly to the depiction of gardens, mention may be made of Chiao Ping-chêng and Lêng Mei, two artists who acquired a certain knowledge of perspective and realistic detail from their co-

operation with the artistically accomplished French and Italian Jesuit missionaries. This undoubtedly helped to make their paintings more exact and reliable as regards the various compositional elements of the gardens, though by no means more captivating from the artistic point of view. The light atmosphere and the picturesque charm characterizing the best garden pictures of the Ming period have evaporated and been replaced by a drier objectivity. But it was pictures of this kind, executed not only on silk or paper, but also on porcelain and wall hangings, that reached Europe in the eighteenth century and helped to nourish and guide the strong interest in Chinese gardens as models for landscape gardens in Western countries.

Chapter 6

OLDER GARDENS IN JAPAN

IN trying to get a bird's-eye view of the historical development of the art of gardening in China, especially in older times, one should consider a few of the gardens in Japan. It is generally recognized by Japanese students of the subject that in this sphere, as in so many other fields of artistic activity, Japan received important impulses from China. This is of course only natural, not to say inevitable, if we remember to what extent older Japanese architecture was dependent upon Chinese models. Gardens were for the most part attached to princely residences and temples. In Japan, the older buildings have been preserved better than in China; thus, in studying the architectural system of the T'ang period, we can find some of the best examples in Japan. As regards garden art we are not so fortunate, for none of the gardens from the T'ang (the Japanese Tempyo) period has been preserved. We may, however, have recourse to some of the grounds laid out a couple of centuries later more or less on the basis of older models. These are not Chinese in the proper sense of the term, but they may be traced to a Chinese influence that had been assimilated to the Japanese feeling for style and in accordance with national needs. This assimilation was consummated during the so-called Fujiwara or Heian period (782-1185), so named after the ruling shogun family or after the place to which the capital was moved at the beginning of the period: Heian, later known as Kyoto.

To the imperial residence, as also to the houses of the wealthy noblemen, gardens were attached which were usually laid out on the south side of the main buildings. These had the character of picturesque landscapes, composed with water, hills and trees. The central motif, as a rule, was a little lake or pond, wherever possible provided with one or several small

tree-clad islands, in a setting of hollow-rock formations. Where space permitted, these grounds were developed into real nature parks, even if they no longer (as in the case of the older palace grounds in China) had the character of the abode of the Immortals, but were simply intended as pleasant resorts for the occupants of the residence during the warm season. The primary aim seems to have been to follow the indications of nature as intimately as possible, and at the same time to create surprising perspectives: fascinating glimpses between the groups of trees and the mossy rocks.

No fully preserved specimen of these early nature parks or landscape gardens now exists, though we may still see important fragments as well as a number of later examples of the same type. The most interesting remains of such a residential park may be seen at Byodo-in, near Kyoto. (Plate 99.) The park formed a setting for the remarkable building called Howodo (or popularly: The Phoenix Hall), and the two compositional elements supplemented each other in an organic way. While the building is still in a good state of preservation, only small fragments of the park remain. But it is impossible to convey any idea of the latter without also devoting some attention to the former.

Byodo-in was built in 1052 at Uji as a summer villa for Fujiwara Yorimichi. The building, with its surrounding garden, was to serve as a refuge for the foremost nobleman of the realm, and was to form a setting for the refined society life of the exclusive court circles. The members of these circles competed with one another, not only in the composition of music and poetry, but also in the making of perfumes and incense. They gazed at the moon from terraces and pavilions especially constructed for the purpose, and sat up on spring

nights in order to see the first cherry blossoms open at sunrise. The establishment was intended to evoke thoughts of a fairyland, a place where dreams of beauty might be fulfilled, and æsthetic pleasure take the place of the drabness of workaday life.

If this cultural background is borne in mind, this extraordinary building at once acquires greater significance as an artistic expression for the dreams or the longing in people's minds. It seems to be freed from all the bondage of matter; all heaviness is abolished, and it might seem as if the whole construction were lifted above the ground on outspread wings. The closed middle part almost disappears under the successive roofs extending one above the other, while the open colonnades of the wings take away any impression of a reposing mass or of closed rooms. It is possible that the form of the plan—as has often been pointed out—was derived from the image of a bird with a long tail and outspread wings. The resemblance is suggestive. If one sees the building in the right light, when the afterglow is reflected in the surface of the pond and the shadows are dancing between the rows of pillars, the reality merges into the imagined semblance, and one gets the impression that this gigantic bird is hovering over the darkening pond, fascinated by its own image.

Of the park that formed the setting, scarcely anything now remains besides the water and the trees and bushes alongside it. It surrounds the whole building, converges on one side to form a canal that is spanned by a stone bridge, and spreads out in front of the façade to form a little lake, where probably a couple of islets originally rose from the mirroring surface. If one desires to view the whole building at once, this can be done only from the opposite shore. The reflecting water is thus of decisive importance for the picture as a whole: it provides a replica of the architectural image and lifts the whole into the airy regions of phantasmagoria. But other elements doubtless contributed to the enchanted atmosphere, as is the case even today in later establishments to which I shall revert presently.

Probably no one would deny that an establishment of this kind has a national Japanese stamp; but it

must nonetheless be admitted that the building evokes thoughts of the elegant pavilions and airy halls that we know from the Chinese representations of the palace of the Immortals and the marvelously beautiful summer villas of the T'ang emperors. The connection is obvious; similar architectonic ideas had possibly taken shape in China two or three hundred years earlier, and if the pleasure park were preserved in its original state it would probably contain not only magnificent trees and fantastic rocks, but also a number of smaller buildings, bridges, and winding paths, as well as gaudy birds and stately deer or other animals of the kind that adorned and gave life to the princely pleasure parks in China.

In a better state of preservation, and thus of greater interest as a specimen of the Nature parks laid out in accordance with the Chinese tradition, is that situated at Saihoji, a temple not far from Byodo-in. This park, it is true, was not laid out until the middle of the fourteenth century, when the abbot Muso Kokushi (1275-1351), famous as a garden artist, designed it as a peaceful setting for the monastery, and not as a pleasure. But it was nonetheless uncommonly fascinating, thanks to a romantic combination of forest gloom and mirroring water. There is something at once soft and impenetrable about the atmosphere, especially in the lower part of the park, the so-called moss garden. Not only the smooth ground, but also stones, stumps, and tree trunks are here covered with a thick carpet of luxuriant moss of various kinds, shifting from emerald green to rusty brown. All other vegetation seems secondary in comparison with the exuberant moss; the trees have been allowed to grow fairly wild (so unlike what is generally the case in Japan); here are thickets and glades as in a real wood, and the paths are not covered with shingle or gravel, but wind through the moss, where steps become soundless. In the midst of the mossy bed appears a little lake, which with its curving contours and its little islets is considered to reproduce the Chinese character for heart, though it is now difficult to make out this resemblance. But whether this traditional interpretation is justified or not, it cannot be denied that a ramble in the Saihoji park takes one farther and farther into

the heart of Nature; one is constrained to listen to her pulse-beat, and one thus comes to feel something of that kinship with the springs of universal life that the Zen-Buddhists especially aimed to evoke in the minds of their followers. (Plate 100.)

Nothing is more likely than that parks of a similar kind existed at the Zen (or Ch'an) monasteries in the environs of Hangchou, where so many prominent painters sought a refuge in the thirteenth century and later. It was precisely from these tracts that the Japanese received impulses that proved of the greatest importance, not only in painting, but also for all æsthetic development during the Ashikaga period (1336-1573). At this period the relations with China were resumed in a more intimate and direct way than formerly, and precisely as a consequence of the inspiration from Zen-Buddhism, something that naturally had repercussions in the gardening art.

The Saihoji park is by no means the only evidence of this; Tenryuji is another instance from the same period, though less well preserved, and together with these one might mention several smaller Zen temples with gardens from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (Plate 101.) These will be described presently, but I will first mention the famous establishments that two of the Ashikaga shoguns had erected for themselves as pavilions for study and meditation in park-like surroundings—a sort of ashrama where they might relax from the cares of government and devote themselves to philosophical and æsthetic meditations in the circle of artists and Zen monks. We know this type of hermitage from several of the Chinese paintings that have already been mentioned, even if the Japanese pavilions are somewhat more distinguished and are surrounded by larger gardens than the Chinese poet-hermitages.

The earlier and larger of the establishments in question was the so-called Golden Pavilion, Kinkakuji, erected about 1395 for Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and after his death converted into a temple called Rokuonji. The building comprises three storeys encircled with open verandas under the jutting roof, and is situated on the shore of a woodland pool whose surface reflects a replica of its slender forms. Its name is ex-

plained by the fact that the roof was at one time gilded. Originally the pavilion stood upon an islet, but the water has dried up on the farther side and one can now reach it on foot. The water in front of the pavilion, however, has retained its original character of a woodland pool; its glooming surface is broken by some islets that have been built up with big stones, the two largest of these of sufficient size to support one or two spindly pines. Certain of the stones have been given names such as "the outgoing turtle" and "the incoming turtle," referring to Chinese fairy tales concerning the great turtle in the Eastern Sea that bears the Isle of the Immortals. (Plate 102.)

The shores sweep in irregular curves and are bordered with large, hollow stones, which deepen the shadows. The trees have been allowed to grow rather wild. Some of them lean far out over the surface of the water; others show signs of age and decrepitude in their bearded trunks and scrubby branches.—On the farther side of the building extends the park proper. This, too, is now something of a wilderness, and precisely for this reason so romantic. The ground and the reclining stones are covered with moss, as in Saihoji, but here one also finds strangely shaped upright stones that have been handed over as gifts by daimios, and a spring from which Yoshimitsu is said to have fetched water for the tea ceremonies. Farther off there is a little waterfall called The Dragon Cascade, so named because the carp swimming upstream that manage to clear the waterfall are converted into dragons—one of the metaphorical ideas that are so popular in Zen-Buddhism.

There are, moreover, several features that have been added in later times, as, for example, the famous bamboo fence and the tea-ceremony pavilion. It is by no means so easy to decide what may be traced back to the original plan, which, according to the tradition, is supposed to have been drawn up by Muso Kokushi, even if the park was not completed until after his death. Herein, perhaps, lies something of its charm: one feels that the grounds have lived for centuries, and that they still express something of the rhythm of life, even if they have aged. The beauty of the place is not something that has been completed once and for all, it

does not lie in any narrow and clearly defined circumscription; rather is it something that has shifted and developed in the course of time, and that must consequently be constantly discovered anew by those who wish to understand its message.

Kinkakuji with its mossy park was founded in the same way as a number of older Japanese landscape parks inspired by Chinese models, and its historic importance is further enhanced by the fact that it may be designated as the best preserved park of its kind in Japan. It differs in very essential respects from the temple parks that made their appearance half a century later, under the shogunate of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1403-1474), and in which the formalism of the typical Japanese garden culture had gained the upper hand. Since, however, this also contains elements borrowed from China, although they were assimilated to the Japanese spirit, it is probably as well to mention two of these later grounds, especially as from the historical point of view they mark a culminating point in Japanese garden art.

The most famous of them is Ginkakuji, The Silver Pavilion, the hermitage of the shogun Yoshimasa, the place where he gave himself up to meditation, tea ceremonies, and artistic occupations. (Plate 103.) Two buildings of relatively small dimensions form the main points in this establishment, the so-called Silver Pavilion proper (Plate 104), and the so-called Togudo, containing the shogun's private study for meditation and the tea-ceremony room. From here there is a view over a stretch of garden which in its charming softness inclines the mind to repose. The ground is entirely covered with a carpet of luscious green moss and shaded by trees and bushes through which the light is agreeably filtered. On the opposite side one has a view over the garden that stands out against the background of Higashiyama's darkly wooded slopes. It makes a light impression thanks to the water of the lake which winds between little promontories and islets, the pale grey stone blocks of the shore-facing, and the white sea sand that is strewn over the courtyard and its terrace for the contemplation of the moon. In the right light the whole appears to be invested with a veil of enchanting beauty, or makes the

impression of a series of paintings with fascinating gradations of chiaroscuro. (Plate 105.)

In its noble simplicity, the Silver Pavilion is a characteristic specimen of finer Japanese architecture. It is erected on a square plan in two storeys, each shaded by jutting eaves with the lower one opening through sliding doors onto a veranda running round the building. The whole is surmounted by a large bronze phoenix on the roof-ridge as the crowning motif. According to the original plan, the roof was to have been covered with silver plating, but nothing came of this. The building now stands in its natural wood color, and thus merges with its living surroundings. One almost wonders whether the garden was laid out for the sake of the building, or whether the latter was erected as a supplement to the garden.—From the balcony of the pavilion one may enjoy shifting prospects. One sees how a winding stream widens to form a lake, how it cuts into deep bays and is broken up by islets and skerries. A large stone breaks the surface of the water, and behind this appears a tree-clad island which divides the view in two directions: one towards Higashiyama's slopes and the other losing itself in the wooded gloom of dense conifers and bushes. If one looks in the opposite direction one sees the already mentioned court with its terraces, entirely covered with white sand raked in straight lines in a dark setting. The contrasts of tone are skilfully exploited in these various prospects, and the picturesque effect is consequently dependent upon the play of light and shade, or, in other words, upon the time of day or the changing seasons. The whole place is still a living composition that harmonizes with its shifting natural setting. There are some who consider that Ginkakuji is most beautiful in wintertime, when new-fallen snow lies like a shimmering mantle on the roofs and the trees. Others praise the enchanting atmosphere investing the scene when the autumnal full moon rises over the wooded heights of the background and sheds its silver splendor over the surface of the water and the white court. I myself have only had an opportunity of seeing the place in the clear light of the autumn sun. In this lighting it appeared as a work of art, chiseled out in the last detail and inexhaustible in its subtle

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犀角健
花深少態
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variations of tone; but I do not doubt that Ginkakuji was originally designed for the enjoyment of the full moon in autumn. When the moon rises over Higashiyama's wooded ridge the whole garden is flooded in a silver sea, which doubtless enhances its soft, dreaming charm; and it may be presumed that both the white-sanded court and the silver plating of the roof (which was, however, never applied) were intended to heighten the effect of the silvery brilliance of the moon.

The connection with older Chinese gardens is in this case, as already pointed out, not so obvious as in the Kinkakuji park; but in several points, thanks to the uncommonly well-balanced and softly rounded-off effects, the composition reminds one of a harmonious masterpiece from the painting of the Sung period. It is in any case evident that it is the creation of a great painter, according to tradition, Soami. His name is associated with numerous works of art in Japan, both *fusuma*, decorated with veiled, light landscapes in Chinese ink, and original garden compositions, as well as with one of the oldest documents in the history of Japanese art, an inventory of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's collection of Chinese paintings, which he had selected and examined in his capacity of art expert.

There is another garden—this, too, considered to be a creation of Soami's—in Daisen-in, one of the smaller units in the great complex of Zen monasteries in Kyoto named Daitokuji. This establishment existed as early as the fourteenth century, but was destroyed during the feuds in the middle of the fifteenth century. It was renewed in the year 1479. As I have remarked, Soami was at this time the greatest garden artist in Japan, and as the Daisen-in garden is considered the most perfect creation of its kind, it has been concluded that it must be a work of Soami's. No documentary evidence concerning its origin exists, however. (Plate 106.)

The garden embraces one corner of the main building of the monastery, the so-called *shoin*, which is provided with a broad platform or open veranda from which one may view the grounds. The ground plan has the form of a set square with a short and a long arm.—If one stands at one end of the longer section

(about 13.5 meters in length) and allows one's gaze to follow the different parts of the composition, these unfold successively, more or less as in a Chinese landscape painting that has been placed in the horizontal plane and executed in relief, that is, with stones, moss and bushes. Farthest away—or, in other words, at the top of the picture—appear some tall, plastically formed bushes, and in front of these are tall, narrow stone blocks, which together indicate the mountain peaks in the background of the composition. Between them, through what appears as a natural opening, water seems to rush out, and continues as a winding channel in the valley between large stones, where it is also spanned by a bridge in the form of a stone slab. The illusion is perfect, although there is not a drop of water here in reality; it has been created with carefully chosen grooved and parti-colored stone blocks and with the mossy vegetation of the bed, seeming to gleam through the water. The banks are flanked with terrace-shaped rocks, and some large flat blocks seem to rise out of the stream.

In the middle of the picture we now see a waterfall produced with the help of a smoothed horizontal stone placed between flanking, vertically striped stones. In front of these the ground sinks; and here is apparently formed a little lake with its outflow under the jutting veranda. The foreground might perhaps have seemed rather empty if a large stone, in the form of a boat with a high prow, had not been set here in the middle of the fictive lake. This catches the eye, and is well calculated to incline the thoughts of the beholder to a world far beyond the limits of formal composition. Like the works of the great painters, a creation of this sort also appeals to the imagination just as much as to the eye, and like every great work of art it has a symbolic value that may be understood and experienced in many different ways.

The Daisen-in garden thus belongs to an entirely different category than the park-like grounds at Kinkakuji and Ginkakuji. It is not a landscape garden with mirroring waters, tree-clad islands, rocks and thickets and winding paths leading to various points of vantage from which to enjoy the view, but a so-called *kara san-sui*, i.e., a dry landscape in which the

illusion of water is produced with selected stones contrasting with sand or moss vegetation. And it would occur to no one to set foot in a garden like this; as little would one think of tramping in a painting. It is intended to be contemplated from the veranda and experienced imaginatively. It is a typical "show garden" of the special kind frequently laid out at the Zen monasteries in Japan. Such gardens, by no means uncommon, form a sort of supplementary extension of, or perhaps rather a pictorial composition in front of, the meditation halls of the temples. Those sitting on the floor in the room, from which the walls have been drawn aside, can in imagination experience the shifting moods of the garden and the ideas that have here been given symbolic expression. (Plate 107.)

Gardens of this kind presumably existed also in China. They are, at all events, very intimately connected with the kind of comprehension of Nature and with the meditations common in the Zen monasteries—those refuges for painters and nature-romantics ever since the heyday of the southern Sung period in Hang-chou. They have originated in the same spirit and from the same attitude toward Nature as has impressionistic landscape painting, even if the connection is more on the ideal than the formal plane.

A more purely Japanese example of *kara san-sui* is to be found at Ryuanji (the temple) in Kyoto. Here the ground plan is a rectangle enclosed within walls and a long hall; and this court is entirely covered with white sand, raked in deep furrows. As in so many other places, the white sand serves here as a substitute for water. Out of the sand rise fifteen stones of various size and form. These are arranged in five groups, and in such a way as to indicate a certain direction of movement. Around the stones grows a little moss, but this is the only trace of vegetation on the whole of this extensive sand-covered court.—According to a traditional explanation, the stones are supposed to represent a tigress and her young (of which one is a fierce leopard), who are trying to escape an imminent peril by swimming over a river. If anything of this sort really was intended, it probably originated in one of the symbolic nature-interpretations of the Zen philosophers; but one may also imagine the stones to

represent islands rising from the surface of the water, or mountain peaks emerging from a sea of cloud. In a word, the garden leaves plenty of scope for the imagination of the beholder, which only makes it the more fascinating. Its somewhat artificial, not to say schematized, character makes it a striking contrast to the free landscape gardens in the Chinese style. In Japan, however, it became very renowned and gave rise to a school of garden designing.

There is no reason to follow here the further development of the flat—whether "dried up" or well-watered—gardens in Japan, for which definite patterns or types were gradually evolved; our intention was only to point out certain links between the garden art of China and that of Japan, and the latter's dependence upon the former. With this end in view, we must turn rather, as indicated above, to the gardens with mountains and water, or what the Japanese call *tsuki-yama* in contradistinction to the flat gardens, *hira-niva*. These as a rule have been of greater importance and size through being attached to princely residences or the mansions of the wealthy.

It was gardens of this kind that best corresponded to Hideyoshi's need for ostentation and royal display, after he had gathered, in the year 1584, the whole of the political power in his sinewy hands. He had several stately residences built for himself (in some cases with the collaboration of Jesuit missionaries with a knowledge of architecture), and had pleasure parks attached to these, most of which, however, are now no more. The only one still in a fairly good state of preservation is the garden at Sambo-in, a part of the Daigo monastery (near Kyoto), which Hideyoshi chose for himself as a hermitage or place of recreation. Here he sought refuge when he desired to rest from his official duties and wished to speak about the major problems of life with the learned abbot and tea-master, Senno Rikiu. Sambo-in was not a place where the monarch appeared in royal splendor and granted audience to humble daimios, as in the Momoyama palace; it was a quiet refuge for the ugly and dried-up little man, the peasant's son who had reached the pinnacle of power and often felt it more as a burden than as a source of gratification.

According to the tradition, Hideyoshi is himself supposed to have drawn up the plan for the garden, but it was only begun at his death (1598), and was not completed until later. What originally inspired the stern old warrior's love for the place is said to have been an ancient cherry tree, an attraction that is still to be found at Daigo, where numerous visitors assemble each spring when the hoary old tree is covered with blossoms. But there are also many other trees and plants that bloom at different times during the year: first come the camellias, then the cherry blossoms, then apricots and pears, wistaria, irises and lilies, then the peonies of high summer and lotuses, and finally, in the long, mild autumn, chrysanthemums, lespedeza, reddening maples, and other colorful additions to the picture. Each season has its representatives, but the prevailing hue that gives coherence to the whole is the luscious green gleaming in the moss on the ground and shimmering in the water in which the trees and bushes are reflected. (Plate 108.)—Water occupies a relatively large place in this garden; it forms deep bays and narrow straits, but it also widens out to form a glittering lake where there is room for several small islets. From one of these an arched bridge is thrown over to the shore; it is supported on posts, but is entirely covered with mossy earth. The most important compositional elements, however, are the stones, of which there is a great variety, recumbent and upright, smooth and hollow, bare and moss-covered. Hideyoshi seems to have been as passionate a lover of decorative garden stones as the emperor Hui Tsung, and his methods were just as unscrupulous as those of that royal stone-enthusiast when it was a matter of gaining possession of the best specimens. Wherever a desirable stone was met with in an old garden, the owner was forced to hand it over as a gift to the uncrowned ruler of the country. As a sign of gratitude the donor's name was in certain cases exhibited on a wooden tablet that was set up in front of the stone.—The majority of

these stone blocks show no resemblance to those with which we are familiar from the Chinese gardens; but the increased interest in precisely this compositional element was doubtless due to the renewed influence from China that is also traceable in the Japanese painting of this period.

Whether one considers that Chinese models were taken as prototypes for *Sambo-in* or not, no one can deny that this garden is uncommonly rich, full-toned and harmonious. Its forms are exuberant and soft without being heavy or massive. It is formal and noble without appearing stiff or artificial: a landscape as near the ideal as mortals have ever been able to create.

The merit for this is probably to be ascribed to Kobori Enshu (1579-1647), the tea-master and designer of gardens who is assumed to have continued and completed Hideyoshi's plans. His activity as a garden artist was very extensive; another fascinating example of his art is the garden attached to the imperial summer villa Katsura (in the vicinity of Kyoto). This is said to have been inspired by a Chinese poem. The beholder who sees it from a platform in front of the villa is considered to glide forward in a boat through a moonlit countryside; around him dreams a whole world of islands, bays, wonderful trees, moss-grown stone lanterns, bridges, and small streams meandering towards the lake, and farthest away, half-concealed by tall bamboos, a rustic little tea-ceremony house to be reached on some large, rough stepping-stones. Each separate item is so placed as not to attract too much attention; yet it enters organically in the composition as the bearer of a certain rhythm and mood.—Such was and still is to this day the Japanese garden when at its best: an idealized, aesthetically controlled landscape, opening glimpses not only into the constantly shifting panorama of growing Nature, but also into the limitless realm of the imagination.

SOME PRIVATE GARDENS

THE GARDENS of China, as they now exist in different parts of the country, must with very few exceptions be described as more or less fragmentary or overgrown relics of the rich garden culture that once flourished in the Middle Kingdom. These relics cannot convey an adequate notion of the artistic significance and the scope of Chinese garden culture, but they have nonetheless an indubitable value as material for the student, for in the happiest cases they do retain something of a living milieu or atmosphere, a breath from the fairyland of creative imagination or of the ideal Nature that the designers of the Chinese gardens attempted to conjure up.

In view of this, it seems desirable to give a brief description of some characteristic gardens in different parts of the country to supplement what has already been said concerning the formal arrangements and the general principles of composition. These short descriptions may perhaps help to fill out and round off the picture that I have tried to build up with my analysis of the most important elements of the gardens and their historical development. The examples have of course been chosen from the material that I have had at my disposal, and this is far from complete; there is thus no pretence of giving a survey of what has been preserved of the older gardens of China, but only of giving some account of certain main types of historical, or artistic interest.

The richest garden culture in China, since time immemorial, has had its deepest roots in the Yangtze Valley, and to the south in the provinces of Anhui, Kiangsu and Chekiang; here were situated the majority of the gardens whose names have been handed down in history. Here, too, lived the amateurs and artists who devoted themselves with the greatest zeal to the practical and theoretical problems of garden

art. Several of the old towns in these tracts have from ancient times had a garden-like character deriving from rich plantations that more or less connected them with the surrounding landscape. This is true not least of such well-known homes of art and poetry as Hangchou and Suchou—formerly characterized by the byword: Heaven above, Hangchou and Suchou below. But it is also true of several smaller towns, amongst which may be mentioned Wushi, Kating, Nanziang, Kashing, Changshu, Yangchou and others—all well-known for their gardens and their natural beauty. The significance of Hangchou as a center for garden culture in a magnificent setting by Nature has already been briefly touched upon in connection with Marco Polo's notes on the palace gardens at the end of the Sung period. He describes these on the basis of hearsay, for at the time of his visit the glory of the town was already a thing of the past; but the surrounding landscape and all the luxuriant gardens on the shores of Hsi Hu (The West Lake) still made a profound impression on the widely traveled Venetian. Later generations—especially the fanatical T'ai-ping rebels in the 1860's—devastated Hangchou so thoroughly, however, that nothing now remains of the gardens or buildings of the Sung period; but the willows still lean over the West Lake, and the dense bamboo groves still provide shade for the crowds of pilgrims who make their way up to Ling Ying Ssu, while gnarled pines flank the steep paths leading up into the mountains. Hangchou still lies in the middle of an extensive nature park, even though this has been squeezed out, as it were, from the city itself, which has lost most of its old character through the filling in of the canals, the removal of the bridges, and the quasi-modern buildings.—Remains of older gardens may be observed at the former library, Wên Lan

Ko, where some monumental garden rocks adorn the court (Plate 110), and on the island in Hsi Hu where there used to be a small temple and a pavilion in the shape of a swastika, known under the name of San Tan Yin Yüeh. The smaller villa gardens that in modern times have been laid out on the shores of Hsi Hu are, as far as I am aware, rather simple heirs of noble forefathers.

The city has lost its romantic glamour, but in the environs one still finds sharply silhouetted mountains and a luxuriant vegetation, especially around the monasteries and temples forming the central motifs in these impressive landscapes. I will here mention only two of these establishments, the oldest and the most recent, Ling Ying Ssu and Huang Lung Ssu. The first-mentioned temple was founded more than a thousand years ago, as emerges from the stone pagodas in front of the central hall. It has several times been ravaged by fire and renewed, most recently during the nineteenth century. The old plans have, however, been adhered to on these occasions as faithfully as possible, and the park-like beauty of the surroundings has been kept intact. (Plate 41.) The vegetation has been allowed to flourish, moss has patinated the statues of the Buddhist arhats and the Bodhisattvas that still look down from the mountain terraces opposite where bushes and creepers have struck root and formed thick draperies around their niches. (Plate 111.) A little farther off, by the side of the road leading to the monastery, one notices the airy pavilion that crowns a high-arched bridge spanning a ravine. This has probably been renewed in modern times, but it has lost nothing of its former elegance as it hovers on its wide-spread roof-wings over the deep ravine. No less fascinating is the bamboo grove on the other side of the temple, which grows as tall as a pine wood. (Plate 112.)

Huang Lung Ssu is a modern establishment executed after traditional models. The garden owes its picturesque character above all to the ponds and their setting of hollow stone blocks. The surface of the water duplicates the slender pillars and the floating roofs of the pavilions. These rise as the central motif in compositions of trees and shrubs, rocks and hollow

stones, which already are to a large extent veiled by the luxuriant vegetation. (Plate 113.)

In Suchou, no more than twenty years ago, there were several relatively well-preserved or restored gardens; but whether they are still in existence is questionable, for the ravages of war have passed over this peaceful city, which for centuries has been one of the main centers of garden amateurs. The artistic heyday of the city occurred during the Ming period, when so many of the leading painters and poets settled here. The most influential figure was then Wên Chêng-ming, who spent the latter half of his long life in Suchou, where his studio was always open to pupils and friends who came to listen to the teachings of the venerable master. This studio lay in a garden that is now known under the name of Cho Chêng Yüan; and to this day there is shown a magnificent wistaria—just inside the gate—that according to the tradition was planted by Wên Chêng-ming. (Plate 114.) He also executed a series of drawings with motifs from this same garden.—Doubtless others of these Suchou painters engaged in garden art, though no direct historical evidence to this effect has come down. It is, however, worth adding that the most original of all the great talents at the end of the Ming period, Shih-t'ao, became celebrated not only as a painter; but also as a designer of gardens, though not in Suchou, but in Yangchou.

Garden culture in Suchou, as has already been remarked, was at the flower of its development when the city was a center for painters; but it was maintained also in later periods. During the greater part of the nineteenth century, Suchou retained its character as a home for scholars and artists, though in modern times the productions of the latter have assumed more hybrid forms, as is apparent, among other things, from the peculiar institution designated as the Suchou Academy of Art. This is housed in a large pseudo-classical building, which is situated in an old garden, the so-called Tsang Lang T'ing; rather a disagreeable contrast, which is further stressed by the fact that the interior of the building is divided between painters who work in oils with occidental technique, and others who follow the traditional Chinese methods.

Several of the old Suchou gardens that were formerly attached to mansions belonging to patricians are now half public, and may be viewed on payment of a small entrance fee; among these are Liu Yüan, Cho Chêng Yüan, Hsi Yüan, and Tsang Lang T'ing, while access to a number of others, such as Shih Tzū Lin, Ku Yüan (I Yüan) and Wang-Shih Yüan, may be gained through personal introductions. Each of these gardens has its own history and its special atmosphere; but as their essential compositional elements are similar, it is not so easy so to characterize them in a few lines that their peculiar features emerge clearly. Time has also contributed to tone down the differences and spread moss over the decorative details.

The following words by an old Suchou poet are well worth remembering by those who wish to become more familiar with the individual character of these gardens:

One should have a knowledge of the historical background; one should enter [the garden] in a peaceful and receptive mood; one should use one's observation to note the plan and pattern of the garden, for the different parts have not been arbitrarily assembled, but carefully weighed against each other like the pairs of inscribed tablets [adorned with parallel quotations corresponding with each other in respect to tone-values and content] placed in the pavilions. And when one has thoroughly comprehended the tangible forms or objects one should endeavor to attain to an inner communion with the soul of the garden, and try to understand the mysterious forces governing the landscape and making it cohere.

The oldest of the maintained or restored gardens is probably Shih Tzū Lin, "The Lion Grove." This originally belonged to a temple (later replaced by dwellings), and was laid out by a famous monk, Wei Tzū, in about the year 1342. According to the tradition, the latter is supposed to have lived formerly at the so-called Lion Rock on the T'ien Mu mountain, and for this reason he sought to make his new garden such that it might deserve the name of The Lion Grove. (Plate 32.) It was evidently with this end in view that he selected and set up some magnificent water-modeled rocks, which at least in two cases may remind one of sitting lions. The resemblance is especially evident in the upper part of the stones, which in the right light

do give the impression of great forward-bending heads with bushy manes. (Plate 33.) Some of these lion statues modeled by Nature are placed on a hillock between gnarled old pines, which vie with the stones in their wealth of fantastic form, and others are located out in the water, where the stones are duplicated by their own reflections. They fascinate the beholder with their suggestive forms, and impress one with their mighty dimensions. The hill that is crowned by these rocks is built up in the form of a "mountain" with grottoes and tunnels. The paths wind both over and through "the mountain," and lead over elegant arched bridges to the bank, where hollow stones have been piled almost like real coral reefs. (Plate 115.) The garden has probably been more than once reshaped or restored in the course of time; this has entailed certain exaggerations in the rock elements which here appear more overwhelming than in any other Suchou garden. Thus, the grounds as a whole have acquired the character of a creviced mountain-in-little, with water and ancient trees, and its decorative effect is due especially to the play of light and shade, something that is also strongly stressed in Ni Tsan's famous ink painting from Shih Tzū Lin. According to this painting, which because of its many inscriptions has almost become an historical document, the garden seems originally to have contained also bamboo plantations and tall trees of various kinds which spread their leafy branchage over low-thatched huts and open meditation-pavilions. The relative proportions of the rocks, the trees, and the buildings were quite other than what they are today, when the latter no longer seek protection under the trees, but lift their widespread roofs, like great umbrellas, high in the air.

Liu Yüan, situated outside the so-called Tsang-mên Gate, was laid out in the sixteenth century, and was afterwards owned by a family with the name of Liu, whence its name. This was retained even after the garden had been sold in the nineteenth century to the family Shêng, only with the difference that the character for Liu was changed: instead of the family-name Liu, another sign with the same pronunciation was introduced, with the meaning "to leave" or "to linger," which was considered more appropriate for a garden

intended to offer quietude and pleasure. The new owners made considerable extensions, so that the garden actually became the largest and that offering the greatest variety of motifs in the whole of Suchou. But here, too, the new owners seem to have gone rather far in their eagerness to make the composition interesting and varied: one motif was crowded upon another—stones, trees, creepers, pavilions and buildings of various form and ornamentation—so that the details are given no chance to emerge clearly, but combine to form a somewhat indistinct mass. This is the prevailing impression, especially as the summer advances and the trees are covered with leaves; earlier in the year, when the gnarled branches are silhouetted against the sky in strong lines, and the wistarias have not yet spread their draperies, it is easier to observe the successive planes and the various compositional elements, which are also brought out by their reflections in the water.

The mirroring surface of the lake is here of the greatest importance. It forms the central motif of the composition, and occupies more than half of the entire area. It is not the usual garden pond, but a real lake, diversified with spits and islands rich with vegetation. Several boats lie ready for those who may desire to row to the innermost recesses of the grounds. (Plate 116.) The curving shores have been built up with rising and falling portions of uneven stone blocks, in places rather jagged, and standing out in sharp silhouette against a background of white walls, in places hollow and rounded off, half-concealed by the trunks and branches of the old trees which lean over so that they almost touch the surface of the water. Beyond the shore-facings rise the whitewashed façades of the buildings, divided by windows and doorways with ornamental gratings executed in brickwork. These buildings have, it is true, a constructive skeleton of posts and beams, but these are entirely covered with stamped earth and white facing, which contributes to their appearance of a continuous background to successive pictorial sections that stand out against them in more or less the same way as ink paintings on white paper. From whatever point one views this garden, one sees the water in the foreground and the white walls in the background.

Quite near Liu Yüan lies Hsi Yüan, now a temple garden, but originally (i.e., during the Ming period) it was The Western Garden (as the name indicates) attached to a patrician home. It was afterwards donated to a nearby temple, but both the temple and the garden were destroyed during the T'ai-ping revolution in the 1860's. The buildings have been restored, but the garden is still incomplete; it looks rather plain with its large lake between the bare and dry shores. One misses not only the exuberant vegetation, but also the water-modeled, hollow and curved stones. How empty the Chinese garden appears without these fundamental elements of composition!

Cho Chêng Yüan was laid out by the Wang family in the northeastern part of the city on the site of an old temple at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At this time, or shortly afterwards, Wên Chêng-ming lived in this place, and executed a series of drawings that have been reproduced as woodcuts; but these offer little of topographical interest. At the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty the garden belonged to the Chên family but in 1679 it was taken over by the local civil administration. It was probably in connection with this latter transaction that it was given the name Cho Chêng Yüan, which means the garden of the Inefficient Government or of the Stupid Officials.

In an inscription composed in the year 1747 by Shên Tê-ch'ien, one of the literary assistants of the emperor Ch'ien Lung, and engraved upon a tree trunk, it is stated that the garden was restored and embellished by one Chiang, the Ssü-ma, when its earlier name of Cho Cheng Yüan was changed to Fu Yüan (The Restored Garden). It was then of very great extent, and contained many halls, galleries, pavilions, and kiosks, as well as terraces, hills, and lakes. The author continues: "When I returned hither [on a later occasion], the garden was still more extensive, still richer than before, with many winding paths and curving streams. High boughs of trees . . . prevented the sun's rays from penetrating; low boughs wrote characters on the mirrored surface of the water . . . The lord of the garden prepared wine, and bade his guests drink; they chanted songs, they chatted, and rejoiced. Their pleasure was very refined, and not in the least coarse.

Birds flew, fish swam, and were most interesting; it was like the days of old when neither fish nor bird feared man. Although one had not left the city mart, one seemed to have reached the hills and forests. My eyes and heart were refreshed even more than on the first visit."¹ By calling the garden Fu Yüan, Chiang Ssü-ma wished to indicate that he not only wanted to restore its former outer beauty, but also the virtues and the high literary standard that had been cultivated here by his ancestors.

The garden seems, however, to have suffered an unhappier fate, entailing encroachments upon the original area and a gradual decay. In the nineteenth century it served as a headquarters of the commanding officer of the Manchu garrison, a garrison that was composed of the so-called Eight Banners, and was for this reason called Pa Ch'i Hui Kuan. Some time afterwards it was once more privately owned, but was occupied by the insurgents during the T'ai-ping revolution. In more recent times it has served not only as a provincial yamen, but also as the meeting-place of the Manchus; one of the old pavilions was their guild-hall.

The garden and its buildings have thus known many vicissitudes and uses. Although never destroyed, they have not been kept in a state of repair. After the expulsion of the Manchus during the revolution of 1911, the process of decay seems to have proceeded unchecked. The buildings are more or less dilapidated, while an exuberant growth of weeds has been allowed to replace the water in the ponds and canals. (Plate 118.) Despite all this, the garden has retained in parts a delightful picturesque charm; decay has not altogether ruined the original beauty, though it has in the main toned it down and veiled it.

After entering from the street through the traditionally barred outer gate and walking a few steps along a high wall, one comes to the gate leading into the garden itself. (Plate 117.) This is an oval opening in the wall, on one side festooned with a tough old wistaria that is said to date back to Wên Chêng-ming's days. (Plate 114.) Just inside, where the garden proper begins, some richly modeled stone blocks have been

set up, the so-called "stones of welcome," and from this point one may continue one's stroll in various directions. Large stones arranged in the form of a zig-zag footbridge lead over to the pavilion "Of the Remote Perfumes." (Plate 18.) Beside this lies the "Southern Gallery," and on the yonder side of the big lotus pond, which is now a verdant depression, lie several other buildings with poetical names such as "New-fallen Snow and Misty Clouds" (probably referring to a special view from here), "The Ploughmen's Pavilion," "The Bamboo Grove," "The Pavilion of the Lotus Breezes" and others, of which, however, in certain cases only the more or less graphic names remain. In a sequestered corner there is a little orange or loquat plantation; beside this was formerly the site of "The Hall of the Noble Arts," where according to the old chroniclers of Suchou, Wên Chêngming and his friends used to foregather to hold competition in calligraphy, painting and poetry.

During the last few decades, as I have remarked, the process of decay has been allowed to proceed unchecked in the Cho Chêng Yüan; no attempts have been made to replace what has rotted away or crumbled. But it is precisely for this reason that the place has retained such a genuine atmosphere, a breath of something great and original, which in all its hoary simplicity convinces and irresistibly fascinates the beholder. (Plate 70.)

Quite other are the impressions one receives in the considerably smaller garden situated in the southern part of the city and known under the name of Ch'u Yüan, or Wang Shih Yüan. This has kept, in a higher degree than any other of the old Suchou gardens, the living pulse of the present, for it is still attached to a home. (Plate 121.)

According to tradition, a garden is supposed to have existed on this spot as early as the Sung period, but to what extent it corresponded to the grounds as they are today it is impossible to determine. This garden was especially renowned at the end of the eighteenth century for its magnificent peonies, which were considered to excel the famous flowers of the same kind (*paonia albiflora*) in Yangchou, at that time the garden city *par préférence* in China.

¹ Translation according to Florence Ayscough, "The Chinese Idea of a Garden" in *A Chinese Mirror* (London 1925), pp. 253-254.

Wang Shih Yüan is, as has been already remarked, a garden of very modest dimensions: but it gives the effect of being deep, mysterious and impenetrable, particularly when the trees and bushes are in full bloom. The little lake, which here, too, forms the central motif, almost makes the impression of a forest pool, where it lies surrounded with great stone-blocks, ancient trees, bridges, and galleries. (Plate 120.) There is very little room to spare; and in certain places the trees are growing through the roofs of the galleries and the rocks jut far out over the water, forming a support for bridges or for pavilions built out over the water. The artistic composition is concentrated around the lake, along the shore; the surrounding buildings open towards the lake with galleries that rise or fall or run in curves according to the modelling of the shore. (Plate 121.) The parts behind do not seem to be of such importance, at least from the artistic point of view. They consist of walls and living quarters. However, where space has permitted, these have been adapted to the natural surroundings. (Plate 25.) Thus, in a sequestered corner one finds a little plot consisting of handsome stone blocks grouped around an old tree trunk, and next to this a bordered bed for white peonies. This flower bed can be viewed from a jutting loggia or roofed platform; doubtless a favorite spot during the warm season (Plate 8), though not so inviting as the pavilion built out over the water where meals were served in summertime. Here one may enjoy without fear of disturbance the shifting lights over the surface of the water, and the silent sport of the fish under the swaying leaves of the lotus. (Plate 122.) —A garden of this kind, however, is best seen in the springtime, before the trees have broken into leaf and the magnolias and fruit trees have blossomed. This is the right time to visit these gardens, whose luxuriant beauty and shifting reflections are as fascinating as they are impossible to describe in words.

Another Suchou garden which is still inhabited and in daily use belongs to the Ku family. It is relatively new, having been laid out in the 1870's by the present owner's grandfather, Ku Ho-yi, whose doctor advised him to seek rest in Suchou and devote himself to gardening. The garden thus became a "Home for Rest,"

commonly called I Yüan. It contains several peaceful corners, paths, and prospects inviting to strolls and quiet meditation. (Plate 2.) Evidently neither trouble nor money was spared to make the place interesting and well-stocked. To an occidental observer it may seem that the designer has been guilty of certain excesses in the heaping up of "mountains" and the crowding of trees and bushes. It is not so easy to get a clear survey in this medley of strange stones and trees; but it was perhaps not the intention that one should. (Plate 123.) A garden of this sort should fascinate with its abundance and with surprises rather than by any orderly pattern. A dominating motif, however, is the central fish and lotus pond, with its facing of uncommonly high and sheer stones and a setting of various kinds of trees. In springtime, when they break into bloom, one after the other, the place is enchantingly beautiful. On the occasion of my visit there in the middle of March the plum trees and camellias had already blossomed; but a number of other *prunus* species, apricots, and peaches, as well as magnolias, both the white-flowered and the smaller pink-blossomed ones, were all in full bloom, and spread a veil of vibrating light tones over the dark branches of the trees. The leaves had not yet unfolded, but the dwarf maples were shot with red and the willows with pale green before their draperies had assumed their deeper, riper hue. Each tree seemed to greet the spring with its own melody, with its individual voice and tint. And the picture was enlivened with the white, red-crested herons as they wandered about on their long legs between the hollow stone blocks, reminding one of the decorative compositions of the academic court painters from the Ch'ien Lung period. (Plate 124.)

Interest in garden art was by no means extinguished in Suchou with the new era introduced by the revolution (1911). During the last few decades efforts have been made to restore decayed older gardens or to lay out new ones. Among the restorations we may note the garden attached to the so-called Wang school for girls, which on the occasion of my visit appeared rather flat and desolate, as the ground was not diversified by any hills, the vegetation was meager and there was no water; (Plate 125A) but it did contain one un-

usually impressive old garden rock, a monument of a type no longer obtainable in China. (Plate 31.)

Another old garden that has undergone transformations connected with its adaptation to a modern institution is the so-called Tsang Lang T'ing, an establishment with traditions from the Sung period. It has been thoroughly destroyed on various occasions, most recently during the T'ai-ping ravages. It was restored in the 1870's, and was chosen in the year 1927 as a suitable site for the new academy of art, as already mentioned. The garden was thus saved from complete dissolution, but it has nonetheless suffered considerably, for the original picturesque buildings have been replaced by a huge palace with a pseudo-classical colonnade. An unusual feature in this garden is the canal surrounding it. This is spanned by a bridge leading to the open arcade which here replaces the usual circumambient wall. (Plate 125B.)

The new gardens to which I had access on the occasion of my last visit in Suchou (1935) were designed in the traditional style with a wealth of stones and water; and as the trees had not yet had time to attain impressive proportions, the richly silhouetted rocks were all the more imposing. Still, the impression of the whole was by no means the same as of the old gardens. A certain monotony, due to the lining up or grouping of the stones, counteracted their expressiveness and revealed the lack of creative imagination. (Plate 126.)

Suchou's importance as a center for painting and garden art gradually diminished after the fall of the Ming Dynasty. Other places with greater claims in these respects came to the fore at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Foremost among these should be mentioned Yangchou, a small city situated somewhat farther north on the Grand Canal, and the idyllic Nanziang in the vicinity of Shanghai. Several of the most original and gifted representatives for the *hsieh-i* school of painting settled in Yangchou, and as at the same time the city was lifted on a wave of economic prosperity, considerable efforts were made in the sphere of garden art. Yangchou became widely known for its gardens; and that these were not without artistic merit emerges from the fact that more

than one of them was laid out after designs by Shih-t'ao, the highly imaginative painter and poet whose name is now reckoned as one of the foremost in the history of Chinese art. Their beauty and fame are also confirmed by the fact that the emperor Ch'ien Lung visited Yangchou on two occasions in order to get artistic ideas and material for his pleasure parks in the environs of Peking.—Of the Yangchou gardens practically nothing now remains; they were destroyed during the T'ai-ping rebellion, and efforts made to restore two of them—Ho Yüan and P'ing Shan T'ang—seem not to have had any permanent result. They are, however, especially deserving of remembrance because of their historical importance as models for later gardens in the imperial pleasure grounds outside Peking; some of the most beautiful stones in the latter are said to have come from gardens in Yangchou.

Nanziang has been more fortunate in retaining its former character of an idyllic garden city. Here one still finds both temple grounds and smaller private gardens with mirroring fishponds in a setting of rustic stone benches and picturesque pavilions under ancient trees. The best known of the older gardens is Chi Yüan, which is considered to date back to the Ming period, though it has since known many vicissitudes. At the beginning of the century it belonged to a temple, but is now a public park, a circumstance which has not been calculated to keep the grounds in their original condition. Here, as in so many other places in South China, it is above all the good water supply and the consequent luxuriant vegetation, in part growing wild, that give the gardens their character. (Plate 127.) However much has been destroyed or changed in point of formal design, life nevertheless still pulses through these grounds and perpetuates the atmosphere of former happier days.

EVEN if the richest and most original garden culture in China is to be found in the southern provinces, there has been no lack of gardens in the northern parts of the country. Especially since the beginning of the fifteenth century when Peking once more became

the capital and the imperial court with its numerous satellites returned, was there an increased need not only of princely mansions but also of gardens. The new surge of nationalism and creative activity in various fields demanded adequate surroundings of a traditional type. The new gardens in and around Peking were, as a matter of fact, in many instances made after southern models even though some of them were more extensive than those in the densely populated cities farther south. The new capital offered more space, and thus some quarters of the city assumed the verdant, not to say rural, character that to a certain extent they have retained to this day. In its main features the city plan has remained unchanged, even if many sites have been put to different uses according to the requirements of later periods.

Under the great Manchu emperors at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, Peking experienced a resurgence. Many new buildings were erected, and the capital was embellished not only with temples and palaces, but with pleasure parks and gardens as well; and it is in many cases almost impossible to decide without documentary support whether a certain garden dates from the Ming period or was first laid out in the time of K'ang Hsi or Ch'ien Lung. So many of these gardens existed since the fifteenth century but were in part restored and changed during the Ch'ien Lung period, or later. Several of the residences of the Manchu princes, for example, were built upon the foundation of half-destroyed or decayed establishments from the Ming period, and were provided with gardens that in some cases have been preserved right up to our times. It was especially the northern and western parts of the capital that were occupied by the dwellings of the Manchu princes and noblemen, but it is not always easy to locate them at once, for they are concealed behind high walls over whose tops one barely glimpses the trees. It is only when one enters these grounds through the monumental gates, or, still better, when one observes them from an elevated vantage point, that one can form an idea of the significance of such verdant oases in the panorama of the otherwise somewhat drab and sandy city.—The residences of the princes form

a class by themselves, something between the imperial pleasure parks and the more modest and intimate gardens attached to so many of the dwellings of wealthy citizens. These latter, however, have now for the most part disappeared.

This by no means exhausts the list of gardens in Peking; there have been many others, both private and public, belonging to societies and guilds and to official institutions. But to seek out all the remains of decayed gardens remaining in the somewhat labyrinthine city would take us too far. Peking has indeed, and to a greater extent than a superficial visit might lead one to suppose, been a garden city; but it has at the same time also been the stage of historical dramas that have entailed many changes of the decorative setting.

Before we set off on a tour of the imperial pleasure parks, of which some have been preserved, even if in a state of decay, let us pay a hasty visit to a few of the former princely residences and their private gardens in order to form some idea of their characteristic arrangements and picturesque beauty as they existed a quarter of a century ago, when I had the good fortune to visit and photograph the noblest of them: to wit, Li Wang Fu, Jui Wang Fu, Ch'êng Wang Fu, Ch'un Wang Fu (also called Lao Ch'i Yeh Fu), Ch'i Yeh Fu (also named Hsin Ch'un Wang Fu), Kung Wang Fu, and Tao Pei Lê Fu. Of these, the three first-mentioned are probably the oldest, belonging to families descended from the so-called "old princes," who were created by the first Manchu emperor; the rest were designed later.

The largest of these palace compounds or so-called *fu* comprised as many as twenty courts, of which those in front usually served for ceremonial purposes, while those in the rear were surrounded by the dwellings of the widely ramifying families. Such a residence, however, also included gardens of varying size, with smaller buildings and pavilions intended as well for the enjoyment of the shifting natural scenery as for meditation or for artistic and literary occupations. In certain cases these might be extended to almost park-like grounds with mountains and grottoes, ponds and canals.

As we are interested in the gardens rather than in the buildings, we shall derive most profit from a visit to Ch'êng Wang Fu and Kung Wang Fu, despite the fact that at the beginning of the 1920's these residences were by no means the best preserved of the princely palaces. Ch'êng Wang Fu has now probably been completely destroyed. The establishment existed as early as the sixteenth century, when it belonged to the emperor Wan Li's trusted minister, Li Liang; but it was renewed in the first half of the nineteenth century by the then owner, Prince Ch'êng, who was for many years the governor of Peking. Its last renaissance was, however, of short duration, for Prince Ch'êng's eldest son was a notorious libertine and opium fiend, who was finally compelled to surrender the family residence. Since then it seems to have been abandoned to a process of gradual decay.

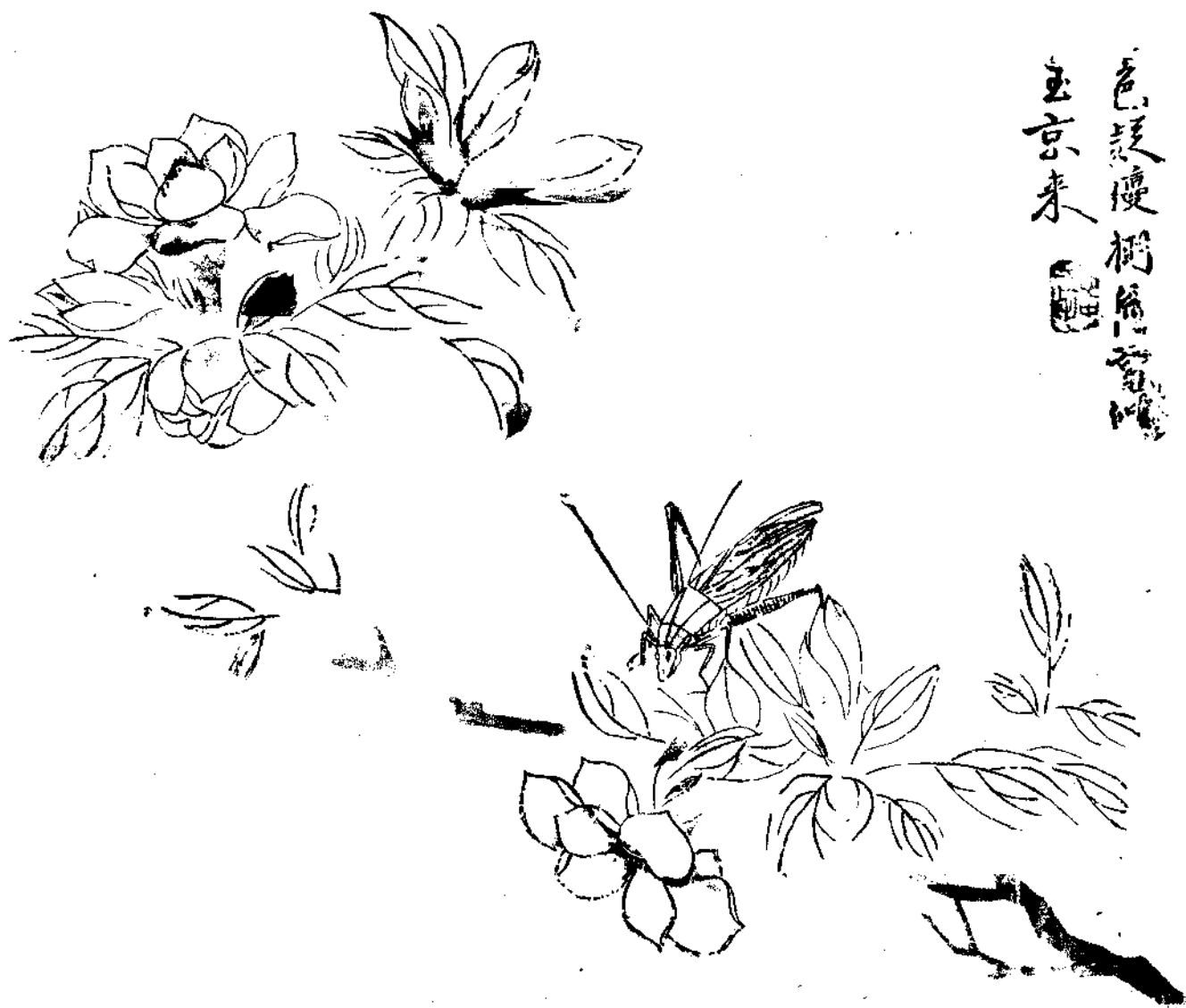
The great outer gate of Ch'êng Wang Fu is not among the most monumental of its kind; but it is shaded by ancient trees and guarded, like all these gates, by a pair of stately marble lions. In the entrance hall were formerly preserved standards, halberds, drums, and other equipment for the bodyguard, as may still be seen in the entrance hall at Li Wang Fu. After passing through this hall and a couple of open courtyards, one comes to Yin An Tien, "The Hall of Silver Peace," a sort of reception hall still showing traces of its original beautiful ceiling decoration and wall paintings, but without any fittings or furniture. (Plate 129B.) Behind this, when we have passed still another courtyard, lies Shên Tien, "The Spirit Hall." This is the largest and most noble of the buildings, and was used on the occasion of the ritual sacrifices to the ancestors and for other family ceremonies.—If we continue along the main axis and its cross-axes we gradually penetrate into the parts that served as dwelling quarters. These are characterized by a greater intimacy, especially as the buildings appear in a setting of blossoming trees and shrubs.

A number of these buildings are still provided with "name-boards" indicating their original uses, and in some cases giving one a glimpse into the world of thought from which they crystallized. Let us first visit the Lai Shêng Ko, a pavilion intended for the

composition of poetry. The atmosphere of this place is no less inspiring because weeds and bushes have begun to grow in through the open door. (Plate 130B.) From here we may proceed to another little courtyard, not less idyllic from having been allowed to run wild undisturbed. It is shaded by a big willow tree, while small locust trees and other self-sown plants have struck root between the stone slabs of the terrace and in the sculptured marble bath before the building (intended for flowers). According to the name—Wei Shan Tsui Lao T'ang—the pavilion behind this on the balustraded terrace was dedicated to The Highest Joy and Goodness, by which is probably meant the inner gladness and equilibrium that are attained by meditation. (Plate 130A.)

Through a side gate one enters the great park-like garden circumscribed by the family dwellings. Its central part is taken up by a rather large pond. The willow trees lean over the surface of the water in which elegant pavilions were once reflected. This, however, is a thing of the past: between the stone slabs forming the bed of the pond, grasses, hibiscus, and iris—survivors from a long-past summer—now push upward. (Plate 131B.) Much has fallen into decay, but what still remains of mountains and water, as well as of the buildings, invests this place, too, with a shimmer of romance. Here we find "The Pavilion of the Riding Rainbow" (K'ua Chiang T'ing), "The Kiosk of the Happy Morning" (Chao Shuang Ko), the open hall for "The Retention of the Spring" (Tien Ch'un T'ang), with other buildings whose names appeal to the imagination, while their floating roofs above the airy latticework in the doors, windows, and balustrades seem to connect them with the growing surroundings in a natural way. The buildings in places are badly damaged, pillars and roof are hoary and moss-grown; but it is not hard to imagine the parts which are lacking, and to see in one's mind's eye the pavilion crowning the bridge over the pond, and its reflection in the water. The architectonic composition then gains an artistic expressiveness that also explains its name, The Pavilion of the Riding Rainbow. The reflection was doubtless more rainbow-like than the building itself, though this, too, with its

色淡優桐
玉京來



Printed in Sweden

Chih Tzū (*Gardenia florida*). Chinese gardenia. Woodcut after a painting by Wu Yüan-yü (about 1050—1104).

succession of curving roofs and its position on the bridge, might well have given the impression of floating in the air. (Plate 131A.)—Farther off in the garden lies Hsi Hsien Lou, "The Loft for the Western Fairies," i.e., the theater, a two-storey building with a jutting veranda or loft, where the "fairies" sang their songs and declaimed while other scenes were enacted on the platform below. (Plate 129A.)

The vegetation at the time of my visit bore witness to the same neglect as the buildings, though one might find here beautiful specimens of catalpa, of albizzia, of *huai-shu*, and weeping willow, as well as some stunted tree peonies and other flowers. Doubtless when the ponds were full of water, all these were young and fresh; but no such wealth of blossoming and fragrant trees and bushes as that which so enchants one in the Suchou gardens has ever characterized either this or any other pleasure ground in Peking. Nor have the stones and "mountains" been so richly represented here as in the southern provinces, perhaps because the necessarily long transports made them so expensive. In Ch'êng Wang Fu there was only a minor rockery, arranged as a grotto near a spring. It was supplemented by a pavilion called Sou Yü T'ing, "The Pavilion of the Purifying Jade," a name that probably refers to a spring whose waters were as clear and purifying as jade.

In its heyday at the end of the last century, Kung Wang Fu was the largest and stateliest of all the residences of the Manchu princes in Peking: a really important establishment that also included a richly developed garden. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century the property had belonged to the emperor Ch'ien Lung's well-known favorite Ho-shen, who resided here until he fell into disfavor and was forced to commit suicide in the year 1799.² According to the tradition, his residence might in some points have vied with the emperor's in splendor and artistic decorativeness (a circumstance which contributed to Ho-shen's fall), but of this, nothing seems to have been preserved. On Ho-shen's death his property was

confiscated, and the palace was bestowed upon Ch'ien Lung's seventeenth son, Prince Ch'ing, and was afterwards inherited by the latter's son. After this, in the year 1849, it was returned to the state; but two years later it was bestowed upon the emperor Tao Kuang's sixth son, I-hsin, best known as Prince Kung. He was, as we know, China's most important official representative during the critical decades just after the middle of the nineteenth century, and was entrusted with the difficult task of negotiating with the European Great Powers after the bitter experiences of 1860.

It was through his energetic and well-planned work as builder and garden amateur that Kung Wang Fu attained the dimensions and the magnificence that in the main it has kept up to this day, even though the maintenance of the buildings and the garden practically came to an end after Prince Kung's death in 1898. Certain parts of the palace, however, were used by younger members of the family—the grandsons of the founder, the princes Pu-wei and Pu-ju—right up to the end of the 1930's, when the entire property was sold to the Catholic University in Peking (Fu Jên Ta Hsüeh). It must not be forgotten that Prince Pu-ju, well known as a painter, tried to maintain something of Kung Wang Fu's former dignity and attractiveness with receptions and garden fêtes from time to time, and to which occidental as well as oriental visitors were invited.

It is not necessary to consider in detail the architectural structure of the establishment, or the part occupying the southern half of the extensive grounds. It is not impossible that certain of the buildings date from Ho-shen's time, but no detailed investigation of their age has so far been undertaken. At all events, the plan is uniform throughout, and is typical of these palatial establishments in China. It is oriented due south, with three parallel main axes, each consisting of six successive courts surrounded by halls and galleries. The whole of this architecturally developed southern part is completed with a long two-storey building, which with its open galleries forms an effective background. Behind this lies the garden, which is likewise divided into three sections, although these are not so symmetrically arranged as the cor-

² The historical data concerning Kung Wang Fu have been taken from the well-documented essay published by H. S. Chen and G. N. Kates in *Monumenta Serica*, 1940, under the title "Prince Kung's Palace and Its Adjoining Garden."

responding sections in the southern part of the establishment.

This garden apparently was originally laid out by Prince Kung during the decades immediately after the middle of the nineteenth century, but in a style faithfully adhering to the principles of composition that have been observed in China for centuries. Its picturesque beauty and striking decorative arrangements were thus above all the result of a skilful exploitation of the "mountains" and the water; the latter, true, has been allowed to dry up, but the "mountains" still remain to convey something of the romantic atmosphere that once prevailed in this place.—A few notes to accompany the photographs taken by the author here in 1922 and 1930 may be of interest, because much that has since disappeared or been changed was then still in its original state.

The main entrance to the middle part of the garden is through a gate designed in a quasi-occidental style, the rather surprising appearance of which in this place is modified by the Chinese inscription: Ching Han T'ai Ku (Stillness Embraces the Remotest Past). On entering, the visitor is confronted with stately rock formations, including one in the shape of a tall portal, the top of which is formed by a recumbent block, a stone structure executed with great boldness combined with skillful distribution of the masses of light and shade playing on the soft background of deep greenery. (Plate 136.)

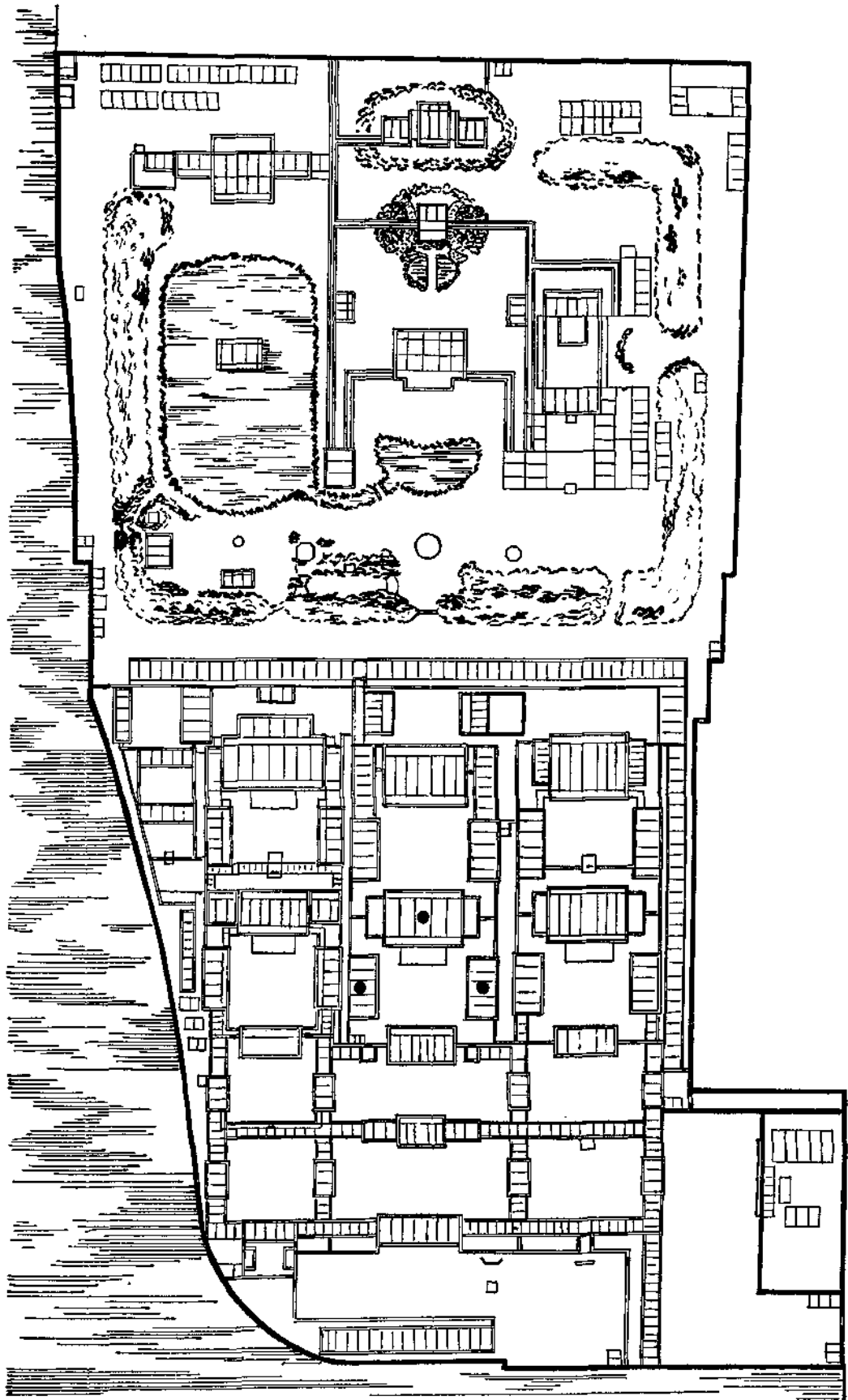
At the entrance to the first big court there lies a pond with a feeding canal, in a setting of unhewn rustic stone blocks, some of which also served as stepping stones. The pond is shaded by willows and *Gleditsia sinensis* (a tree that is well represented in this garden); but as there is no water, the trees do not appear to best advantage. On a stone platform behind the pond lies a long pavilion with a jutting veranda and the name An Shan T'ang (The Hall of Peaceful Goodness). It stretches out its arms in the form of sloping galleries to east and west, being thus connected with the long side-galleries running north and south. (Plate 132.) The decorative effect must have been extremely fascinating when the water mir-

rored the trees and with its reflections enriched the play of light and shade between the pillars of the buildings.

The court behind this is somewhat broader. It is encircled only by outer galleries, running parallel with though outside those which enclose the court in front. The uncommon length of these outer galleries and their comprehensive contours can be observed best on the west side, to which we shall return presently. In the middle of the background, dominating the whole court, is a huge mountain, built up of hollowed and jagged stones, in front of which a narrow streamlet formerly wound. In the middle of the mountain yawns a grotto, and on either side of this run winding tunnels leading to the yonder side where sloping galleries take one up to an open hall behind the crest of the mountain. The mountain is called Ti Ts'ui Yen (The Gorge of Dripping Verdure), a name originating in the fact that from a receptacle placed up on the mountain [and filled with a bucket when required] water seeped down into the grotto and thence into the little pond before the mountain. The grotto itself, named Pi Yün Tung (The Grotto of the Secret Clouds), was regarded as one of the most fascinating and wonderful parts of this extensive pleasure ground, while the mountain terrace, known as Yao Yüeh T'ai (Terrace for the Invitation of the Moon), formed a romantic summit in the garden. (Plate 133.)

Farther north, beyond this central area, there is another court of somewhat lesser dimensions, which is mostly taken up by a fairly large building, in part surrounded by boldly piled rocks. The motifs are of the same kind as those already mentioned, though in varying combinations.

The eastern section of the garden, which has a special entrance from the south, is largely taken up by the theater, an extensive building-complex consisting of several units around smaller courts. These buildings have no actual formal connection with the garden proper; but it is certainly typical that here, as also in Ch'êng Wang Fu and at the imperial summer palaces, the theater was accorded considerable space. The most picturesque garden motif in this section is the open



A drawing after a sketch-map of Kung Wang Fu published in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. V. Here reproduced with the permission of the publisher, Henry Vetch, Peking.

octagonal pavilion under an ancient willow shown on Plate 49.

The western section was largely occupied by a large rectangular pond, whose impressive dimensions may still be observed, even though it has dried up. To fill this huge basin with water must certainly have been a considerable undertaking, for the water was not conducted hither from some nearby lake or river, but was pumped up out of a spring in the vicinity, which was connected with the pond by means of a subterranean canal.³ This was done in the traditional manner with the help of a water-wheel which was turned by asses, plodding blindfold round and round for hours. As the bed of the pond was not paved, but consisted of stamped earth in which grass and other plants had struck root, the filling had to be repeated rather frequently.

The sides of the pond, on the other hand, were faced with several layers of coarse stone blocks partly rising over the surface of the water and forming a sort of rustic podium or steps to the galleries running along the two long sides of the pond. In certain places the willows had struck root between the stone blocks, so that they could lean over the mirroring water, while tall ailanthus trees stretched their branches over the galleries from the opposite side. The trees and the buildings thus combined with the stones and the water to bring out a shifting succession of picturesque compositions.—Characteristically enough, one of the two long galleries was called *Shih Hua Fang* (The Boat of Poetry and Painting), a name that may refer to impressions resembling those one may get on a voyage in a boat, if it does not indicate that paintings and writings were aired here on certain occasions. (Plate 132.)

In the center of the basin, on a rather high platform of hewn stone, there is a long open pavilion called *Kuan Yü T'ai* (Terrace for the Observation of Fishes). This building is quite isolated, lacking any connection with the bank, so that it could evidently be reached only by boat. Like a number of other such water-surrounded pavilions in the imperial pleasure parks, it was supposed to give the appearance of being lifted

and duplicated by its reflection in the water below—an impression, however, which it is now only possible to conjure in one's imagination. (Plate 135A.)

At the farther end of the pond appears a group of fantastically shaped stones, which were probably partly covered by water; and farther north, on the bank, there is a little orchard before a largish hall which was used as a dwelling. (Plate 135B.)—It was in this part of the garden (Plate 137) that Prince Pu-ju, the art lover and painter, used to bring together his friends, both foreigners and Chinese, in springtime when the fruit trees were clad in delicate blossoms, to celebrate garden fêtes. Even female members of the family attended these events; then the flowering loveliness and the mobile, colorful groups against a background of graceful pavilions and galleries were like an echo of times when, with the light shimmering on the ponds and the wind singing through the wooden pipes of the doves high up in the air, a pleasure ground like this became a scene for living idylls of chinoiserie in silk and paint.

As a contrast to the striking and fantastic stone compositions in *Kung Wang Fu*, one may turn to the rather simple arrangements of the elements found in the most modern of all the gardens of the Manchu princes in Peking, that belonging to Prince Tao Pei Lê, which was obviously laid out at the beginning of this century. The then owner was a widely traveled, wealthy and intelligent representative for the ideas of the new era (like his kinsman, the emperor Kuang Hsü), a man who wished to merge the old with the new also at his establishment in Peking. The main buildings, from the monumental gateway to the customary hall of ancestors, are executed in traditional style, and some of the open courts are shaded by great trees; but he has sought to make the garden proper into something very unusual by combining the Chinese mountain and stone motifs with quasi-European summer houses and fountains. The former have an unmistakable flavor of cheap western carpentry, while the crowning bronze putto of the fountain seems rather out of place on the rustic rock. The result exemplifies the difficulty of merging elements of different origin

³ Cf. Ch'ên and Kates, *Prince Kung's Palace* etc., p. 56.

in a garden composition, and of setting up fantastically modeled rocks in a Europeanized establishment. How much easier it is, after all, to draw up the firm contours for an architectural plan than to heighten the capriciously irregular forms of Nature to the point of artistic expressiveness! (Plate 138.)

A hybrid product like this, however, is exceptional in Peking. There are several gardens in the former capital, laid out or restored at the end of the nineteenth century or later, when they fell into foreign hands, yet which have retained a thoroughly homogeneous traditional stamp. These are, certainly, of more limited dimensions, yet they can be very fascinating. One of the best examples is the garden that at the end of last century belonged to Chang Ching-wei, and in the 1920's was acquired by an Italian merchant. It is not known when the garden was first laid out; but it is supposed to have been given its present very rich design by the man who supervised the restoration of the gardens of the New Summer Palace for the dowager empress Tzū Hsi. His name was Kuei Chung-t'ang, and he is said to have taken over for his own use a number of garden stones and other material that had been requisitioned for the imperial pleasure park. (See Plates 24, 28, 30, 79.)

This may help to explain the uncommonly striking, not to say magnificent rock formations that here provide the setting for the big pond and its dominating central motif. They are extremely effective, not inferior to the mountains in the imperial pleasure parks, and, like these, are combined with open pavilions, bridges, and balustraded galleries which serve as decorative settings for the shifting scenes that unfold from different points. In recent years the water supply has obviously not been sufficient to fill the ponds, but the vegetation in the fertile mud at their bottom has nevertheless continued to flourish. Thus the irises still bloom in spring, as in summer the lotus. (Plate 140.)

As a minor example of the way in which the traditional elements may be merged in a harmonious manner in a relatively small space, I may also mention the carefully tended, idyllic garden attached to the dwelling of the old bibliophile, Fu Tsêng-hsiang, in

the western quarter of Peking. (Plate 142.) It occupies the entire court in front of the house, being bounded on one side by the house, and on another side by an open gallery or communication between different parts of the dwelling. (Plate 58.) Here, too, there is a pond, although of very modest dimensions. The pond is bordered by hollow stone formations, and over these rises a pavilion which is shaded by a big willow tree. It invites rest and meditation; it is the central motif of the composition and here one may become absorbed in contemplation of the silent play of the fishes and the shifting reflections of light on the mirroring surface of the water. Other prospects present themselves from the veranda or the room in front of the house where meals are served in summertime. Here the view is divided and accentuated by the hollow rocks between the trees, which are partly covered by creepers. The composition is rich in detail and variety, and each feature is done full justice without being in any way stressed at the expense of the ensemble. Diversity is not confusing or wearying; everything contributes to an atmosphere of pleasant rest and harmony.

Besides the above-mentioned gardens there are still, in the secluded residential quarters in Peking, a number of more or less important remains of old pleasure grounds. Lacking illustrations of these, brief mention will be made only of the old garden in Hai-t'ien, a formerly very popular spot situated half way between the city and the Summer Palace, and laid out for Manchurian and Mongolian princes during the Ch'ien Lung period and later. Thanks to the good supply of water, these gardens are blooming and romantic even in decay; but they can scarcely be said to contain any important artistic elements differing from those we have already observed. Altogether, the compositional elements remain fairly constant, but the way in which they are exploited varies according to the local conditions. (Plate 141.)

During the last three or four decades, as has already been remarked, even occidentals who have settled in Peking have successfully restored or transformed neglected gardens attached to their dwellings. A very attractive instance is the miniature garden which Mr. Cockell had laid out in his grounds. (Plates 143, 144.)

GARDENS OF CHINA

Actually, it consists only of a large marble bath with blooming plants; but behind this rises a terrace surmounted by a pavilion in the back wall of which there is a circular moon gate. The view through this is focussed upon a high, fantastic stone—one gets an impression of something lying beyond, a garden that

may be divined, but not measured with a rod or surveyed. The fundamental note in Chinese garden art is here conveyed with the simplest means in a most effective way. It shows how the traditional elements of the Chinese garden can be made to serve in a modern composition.

THE PARKS OF THE SEA PALACES

IF THERE are any establishments in the northern capital that have retained a reflection of the romantic atmosphere which characterized the former imperial pleasure parks in China, they are surely those on the shores of the Three Lakes or so-called Seas: Nan Hai, Chung Hai and Pei Hai. This at least was my impression a quarter of a century ago, when I had the opportunity of rambling and photographing at my pleasure in these parks, which at that time were still closed against the outer world. One felt there a stillness and a solitude that made one's mind susceptible to the whisperings of memories long past, and opened one's ears to the silent poetry that broke out in flowering chords when the trees budded in the spring. It was like strolling over empty stages, where the exquisite decorations had been allowed to remain, though the actors had long since vanished and their festive merriment been replaced by complete silence.

Little is now left of this atmosphere. The scenes have been veiled, destroyed, or have faded away; and the memories of bygone splendors pale beside other impressions that impose themselves since these exclusive pleasure parks have been turned into popular recreation grounds with tea houses and restaurants where meals are served for *profanum vulgus*. This last phase in the history of the "Sea Palaces" is probably connected with the endeavor to find funds for the maintenance of the buildings and the gardens; but if anything has been gained in this respect it is outweighed by the simultaneous loss of greater historical and artistic values.

With few exceptions, the pictures and impressions from the gardens of the Sea Palaces here presented, however, date from the period before this last transformation, and thus retain motifs and undertones that have since been dispelled. It has not been my intention

to give an idea of the actual conditions now obtaining, or a detailed history of the grounds, but only to convey impressions of their artistic character and beauty—a task only partially fulfilled, because of the wealth of the material and the limitations of space.

The first origins of these pleasure parks are believed to date as far back as the twelfth century, when "The Golden Tartars" or the Chin Dynasty ruled in North China; their capital lay close to the southwestern corner of the present city of Peking. According to tradition, it was then that the canal or the series of small lakes was dug, through which water was conducted from the springs at the foot of The Western Hills to "the palace city" in Peking, a conduit which was given the name Chin Shui, The Golden Water. The three lakes were excavated to a certain extent, the soil was thrown up to form islands and terraces, and the shores were turned into pleasure parks by the planting of thousands of trees and the erection of graceful buildings.¹ Under the government of Khublai Khan, when the new capital, Khanbalik, was built on the site now largely occupied by Peking, these grounds were included within the precincts of the imperial residence, called Ta Nei, and embellished by further excavations and plantings.

Through Marco Polo, who visited Khanbalik at this time, we learn that the great Mongol emperor had a "mountain" or big hill made of the earth thrown up from the excavation of the lake, and that he built a pavilion for his son upon this height. The mountain rises as impressively as of yore; it is the big island at the southern end of Pei Hai called Ch'ung Hua Tao, or nowadays commonly Pai T'a Shan (The

¹ For more detailed historical data the reader is referred to the Chinese local chronicle *Shun T'ien Fu Chih* and Bretschneider's *Archaeological and Historical Researches*.

Mountain of the White Tower) after the Indian marble dagoba that has crowned the hill since the year 1652. (Plate 145.) Marco Polo found the place unusually interesting; he tells us that this hill, "which has an altitude of at least one hundred paces and a circumference at the base of about one mile," is "planted with the most beautiful evergreen trees, for as soon as His Majesty hears of a beautiful tree growing anywhere he has it dug up with all the roots and earth around, and however big and heavy it may be, he moves it with the help of elephants to this hill, whose collection is thus constantly being increased. And since the hill is always clad in green, it has been given the name The Green Hill. On its top lies an elegant pavilion, which is likewise entirely green. All of this together, the hill itself, the trees and the buildings, offer a delightful and at the same time wonderful prospect."

We shall return to the present appearance of this "mountain," its graceful buildings, magnificent rock formations, and other decorative arrangements when we begin our ramble in the Pei Hai park; but first we will turn to another spot in the vicinity, which is also mentioned by Marco Polo, and which on the whole has retained more of its original character, to wit, the high terrace, surmounted by buildings and ancient trees, which on account of its form goes under the name of T'uan Ch'êng, The Round Wall or Castle. (Plate 147.) This rises on a spit of land at the entrance to Pei Hai, and is connected with the Pai T'a Shan island by a long marble bridge, the Wu Kung Ch'iao (Centipede Bridge). Originally, however, this also was an isolated island. The terrace was called I T'ien T'ai (The Terrace of Heavenly Virtue), and it is probable that it was used as a secluded spot for meditation or for enjoying the view, even in the earliest times. The buildings on the terrace have been restored several times, but the trees are obviously older; according to the tradition, one of them—the Ma Sung Wei (The Horse Tail Pine)—is supposed to have been planted as early as the twelfth century. (Plate 150.) It is very possible that this, like so many Chinese traditions, is somewhat exaggerated; but these are in any case very ancient specimens of *Juniperus obivensis*, whose

gnarled trunks and hoary branches evoke thoughts of a gray and very remote past. They harmonize well with the hollow and rugged stone blocks, which have in places been piled up to form something resembling wild mountain formations—an impression that is stronger here than in later gardens with similar features.

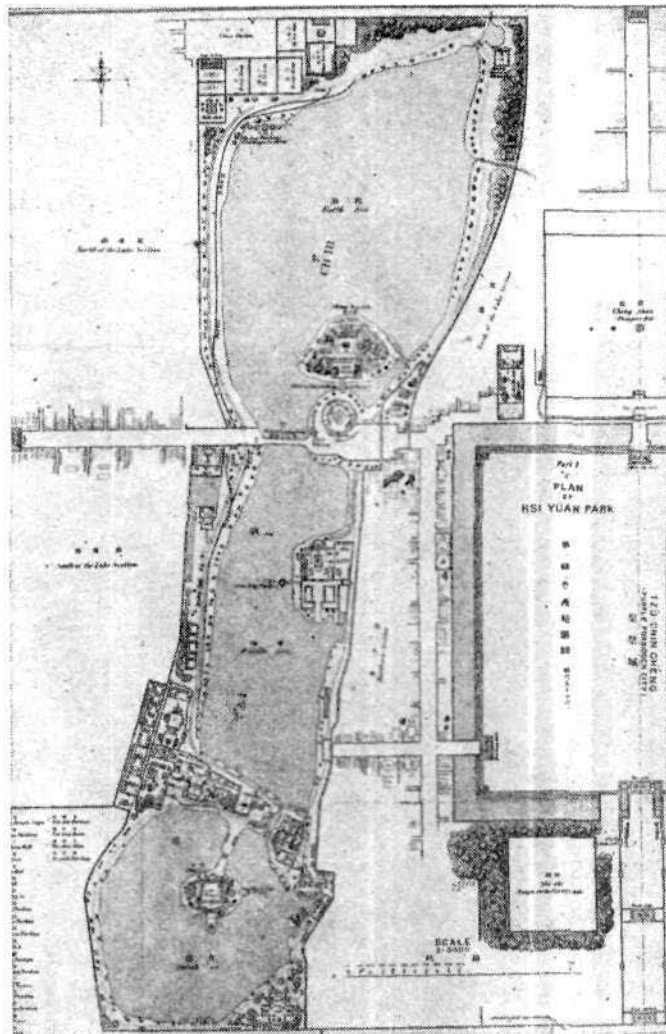
Up here on the terrace, moreover, there is preserved in an open pavilion an extremely interesting though little-known work of art from the Yüan period. This is a richly sculptured jade bowl which, both because of its great dimensions and its magnificent decoration, consisting of dragons and billowing waters, occupies a prominent place among older Chinese works of jade. The emperor Ch'ien Lung had it placed on a sculptured marble foot and provided it with a longish poetical inscription. On the other hand, the great Buddha statue adorning Ch'ien Kuang Tien (the largest of the relatively small buildings on the terrace) is not, as has often been stated, of jade, but of a white stone resembling alabaster. It is probably not older than the first half of the eighteenth century. The buildings, among which may be noted two elegant open pavilions, may be of even later origin; they have at all events been restored later.—Although the T'uan Ch'êng terrace is not situated in any of the actual park areas in Pei Hai, it nonetheless offers much of interest in the works of art there preserved and in its remains of garden elements, of rugged stone blocks and hoary *cryptomerias*.

It is conceivable that remains of Khublai Khan's gardens at "The Three Seas" might be discovered also in other parts of this vast area; but in such case they are well hidden under later buildings and plantations. The work of embellishing the parks was resumed with renewed zeal when in the 1420's the emperor Yung Lo had the new residence set up in Peking. The establishment was built in such a way that "The Three Seas" lay outside the western wall of the palace proper, forming a pleasant and easily accessible annex for the inhabitants of the Winter Palace during the warm season. The grounds became known under the name of The Western Park, Hsi Yüan, or The Golden Sea, Chin Hai (perhaps because one could observe

the sunset from here); and certain parts thereof were used as a summer residence by the emperor Yung Lo, which entailed further excavation of the lakes and extensive planting and building activities. It was then, presumably, that the lakes were given the configuration that they have retained up to the present, despite the fact that the adjacent gardens and buildings were renewed by the Manchu emperors in the eighteenth century, as well as by their glorious successor, the empress Tzū Hsi. It is due to the endeavors of these monarchs to create summer residences with garden *milieus in the traditional style, with artistic and natural means*, that the best preserved of the gardens on the shores of "The Three Seas" have the character that distinguishes them to this day. It was also during this period that the names now in use, Nan Hai, Chung Hai, and Pei Hai, The Southern, Middle, and Northern Sea, were introduced.

These extensive grounds, which are largely filled with water (as were formerly the parks at Yüan Ming Yüan), fall into three distinct sections. The southernmost, or Nan Hai, is a special lake of almost circular form which is connected with the middle lake by two canals spanned with bridges. Chung Hai is a long stretch of water, in form reminiscent of a fish. It is now separated from Pei Hai by the reclaimed land upon which the above-mentioned round terrace is situated, and the long marble bridge leading from here over to the western shore, Chün Ao Yü Tung Ch'iao: The Bridge of the Golden Turtle and the Jade Butterfly. Until the end of the 1920's, this bridge was provided with a screen-wall that prevented pedestrians from looking out over the secluded Chung Hai; but the view from the bridge is now free on both sides. It is, moreover, both on account of its length and its artistic decoration, regarded as the finest bridge in Peking. (Plate 146.)

The dominating central feature in Nan Hai is Ying T'ai, The Ocean Terrace, a round island connected with the mainland by a long bank of earth. At the narrowest point the bank is broken off, and the gap is spanned by a drawbridge; when this is lifted, Ying T'ai is completely isolated from the mainland. During the two years that the emperor Kuang Hsü spent here



Plan of The Three Lakes and surrounding grounds in Peking.

as the prisoner of the old dowager empress after the unsuccessful *coup d'état* of 1898, and after the Boxer Rising when he was a sick and broken man, gradually fading away like the gray daylight over the still lake, the bridge was raised daily.

This island, which was thus for several years the captive and rightful monarch's sole kingdom, measures scarcely more than three to four hundred meters in diameter; but there is nonetheless room for several pavilions and galleries, albeit of relatively modest dimensions, adapted to the available space. Tall trees grow along the shores, and in certain spots store blocks are piled up to form proper mountains which, together with the graceful buildings rising in places out of the water, contribute to the general impression

of a fairy terrace or an "Isle of Bliss"—the so-called Pêng Lai—rising out of the world ocean. There are certainly now no other grounds in China in which this motif, so often recurring in poetry and painting, has been so adequately expressed in an architectural composition. As, moreover, the Ying T'ai isle with its buildings, thanks to its isolated position, has remained relatively undamaged to this day (it was not until the beginning of the 1930's that one of the pavilions was converted into a "restaurant"), it will easily be realized that the place in its entirety is well worth the attention of those who wish to experience something of the atmosphere of the former imperial pleasure parks.

When approaching Ying T'ai from the north, over the drawbridge, one ascends to the terrace proper along a broad, gently sloping ramp between gnarled old ailanthus trees. (Plate 151A.) One is then confronted by a long, curving gallery called Hsiang Luan Ko, The Pavilion of the Hovering Phoenix. Inside this two-storey building, in the most graceful palace style, there is a small court which is surrounded by some smaller but similar buildings graced with such names as Han Yüan Tien, Hsiang I Tien (The Hall of the Fragrant Screen) and Tsao Yün Lou (The House of Sweet Harmonies). (Plate 152.) On the south side of this building-complex, down by the shore where the old trees lean out over the water, lies Ch'un Ming Lou, The Tall Building of Spring Clearness, and Chan Hsü Lou, The Tall Building of Profound Peace (Plate 153.), and finally, in between these, built out on a stone terrace in the water, Ying Hsün T'ing, The Pavilion for the Welcoming of Perfumes, a building that in consequence of its situation out in the lake isolates the visitor from all "earthly dust" and opens wide prospects not only over misty gray waters, but also straight into the limitless realm of dreams. One can actually hear the silence when the mists of evening steal over Nan Hai's shores. The emperor Ch'ien Lung has attempted to describe the beauty of the spot in poetry that has been reproduced on a tablet in the pavilion. (Plates 142, 143.)

If from this place, the southernmost point on Ying T'ai, one strolls along the shore to the east, one will

pass the above-mentioned Ch'un Ming Lou and arrive at Jên Yü T'ing, The Pavilion for the Feeding of the Fishes, an elegant little building, placed out in the water and connected with the shore by two long curving bridges. (Plate 154.)—The promenade along the shore, for the rest, is in places flanked with enormous piles of hollow and rugged stone blocks (Plate 19.), which litter the slope and give it the appearance of a wild mountain ravine. Here and there is formed a ledge, with room for a little pavilion like Shui Hung T'ing, The Pavilion of the Hanging Rainbow, or Pa Yin Ko Hsieh, The Eight Tones in Harmony, to mention only two of the particularly delightful places on this side of Ying T'ai.

If one studies older descriptions of Nan Hai, for instance those included in the provincial chronicle *Shun T'ien Fu Chih*, one will find in them the names of a number of smaller t'ing, lou, and t'ai (pavilions, tall buildings, and terraces) both on Ying T'ai and on the mainland on the northern shore of Nai Hai; but a list of these would be tedious, as we are unable to identify and reproduce them. Nor is it likely that they differ in any degree worth mentioning from the architectural creations we have already seen, although the picturesque compositional effects might be varied according to the surrounding landscape. It may, however, be added that the descriptive names to which the Chinese attached so much importance are in many cases not merely poetical fancies or products of the imagination, but have been taken from similar establishments in older imperial pleasure parks, and thus refer to historical and literary associations which give them an expressiveness in the original language that is lost in all translations.

The establishments along the shores of Chung Hai (The Middle Sea), which covers a considerably greater area than Nan Hai, are not so well preserved as the above-described buildings on Ying T'ai. The reason for this is that a large part of the Chung Hai region, especially on the western shore, was transformed first for the dowager empress Tzū Hsi, and afterwards for her successor, President Yüan Shih-k'ai, both of whom lived here (the latter right up to the year 1913) and even had official buildings erected in the vicinity of

their dwellings. The most recent of these, however, have so little to do with architecture as an art that they would be offensive even in a less picturesque milieu. The diminutive palace-complex, on the other hand, which was erected here for the dowager empress, is a somewhat stiff imitation of older imperial summer palaces. It consists, as usual, of several halls and gallery-like buildings around rectangular courts; and the most surprising feature in the whole establishment may well be its name: *Huai Jên T'ang*, which signifies *The Palace of Compassion*, a name that almost sounds like elaborate irony when one remembers the extremely ruthless ukases that were issued here, and the fact that *Tzū Hsi* used *Huai Jên T'ang* as a favorite resort while the emperor *Kuang Hsü*, her nephew, languished in captivity on *Ying T'ai*. It was in this palace that "the old Buddha" ended her eventful career in November 1908.

All these buildings are very richly adorned with painted and gilded sculptured ornaments and graceful trelliswork in doors and windows, executed with great care. Even the court has its dividing ornaments of decorative stone blocks, sculptured marble pedestals, urns, sun dials, and the like, as well as rows of pseudo-acacias, whose soft branches are bowed down to the ground like plumes. But the whole has a certain air of stiff regularity, showing that even the dowager empress and her advisers were not altogether unsusceptible to western influences. (Not far from her palace *Tzū Hsi* had a quasi-European hall erected, where she used to receive the ladies of the foreign legations, who in her opinion were much too meddlesome and inquisitive to be allowed to enter the small palace halls.)

But apart from these new buildings erected by *Tzū Hsi*, there are in this part of *Chung Hai* several smaller pavilions and galleries of older date, which harmonize better with the garden surroundings. Some of these are half-concealed by leafy trees, like the two connected round pavilions *Fêng T'ing* and *Yüeh Hsieh* (*The Wind Kiosk* and *The Moon Pavilion*, Plate 155) others have been built along the banks of the canal system, called *Wan Tzū Lang* because it describes a big swastika pattern. Here the pavilions communicate with each other by means of open galleries, which offer

shifting views over the curving canals and the gardens situated on the opposite side, where mutan and white peonies are still in bloom. (Plates 23, 158.) Beside the canal there is also the two-storey building with the poetical names: *Listen to the Swans* (*T'ing Hung Lou*) and *The Chamber of the Sincere Heart* (*Ch'ung I Chai*). Farther up among the "mountains" and the trees rises a two-storey pavilion with an open balcony, intended for those who *Love Fresh Greenery*, *Ai Ts'ui Lou*, while a smaller pavilion has been intended for *Peaceful Rest*, *Ching Chieh Hsien*.

It is not hard to understand that the art-loving empress delighted in these parts of *Chung Hai* and frequently stayed here in the company of her court ladies. According to persons who were there at that time, on the twelfth day in the second month (i.e., the time of the vernal equinox) *Chung Hai* was the scene for celebrations of the birthday of flowers and trees, or the arrival of spring, on which occasion the empress and her suite fastened yellow and red silk ribbons around the stems of the flowers—a ceremony that could certainly offer fascinating motifs for painters of precious elegance and flowering beauty. As long as the flower beds were regularly tended, the wanderer here, with thoughts full of a bygone world, might well imagine himself catching glimpses of colorful, shimmering silken robes behind the flowering bushes, and hearing the laughter and high-pitched female voices mingling with the twittering of the oriole.

Continuing the promenade northward along the western shore of *Chung Hai*, one soon reaches a large, palace-like building on a wide marble terrace in a setting of trees. This goes under the name of *Tzū Kuang Ko*, a name commonly rendered as "*The Brilliant Purple Palace*," an analogy with the traditional translation of *Tzū Chin Ch'êng* as "*The Forbidden Purple City*." The word *Tzū* does not, however, refer to any purple color, but to *Tzū-wei*, the Pole Star, which is the emperor's celestial symbol or pattern. A detailed description of the building would take us too far afield, but it may well be designated as one of the most beautiful and best preserved ceremonial buildings in Peking. It has been allowed to stand practically untouched since the end of the seventeenth

century. (Plate 159.) It was in this throne hall that the ambassadors of the western powers were first granted an audience *en corps* by the emperor of China (June 1873) and given an opportunity of submitting their letters of credit.

On the opposite side of the lake, in a dense grove of leafy trees and surrounded by a special wall, lies a somewhat larger hall with adjoining annex on a terrace surrounded by a balustrade, to which one ascends on broad steps. This is the so-called Wan Shan Tien, The Hall of the Innumerable Virtues, a temple building that existed as early as the Ming Dynasty, during the reign of Chia Ching (1522-1566). It was restored at the beginning of the Manchu period. (Plate 160.) It is said to have been originally intended for the adoration of the stellar constellation known as the Great Bear, though it is furnished as a Buddhist temple with the appropriate images, furniture and decorations, all in an uncommonly good state of preservation. Not only the Manchu emperors, but also several of the republican presidents have been at pains to keep this shrine in good repair; and it has often been a meeting place for Buddhist scholars and men of learning.—Behind the temple hall lies a smaller, round building whose real function seems to be to shelter a large model pagoda which fills the entire room. From the terrace behind this building one has the best view over the leafy shores of Chung Hai, which are duplicated in the mirroring water and give the impression of one great pleasure garden in the midst of the metropolis.

Only a stone's throw from these temple grounds, though it is now impossible to reach from the land side, lies the Shui Yün Hsieh, The Water and Cloud Kiosk. This is a little building on a cruciform ground plan, erected on a somewhat broader stone terrace. (Plate 161.) Its extensive dipping roof-surfaces still shimmer like gilded wings in the sun, but the red lacquer of the pillars and the ornamental pattern on the beams have worn off and been toned down by the passage of time. The bridge which once connected the terrace with the mainland has rotted away. The only living beings that now visit this isolated shrine are the silver-gray herons to be seen standing motionless

on one leg on the extreme edge of the stone terrace, sunk in contemplation. In former times no doubt also emperors used to meditate here, and their thoughts were perhaps centered upon the great problems concerning life's origin and Nature's inexhaustible power of self-renewal, indicated in Taoist formulation on the inscription tablet in the pavilion: T'ai I Ch'iu Fêng, a sentence which may possibly be rendered with the words: The Autumn Wind over the Ocean of the Universe (or: The Womb of Universal Life).

What ideas or mental perspectives may be conjured by these words in the minds of those familiar with the Taoist philosophy may here be left an open question. At all events they are an indication of the familiar intimacy felt by the Chinese with great Nature, the womb of all things (T'ai I); and it seems as if the significance of the words were extended even further by the complete harmony between art and Nature obtaining in this spot.—When the ancient willows have unfolded their airy draperies around the pavilion and its graceful forms vibrate in the mirror of the water, there is released something which is not merely form and line, but also music—a hymn to vibrating tones of light. This part of Chung Hai is traditionally accounted as one of "the eight famous views in Peking." (Plates 156, 157.)

PEI HAI is now probably the best known and appreciated of the three lake districts; it has for the last two decades been accessible to the public for a modest entrance fee, and has thus partly assumed the character of a public park. An increasing number of the former summer houses and pavilions have been requisitioned as tea houses and restaurants, which has by no means helped to preserve them in their original state.

As has already been mentioned, the straits connecting Pei Hai with Chung Hai are spanned by a long marble bridge, whose name—The Bridge of the Golden Turtle and the Jade Butterfly—may inspire the feeling that one is here rambling in a fairyland. (Plate 146.) At the eastern end of this bridge lies the so-called T'uan Ch'êng, the round, castle-like terrace that we have already visited; and from here, as we

have seen, another marble bridge runs northwards—Wu Kung Ch'iao, The Centipede Bridge—to Pai T'a Shan or the Ch'iung Hua island. (Plates 164, 165.)—A complete description of this rather large island with its rich diversity of natural scenery, and a mention of all the buildings adorning the same, might well be expanded into a whole chapter; we must restrict ourselves to some of the most beautiful parts.

When approaching the bridge from the south one has the island directly in front, rising in terrace-shaped ledges which are accentuated by the gates, pavilions, halls, and towers belonging to Yung An Ssü, The Temple of Eternal Peace. (Plate 162.) The approach to these successive parts of the establishment is by broad steps, which help to emphasize and lift the buildings and thus enhance the monumental effect of the whole. At the highest point, on the crest of the hill, rises the white pagoda, or dagoba as it is commonly called because of its Indian style of architecture, reminding one of a giant bottle with an immense belly, long neck and ornamental cork. With its dominating situation and its white color it is visible far and wide, and has given the place its popular name: Pai T'a Shan.

On the western slope, in a setting of ancient trees, are smaller hall-buildings with partly sacral character, as for example Yüeh Hsin Tien, The Hall of the Glad Heart, and Ch'ing Hsiao Lou, The Propitious Skies, a tall building from which the emperor Ch'ien Lung used to watch the skaters on the frozen lake on beautiful winter days. If we now continue our walk over the uneven ground to the west, we pass several smaller buildings among hoary trees and magnificent rockeries, whose names more or less clearly indicate their picturesque situation and their romantic character. There are I Fang Shan (The Solitary Mountain), Pan Ch'ing Shih (The Green Kiosk), Lin Kuang Tien (The Hall of Shimmering Clarity), and finally, quite near the shore, Kan Lu Tien (The Hall of Sweet Dew), all of these being small graceful buildings representing well-known architectural types. (Plate 168B.) Their names and their situation in these rugged and broken surroundings invest each one of them, however, with individual interest.

If we proceed on the road following the shore northwards, we pass the rather large building in which the types or wooden tablets of the Sanscrit printing press were kept; this is called Yüeh Ku Lou, or San Hsi T'ang, The Hall of the Three Treasures. Continuing on our way, we reach Fên Liang Ko, The Pavilion of Pleasant Coolness, a tower-like building consisting of a pavilion on a high terrace, which forms the western end of the long two-storey gallery running along the northern shore of the island. (Plate 166.) It is called, and not without reason, Yu Lang, The Floating Gallery, for it is built out in the water on a marble terrace provided with a balustrade, which almost gives the beholder the impression of being transported to the deck of some great boat. Painted in the warm red hue that has in China been developed to near perfection, and brilliantly ornamented in blue, green, white, and gold on the beams and the squares of the ceiling, it forms an effective contrast to the blue-gray surface of the water and provides a magnificent setting for the island behind it. (Plate 167.) It would be difficult to imagine a more festive architectural creation, or one better adapted to its function of connecting link between the open surface of the water and the rising ground behind.—This noble impression has now been largely spoiled, since this festive hall with its shimmering light-effects and its brilliant colors has been thrown open for rather drab teas for the general public.

The Floating Gallery also forms a communication between the hall buildings extending behind it. The two most prominent of these are called Yüan Fan Lou, The Tower of the Distant Sails, and Pi Chao Lou, Tower for the Contemplation of the Blue Sky, from which steps lead down to the jutting pier. Just behind these lies Hu T'ien Fu Yüeh, a little theater that has been built out over the water to increase the resonance. The end pavilion of the gallery on the eastern side is called I Ch'ing Lou, The Tower at the Edge of the Water; this corresponds to the above-mentioned Fên Liang Ko tower at the western end of the gallery. (Plate 163.)

On the northern slope, behind the part we have so far visited, there are several extremely picturesque little pavilions, monuments, and inscription tablets.

The largest is called I Lang T'ang, The Hall of the Lapping Waves, which lies so near the shore that the lapping of the water is clearly audible. (Plate 169.) Higher up, among the stone mounds and grottoes, one comes across a little building with an incurving façade, called Yen Nan Hsün T'ing, The Pavilion of the Perfumes of the South, as well as two smaller open pavilions called Hsiao K'un Chiu and Ch'ien Ch'iu T'ing. (Plates 170, 171.) The first-mentioned is believed to refer to the almost legendary K'un Lun Mountain, while the other indicates that the pavilion in question has been intended for the contemplation of the beauties of spring. The most romantically picturesque compositional elements in this section are not, however, the buildings themselves, but the grottoes and tunnels, and the curious monument called Ch'êng Lu P'an, Bowl for the Collection of Dew. This consists of a marble pillar richly sculptured with dragons and clouds, serving as the pedestal for the statue of a man, an "Immortal," who holds with both hands a large bronze bowl above his head. (Plate 172.) The monument has evidently been inspired by the tales of how the emperor Han Wu Ti (25-57 A.D.) had a slave standing out-of-doors all night, holding a bowl above his head to collect the dew of heaven, which the emperor drank as an elixir of life. The emperor Ch'ien Lung was scarcely one to cherish sympathy for the Taoists, or belief in their elixir of immortality, yet he nonetheless chose by this monument to allude to the Taoist traditions from the Han period and thus deepen the atmosphere in this pleasure park.

Another characteristic monument erected here (farther east) by the emperor Ch'ien Lung has the form of a high inscription tablet of the traditional type. It is placed on a terrace surrounded by a balustrade, approached by rustic steps. Before the steps are two large stone bowls with sculptured stone dragons, in which the water "can never dry up and never brim over." (Plate 173.) On the front of the tablet four large characters have been hewn: Ch'ung Tao Ch'un Yin (The Isle of Hortensias, the Secret of Spring). On the sides is related an account of the emperor's visit to this spot; and on the back there is a eulogy of a certain Ken Yü, who during the Sung period "trans-

ported many stone blocks from the South and placed them in fantastic combinations, so that they remind one of a dragon's scales." If these data are correct, work on the uncommonly large and very intricate mountain crevices must have been commenced as early as the Sung period, with the intention of investing the natural scenery with as fantastic an aspect as possible.² The picturesque treatment of the ground, with its contrasting masses of light and shade, forms a foundation for artistic compositions that have been further built up with pavilions, terraces, and trees according to the traditional principles.

Before we leave the island of Ch'ung Hua, which, by the way, might easily provide material for several days' study, let us for a moment direct our gaze from The Floating Gallery northwards to Pei Hai's yonder shore. There lie five open pavilions with double roofs, erected on stone terraces built out into the lake. When one looks at the reflection of their red pillars under yellow and blue glazed roofs in the glassy surface of the lake, it seems as if the buildings hovered on their outspread roof-wings over the water. The play of color and light dissolves the material contours and shows an image vibrating like an impressionistic painting. (Plate 168A.) Furthermore, the name itself, Wu Lung T'ing, The Pavilion of the Five Dragons, indicates that this composition was something more than a row of open kiosks: the curving line, which is stressed by the placing of the pavilions on jutting spits of land, was intended to describe a crawling dragon. But even so, one must use imagination to see the dragon's shape in the vibrating reflections in the water.

The large temple buildings, in part dating from K'ang Hsi's time, which lie beyond this shore line must be passed over without comment; but we cannot, on the other hand, omit at least a brief visit in the secluded quarter just east of the temple, known as Ching Hsin Chai, The Studio of Peace of Heart (or of the Pure Thoughts). Until very recent times this quarter was not open to the public, and it has therefore

² The data concerning this inscription have been taken from Arlington and Lewison, *In Search of Old Peking*, p. 87. I am thus unable to answer for the correctness of the translation. It should also be remembered that Ken Yü was the name of the emperor Hui Tsung's famous palace garden in Pien Liang (K'ai-fêng).

been kept in better condition than other parts of the Pei Hai district. (Plate 174.) Here there still remains something of the rococo preciousness so characteristic of the grounds of the old dowager empress. The decorative milieu is practically intact, the buildings and the plantations are well preserved; only the water which used to fill the big pond and flow in under the hollow rocks and the jutting pavilions is lacking.—The pulse of life has ceased, but the forms have not yet decayed or fallen to pieces.

It was here that the "old Buddha" could doff her ceremonial costume as head of the state and devote herself to her favorite occupations, calligraphy and painting, in which she attained no mean skill. Here was a Gallery over Gushing Spring Water, Ch'in Chüan Lang, another Gallery Resting upon Stones, Chên Luan Lang, and further The Tower of the Exuberant Creepers, T'ieh Ts'ui Lou, as well as several idyllic pavilions and small two-storey buildings (so-called lou), intended for various artistic occupations. And as these are scattered over broken ground, which has been modeled with hollow and rugged stone blocks covered in places with ivy, it will be readily understood that the impression of the whole must be picturesquely fascinating. (Plate 26.) The intention seems to have been to create a rugged and wild mountain landscape, here and there crowned by graceful buildings under wide, shimmering roofs, with a winding watercourse at the foot of the mountains, spanned by a marble bridge and a footbridge of bamboo poles. (Plate 175.) In a word, the grounds contain many of the elements that have from time immemorial entered into the Chinese garden compositions; and as these have been balanced against each other with a cool artistic eye to the total effect, the latter must be designated as uncommonly interesting from both the æsthetic and the historical points of view.

Following the northern shore of Pei Hai to the east (to return to the south entrance), one passes in the northeast corner a large area, Ts'an T'an, surrounded by a wall. Here are two extensive terraces shaded by old mulberry trees, and some buildings, in part of a sacral character, all dedicated to the legendary patroness of sericulture, Lei Tsu, the wife of the emperor

Hsieh Yüan, who is said to have lived about 2600 B.C. (Plate 176.) There is no historical evidence that silk was cultivated in China as early as this; but the Chinese have certainly always regarded the cultivation of silk as a very ancient national home-industry, a complement to agriculture. It was thus incumbent upon the empress on a lucky day in the third month (i.e. in May) to perform once yearly a state sacrifice to the patroness of the silkworms, just as at the same season the emperor offered up certain sacrifices on the altar of agriculture. This took place in Ch'in Ts'an Tien, The Hall of the Imperial Silkworms, where Lei Tsu's "ancestral tablet" was set up. After the completion of this ceremony according to an ancient ritual, the empress, accompanied by her court ladies in richly brocaded silk robes, proceeded to Tsai Sang T'ai, The Terrace for the Collection of Mulberry Leaves. The empress and the princesses were provided with baskets, whereupon each one of them picked a number of leaves, according to her rank. If we may believe contemporary evidence, the ceremonies at the Altar of the Cultivation of Silk were among the most fascinating and stylish events that took place at the court in Peking, where ceremonial was carried to the heights of art. The empress was personally interested in keeping up the traditions; she used to charge some of her court ladies to observe the work of the silkworms both night and day, and to see to it that they did not lack mulberry leaves for food.

The two large terraces—the place of sacrifice and the ceremonial podium—are now overgrown with thickets and weeds, as they have not been in use during the last half century; and the pond before Ch'in Ts'an Tien, in which the cocoons were washed, is quite dried up. The buildings and trees, however, have been specially tended, and are relatively well preserved. Even today they give the impression of a sacred sacrificial grove. The ancient mulberry trees still stand like guardians around the sanctuary, though they are scrubbier and angrier than of yore; and between their dark leaves are glimpsed the lac-red tones of the buildings and their shimmering blue roofs, like reflections from the colorful ceremonies which formerly took place on this spot.

GARDENS OF CHINA

Much might be added concerning the parks and the buildings around the Three Seas. Its omission is perhaps no great loss; for no descriptions, however complete, no lists of monuments and buildings can convey an idea of what is most essential in these grounds, what most captivates the beholder and etches itself most deeply in his mind. This is something far less dependent upon single compositional elements than upon the ensemble, the harmony between the decorative arrangements and the living surroundings, as well as the atmosphere itself, so redolent of the past, and now so peaceful, since all the tragic fates and brilliant ceremonies, here unfolded during successive periods, have been leveled by time and faded into the world of shades, where all is reconciled.

Those who have had the privilege of rambling quietly along the shores of Chung Hai and Pei Hai during the bright days of early summer will certainly

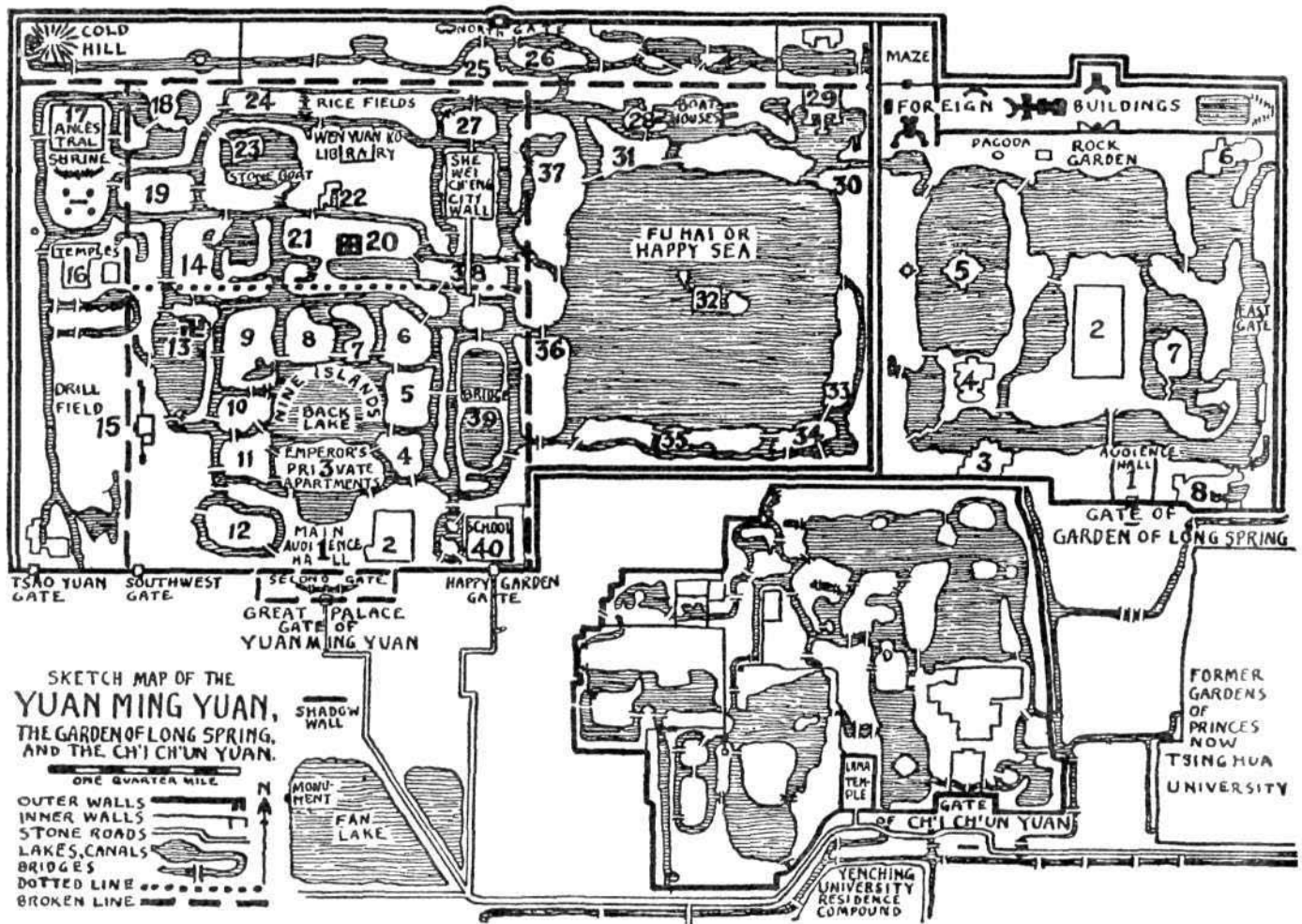
take away with them memories—impressions of mirroring waters and budding trees, vibrating, intangible values of light and fragrance—which are revived whenever they return in their thoughts to these surroundings. The images change—many films have unrolled on this scene in the course of the centuries—while the gaze is captivated by the views opening between the draperies of the willows and the waving reeds at the edge of the slumbering waters. Farther off, at the opposite end of the lake, one sees silver-gray herons wading in the shallow water, and in the clear air one hears a musical whistling from doves that have been provided with wooden pipes under their tails. A little flat-bottomed boat is punted over the shallow water—slowly, very slowly, as if it moved to the same lingering, drawn-out rhythm as the pulse of dying memory in this secluded spot, where today dreams are more real than the drab reality around us.

YÜAN MING YÜAN

FOR the great Manchu emperors, K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, the "Sea Palaces" in Peking were by no means sufficient as summer residences; they had erected for themselves larger establishments with surrounding gardens in the vicinity of the capital at the foot of the so-called Western Hills, and also farther away, nearer to the Mongolian frontier, at Jehol. Here we will restrict ourselves to the first-mentioned of these, which were known under the following names (given here in the order they follow from east to west): *Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan*, *Yüan Ming Yüan*, *Wan Shou Shan*, *Yü Ch'uan Shan*, and *Hsiang Shan*. Of these establishments, the two last-mentioned, *Yü Ch'uan Shan*, The Mountain of the Jade Fountain, and *Hsiang Shan*, The Fragrant Mountain (also called The Hunting Park or The Deer Park), were a sort of nature parks with scattered buildings. Some parts of these parks were founded as early as the Chin and Ming dynasties, but they were extended and embellished under the emperor K'ang Hsi, whereas the other three were very extensive palace establishments supplemented with magnificent gardens. On the whole, it may be said of all these that they were founded by K'ang Hsi (1662-1722), but were enlarged and embellished under the emperor Ch'ien Lung (1735-1796). They then knew a period of splendor, which was, however, rather soon followed by rapid decay in the nineteenth century. This culminated in total catastrophe for *Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan* and *Yüan Ming Yüan*, which were both completely destroyed, while *Wan Shou Shan* (The Mountain of Innumerable Years) was rebuilt and restored in the 1890's by the empress Tzū Hsi, and is now the only relatively well preserved establishment of all the imperial pleasure parks, generally known and appreciated under the name of The New Summer Palace.

It is, however, by no means this establishment that has been of the greatest importance from the points of view of architecture and the history of gardening, or that has gained most renown either in China or in Europe. Far more important in these respects were the older summer residences *Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan*, The Garden of Joyous Spring, and *Yüan Ming Yüan*, The Round and Brilliant Garden, or rather, The Perfect and Brilliant Garden, as the name has been explained by the emperor Yung Chêng with reference to the perfect gentleman.

Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan, which was arranged during the first decade of the eighteenth century on the ruins of a famous garden from the Ming period, was K'ang Hsi's most favored residence, and there are several descriptions of receptions and audiences for European missionaries and ambassadors that were held in this palace, but nothing, as far as I know, referring to the buildings or the gardens. We only know that the emperor insisted on the greatest possible economy in the building of this, as also of other establishments erected at his direction. This was perhaps necessary also in view of his enormous family. He had thirty-five sons, of whom twenty-four attained maturity. In his will he stated, among other things: "I am the root and father of 150 sons and grandsons; my daughters are without doubt still more numerous." When in 1722 he died at the age of eighty-eight, after sixty-one years of government, he was succeeded by his fourth son, Yung Chêng. *Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan* became the residence for the dowager empress. After her death, Yung Chêng here confined a brother who was considered to have better claims to the throne than himself. He chose as his own imperial residence *Yüan Ming Yüan*, where he preferred to stay not only during the hot season, but also frequently in winter. (Plate 177.)

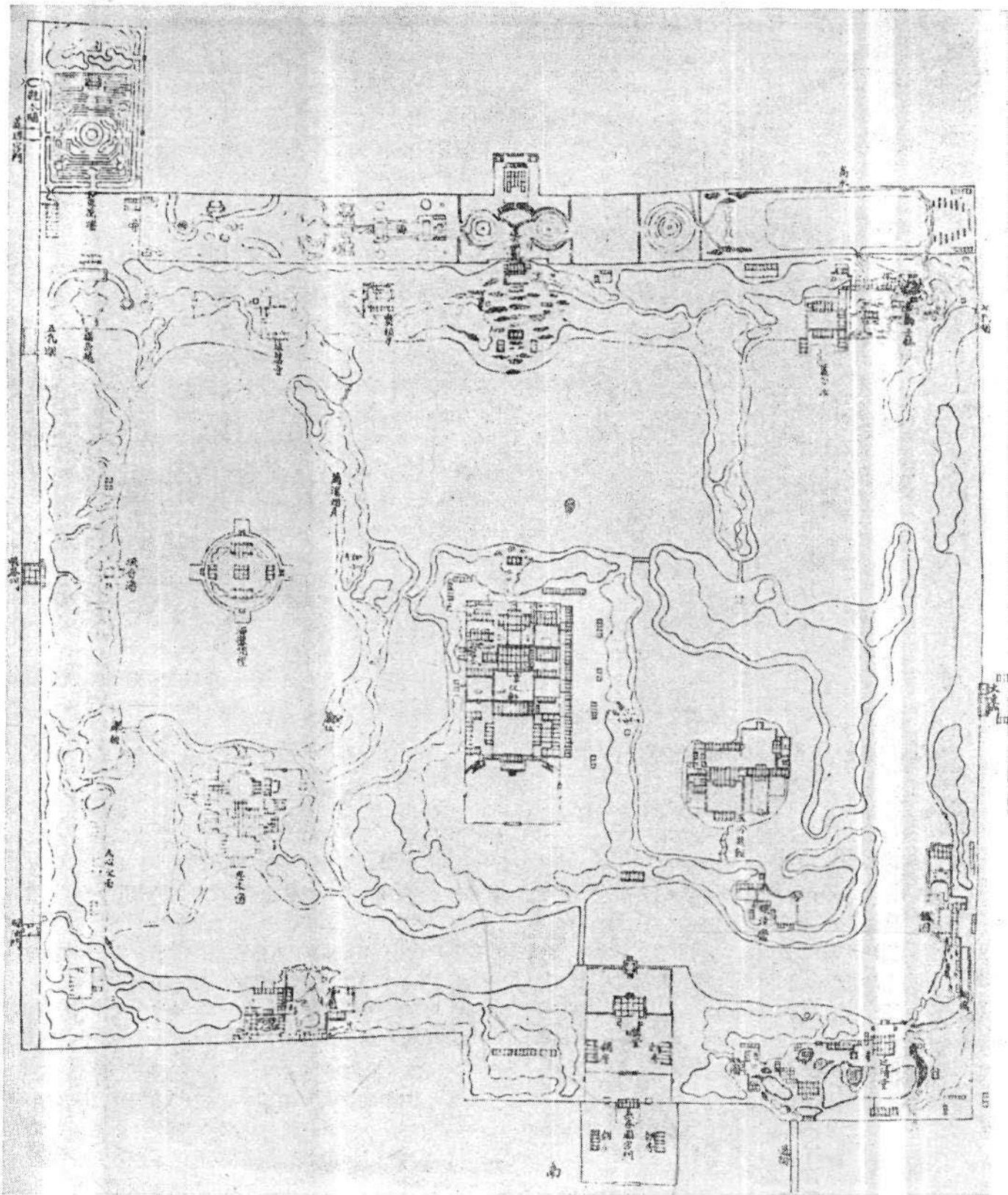


General plan of the imperial summer palaces: Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan, Yüan Ming Yüan, and Ch'i Ch'un Yüan. From C. B. Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty*.

This summer palace, however, was not at that time so brilliant and perfect as it was to become during Ch'ien Lung's reign when that monarch was at the height of his glory; it scarcely comprised a third of its ultimate area. In the year 1709 K'ang Hsi had it erected as a residence for one of the princes, and at his death it consisted of about twenty buildings grouped around the so-called Farther Lake. The chief of these was a magnificent audience hall which lay just inside the monumental main gateway. With this were connected smaller pavilion-like buildings, the majority of which were erected on islets that formed a semicircle in the Farther Lake. At some little distance there were a number of larger buildings, likewise surrounded by water. Among them may be mentioned the imperial ancestral temple, Hung Tzū Yung Hu, a library, and Hui Fang Hui Yüan, a Buddhist temple, with several

smaller picturesque buildings on islets partly covered with trees and decorated with rockeries. But farthest north, at the foot of the hills, there extended a rice field where the emperor could observe from a pavilion how the earth was ploughed and how the seed was sowed and harvested, tasks in which the great rulers of former times used to instruct the people. Beside the rice field lay a pavilion called Hsi Fêng Hsiu Ssé (The Beautiful Colors of the Western Peaks), so named because from here one had the best view of the sunset-tinted peaks in the west. The court behind this pavilion contained about twenty magnolia trees, and when in bloom these created a "realm of fragrance." The emperor Yung Chêng delighted to stay here.

In the year 1774 Ch'ien Lung had a new library building, Wên Yüan Ko, The Pavilion of the Source



Plan of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan (The Garden of the Long Spring), afterwards joined with the Yüan Ming Yüan.
The northern section of this garden contained the European palaces.

of Literature, erected not far from here. This was intended to house one of the four original copies of *Ssü K'u Ch'uan Shu* (the others were placed in the palaces in Peking, Mukden, and Jehol), a gigantic publication containing everything of any value in Chinese literature, arranged in four classes under the headings: the classics, history, philosophy, and miscellanea. The building was faced with glazed tiles, while several remarkable water-modeled stone blocks were set up around it. The largest of these, attaining a height of from four to five meters, stood in a little pond in front of the building; it was provided with inscriptions by, among others, the emperor himself, who declared here that classical literature is the source whence all subsequent literature has flowed in different channels through successive generations.

The period when *Yüan Ming Yüan* was at the height of its fame did not begin until some years after the emperor *Ch'ien Lung's* accession to the throne (1735). He was attached by strong ties to this place, where he had lived as a child, and his desire to endow it with increased splendor and magnificence was evidently greater than his inclination to follow modestly in the footsteps of his predecessors. In 1737 he ordered a large chart of the entire pleasure grounds, probably a work of art of its kind, for the task was entrusted to several well-known court painters: *T'ang Tai*, *Sun Yü*, *Shên Yüan*, *Lang Shih-ning* (i.e., *Guisepe Castiglione*), and others. There is also reason to suppose that the extensions to the establishment were started at the same time, despite the fact that at first *Ch'ien Lung* was anxious to create an impression of a certain modest contentment.

Significant in this respect are a number of pronouncements occurring in a document issued by the emperor some years after his accession to the throne.¹ We read there: "Every emperor and ruler must, upon retiring from his official duties and audiences, have a garden in which to stroll, to look around and find rest for his heart [thoughts]. If he has a suitable place for this, it has a refreshing effect upon his mind and regulates his feelings, but if he has not, he becomes en-

grossed in sensual pleasures and loses his strength of will. If thoughts of palaces, apparel, strange performances, curiosities and other attractions fill his mind, his interest in meeting officials, receiving criticisms, diligence in government, and care for his people will gradually fade away . . ." The author then eulogizes his father and grandfather for their contentment: they were satisfied with simple buildings in a peaceful and secluded spot, "protected by heaven and blessed by earth, a spot worthy of an emperor. Later generations will certainly not abandon it to build other gardens (and thus twice consume the wealth of the people), but in this respect they will sincerely follow my attempt to conform to the examples of diligence and frugality set by my imperial father and myself."—This passage is of interest not only as evidence of *Ch'ien Lung's* estimation of *Yüan Ming Yüan* as an ideal place of residence, but also because of the general hints concerning the fundamental moral significance of a garden, points of view that were certainly not ignored by the Chinese garden amateurs.

By the year 1744, *Ch'ien Lung's* extensions and rebuilding schemes at *Yüan Ming Yüan* had evidently reached a state of relative completion, for in this year two well-known court painters, *T'ang Tai* and *Shên Yüan*, were commissioned to paint the chief views. This commission resulted in the series of forty paintings now belonging to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, and it seems likely that the well-known series of the identical number of woodcuts, representing the same forty views, though with certain modifications, was executed at the same time.² The woodcuts are signed by *Sun Hu* and *Shên Yüan*, and were originally published as illustrations to poems composed by the emperor and provided with commentaries by prominent scholars and historical introductions by both *Yung Chêng* and *Ch'ien Lung*. These writings together with the pictures may indeed serve to convey an idea of the chief buildings and gardens in *Yüan Ming Yüan*, but a detailed description of all the grounds would carry us too far; we must limit our-

¹ Cf. *Malone, Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty* (Urbana, Ill., 1934), pp. 64-65.

² A series of these woodcuts was owned by *Carl Fredrik Scheffer* in Stockholm, and several of them were copied by *F. M. Piper* the architect, as will be shown in the second part of this work. See *Plates 179, 183, 184, 187.*

紫房口也
 睡脂拆素
 艷凡吃膩
 蒜同悟得
 狗佬脂蒜
 態不蘭夢
 水女即素



Printed in Sweden

Yü Lan (*Magnolia conspicua*). Chinese magnolia. Woodcut after a painting by Hsü Ch'ung-chü (eleventh century).

selves to some brief data concerning some of the sections here reproduced.

The entire area was covered with a network of canals, curving lakes and winding watercourses, so that practically all the buildings were situated on islets or spits of land. The earth from the excavated areas was thrown up to form hills and terraces which were crowned by small pavilions, while the valleys were filled with parks and gardens in which artificial "mountains" and hollow rocks alternated with blooming trees and shrubs. In its entirety, the park thus consisted of a series of relatively independent sections, well adapted for reproduction in separate paintings, even if the different sections were not, as was the case in the Winter Palace and so many other princely residences in China, separated from each other by walls. The composition of the whole was picturesque and continuous, but at the same time divided in a practical way: the placing of the buildings on different islands entailed a relative isolation of the various households in the emperor's enormous family (his numerous wives, concubines, children, and grandchildren) and also of the temples, libraries, theatres, halls of audience, and other ceremonial buildings, not to mention lodges, workshops, boathouses, and the like. Each building had, of course, its special name, as for instance: The Peony Terrace (Mu-tan T'ai), Nature's Own Painting (T'ien Jan T'u Hua), and Spring's Dwelling among Blooming Apricot Trees (Hsing Hua Ch'un Kuan).

The largest lake, Fu Hai (The Lake of Happiness), which lay to the east of the older buildings, measured about 700 meters on each side. It contained three islets, i.e., "The Isles and Green Terraces of the Immortals" in the "Ocean of the World," which could be reached only by boat (Plate 184). To the north from Fu Hai where the ground was broken up by small lakes and winding canals could be seen some noble buildings among which the magnificent palace called Fang Hu Shêng Ching should be mentioned. The front part of this was built on marble terraces in the water, as may be seen on Plates 178 and 179. Behind this front section with its decorative gates rose six large halls in two storeys with stepped roofs. The pillars and the beams

were as usual painted deep red with ornaments in green, white, and blue—colors which stood out against the white marble and the mirroring water—and the roofs were tiled with gilt-glittering tiles. It was, according to contemporary evidence, a dream castle from the world of fairies, rather than an earthly palace. Along the shores of this lake, in part on islands and spits of land, there were several romantic areas in which the picturesque mountains and the winding streams with their bridges formed the main motifs. Here were to be found, among others, Pieh Yu Tung T'ien (Another Heavenly Grotto) and Chia Ching Ming Ch'in (A Double Mirror and the Sound of the Lute). (Plates 186, 187.)

The sections in which the large hall-buildings were dominant had a more palace-like character, while the buildings in other parts were set among greenery, so that the atmosphere of the landscape prevailed, as may be seen from the illustrative paintings mentioned above. One is especially struck by the prominent place of the garden rocks, or mountains, in these pictures. These are of great variety, some being carved in rectilinear forms resulting in terrace or tower-like silhouettes, while others are curved, twisted, and hollow, like half-decayed crania of gigantic prehistoric beasts. (Plate 177.)

A particularly idyllic section was the Chü Yüan Fêng Ho (The Wine Garden "Wind and Lotus"). (Plate 186.) This was laid out and named after a celebrated wine tavern, or osteria, on the shore of the West Lake in Hangchow, and to judge from the picture it seems to have been situated on the shore of a broad bay spanned by a long arched bridge and bordered with hills and trees, while the water was covered in summertime with lotuses. Behind this section, farther north, there was a little township on either side of a street leading straight up to a gate in a high wall, on which one could read the inscription: Shê Wei Ch'êng, which is to say, Stravasti's City, referring to a town in India known from the history of Buddha. (Plate 188.) There were in the township, amongst other things, a smallish temple and a yamen; but of greater importance were the shops flanking the main street which had been built to provide the emperor



The section of Yüan Ming Yüan where the inn called "Wind and Lotus" was situated. Engraving by Le Rouge after a Chinese woodcut.

with an opportunity of getting to know the common dealings of everyday life, something that was never possible during the daily life in the capital. The scene was evidently realistic enough, and that the acting, which was performed when required by eunuchs and courtiers, was sufficiently true to life emerges from Frère Attiret's contemporary description, cited on the following page.

Connected with Yüan Ming Yüan proper there were on the east and southeast sides two detached areas commonly included under the designation Yüan Ming Yüan. Concerning the area on the south side, called Ch'i Ch'un Yüan, we actually know nothing, except that it was laid out towards the end of Ch'ien Lung's reign; but as regards the eastern area a number of

historical data have come down. It was called Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan, The Garden of the Long Spring. This should not, on account of the similarity of the name, be confused with Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan,³ The Garden of the Joyous Spring, which is situated somewhat farther south. It was in this latter place that the emperor K'ang Hsi was wont to take up his abode. The Garden of the Long Spring was begun in 1751, and was laid out, on the whole, along the same fundamental lines as Yüan Ming Yüan. The building-complexes, comprising the emperor's private dwelling as well as the halls of state and the audience halls, lay upon islands lapped by water, the element that occupied at

³ The word Ch'ang, occurring in both names, is written with different characters and has different meanings.

least two thirds of the whole area. There were in addition several smaller garden idylls with pavilions and wonderful rock formations along the shores of the lake. These grounds were probably the most perfect fruits of the Chinese garden art of that time; and characteristically enough, at least some of them were designed after famous gardens south of the Yangtze. This was the case with the so-called Lion Grove, designed after a garden in Chekiang, and also with Ju Yüan, laid out after a garden in Nanking. Concerning a third of these gardens, it is related that when the emperor visited it he declared that he seemed to see a long way off, and felt as if he had been transported to the garden of the Wang family in Nan-p'ing.—Here in Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan, on the northern shore of the lake, there was also the most richly developed rock garden, as well as a high octagonal pagoda faced with glazed tiles.

The emperor evidently did all that was possible to transform this section (whither he retired after his abdication) into the most delightful in the whole Yüan Ming Yüan complex. With this intention, and with the aid of French and Italian Jesuits, he had a number of European baroque palaces erected on the northern edge of Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan, as will be related presently, but it may be as well first to quote a description by a contemporary European observer of Yüan Ming Yüan at the height of its glory. It is contained in a letter written from Peking in the year 1743 by Frère Attiret, one of the French Jesuit missionaries, to M. d'Assaut in Paris. After its publication in Vol. XXVII of *Lettres édifiantes*, (ed. 1749), this letter became one of the best sources in Europe for a knowledge of the Chinese gardens. Frère Attiret, together with Castiglione (Lang Shih-ning) and one or two other artistically accomplished Jesuits, had the opportunity of painting for several years at the court, both in the Forbidden City in Peking and in Yüan Ming Yüan. What he relates is thus based upon his own observations, even if he has not begrudged his imagination and his rather facile pen a certain margin.

After an introductory mention of the Forbidden City, i.e., the Winter Palace, its extraordinary extent and severe regularity, he continues:

As for the pleasure palaces, they are charming! They consist of extensive grounds in which mountains to a height of 20 to 50 feet have been built up, which gives rise to a vast number of little vales. Canals with clear water irrigate these dales and flow together in several places to form ponds or lakes, on which one may journey to and fro in beautiful boats . . .

On the banks of the watercourses in each of these vales there are buildings of all kinds: dwellings, courts, open and closed galleries, and so on. One wanders from one vale to another not, as in Europe, by straight avenues, but by zigzag winding paths ornamented with little pavilions and grottoes; and having left one of these vales, one soon finds oneself in another, which is quite different from the preceding as regards both the configuration of the ground and the buildings. All the mountains and hills are covered with trees, especially flowering trees. It is a real earthly paradise. The canals are not, as with us, edged with faced stones, but with rustic pieces of rock, some projecting, others receding, and so skilfully placed that one might take it for the work of Nature herself. The canal sometimes widens, sometimes becomes narrower; here it winds, and there it describes a curve, as if actually deflected by the hills and rocks. The banks are covered with flowers growing up from between the rocks as if strewn by Nature's hand. And there are flowers for every season. Besides canals, there are also lanes, or rather paths, paved with shingle and leading from one dale to another; and the paths, too, follow a winding course, sometimes following the canals, sometimes leading away from them.

When one enters a valley one's eye is immediately caught by the buildings. Their façades consist of columns and windows. The woodwork is gilded, painted and lacquered, the walls are of gray brick, well cut and polished, while the roofs are covered with glazed tiles in hues of red, yellow, blue, green, or violet, which are combined to form patterns in different combinations resulting in a pleasing variety. These buildings have as a rule only one storey, and are raised two, four, six, or eight steps above the ground. One reaches them not by artificially hewn steps, but by stone blocks forming a natural staircase. Nothing so much resembles the fabulous palace of the fairies, which is said to lie in the midst of the desert on a rock, to which one attains by way of a stony and circuitous path . . . (The interiors contain precious vases, censers, statuettes of animals, etc. of bronze and porcelain.)

Each valley has its pleasure palace, which may seem small in relation to the grounds, though it would suffice to lodge the greatest of our European lords with all his retinue. Several of these buildings are of cedar wood, which

has been transported at great cost from districts more than five hundred *li* distant. And how many palaces do you think there are in this vast park? There are over two hundred, besides the dwellings for the eunuchs employed as guards at each palace.

The canals are spanned by bridges at certain intervals, to allow the passage of traffic from one place to another. The bridges are generally built of brick or hewn stone, but some are of wood; and all are sufficiently high above the water to allow boats to pass beneath them. The balustrades are of white marble, and are ornamented with artistically sculptured reliefs. In point of construction and design, there are no two bridges alike. Nor should you imagine that they always follow straight lines, for this is by no means the case. On the contrary: it may happen that a bridge which would not measure above thirty or forty feet in a straight line describes so many curves [i.e., zig-zag ridges] that it is nearly two hundred feet in length. Small rest-pavilions have been erected on the bridges, either at the ends or in the middle. These have four, eight or sixteen columns, and are placed for preference on bridges from which one has a beautiful view. Other bridges have triumphal arches [i.e., *p'ai-lou*] at each end, either of wood or of white marble. They are beautifully constructed, but are utterly unlike anything we have in Europe.

As I have already remarked, the canals terminate in ponds or lakes. One of these ponds has a breadth of half a *lien*, and is called a lake. It is one of the most beautiful spots in this pleasure garden.⁴ On the shores of this lake are extensive building-compounds, separated from each other by canals and by the artificial mountains of which I have already spoken.

But the real jewel is an isle or rock, rugged and desolate, rising six feet above the surface of the water in the middle of the lake.⁵ On this rock is erected a little palace, which yet comprises more than one hundred rooms. It has four façades and is of indescribable beauty. The view from here is wonderful: one sees one palace after another along the shores; one sees, further, the mountains, the canals, and the bridges at the mouths of the latter, the pavilions and triumphal arches adorning the bridges, the groups of trees separating and concealing the different palaces so that those residing in the one may not look in upon the inhabitants in another.

⁴ The reference is probably to the above-mentioned Lake of Happiness, Fu Hai.

⁵ This was the so-called Paradise Isle of the Green Terrace (*P'eng Tao Yao T'ai*) in the middle of Fu Hai. The central island was connected with smaller islets by bridges. The decorative pavilions on these islets were designed and decorated after Li Su-hsün's representation of The Palace of the Immortals and the Fairies. See Plate 184.

The shores of this lovely lake are infinitely varied. On certain stretches, where galleries or avenues follow the shore line, they have a facing of hewn stone, while on other stretches they are faced with hollowed rocks placed with great cunning in several tiers. Or again, one sees beautiful terraces rising in successive waves, on which buildings are erected; and behind these rise other terraces with buildings having the form of an amphitheatre. In other spots one sees a group of flowering trees, and farther off, behind these, the sort of wild trees otherwise occurring only on desolate mountains. There are forest trees, timber trees, exotic trees, flowering trees, and fruit trees.

On the shores of this lake one also finds a number of cages and pavilions, half in the water and half on dry land, intended for all sorts of aquatic birds, while farther inland one finds little menageries or little hunting parks. Here, too, are numerous reservoirs, some with goldfish, others with fish of blue, silvery, red, black, or parti-colored hue. The largest of these reservoirs is in the lake itself, and it is provided with a fine copper net to prevent the fish from swimming about at large in the whole lake.

But to make you appreciate the full beauty of this spot I could wish to transport you hither when the entire lake is covered with gilded and lacquered barges, for a pleasure trip, for fishing, for a combat, a race or other sport, but best of all on a beautiful evening when a firework display is given and all the palaces, all the boats, indeed, nearly all the trees are illuminated, for in pyrotechnics and illuminations the Chinese leave us far behind. The few that I have seen infinitely surpass anything of the sort that I have witnessed in Italy and France . . .

The private residence of the emperor is situated quite near the gate of entry, behind the main Audience Hall with its courts and gardens. It lies on an island surrounded by a wide canal; one may call it a seraglio. Here one may see the most marvellous furniture, ornaments, paintings (in the Chinese style), articles executed in precious woods, Chinese and Japanese lacquer-work, antique porcelain vases, silks and gold and silver embroideries. Everything that taste and art can produce has here been added to the riches of Nature.

From the emperor's private dwelling a road leads almost straight to a little township in the very midst of these park grounds. It measures a quarter of a *lien* [one kilometer] on each side, and has gates at the four points of the compass, towers, walls with crenellated parapets, it has its streets, squares and temples, its halls, shops, courts of law and palaces, and even a harbor. In a word, everything to be found in the capital one may find here in little . . . Perhaps you ask what purpose all this serves? The chief mo-

tive has been to create for the emperor a condensed picture of the bustling life in a great city when he wishes to see this. [Attiret then describes how the eunuchs play various rôles in this make-believe township: some play the part of merchants, others of artisans, soldiers, officers, porters, coolies with baskets and barrows, etc. Boats put into the harbor and unload their cargoes; the goods are distributed among the various shops and are loudly cried by the tradesmen. There is squabbling and fighting just as there is in the markets of the city.] Nor are the thieves forgotten at these performances. Their noble rôles are entrusted to some of the most accomplished eunuchs, who act their parts brilliantly. If they are caught in the act they are publicly shamed and punished, bastinadoed or exiled, according to the extent of the theft; but if they swindle and steal successfully they get the laughter on their side and reap applause.—The emperor always buys a good deal on these occasions, and you may be sure that nothing is sold cheaply to him. But the ladies and eunuchs themselves also make purchases. This commerce would not offer such a piquant interest and provoke so much noisy fun if it had no foundation in reality.

After this, Attiret gives a brief description of the Lantern Festival which was celebrated in China on the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion even the poorest light lanterns in their homes; the whole country is illuminated, but nowhere is the celebration more beautiful than in the emperor's pleasure grounds. Not only the buildings are illuminated, but also the canals and lakes, where little lanterns in the form of boats float upon the water. Others are placed on the bridges, on the mountains and in the trees. They are all exquisitely beautiful, being made of silk, horn, glass, mussel shells, and other precious materials.

There are lanterns worth more than a thousand écus. It is especially in work of this kind and in the wealth and variety shown in the ornamentation of the buildings that I admire the prolific fantasy of the Chinese [*la fécondité de leur esprit*]. I am inclined to think that we are poor and sterile in comparison with them.

In their eyes, accustomed to their own way of building, there is not much of value in our architecture. Do you want to know what they say when they speak of our buildings or certain representations of them? Our great *corps de logis* and tall buildings frighten them. Our streets seem to them like roads excavated in terrible mountains, and our houses like cliffs seen at a distance and riddled

with holes, more or less like the lairs of wild beasts and bears. Our way of raising one storey above another strikes them as incomprehensible, and they cannot understand how anyone can be willing to risk his neck several times a day by ascending to the fourth or fifth storey. When the emperor K'ang Hsi was shown plans of our European buildings he exclaimed: "Europe must be a very poor and little country, since there is not enough space for the cities to spread out, and the people are forced to live in the air instead." We see the matter in a somewhat different light, and with good reason.

Attiret then draws certain comparisons between European and Chinese architecture, stressing especially the former's need for symmetry and a strict correspondence between the different parts of an architectural composition. Something of this may be observed also in the imperial palace in Peking, he remarks, but in the pleasure palaces the case is otherwise; here, a beautiful disorder, or anti-symmetry, prevails.

Everything is arranged according to this principle: it is the rustic and natural countryside that is to be represented; a "solitude," not a palace erected according to the laws of symmetry and correspondence. Among all these numerous little palaces, which are placed at a certain distance from one another in this imperial pleasure park, I have not seen two that were quite alike . . .

To add a few words concerning the admirable variety in this pleasance, it may be pointed out that this is not only due to the situation, the views, the arrangement, and the distribution and construction of the numerous *corps de logis*, in a word, to the ensemble, but also to the single elements which go to make up the whole. Not until I came here had I seen doors and windows with such a wealth of pattern and form: round, oval, square, polygonal, or in the form of fans, flowers, vases, birds, beasts, fishes—in short, in every conceivable regular or irregular shape. I believe it is only here that one may see such galleries as those I shall describe to you. They serve to connect *corps de logis* situated at a certain distance from each other. They are sometimes provided with pilasters, but on the outside they have window openings of very various form; in other cases they consist only of pillars, as for instance where they lead from a palace to one of the open pavilions intended as a refuge from the heat. The curious thing is that these galleries practically never follow a straight line, but describe curves, sometimes around a rock, or a bush, sometimes around a little lake; nothing could be more entrancing. And over all this lies a rural atmos-

phere [*un air champêtre*] which produces an enchanting effect . . .

It might indeed appear as if this were one of those fairy castles which suddenly appear by magic in a lovely valley or on the top of a mountain. This pleasure palace, by the way, is called Yüan Ming Yüan, which is to say, The Garden of Gardens or The Perfect Garden. But it is not the only pleasure palace belonging to the emperor; there are three such establishments of the same kind, although smaller and not so beautiful. In one of these, which was built by his grandfather K'ang Hsi, lives the dowager empress with all her court. It is called Tchang Tchun Yüan, i.e., The Garden of Eternal Spring.⁶ The palaces of the princes and the great lords contain on a smaller scale what is to be found on a large scale in the imperial establishments.

Perhaps you will say: "What purpose is served by this long description? It would have been better to have made plans of the whole establishment and to have sent me those." To which I will reply: "Monsieur, to draw up such plans I should require at least three years, during which I had nothing else to do, instead of, as now, not having a moment free, not even for my correspondence, which I attend to during my hours of rest. Moreover, it would be necessary for me to have access to the grounds whenever I so desired, and for me to be permitted to remain as long as might be needed. It is a good thing that I can paint a little; without this I should be in the same position as many other Europeans who have been here for twenty or thirty years without ever having set foot in the park. . . ."

Of all the Europeans staying here, it is only the painters and the watchmakers who have access everywhere on account of their work. The rooms in which we paint are situated in one of the little palaces I have mentioned. The emperor comes nearly every day to see how we are working, so it is scarcely possible to go away. We no longer go out to paint, unless the object to be represented is such that it cannot be transported; in that case we are taken under the escort of eunuchs to the place where it is situated. One must then walk very quickly and noiselessly on tiptoe, almost as if one were about to commit some heinous act. It is in this way that I have been able to see and to traverse the whole of this beautiful park. The emperor spends ten months here every year. The distance from Peking is not longer than that from Versailles to

Paris. During the day we stay in the park, and eat there at the expense of the emperor, but we have acquired a building in a large village in the vicinity⁷ in which to spend the night.

Attiret's description of Yüan Ming Yüan, clearly the most valuable European document extant concerning the imperial gardens in China, became an important source for all who were interested in Oriental garden art. It undoubtedly contributed in large measure to the spread of this interest all over Europe and richly deserved the appreciation with which it was received not only in France but also in England and other countries. But in addition to this, the chief parts of Yüan Ming Yüan became known through the previously mentioned forty woodcuts, which also found their way to Europe, and were reproduced in the well-known work of Le Rouge, "*Cahiers des jardins chinois*," also known as "*Jardins anglo-chinois*" (1774-1786).

The knowledge of certain parts of Yüan Ming Yüan was further increased in Europe when the emperor Ch'ien Lung commissioned the drawing and engraving of the European baroque buildings, as well as the gardens and fountains which, as already mentioned, were erected shortly after the middle of the century on the northern border of Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan. Ch'ien Lung perhaps wished to show with these buildings that his summer palaces could well vie with even the most famous princely establishments in Europe, and excel them in point of magnificence, size, and variety. He is supposed to have got the idea of these occidental palaces and gardens from a painting by Castiglione representing a fountain. This aroused the emperor's interest, and a desire to see similar fountains in his own pleasure grounds, as well as architectural creations in picturesque rococo or late baroque style. Castiglione, evidently as familiar with architecture as with painting, was able to give the desired information and to draw the plans corresponding to the emperor's wishes. Another accomplished European was happily also available in the person of Father Benoit, who was sufficiently skilled in mathematics and hydraulics to design the mechanical devices for

⁶ Attiret evidently did not realize that there were two establishments called Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan, although the first word in these names was written with different characters, as already pointed out. These were K'ang Hsi's former residence (which was inhabited by the empress dowager, to wit, The Garden of Joyous Spring, situated to the south of Yüan Ming Yüan, and the garden adjoining Yüan Ming Yüan on the eastern side, whose name signifies The Garden of the Long Spring.

⁷ Probably in Hai-tien.

the fountains. Thus, the collaboration between Castiglione and Benoit resulted in a sort of Chinese Versailles at Yüan Ming Yüan.

There now remains as little of this creation as of any other part of Yüan Ming Yüan. It has been razed; but as the buildings in this section were of brick and marble—not of wood like the Chinese pavilions—they were better able to withstand fire and other ravages. They were only partly destroyed in 1860, when everything else was burnt to the ground. A couple of decades later there were even plans afoot to restore them, but the necessary funds were not forthcoming. Instead, the ruins were abandoned to decay, and the dilapidation was hastened by the local population when it was realized that the richly ornamented marble blocks might not only be used for the burning of lime, but could also be sold to Peking dealers in antiques. But even as late as 1922, when I visited the place for the first time, quite considerable remains of the European buildings were still to be seen, and I was able to take some photographs. A comparison of the ruins with the old engravings made it possible to identify the former, and one could thus, at least in imagination, supply much of what was missing. As these rather curious, not to say hybrid, establishments are of no particular interest for our special study, only enough examples will be presented to give an idea of the style of the buildings.⁸ (The numbers correspond to those of the engravings.)

1. *Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü*, "The Combination of the Original and the Elegant." Of this first building in the series of engravings, not much more than the terrace and the steps was still in existence in the year 1922. It is, however, reproduced in two engravings representing the southern and the northern façades respectively. From the three-storey middle section two arc-shaped wings projected on the south side towards a pond surrounded with a balustrade. They ended here in polygonal two-storey pavilions. The bodies of the buildings were strongly jointed with ornamental pilasters, big windows, and decorative panels between these. Wide steps curved up from the court, adorned

with ponds, to the second storey, and the lines of the roofs were emphasized with balustrades. The building had the character of a *corps de logis* in the kind of picturesque baroque style common on the European continent at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

7. *Yang Ch'iao Lung*, The Aviary or "Room for the Feeding of Birds," [in this case peacocks] was a smallish building whose pavilion-like middle section had a concave façade divided by niches and stout pilasters carrying a strongly embossed entablature. Above this was a balustrade crowned with ornamental cones. From the two niches water ran down in the canal of the court. Ornamental flower beds and trimmed trees adorned the courts on either side of the palace. This type of building is an offshoot of the Borrominian baroque as it was developed, for example, by Guarini and his school in Turin and Genoa. (Plate 189.)

8. *Fang Wai Kuan*, "Place with a Wide Prospect," i.e., a belvedere, in the form of a small two-storey palace. A balcony is built over the doorways on the ground floor. At the back there is a terrace, to which there is a curving ascent by way of large steps. The banded pilasters and the oval windows of the ground floor are typical elements of picturesque baroque architecture. The same applies to the winding balustrades flanking the approach. (Plate 190.)

10. *Hai Yen T'ang*, "The Hall of Quiet Waters." This building, which contained the pump, seems to have been one of the biggest and most important; it is represented from four different sides. The main façade facing west makes a palatial impression, with its large blind windows and its stately portal in the upper storey, to which one ascends from either side on long, curving ramps with urns and statues on the balustrades. In front of the building is a large pond, into which the water flows from a huge shell, and on either side of this sit six statues with the heads of animals. These represented the twelve guardians of the day and night, and from each in turn a jet of water sprang up at the beginning of each two-hour interval that the animal in question was considered to rule. Water also jetted up from fifty little apertures in the balustrades of the ramps, and was collected in three ponds.

⁸ For additional material, the reader is referred to Plates 206-216 in my earlier publication: *The Imperial Palaces of Peking*.

It is evident that water was here exploited to the uttermost, to create an impression of overflowing wealth and gushing freshness; and so ingenious was the mechanical arrangement that no one could repair it when it broke down after Father Benoit's death. The water was then supplied by manpower.

13. *Hai Yen T'ang's* extensive façade with its projecting corners is very impressive. The vertical division with pilasters together with the roof balustrades makes a somewhat stiff impression, however, though this is to a certain extent counteracted by the shell-shaped windows of the mezzanine and the festoons decorating the doors. The court is also strictly divided with paths, fountains and trimmed trees.

14. *Yüan Ying Kuan*, "View over Distant Waters." Another belvedere-like building, consisting of a central pavilion and projecting wings, modeled with stout pilasters and heavy embossments, and decorated over the portals and windows with sculptured marble ornamentation of conches, volutes, and garlands in the luxuriant style of late baroque. The decoration could scarcely have been richer, or executed with greater technical skill. Castiglione, who supplied the plans, and probably supervised the building operations, was primarily a painter; but he was evidently also thoroughly familiar with contemporary European architecture, which had, to a greater or lesser extent, been influenced by "*le goût de la rocaille*." He was, above all, an exponent of the picturesque late baroque, and did his utmost to break up the mass of the building to allow a shifting play of light and shade, an endeavor that sometimes lends a Chinese flavor to these buildings despite the fact that their fundamental forms are occidental.

15. *Ta Shui Fa*, "The Big Fountains." This splendid setting for magnificent playing waters was built on a walled terrace just below *Yüan Ying Kuan*. The central part was formed by an ornamental pond, into which the water gushed from a large central niche, as well as from conches and other ornaments on either side. This great background motif was supported by large, deeply profiled and sculptured double volutes, whose flowing and billowing forms doubtless harmonized well with the movement of the gushing

water.—At some distance from this pond rose two tall obelisks from whose tips burst jets of water, which then fell in thin veils of spray. Ornamental flower beds completed the division of the terrace.

16. Opposite these fountains was a sort of concave wall, or exedra, divided into five fields with pilasters and adorned with reliefs representing armorial festoons. On an elevation just in front of the exedra stood the imperial throne. This evidently offered the best point of vantage for a survey of the magnificent grounds, with all the cunningly distributed fountains. It was called *Kuan Shui Fa*, "Regard the Jetting Water."

In spite of certain variations, the European buildings in *Yüan Ming Yüan* represented a uniform architectural type, which was not, as I have already hinted, without points of contact with the picturesque style prevailing in the Chinese gardens; but there was no question of any deliberate adaptation of the buildings to the milieu. The task of the Jesuit artists was rather to create as rich and pompous a picture of foreign architecture as possible. It was for this purpose that, with the help of painted and modeled side-scenes, a European street-scene in sham-perspective was added at the farther end of the narrow grounds, a feature which the emperor, with his special interest in the illusory scenic effects of occidental art, highly appreciated.

These buildings were as far as possible also furnished according to occidental taste, and were filled with all sorts of *objets d'art* and curiosities that Ch'ien Lung had received as gifts from European potentates: Gobelin tapestries, mirrors, French and Venetian glassware (some of which were dismantled to be used in the windows), mechanical toys, pendulum clocks, and hydraulic machines. Father Benoit was frequently summoned to demonstrate the mechanical instruments for the inquisitive monarch and, according to what he has himself communicated in his correspondence, these audiences were sometimes the occasion of rather curious philosophical discussions between the monarch and the Jesuit Father.

It may be pointed out that (according to a later letter from Peking written by Father Bourgeois to M. Dela-

tour in 1786), the Chinese were not able to keep Father Benoit's hydraulic machines going after his decease: "To tell the truth, the big machine for the pumping up of water for all the fountains is quite worn out. The Chinese have made no attempt to repair it, but have relapsed instead into their old habits, which they do not give up unless they are absolutely forced to do so, and have begun to *carry* up the water. As soon as the emperor announces his intention of visiting the European buildings, they employ sufficient labor for a couple of days to fill the enormous pond, so that all the fountains can play along the route that the emperor will follow."

This passage reveals not only the Chinese view of the matter and their methods of work, but also the relatively ephemeral nature of the artistic and scientific contributions of the French and Italian Jesuits. The Chinese were amused and fascinated by the ability of the Europeans to create the illusion with the aid of perspective, and movement in competition with Nature by mechanical means, but they looked upon such things as a sport rather than as the result of general laws of Nature. When the contrivers of these mysteries disappeared from the scene, there was no one who could keep the mechanism going and continue the sport.

As long as Ch'ien Lung lived and reigned in Yüan Ming Yüan, however, the pleasure grounds and the numerous buildings were kept in a state of tolerable repair; but after the emperor's death a gradual decay set in. It may be remarked that it was here that Ch'ien Lung (in 1793, i.e., three years before his abdication) received the first British embassy, under Lord Macartney. Accounts of what took place on that occasion have been preserved by Sir George Staunton and by John Barrow, who was Macartney's private secretary and the man who remained for the longest period in Yüan Ming Yüan—while the ambassador himself undertook a journey to Jehol—albeit under imperial superintendence. Barrow was evidently a well-read man with artistic interests, who had prepared himself for his journey by studying, *inter alia*, the works of William Chambers. He arrived with great expectations, but was somewhat disappointed by what he was

allowed to see in the pleasure park. The following passage is taken from his account:

The general appearance of those parts near where we lodged, as to the natural surface of the country, broke into hill and dale, and diversified with wood and lawn may be compared with Richmond Park, to which, however, they add the very great advantage of abundance of canals, rivers, and large sheets of water, whose banks although artificial are neither trimmed, nor shorn nor sloped like the *glacis* of a fortification but have been thrown up with immense labor in an irregular and, as it were fortuitous manner, so as to represent the free hand of nature. Bold rocky promontories are seen jutting into a lake, and vallies retiring, some choked with wood, others in a state of high cultivation. In particular spots where pleasure houses, or places of rest and retirement, were erected, the views appear to have been studied. The trees were not only placed according to their magnitudes, but the tints of their foliage seemed also to have been considered in the composition of the picture, which some of the landscapes might be called with great propriety. But if an opinion may be formed from those parts of them which I have seen, and I understand there is a great similarity throughout the whole, they fall very far short of the fanciful and extravagant descriptions that Sir William Chambers has given of Chinese gardens. Much, however, has been done and nothing that I saw could be considered as an offence to nature.⁹

Had there been more European travelers in China at that time with as sound and dispassionate a judgment as John Barrow, Chambers' fantastic descriptions of the Chinese gardens would never have circulated so widely or gained such great influence. What Barrow has to tell by no means contradicts Frère Attiret's more picturesque description of Yüan Ming Yüan, but it is presented from another point of view and serves to remind us that the impressions of these pleasure parks and graceful buildings were in great measure dependent upon the observer's standpoint and the conditions under which he lived. This is confirmed by other descriptions from the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which the critical tone prevails.

The final act in the eventful historical cavalcade that for a century and a half was enacted on this magnificent garden scene took place in October 1860,

⁹ John Barrow, *Travels in China* (London, 1806), pp. 122-123.

when, after having broken the Chinese resistance at Tung-chou, a French and an English expeditionary force (sent out to compel the Chinese to make concessions in favor of the trade policy of the European powers) marched up on either side of Peking and met at Yüan Ming Yüan, with the intention of seizing the emperor. But the trembling Son of Heaven had already fled to Jehol. Only a few old eunuchs were left behind in Yüan Ming Yüan, and their attempt to barricade the great entrance gate was easily overborne. Early on the morning of October 7th the French troops streamed through the gates, and it was not long before they were busy plundering the imperial residences and ceremonial halls of treasures and works of art of all kinds from different parts of the world. General Montauban, who was in command of these troops, protested, but was unable to restore discipline when the soldiers' greed and cupidity had once been aroused.—There are several descriptions, by both French and English eyewitnesses, which agree in essentials, even if they diverge in the matter of assigning responsibility for the plundering and in their moralistic points of view.¹⁰ They are full of excitement, and offer most absorbing reading, though a European reader can scarcely avoid a feeling of humiliation. *Vestigia terrent!* It may here suffice to add that only a small portion of all the works of art in precious metals and genuine pearls, jade and lacquer, porcelain and silk as well as other costly materials that were lost through the plundering found its way into the soldiers' knapsacks; most of these treasures were smashed or ripped to ribbons. Lord Elgin, the British ambassador, estimated the value of the destroyed collections at about £50,000, a sum which nowadays probably would have to be tenfolded.

¹⁰ Cf. Grant and Knolly, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*. Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*. Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*. Varin, *Expédition de Chine*. Walrond, *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*. Favier, *Pekin*, etc.

On October 9th the soldiers set off with their booty to Peking, where they met with only slight resistance. The negotiations with the Chinese were resumed, and of the prisoners taken by the Chinese from among officers with flags of truce and others about half were sent back dead, while the rest were completely exhausted from torture. When the British commanders-in-chief, General Grant and Lord Elgin, found out what these prisoners had gone through in the form of torture, they determined to carry out an act of vengeance that should make a deep impression on the Chinese and serve as a warning for a long time to come. Unfortunately, they hit upon the idea of destroying Yüan Ming Yüan, as this palace and its gardens had been the favorite residence of the imperial family and the place where certain of the prisoners had been tortured. A British corps was detached and sent there on October 18th, and after further plundering the troops set fire to all the buildings. The smoke from the burning pleasure palaces lay like a thick blanket over Peking for several days; but the great mass of the Chinese population had no clear idea, either then or later, of the reason for this act of ruthless vandalism. It was, and it remained for them, simply an expression of the barbarism of the foreign devils.

Many reasons have been adduced to justify this punitive expedition, but in the course of time, as events have been seen in clearer perspective, it has become increasingly obvious that it was an expression of unbridled vengefulness, shortsighted from the political point of view and effective only as the destruction of irreplaceable art values and a costly library. The fire not only laid waste Yüan Ming Yüan itself, but also spread to the adjacent pleasure palaces and parks, Wan Shou Shan and Yü Ch'üan Shan, where numerous buildings from the times of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung went up in smoke.

Chapter 10

THE NEW SUMMER PALACE AND THE PARK OF THE JADE FOUNTAIN

THE only one of the imperial pleasure grounds in the vicinity of Peking that has been preserved relatively intact, and can thus still convey impressions of the original character of these establishments and of their decorative arrangements, is the "New Summer Palace," so named to distinguish it from the Old Summer Palace or Yüan Ming Yüan, which was situated a few kilometers farther to the northeast. This New Summer Palace also was destroyed, as mentioned above, by the fire in 1860, but it was rebuilt on the old lines under the dowager empress Tzū Hsi at the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties. It was nationalized after the introduction of the republic, and since 1914 it has been open to the public for an entrance fee. A number of the buildings have served as summer residences for European tenants; others have stood empty and unused, but been kept in condition by occasional repairs. The uncommon beauty of the establishment and, in certain respects, its magnificent character are largely due to the fact that it is in part situated on a height, and also to the inclusion of a lake of rather considerable dimensions (about six kilometers in circumference), which forms a captivating central motif among the shifting views in the pleasure park.

The hill upon which the finest of the buildings are situated was originally called Wêng Shan, The Jar Mountain, but after Ch'ien Lung had erected a temple here, as well as other buildings intended for his mother who received this establishment as a dower residence, the name was changed to Wan Shou Shan, The Mountain of Innumerable Years. Later, the whole establishment was given the name I Ho Yüan, The Garden of Peace and Harmony, a name it has retained to this

day.—In the imperial decree, which in 1750 Ch'ien Lung had carved on a stone tablet high up on the slope, one may read: "When the lake was completed I gave the new names Wan Shou Shan to the hill and K'un Ming Hu to the lake. The lake reminds one of the old lake with the same name, and it is also my desire that it shall serve as a practice ground for sea-battles.¹ Because of the ever-springing source at the foot of the Jar Mountain, I have given it the name Wan Shou Shan, The Imperial Mountain of Long Life. This year the Dowager Queen will celebrate her sixtieth birthday, and [the temple] Yen Shou Ssü has been erected at the foot of the mountain . . ."

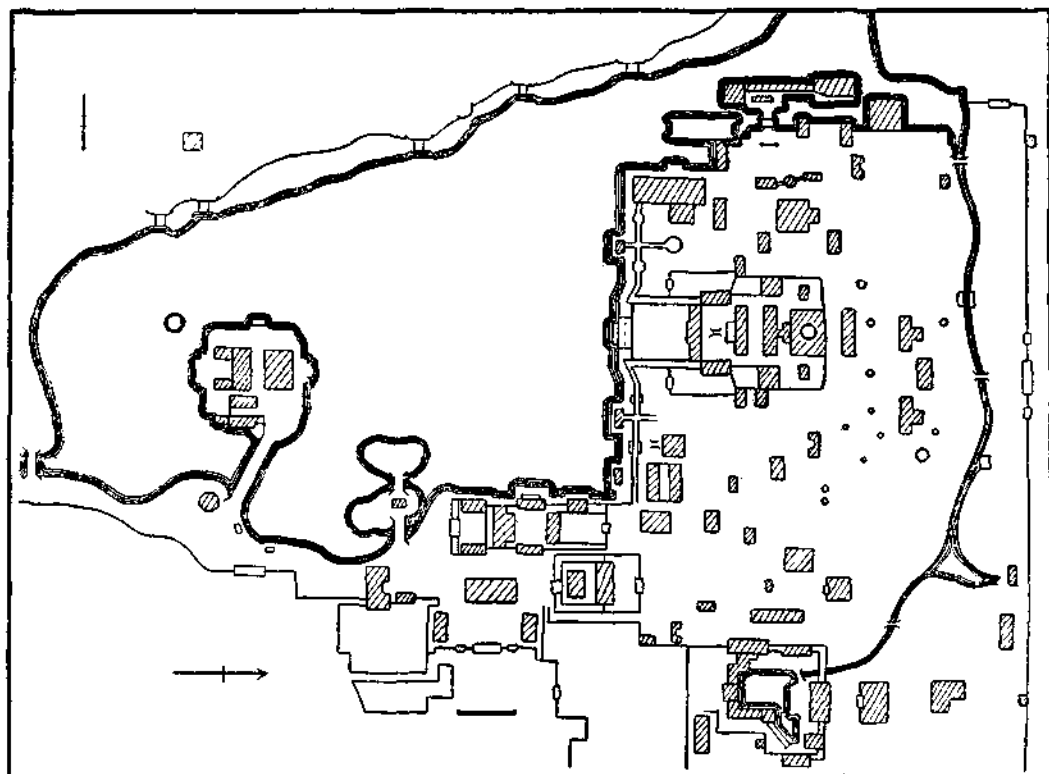
Ten years later, when his mother attained the age of seventy years, Ch'ien Lung drew up a memorandum in which, among other things, he excuses himself for having spent such large sums on the now completed establishment, despite the fact that earlier (when he had completed Yüan Ming Yüan) he had declared that he would not have any other pleasure palace erected. He writes:² "When I had this beautiful hill and this beautiful lake, how could I refrain from building the terrace and buildings suited to it? There is a reason for everything. Consequently, I used my own private means, and built solidly rather than in rich forms, in conformity with the old ideas from Yüan Ming Yüan."

The finest buildings on Wan Shou Shan form parts of the temple compound Ta Pao En Yen Shou Ssü that Ch'ien Lung had had erected for his mother on

¹ Ch'ien Lung is here referring to the famous lake that was situated in the park at the palace of the T'ang emperors in Ch'ang-an. This was called K'un Ming Hu, and is said to have been used as the practice ground for the imperial marines.

² Cf. Malone, *Summer Palaces of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, p. 113.

Sketch-plan of the grounds of the New Summer Palace with the lake K'un Ming Hu.



her sixtieth birthday. These were built on terraces on the southern slope of the hill, connected with steps and enclosed by balustrades. On the uppermost terrace, dominating the entire grounds, the great octagonal tower, Fo Hsian Ko (Buddha's Incense Pavilion), is still standing; and behind this, on the crest of the hill, is Wan Fo Tien (The Hall of the Numberless Buddhas), a building made entirely of glazed bricks, in part decorated with Buddha-reliefs. The lower end of the long axis of the building, extending down to the shore of the lake, ends with a decorative doorway. (Plates 194A, 195.)

This group of buildings may still be seen, though the original temple, which was destroyed in the fire of 1860, has been replaced by three halls on the successive courts, and the big tower has been restored. It is clear that on the occasion of the rebuilding in the year 1889 the old models were followed as closely as possible, so that the general impression of the whole is probably much the same as it was in Ch'ien Lung's time. Moreover, certain of the buildings, such as the green- and yellow-glazed temple hall on the crest of the hill and the famous bronze pavilion Pao Yün Ko (The Pa-

vilion of the Precious Clouds) on the western slope, survived the fire relatively undamaged, and still bear witness to the uncommon care, skill, and wealth of imagination that was put into the building of Wan Shou Shan. (Plate 200.)

To list all the pavilions adorning these slopes, where the road winds between fantastically modeled stone blocks, is scarcely necessary, for it is not so much any particular building that attracts our main interest as the composition as a whole: the simultaneous effect of the towers, the pavilions and the halls, one rising behind the other under roofs shimmering in hues of blue-violet and gold, the lower ones in part concealed or nestling in a setting of trees, the upper ones standing out as shining silhouettes against a clear sky. It is a group of buildings that fascinates the beholder with its wealth of color and form from whatever point one sees it; and it provides an effective contrast to the large, smooth sheet of water just below.

From the crowning terrace, or perhaps still higher—from the galleries of the tower—the view extends not only (southward) over K'un Ming Hu with its islands, bridges and shore galleries, but also (eastwards) over

the whole plain right up to the walls of Peking and (to the west) towards the heights of the Jade Spring and the Western Hills in the blue distance. One may well wonder how it was possible to produce such a big lake in the middle of these pleasure grounds. The answer has been given by Ch'ien Lung himself, who in one of his memorials mentions that originally there existed here (behind the present eastern wall) only a small mere, or lotus marsh. This provided the starting point for the excavation of K'un Ming Hu, which was afterwards connected with the never-failing Jade Fountain by a wide canal. As already mentioned, the original intention was that the lake should also serve a practical end by affording an opportunity for the imperial marines to take part in sham sea-battles. For this purpose Ch'ien Lung had twenty-four boats built, while from Tientsin and Fuchou he summoned men with sea experience to act as instructors. Also, under the dowager empress, more or less playful sham battles were staged here; and this was possibly one of the reasons why the means for the rebuilding of this summer residence were taken from funds set aside for the building of a fleet. In the war against Japan, 1894-1895, the Chinese had to pay dearly for their neglect in this point.

The shores of the lake present quite varying aspects: the northern shore, below Wan Shou Shan, follows practically a straight line, which is accentuated by the posts and panels of the long marble balustrade. The western shore swings in a long arc southwards, where the lake narrows to a bay, while the eastern shore winds to and fro in irregular curves. In the middle of the eastern shore, from a spot made conspicuous by a large, octagonal pavilion, a long marble bridge on seventeen arches and provided with richly sculptured balustrades runs out into the water. It leads over to a largish island, where the shrine of the Dragon King is situated in the shade of big trees. (Plate 203B.) In this place sacrifices for rain were offered up. The buildings are still there, as is also the statue of the Dragon King with a blue face, yellow imperial robe and a crown upon his head, but sacrifices with accompanying feasts no longer take place here, only "services" of a less effective kind such as

meetings of the Society for the Prevention of Vandalism. Farther off, the little Phoenix island rises out of the water; it now boasts only a single tree, though formerly it was adorned with a pavilion in which, under certain conditions, court ladies were interned. Farthest away, by the western shore, an airy silhouetted arch stands out against the horizon: the contours of the so-called Camel's Hump Bridge, spanning one of the widest canal mouths. This bridge should be included among the finest specimens of classical garden architecture of its kind. (Plate 203A.)

The appearance of the lake is in a high degree dependent upon the changes of the seasons and the hour of the day. In winter it may be covered with ice; early in the spring it looks vast and desolate, before reeds and lacustrine plant life have begun to fill out and give color to the shores; as the summer advances the surface of the water dwindles and partly disappears under an undulating carpet of magnificent lotus flowers. The emperor Ch'ien Lung has given expression in several poems to his enthusiasm for the lotus flowers and the moonlight on Lake K'un Ming; and less famous poets have doubtless also sought inspiration in this magnificent and artistically controlled landscape. Here, in truth, are unfolded a wonderful succession of views that change according to the lighting and the point of vantage from which they are seen.

The most extensive views, as I have remarked, are to be had from the temple terraces on Wan Shou Shan, but the most picturesque prospects are enjoyed during a stroll in the long gallery following the soft curves of the northern shore. (Plates 196, 197.) The stout pillars of the gallery—connected by ornamental trellis-work balustrades and lambrequins, and shaded by the jutting roof—provide the setting for the successive views over the marble-clad shore-facing, from which, here and there, trees and bushes thrust up into the air, and over the lake itself, blooming in the foreground and, farther off, reflecting the white clouds. No frame could be more airy and graceful as the setting for such pictures; the pillars have a red tone, but on the beams and ceiling flowers and landscape are brilliant with gay colors. At certain intersecting or terminal points one sees open pavilions or small rooms, which may be

shut off with doors. These add to the variety and provide resting points for the eye. (Plate 199.)

In contrast to these views over the lake, the prospect on the opposite side of the long gallery is shut off by plantations of leafy trees—both coniferous and deciduous varieties—which invest these areas between the hill and the lake with something of a forest atmosphere. Stone-paved paths wind by the side of narrow streamlets which are spanned by moss-clad bridges (Plate 194B), which together with the piled-up garden rocks create an impression of mouldering and impermanence that is so essential a feature of the Chinese landscape garden.

Certain parts of these extensive grounds that have a more secluded and intimate character, as, for instance, Hsieh Chü Yüan, which Ch'ien Lung had laid out on the same lines as a celebrated garden in Wu-hsi (Kiangsu). Its central part is a large lotus pond surrounded by low hills, galleries, pavilions, and bridges of graceful design. The water here is no less blooming than the shores, while elegant little buildings occupy the spots we should have reserved for trees and bushes. (Plate 202.)

Nor are the plantations very extensive round the new buildings erected on the orders of the empress Tzū Hsi. We find these partly in the vicinity of the big eastern gate. One comes here upon Jên Shou Tien,³ the main ceremonial hall, in which the empress gave her audiences. It is a low building under a large roof on a low terrace. Before the building stand symbolic bronze statues, representing deer and cranes (animals considered to bring good luck) on sculptured marble pedestals. (Plate 198A.) The stone-paved court is otherwise adorned with only a few trees and a huge rock of curious shape with poetical inscriptions. This was a gift to the empress from a Manchurian prince, who had it transported here from his native district. A few steps to the northward rises a three-storey building, Tê Ho Yüan, The Garden of Pleasant Harmonies, i.e., the theater, and opposite this a smaller building of the same height called I Lo Tien, The Hall of the Attractive Smile, so called because the building contained

³ The name has been interpreted as The Hall for the Old Age that is the Reward of Humanity.

the empress's private box, where she was free to laugh at her pleasure.—If one continues one's stroll westward, one comes to other courts surrounded by low buildings, galleries and walls; these are paved with stones and adorned with a few single trees and rocks, but as a rule the only flowers are those which are placed here in large jars and sculptured marble baths during the warm season. They do not contain any new or original elements; greater interest attaches to such monuments as the famous marble boat and bronze cow placed at opposite ends of the extensive lake.

The enchantment and the artistic beauty of the place, however, are in the last analysis due to more indefinable factors which must be sought in the interplay between the natural surroundings and the buildings: in the shimmering light as it plays on all the colorful glazed roofs, in the shifting lights on the wide sheet of water, in the play of light and shade under the decorated roofs of the galleries.—If one is familiar with the old tales of the abodes of the Immortals and the Isle of Bliss, sung by the poets and represented by the painters of former times, one may still seem to catch a hint of these fairy castles in blooming parks with water and mountains.

Tzū Hsi's Summer Palace was the last product of a tradition that can be traced right back to the beginning of our era, a last attempt to render in concrete form a phantasmagoria of art and Nature which might serve as a residence for the divine ruler of the Middle Kingdom. It is easy to understand that she loved this place above all others, and accounted the periods she spent here as the best in her life.

YÜ CH'ÜAN SHAN, The Mountain of the Jade Fountain, which is situated some few kilometers to the northwest of the New Summer Palace, is according to Chinese tradition the finest of "the eight views" or scenes of natural beauty in the environs of Peking. The spot derives its name from the fact that the water gushing from the mountain is as pure and clear as jade. It is also considered to have healing properties, which is the reason why one may see Chinese visitors

burning joss-sticks at the entrance to the grounds in the hope of thus winning the favor of the water fairies. (Plate 205.)

No one who has visited the place will deny that the tradition is well founded. It is scarcely possible to point to any spot in the vicinity of Peking more favored by Nature. The ground rises in terraces and hills which were once crowned with colorful buildings under shining roofs. The vegetation is luxuriant, almost superabundant. The ruins of the buildings, which have remained untouched for more than a generation, lie in a setting of magnificent old trees, and in the midst of the verdure extends this crystal-clear lake, in which the fresh spring water is collected before it takes on a darker hue on its way through muddy ditches and canals. (Plate 206.)

Behind the lake the mountains rise in a slow rhythm with long-drawn-out cadences; at three different points their ascending lines are caught and focused in graceful pagoda towers of various age and appearance. The smallest of the pagodas is a marble tower, richly adorned with figural reliefs of the eighteenth century, the second is entirely covered with green and yellow glazed tiles, while the third and largest is an older building, built on an octagonal plan with seven storeys of unglazed tile. It is called Yü Fêng T'a, The Pagoda of the Jade Peak, and it dominates the entire tract. From its elevated site one has a magnificent view, stretching over Peking on the one side and towards the distant ridges of the Western Hills on the other. According to tradition, the emperor Chang Tsung of the Chin Dynasty (1190-1208) had a hunting pavilion erected here. This has long since disappeared, but there are two memorial tablets, one of them provided with the following inscription by the emperor Ch'ien Lung: "The finest spring under heaven."

Like his grandfather K'ang Hsi, Ch'ien Lung loved to retire to the park of the Jade Fountain to dream and compose poetry. It is not for nothing that the park on the southern slope was called The Garden of Pure Rest: Ching Ming Yüan. It was laid out by K'ang Hsi in the year 1680; and he also selected here (following an old tradition) sixteen special views or motifs to which poetical names were given. For ex-

ample: Solar Reflexes on Hibiscus Flowers (a pavilion with glazed roof-tiles which glittered in the sun); Melting Snow, Dripping from the Tips of Rocks, Produces Sounds Like the Music of a Lute (a deep gorge). The trembling moonlight on the surface of the Jade Fountain was described with the following words: The Light on the Water Is Like Rippled Silk, Spreading in Different Directions.—But it was not only visual impressions that fascinated the imperial poets; their ears were no less sensitive to the voices of Nature, as may be seen from the following descriptions of motifs: "The wind that rustles in the reeds fills the ear with pleasure"; or, "The bell that is tolled on the top of the mountain brings tones from beyond the clouds."—The metaphors lead one's thoughts towards cosmic spaces, and in his sixteen poems Ch'ien Lung has tried to extend them further.

There is no doubt that the Jade Fountain is now the most attractive of the imperial pleasure grounds in the vicinity of Peking, the one to which nature lovers are most drawn because of its fresh and rustic charm. This is the most favored resort for a day's excursion or a week end, when the heat becomes oppressive in the capital (for such longer excursions there are small, simple hotels). But on one's strolls through the park one asks oneself again and again: What is the work of human hands, and what is the work of Nature? The artistic elements have so completely merged with the natural surroundings that it is scarcely possible to distinguish them or to assess them apart from the landscape. True, one may trace them in the winding patterns of the paths, in the damming of the streams, in the bridges and the placing of the pavilions; but the fundamental features, the modeling of the ground and the grouping of the leafy trees, seem so perfectly natural that one does not reflect that perhaps these, too, are the result of deliberate art. (Plates 207, 208.)

From documents that have come down it appears that the emperor K'ang Hsi spent considerable sums for the laying out of these pleasure grounds, and that Ch'ien Lung employed hundreds of gardeners to improve them still further. But the guiding principle on both occasions was evidently to adapt the design as

far as possible to the local conditions, and to follow the indications given by Nature. This is now even more apparent, as for two centuries the growth of the trees and the decay of the buildings have been allowed to continue quite undisturbed.

The scenes have, so to speak, completed themselves, and there has thus arisen a wild nature park of the type that corresponds in some degree to the notions of romantic parks that were developed in Europe in the eighteenth century. The importance of the Chinese sources of inspiration for this development will be discussed in another connection, and also how the influence reached Europe through the Jesuit missionaries. I have already quoted Frère Attiret's description of Yüan Ming Yüan, but it may be of interest to adduce here another account, written by a missionary named Cibot, which in several points reminds one of an establishment such as the park of the Jade Fountain. This is included in *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, moeurs, usages des Chinois*, Vol. 8, a work which was published in Paris in 1782. The most interesting part of this essay, published under the title "*Essai sur les jardins de plaisance des Chinois*," is not what Frère Cibot himself has to tell us, but what he quotes from a Chinese informant whom he calls Lieoutchou. The latter is supposed to have said, in part:

What is it one seeks in a pleasure garden? What is it that one has always enjoyed therein? All the centuries have given the same answer to these questions: It is the substitute for the perpetually new, fresh and delightful charms of the country, the natural home of man. A garden ought thus to be a living animated picture of everything belonging to a natural landscape, so that it may arouse the same feelings and offer to the eye the same charms as this. The art of laying out such a garden lies in bringing together there in an unaffected way the beauty, the verdure, the shade, the views, and the wealth of variety proper to the countryside, so that the eye believes it beholds these things, the ear listens for their silence and peace, and all the senses are filled with the serenity that makes it so delightful to live there. Thus, the wealth of variety, this constantly recurring fundamental feature of the natural landscape, should be the first thing to aim at in arranging the ground. Even if it is not sufficiently ex-

tensive to contain all the many kinds of hills and mountains that Nature models and separates from one another with valleys, glades, and groves, and all the waterfalls and winding streams embracing the heights, or the natural pools that are shaded by water plants, and the rocks that rise sheer into the air or lie flat on the ground, or the dark grottoes and the leafy bowers, one should nonetheless give to the plan a natural variety, and not let oneself be tempted by a misleading first glance to produce a stiff and hard symmetry, which is as tiresome and cold as it is monotonous.

If the ground is enclosed within narrow limits and does not permit the introduction of so many different features, then make a selection, and endeavor to stress the features that will invest the garden with the air of simplicity and caprice that makes the prospect of the country landscape so appealing. The ingenious art that can vie with and even excel Nature may be recognized above all in the ability to arrange the "mountains," the clumps of trees and the streams in such a way as to reveal the beauty of Nature, enhance its effect and offer an infinite variety of shifting views. Nothing should be given big proportions in a small area, but neither should it be confined, stiff or exaggerated. Even in the most extensive grounds one must retain harmonious proportions which may make the impression of a beauty and truth which are always pleasant for the eyes and never weary them.

After further stressing the chief point, according to which everything must appear self-evident, natural and unintentional, Frère Cibot adds the following reflections, which as a matter of fact convey a good idea of the fundamental principles of Chinese garden art:

Everything that is ruled and symmetrical is alien to free Nature. There one never finds trees growing in lines to form avenues, flowers brought together in beds, water enclosed in ponds or in regular canals. It is the realization of these facts that forms the basis on which the composition of the Chinese gardens is planned. Their hills and slopes are generally completely covered with different kinds of trees, sometimes planted in dense groups, as in the woods, sometimes scattered and isolated as in the fields. The shades of their green, the luxuriance of the foliage, the form of the crown, the thickness and height of their trunks are the factors that decide whether they shall be placed on the north or the south side, on the top or on the slopes of the hills or in the deep valleys between them.—This distribution must be made with true taste.

THE PARK OF THE JADE FOUNTAIN

The trees must conceal parts which are too conspicuous, and bring out others that are all too isolated; they must contribute to the perspective effect, whether silhouetted on the horizon or merged in the distant view.

The special needs of each season must be considered. The blooming cherry trees and peach trees form an enchanting amphitheatre for the spring; the acacias and ash trees form green bowers for the summer. Autumn has its weeping willows with long drooping branches, and its shivering poplars with silky smooth leaves; winter has its cedars, cypresses, and pines. [He then goes on to speak of how the bushes and shrubs should be distributed in picturesque groups on the slopes, though no particular species are mentioned.] May those who admire symmetrical bowers, avenues, palisades and other studied forms in our gardens forgive a confession, perhaps due to the fact that we have too faint a recollection of these things, or to a coloring of our taste by the gardens we have here before our eyes, namely, that the former resemble poems of Fontanelle, while the latter are like eclogues of Virgil.

In the continuation of his letter Frère Cibot further emphasizes the irregularity and the wealth of variety

to be found in the Chinese gardens, their winding paths and undulating terrain, in contradistinction to the stiff symmetry of the French Le Nôtre gardens; but it seems scarcely necessary to quote the letter in its entirety. It does not tell us much that is new, but it is of importance as a summary of the ideas and viewpoints that were considered to be paramount in Chinese garden art in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The author of the epistle sees the subject with European eyes, and tries to make his description as interesting as possible for the occidental reader. To us it may appear farfetched to compare Chinese gardens with Virgil's eclogues, but for the amateurs of that period this was doubtless an apt and perfectly natural way of characterizing the intimate charm and the picturesque wealth of variety in the Chinese gardens. It was a typical expression for the cultural syncretism so characteristic of that period, which formed a most fruitful soil for the European interest in Chinese gardening art.

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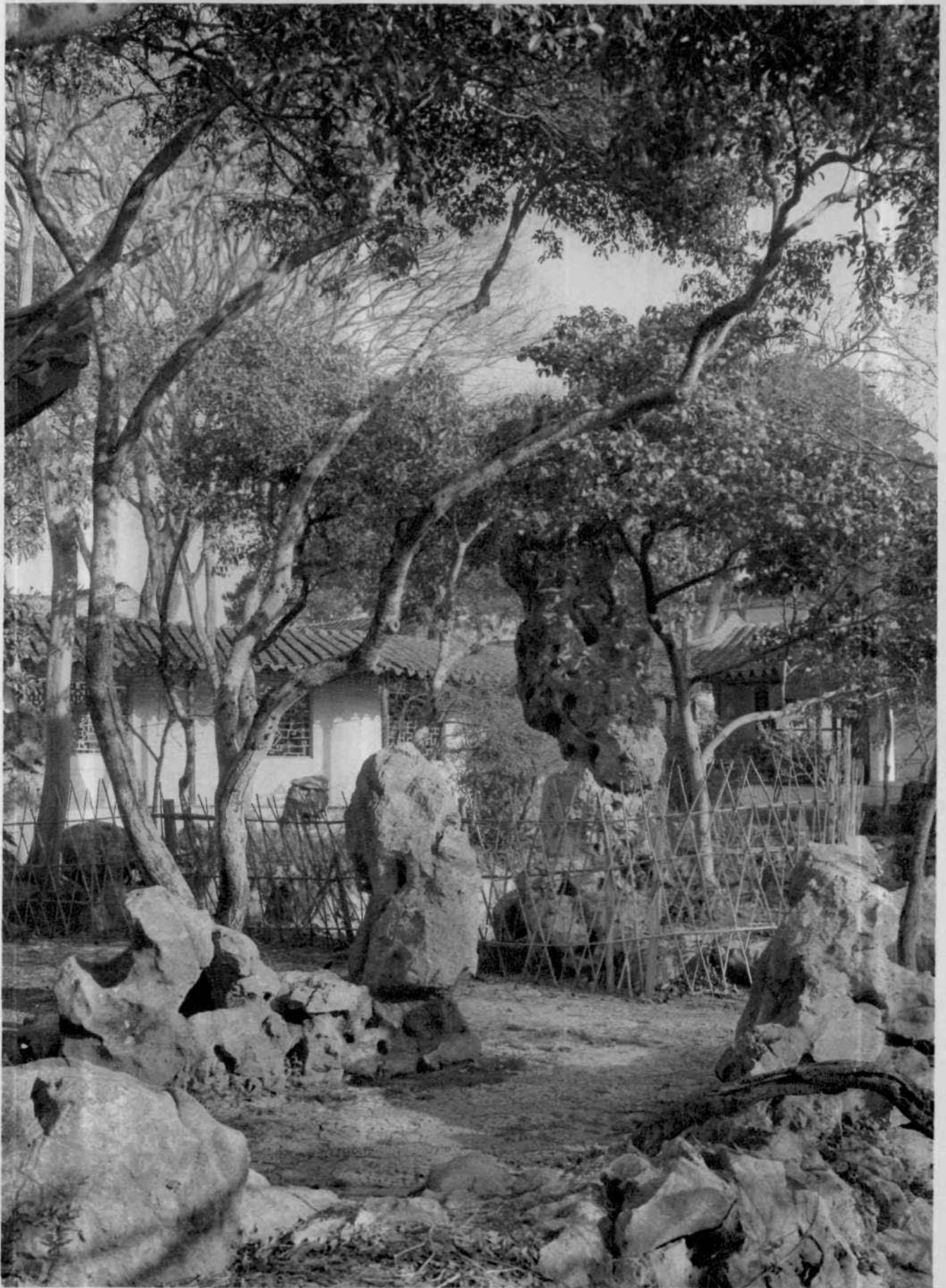
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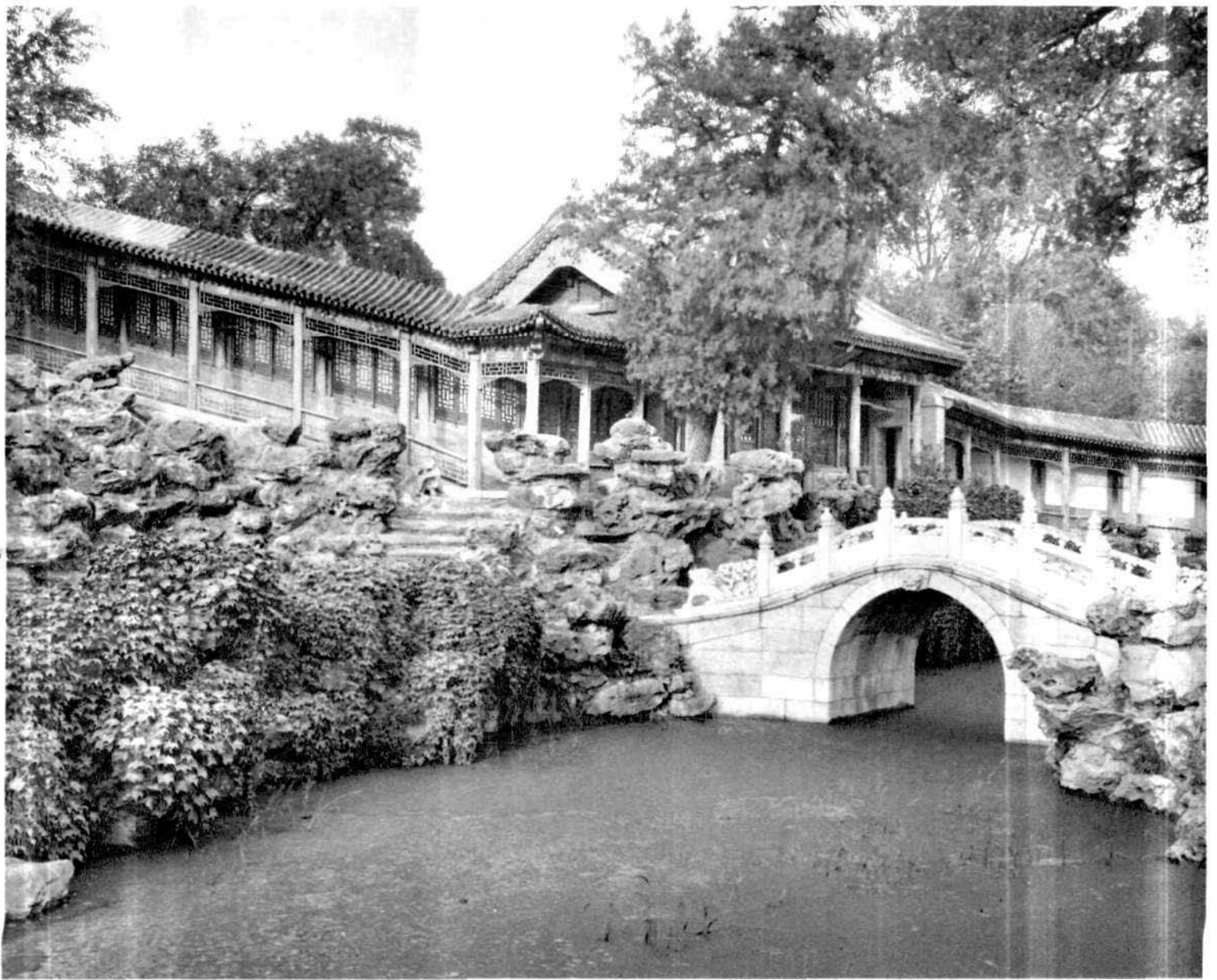
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Plate 1. Garden entrance with tall stones and vines on the trellised portal. Woodcut after a drawing, possibly by Ch'ên Hung-shou (1599—1657), illustrating a scene in the play *Hsi Hsing Chi* (Story of the Western Pavilion).



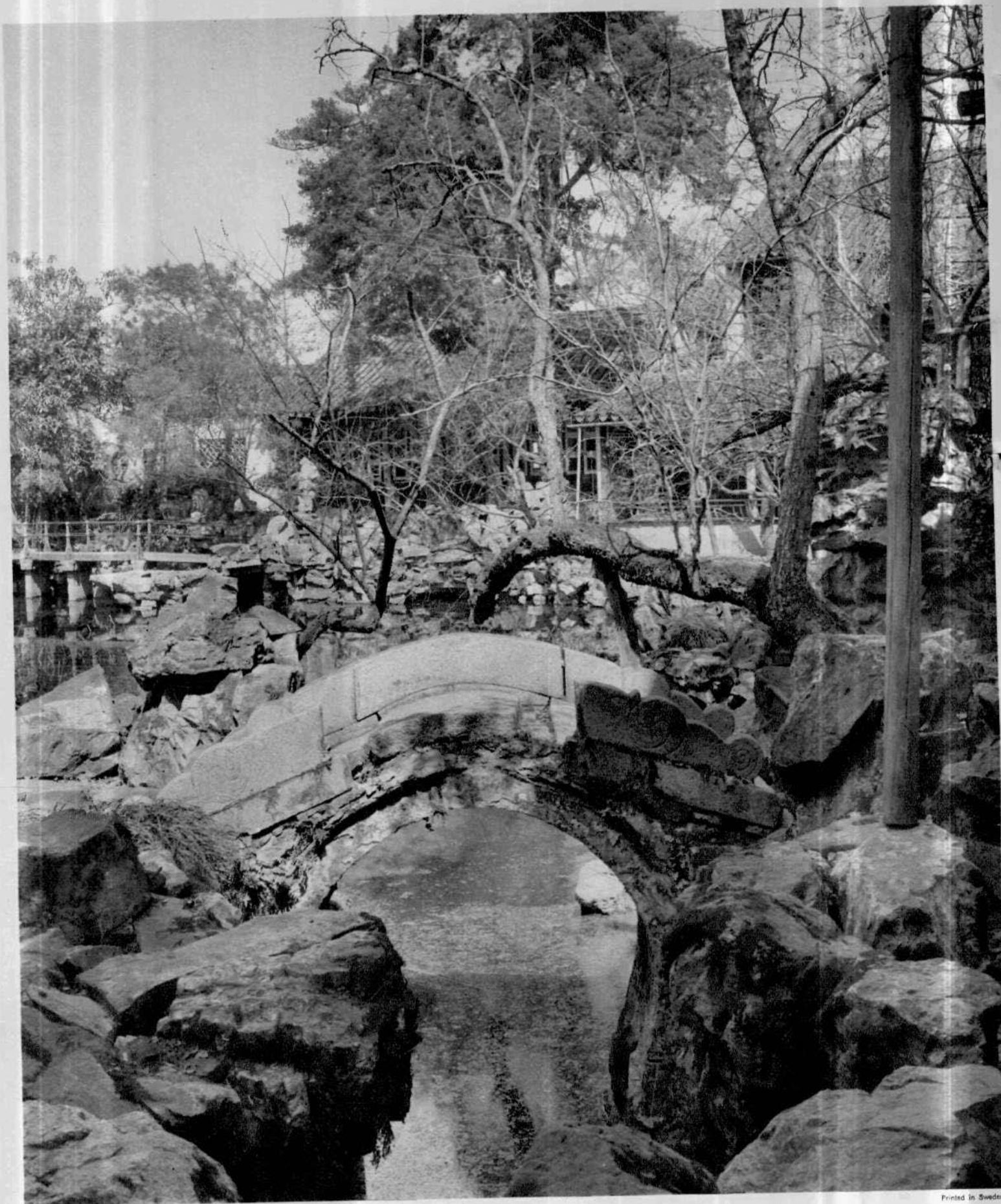
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Plate 2. A corner of the Ku family's garden in Suchou, known by the name of I Yüan (The Abode of Rest).



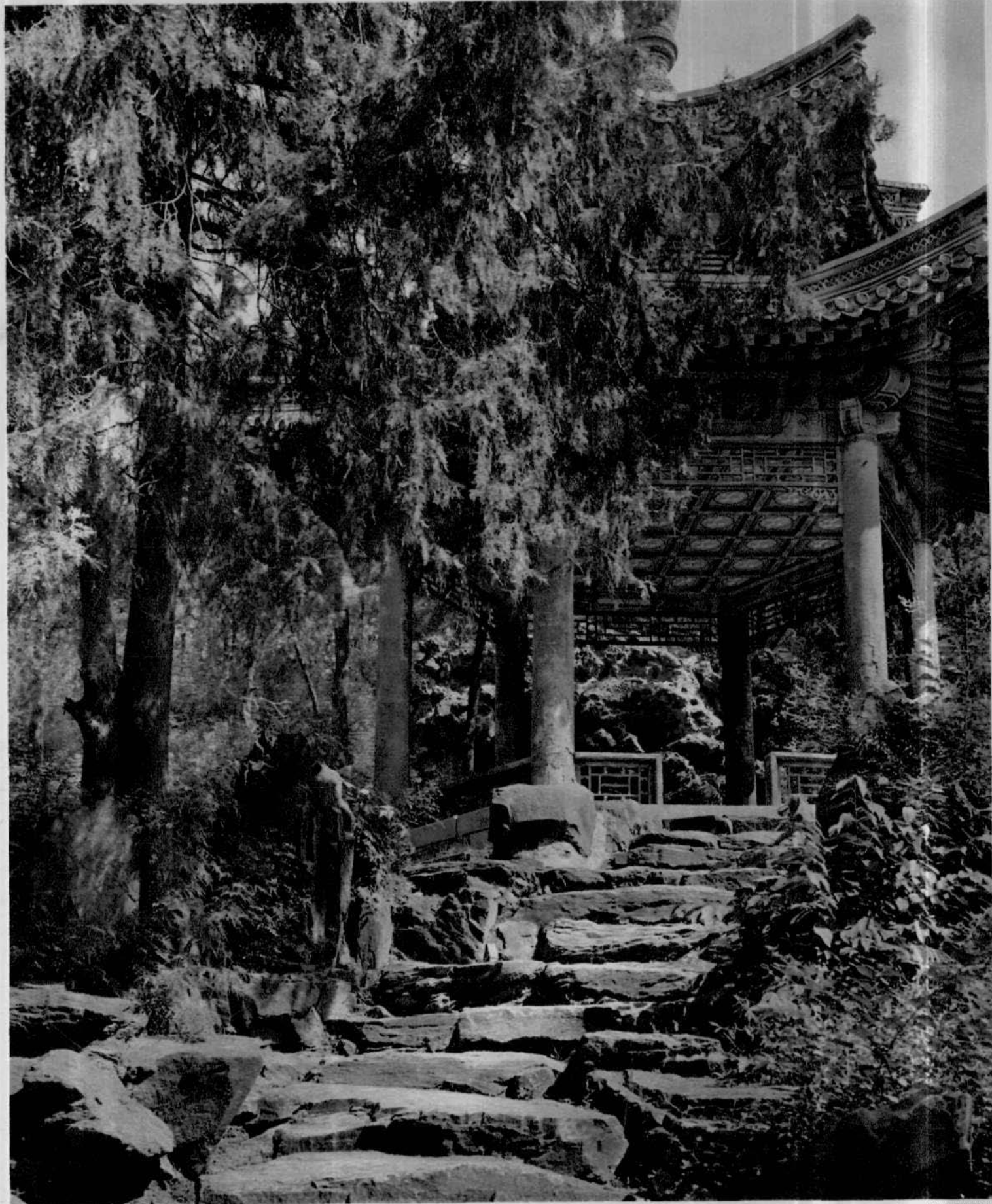
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Plate 3. A part of the garden Ching Hsin Chai (The Studio of the Pure Heart), Pei Hai, Peking.



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Plate 4. A stone bridge spanning a canal in the garden of the Wang family known as Ch'u Yüan, in Suchou.



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Plate 5. A pavilion among rocks and old thuja trees in a secluded garden in the grounds of the New Summer Palace.

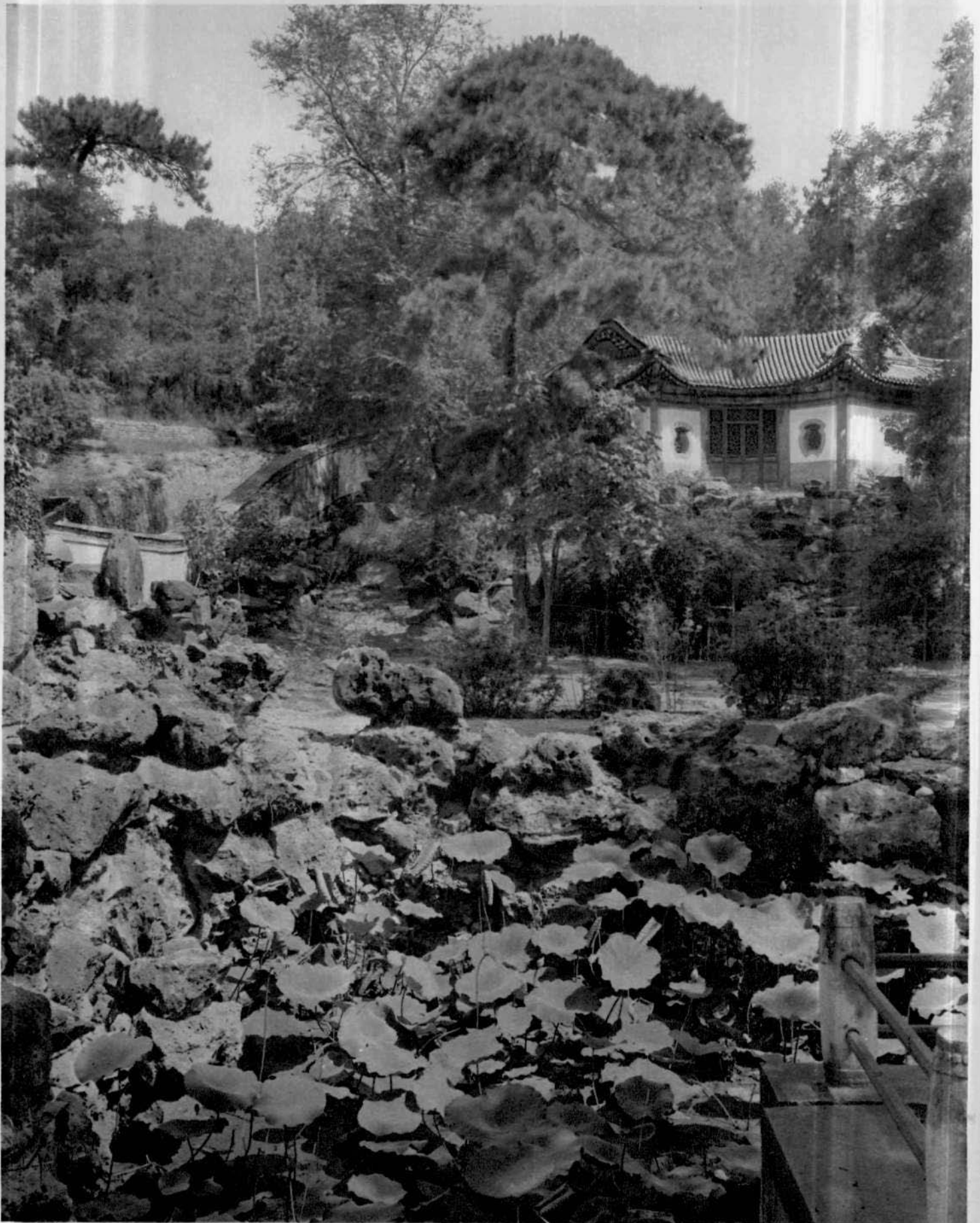


Plate 6. A small wall-enclosed garden with flowering lotus in the grounds of the New Summer Palace.

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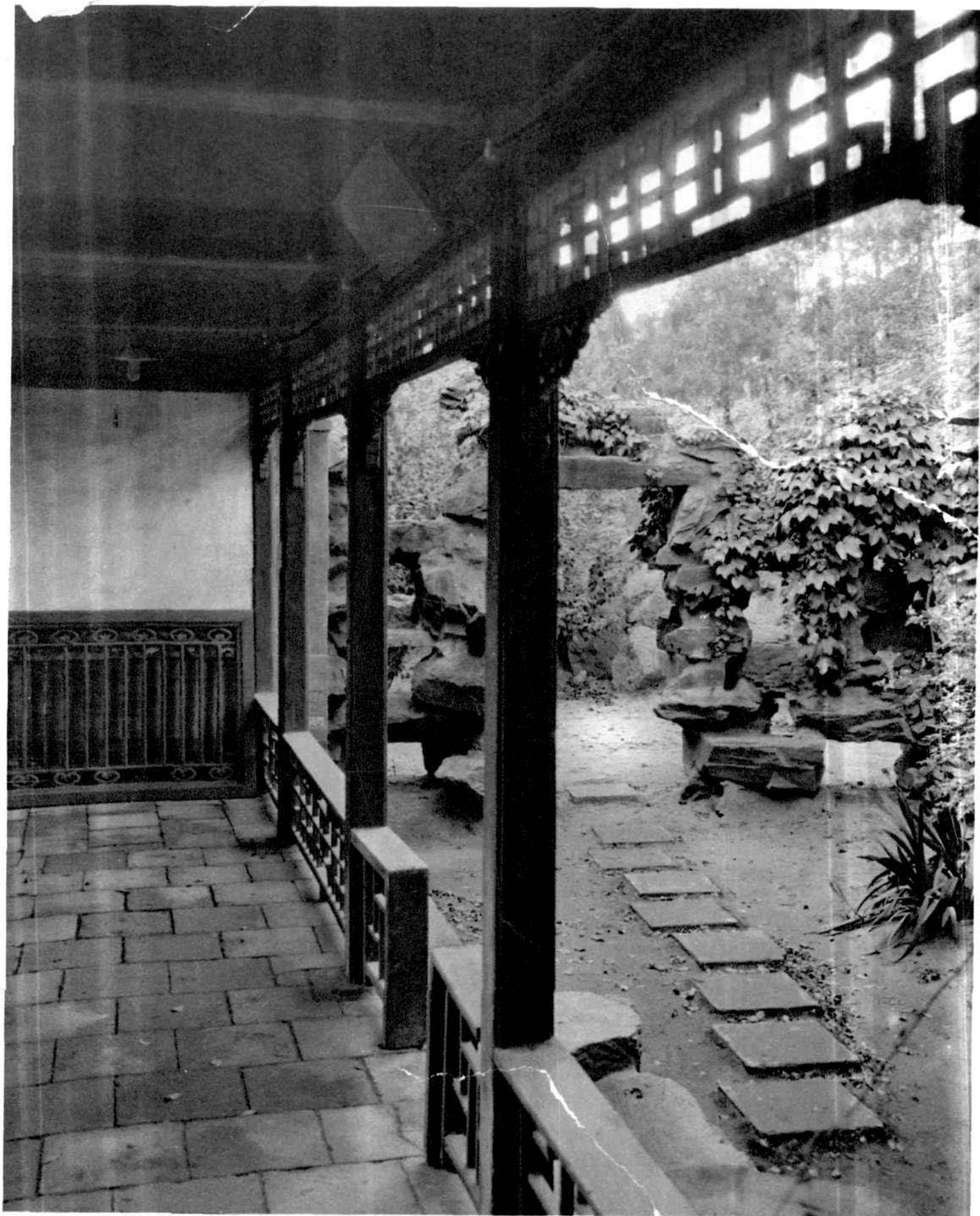
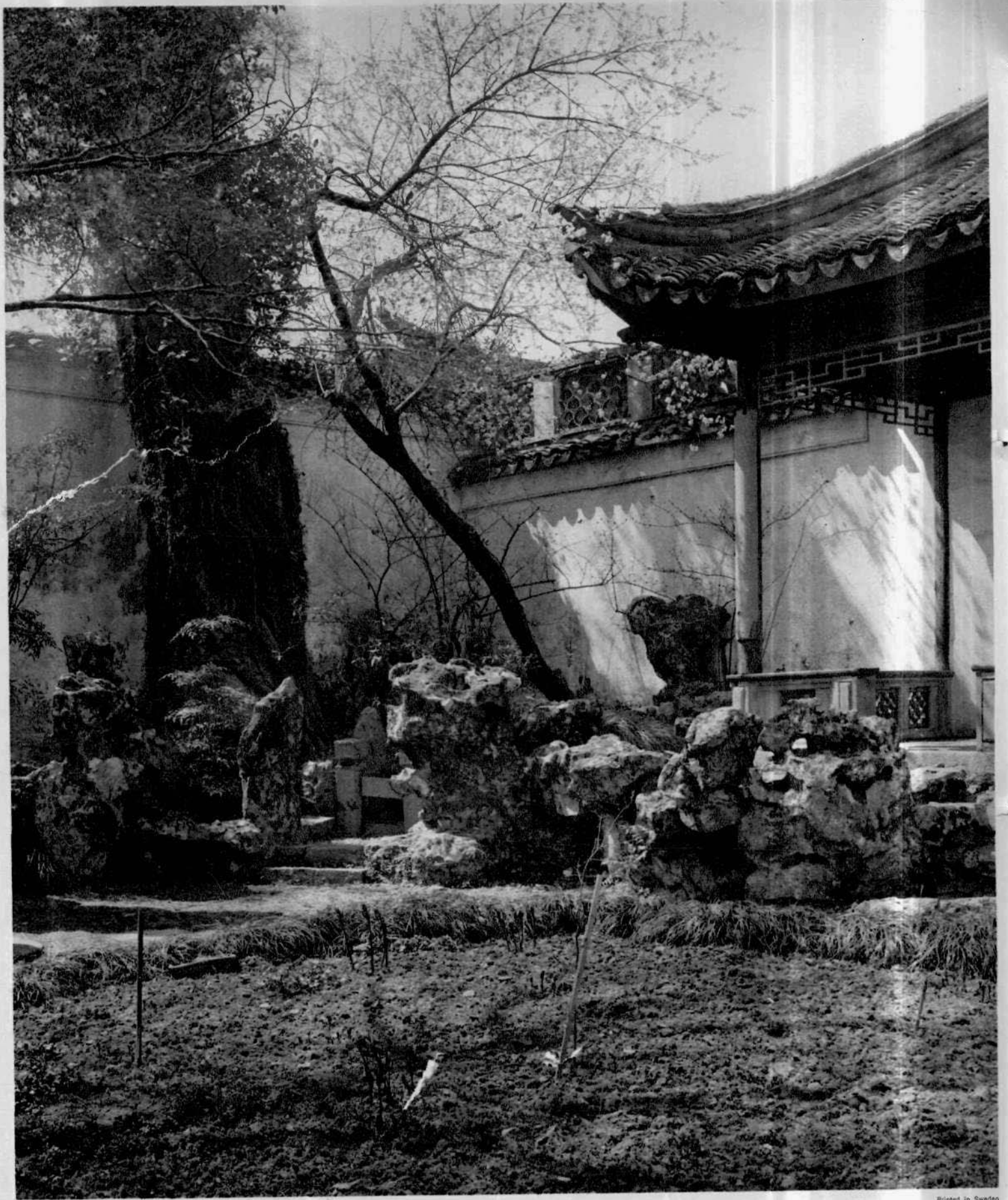


Plate 7. Part of a courtyard with open gallery and flagstone path in a private garden in Peking.



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Plate 8. A corner of the farthestmost court in Wang Shih Hua Yüan, Suchou.

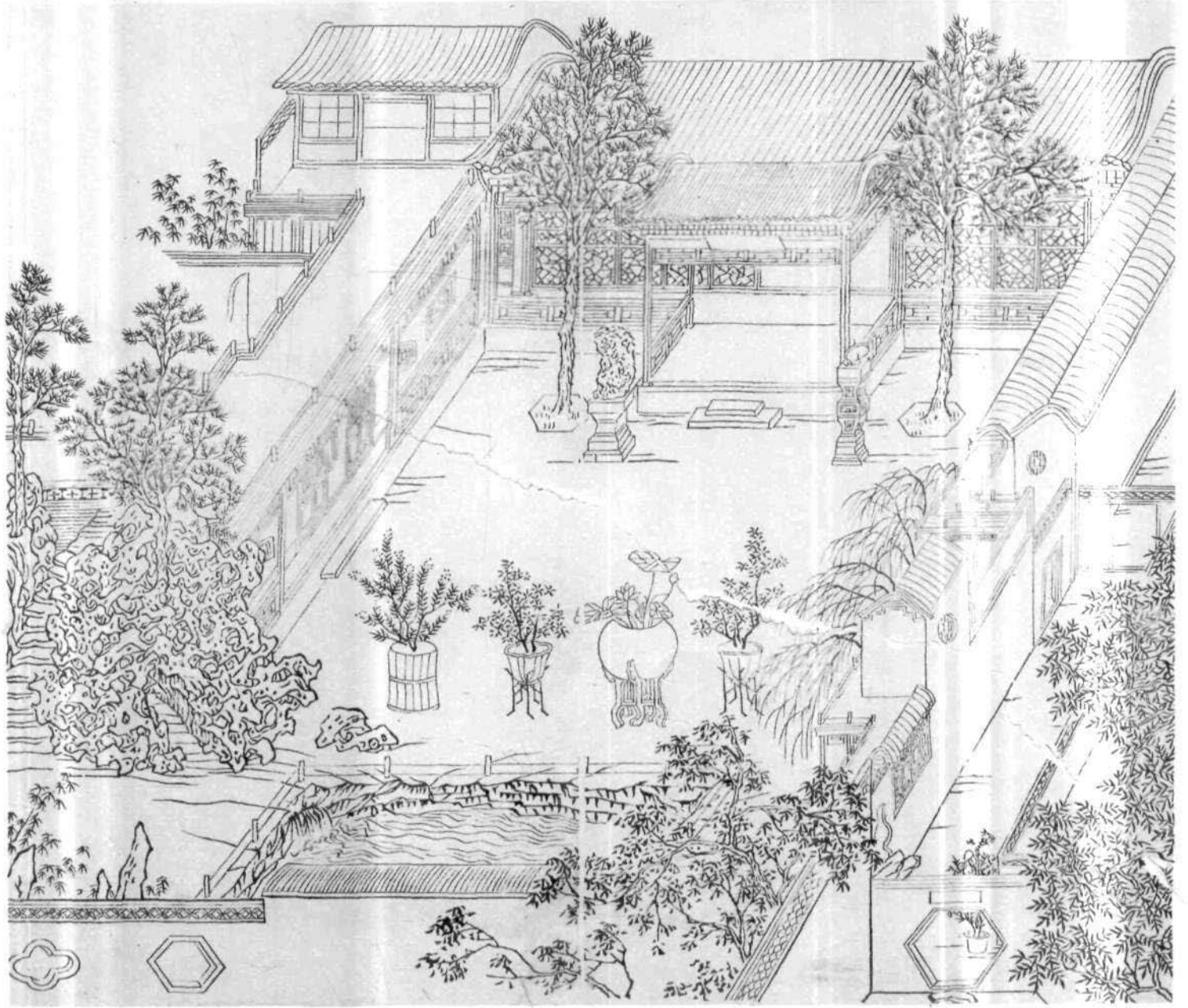


Plate 9. The central court in Pan Mou Yüan, Inspector-General Lin Ch'ing's garden in Peking, in 1840's. Before the pond in the foreground are flowers in pots, on either side rocks and trees. The center building was called Yin Yün (Shady Cloud).

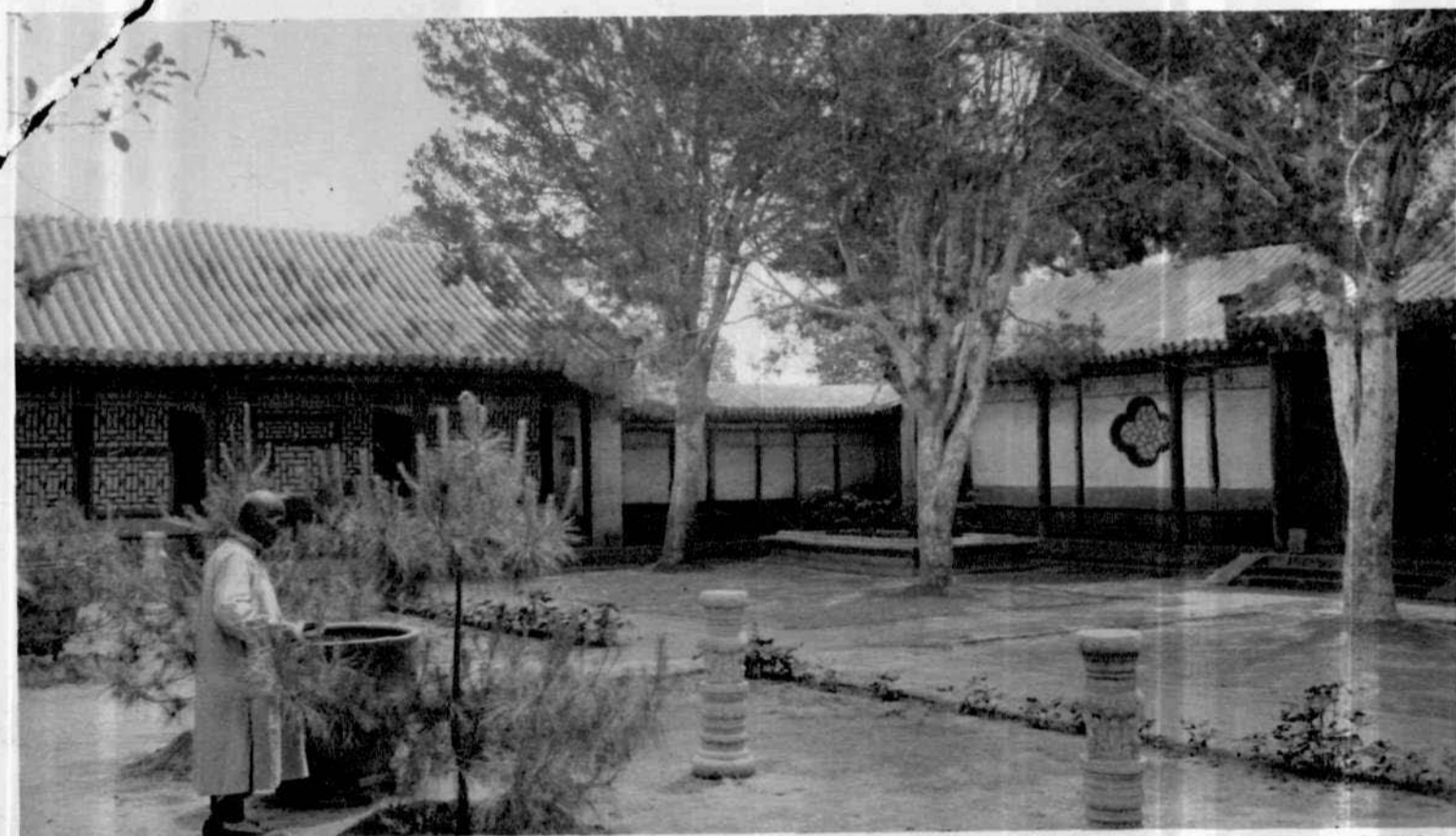
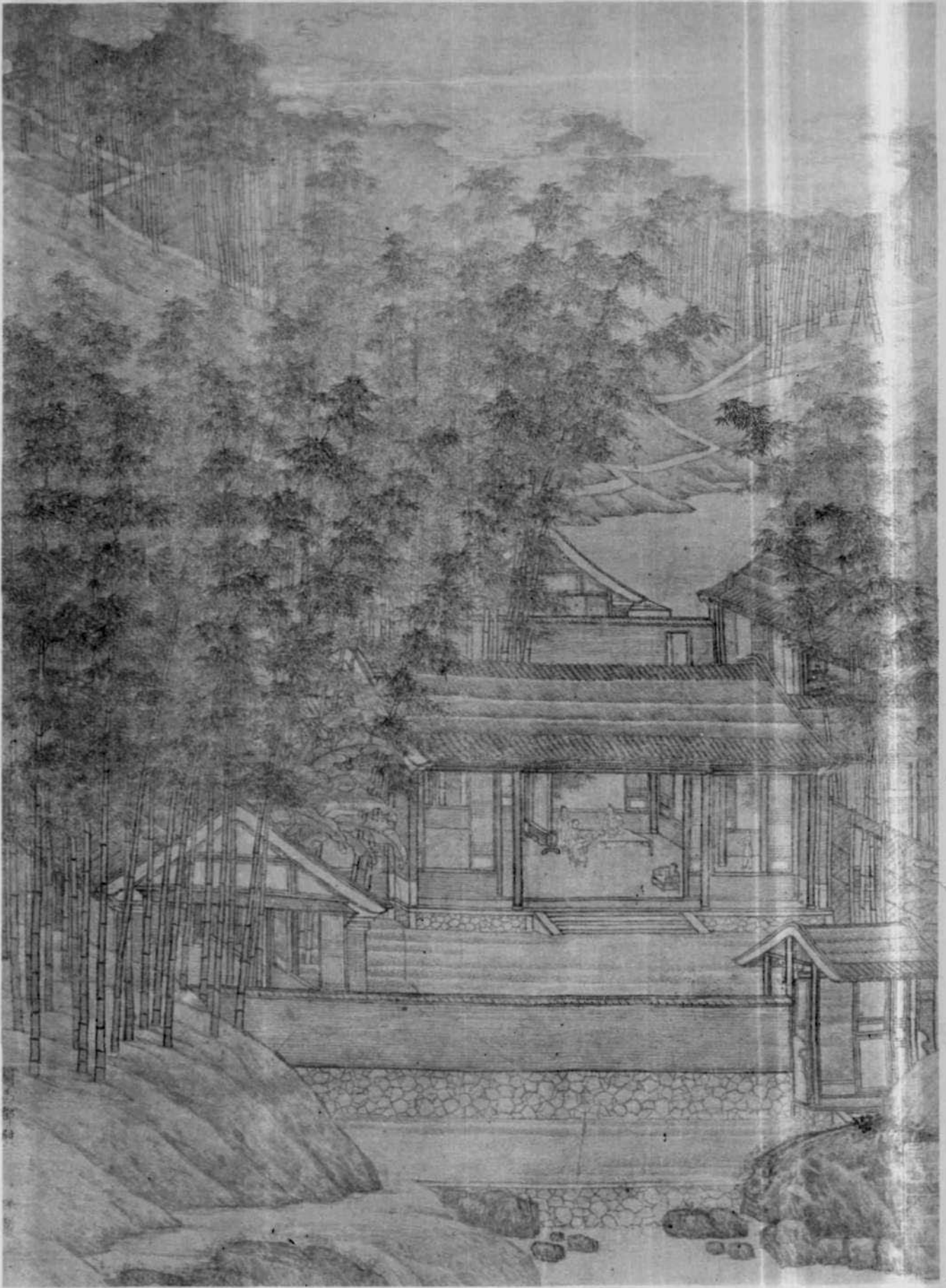


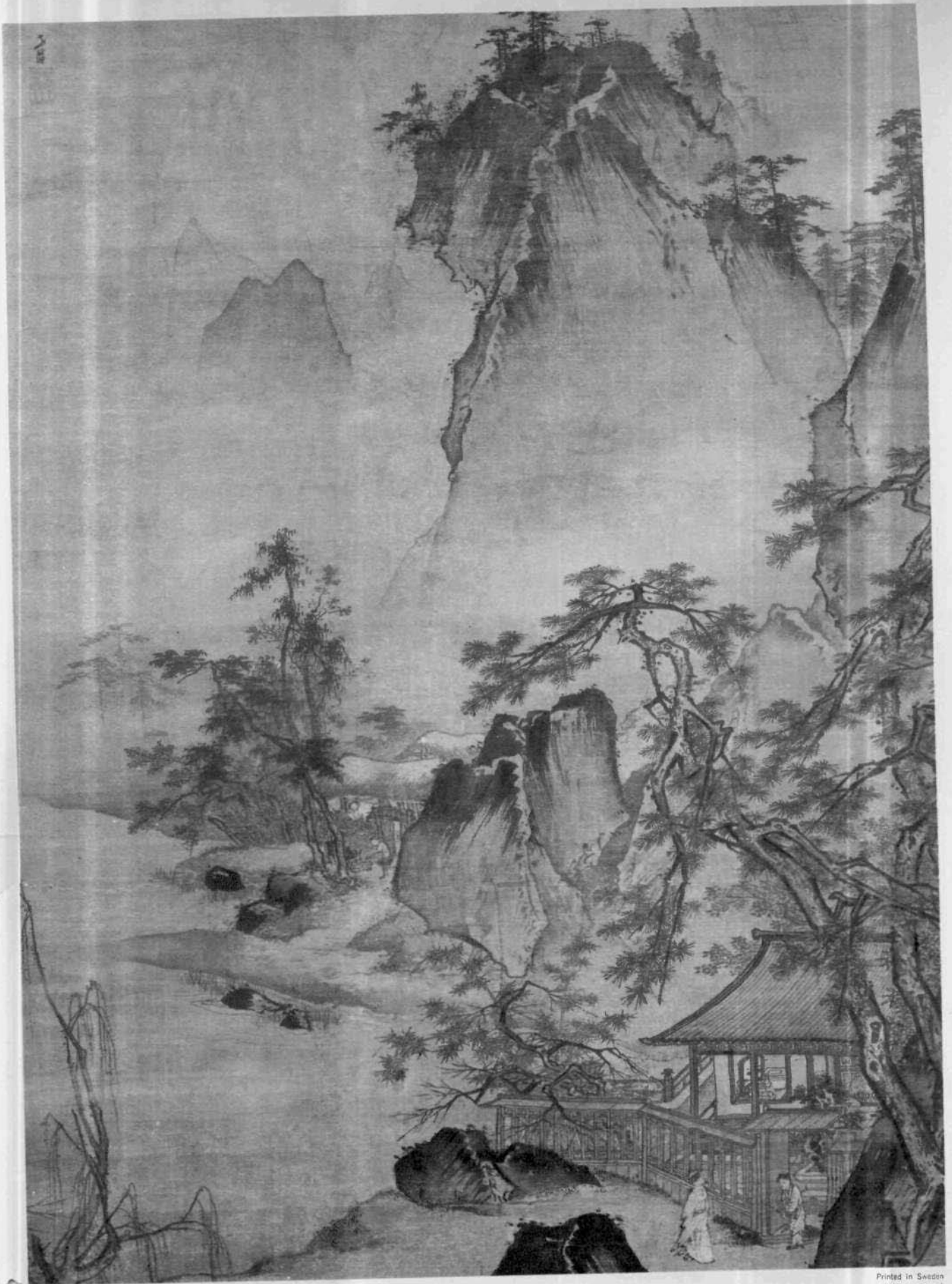
Plate 10. Two typical garden motifs from a summer residence in Hai Tien, near Peking.

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Plate 11. A summer villa in a bamboo grove at the foot of a mountain slope. Painting by Li Wei (late eleventh century), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



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Plate 12. A summer pavilion surrounded by gnarled pines at the foot of overhanging cliffs. Part of a painting by Hsü Shih-chang (thirteenth century), Freer Gallery, Washington.

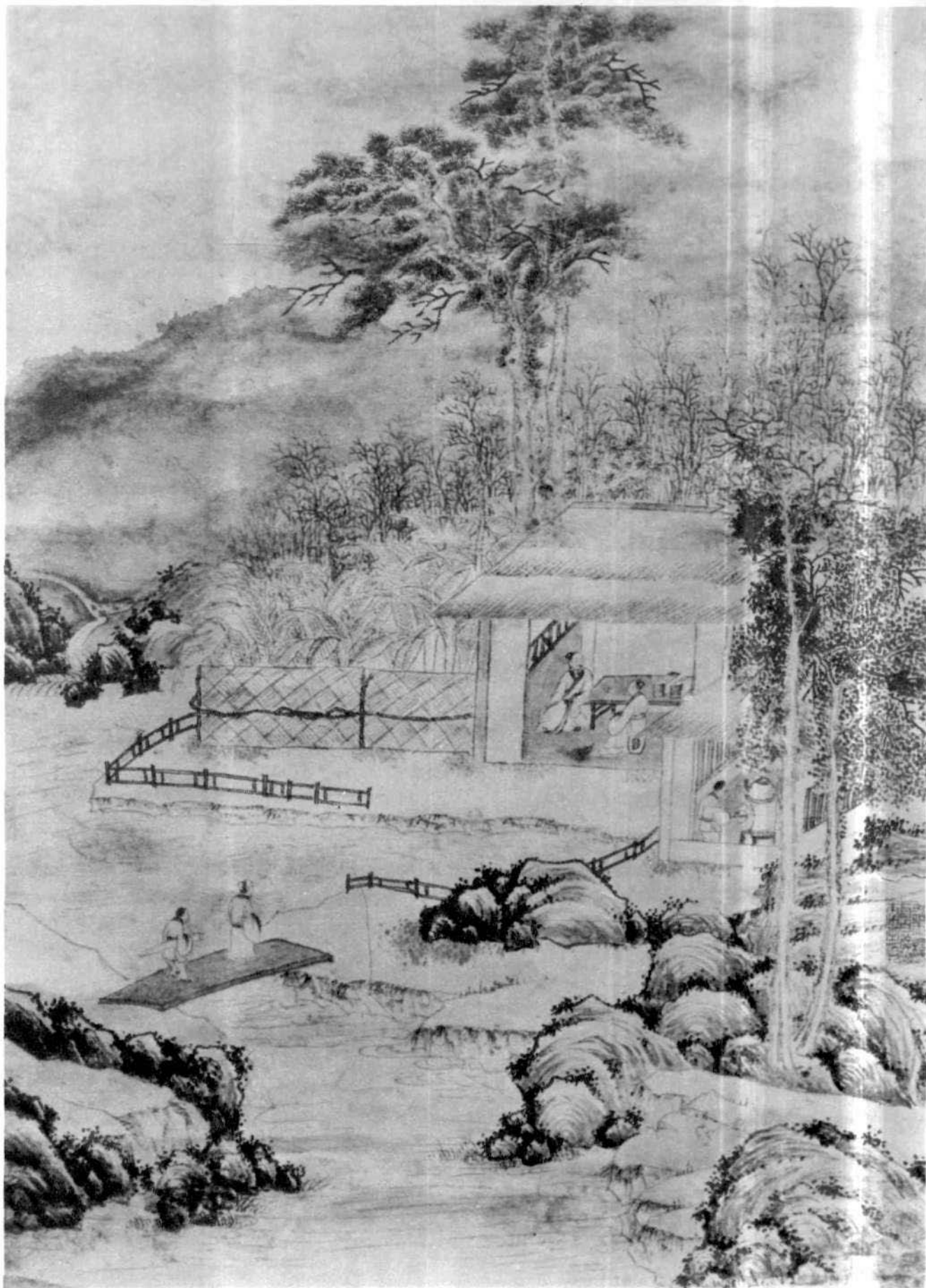


Plate 13. A poet's hut with a small garden in the hills. Detail from a painting by Hsiang Mo-lin (1525—1602). Private collection China.

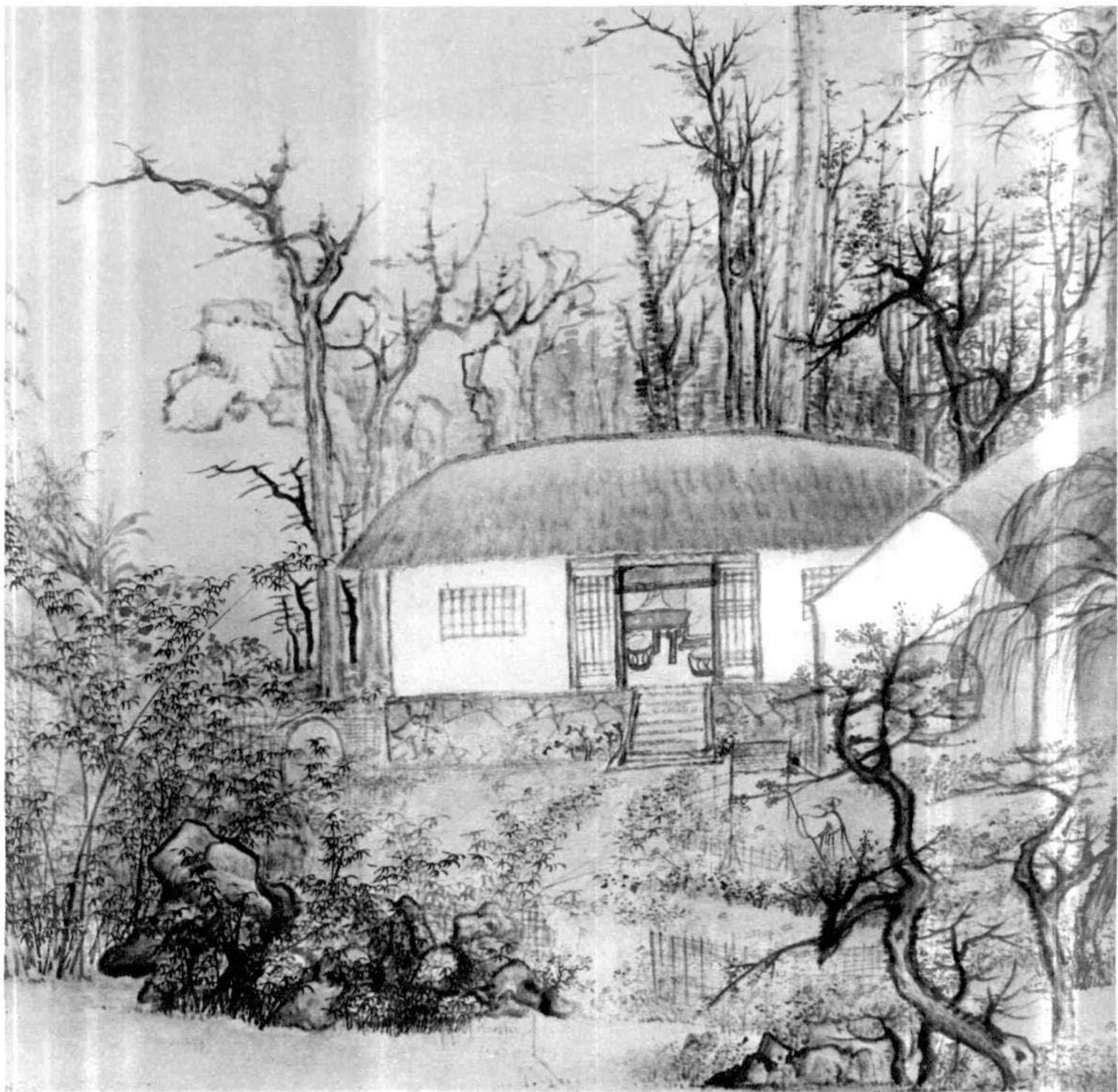


Plate 14. A philosopher's mountain cottage. The owner is tending his chrysanthemums before the cottage. Part of a painting by Kao Fêng-han (1683—1747). Private collection, Japan.

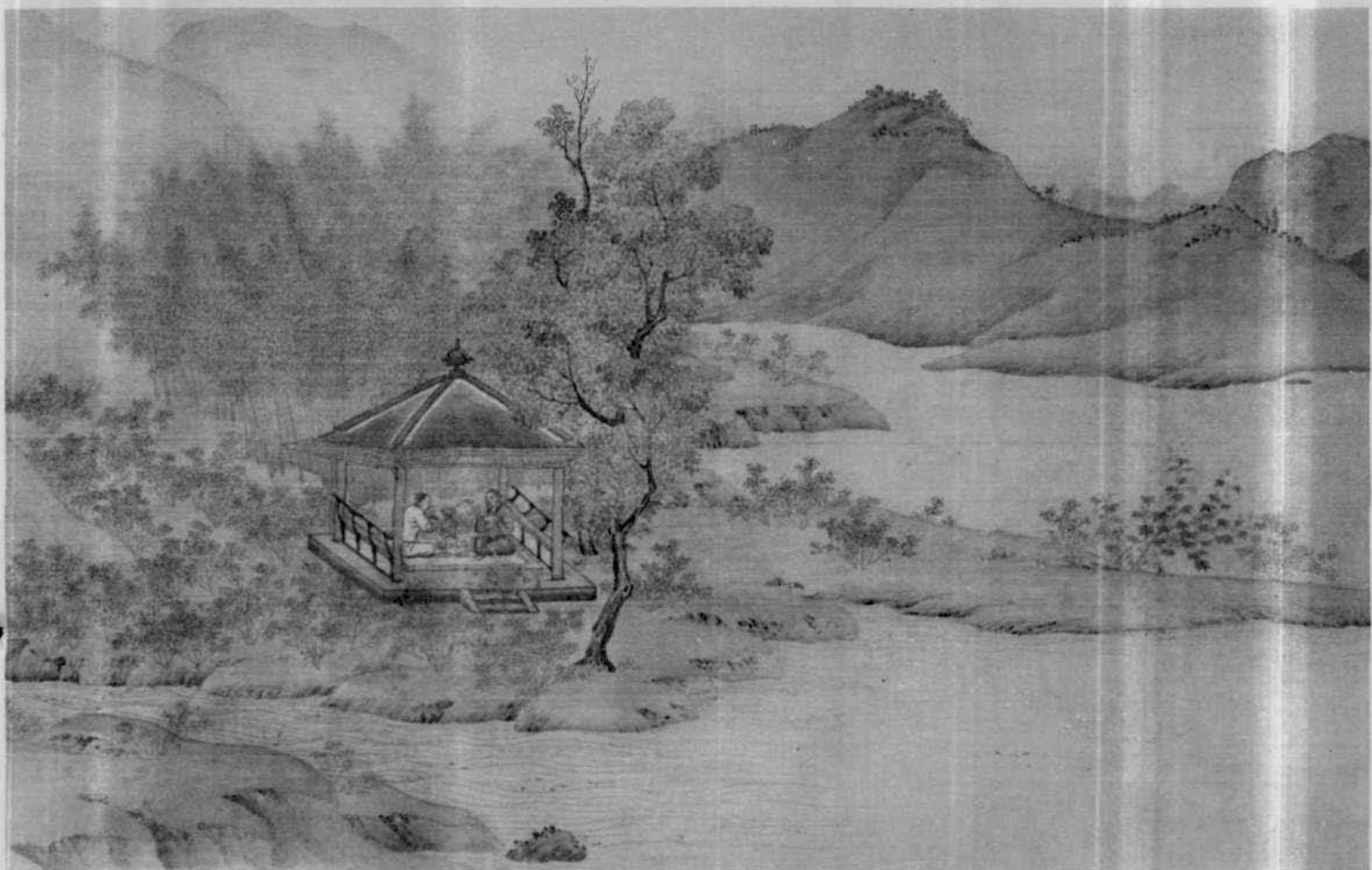


Plate 15. Upper picture: Study pavilion among bamboos and flowering bushes on the bank of a river. Part of a painting by Chao Ta-nien (late eleventh century). Lower picture: Pavilions with surrounding gardens on a spit of land. Detail from a painting by Wên Chêng-ming (1470—1559). Private collection, Japan.



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Plate 16. Chi Ch'ang Yüan, near Wu-hsi, Kiangsi. The garden has been renowned for centuries for its natural beauty and its excellent tea water. Woodcut from Hung Hsüeh Yin Yüan T'u Chi, the journal of Lin Ch'ing (early nineteenth century).



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Plate 17. Sui Yuan in Nanking, an old garden acquired in 1757 by the poet Yüan Mei, who remodelled it. The place was renowned for its luxuriant bamboos and for its plum and cassia trees. The water followed a winding course between the pavilions. Although the garden was not large, it had the same intricate character as Yüan Mei's manner of writing.

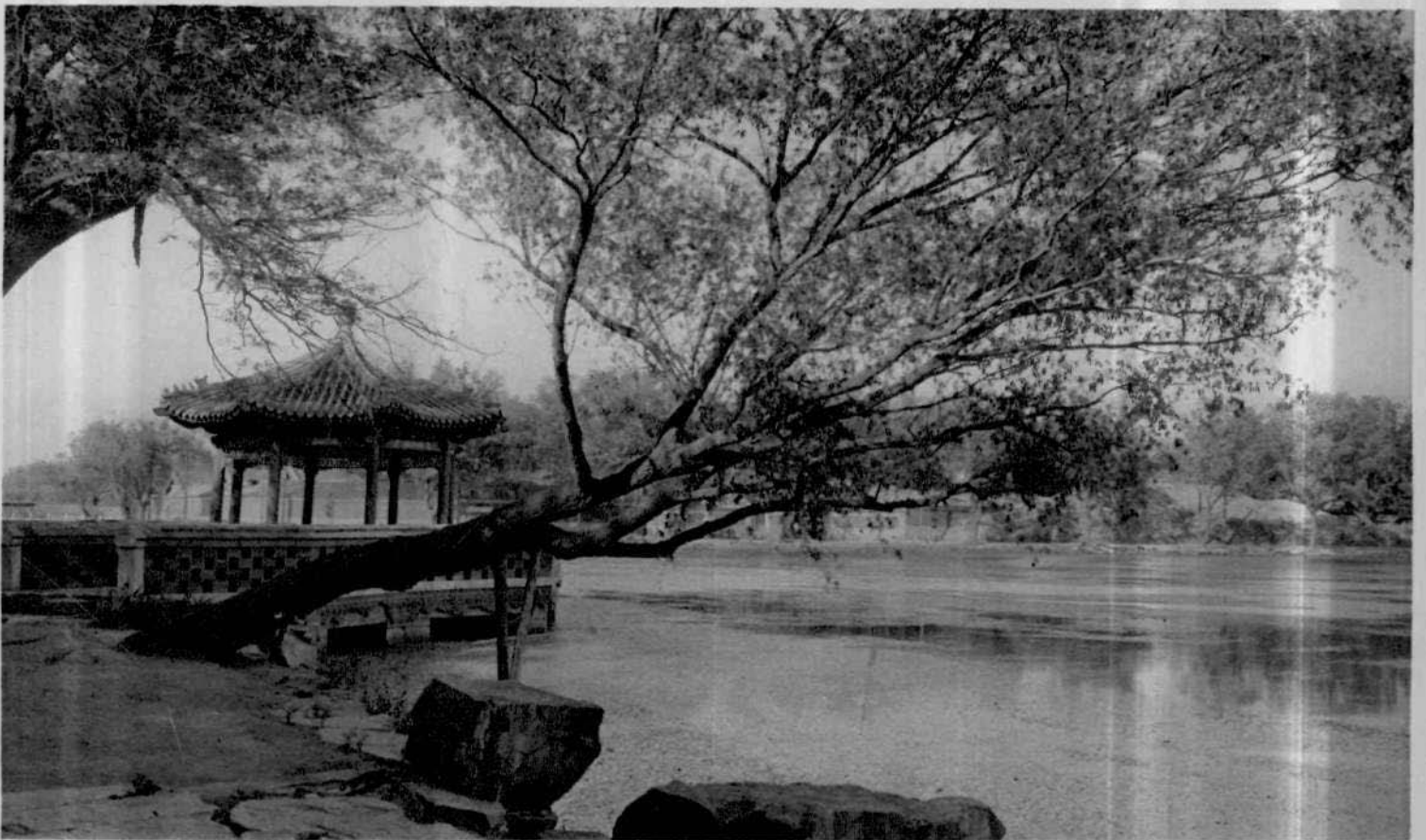


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Plate 18. Zigzag bridge leading over a stream in Cho Chêng Yüan, Suchou.



Plate 19. Pathway built of stepping stones in a dry river bed, Nan Hai, Peking.



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Plate 20. Upper picture: The mirroring water of The Jade Fountain. Lower picture: Shore view in Nan Hai, Peking.

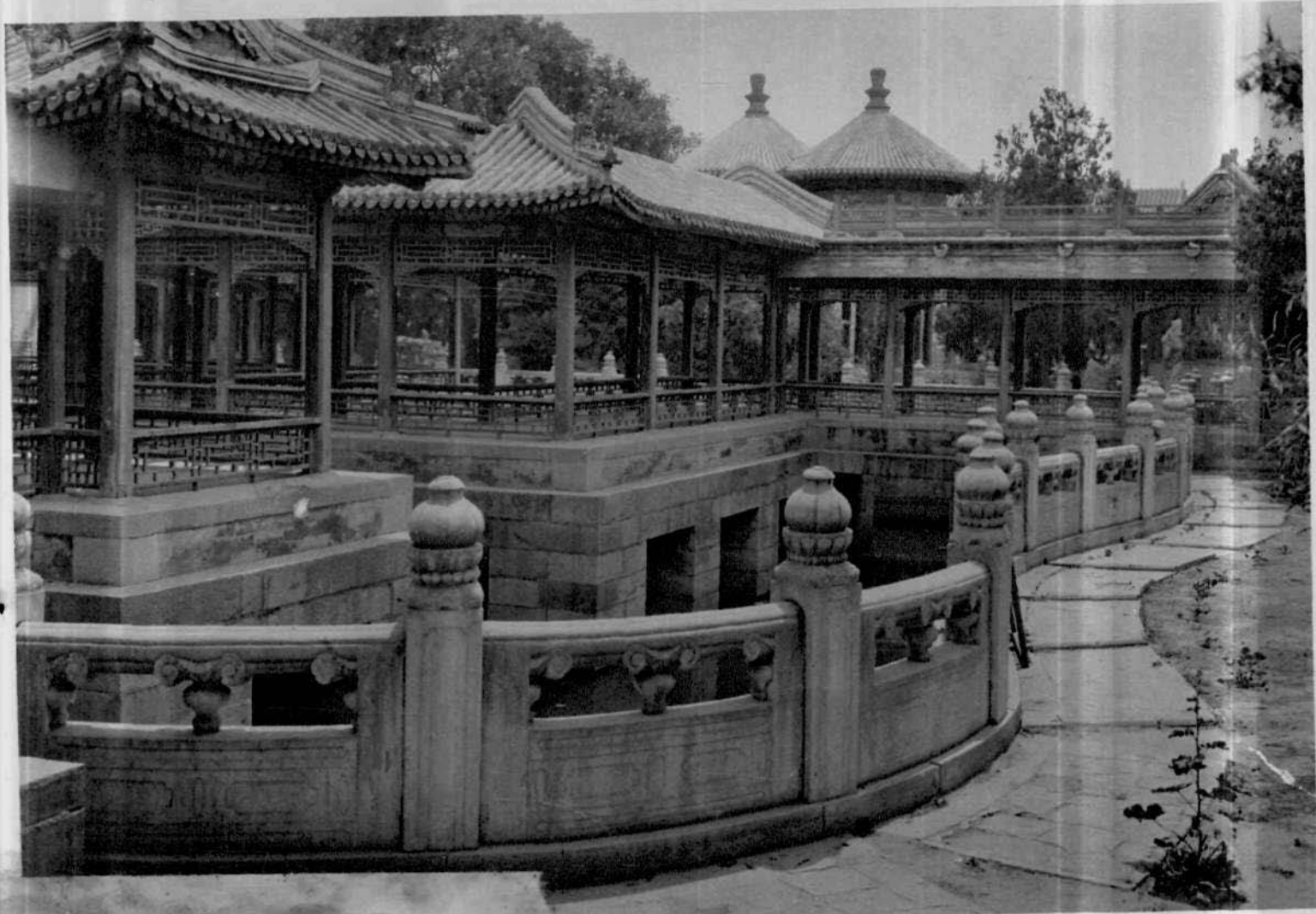


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Plate 21. A pond surrounded by rocky shores in Chung Hai. «The mirror of the pond reflects the shadows; here is an entrance to the mermaid's palace.»



Plate 22. Liu Pei T'ing in Nan Hai (The Pavilion of the Floating Cups). Competitors had to write a poem while a little wine cup floated along on its saucer on the winding canal in the stone floor.



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Plate 23. Wan Tzu Lang in Chung Hai. Canals and galleries form a swastika pattern.



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Plate 24. The pond with its quaint «mountain» of hollowed stones and the surrounding galleries in a private garden in Peking. The water, once awake with impressions of vibrating life, now is missing.



Plate 25. The central part of Wang Shih Hua Yüan, Suchou. The composition is concentrated about the little lake and along its shores; the surrounding buildings open toward it with galleries which rise and fall or run in curves to follow the modelling of the rocky shore.

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Plate 26. A gallery resting upon stones, Ch'ên Luan Lang. Before it is a pond whose shores are built up with both horizontal and vertical stones to resemble a rugged »mountain» landscape, rising against the buildings in the background. Pei Hai, Peking.

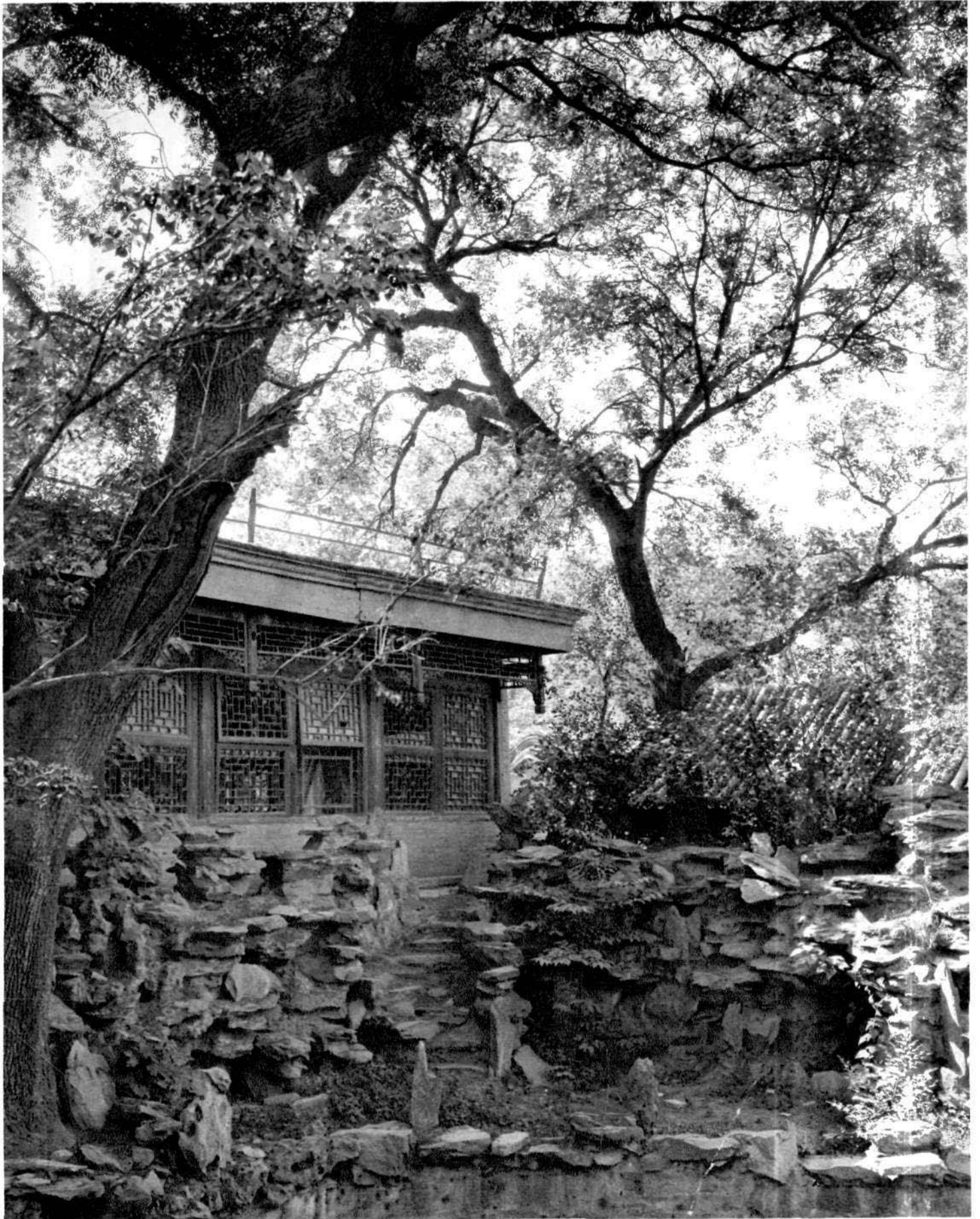


Plate 27. Pavilion on a hillock of horizontal stones in the garden in Li Wang Fu, Peking.

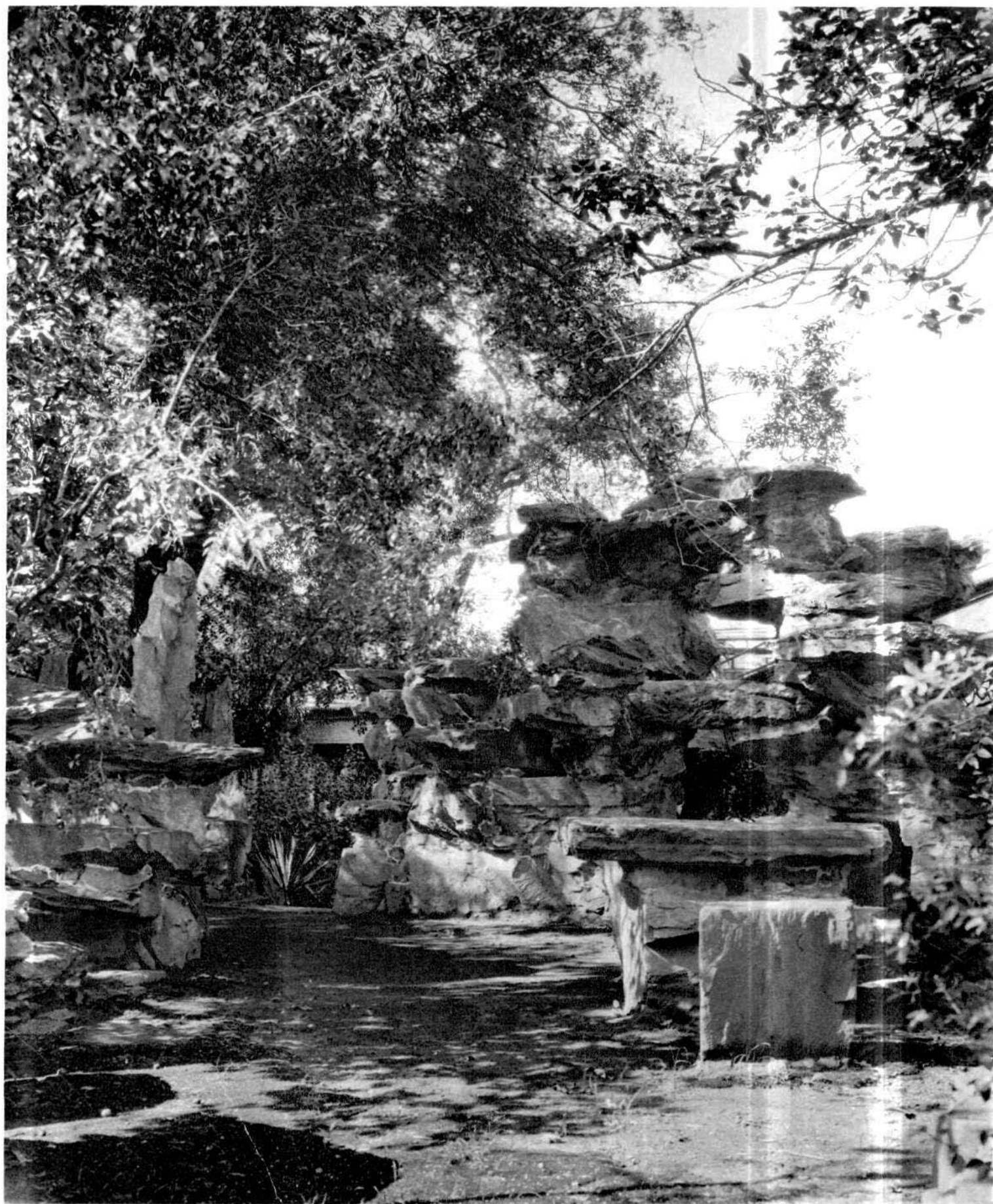
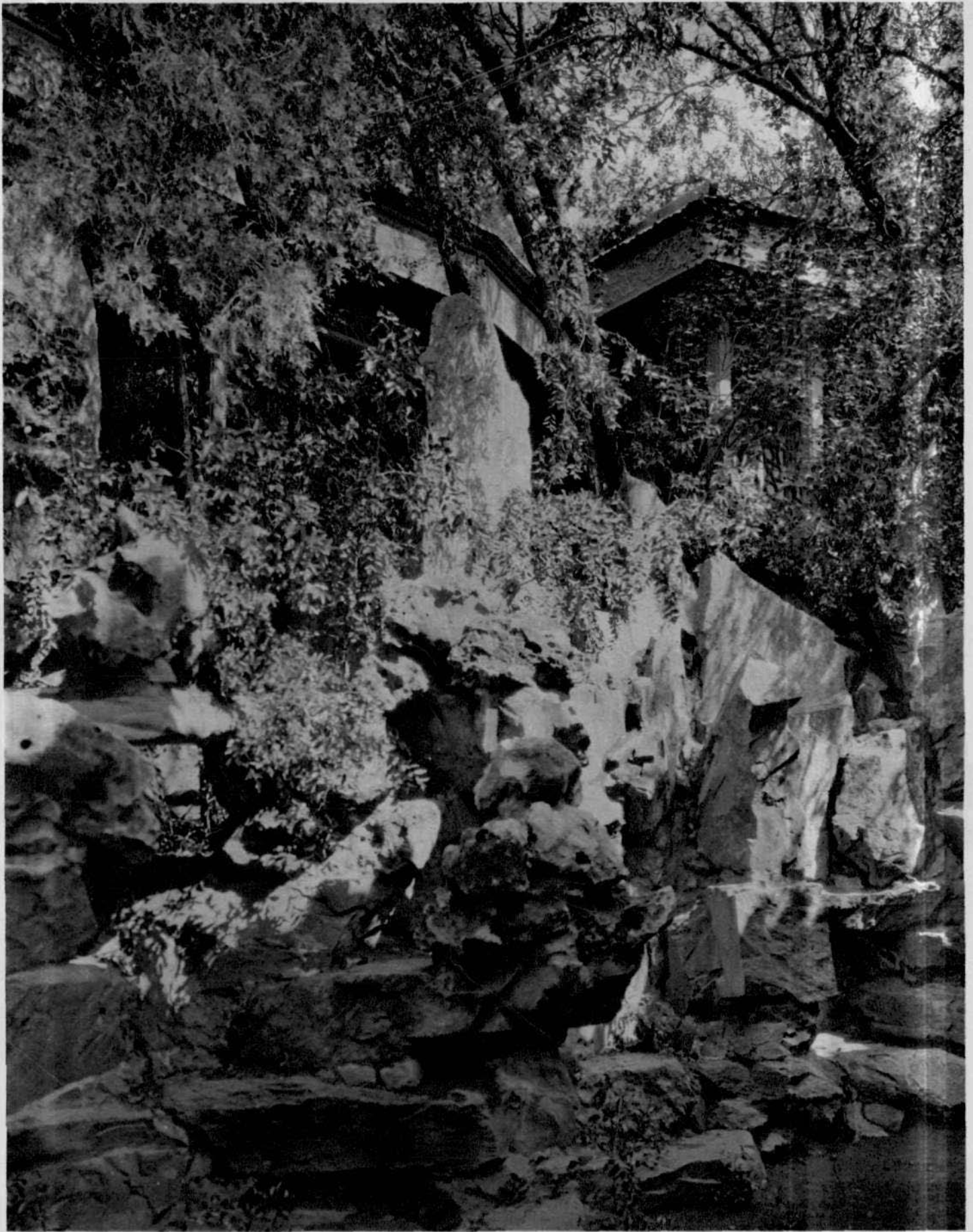


Plate 28. Rock formation with tunnels and doorways, built up with horizontal blocks in Chang Ching-wei's former garden in Peking.



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Plate 29. A huge monumental stone placed on a sculptured marble socle in front of a pavilion in the garden at the New Summer Palace.



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Plate 30. Rock formation in Chang Ching-wei's former garden in Peking. Such arrangements served to introduce something of the spell of the wilderness into the gardens.



Plate 31. A perfect T'ai Hu stone standing in the devastated garden at the Wang School in Suchou.



Plate 32. The pond and the tunnelled »mountain» in Shih Tzū Lin (The Lion Grove), Suchou.

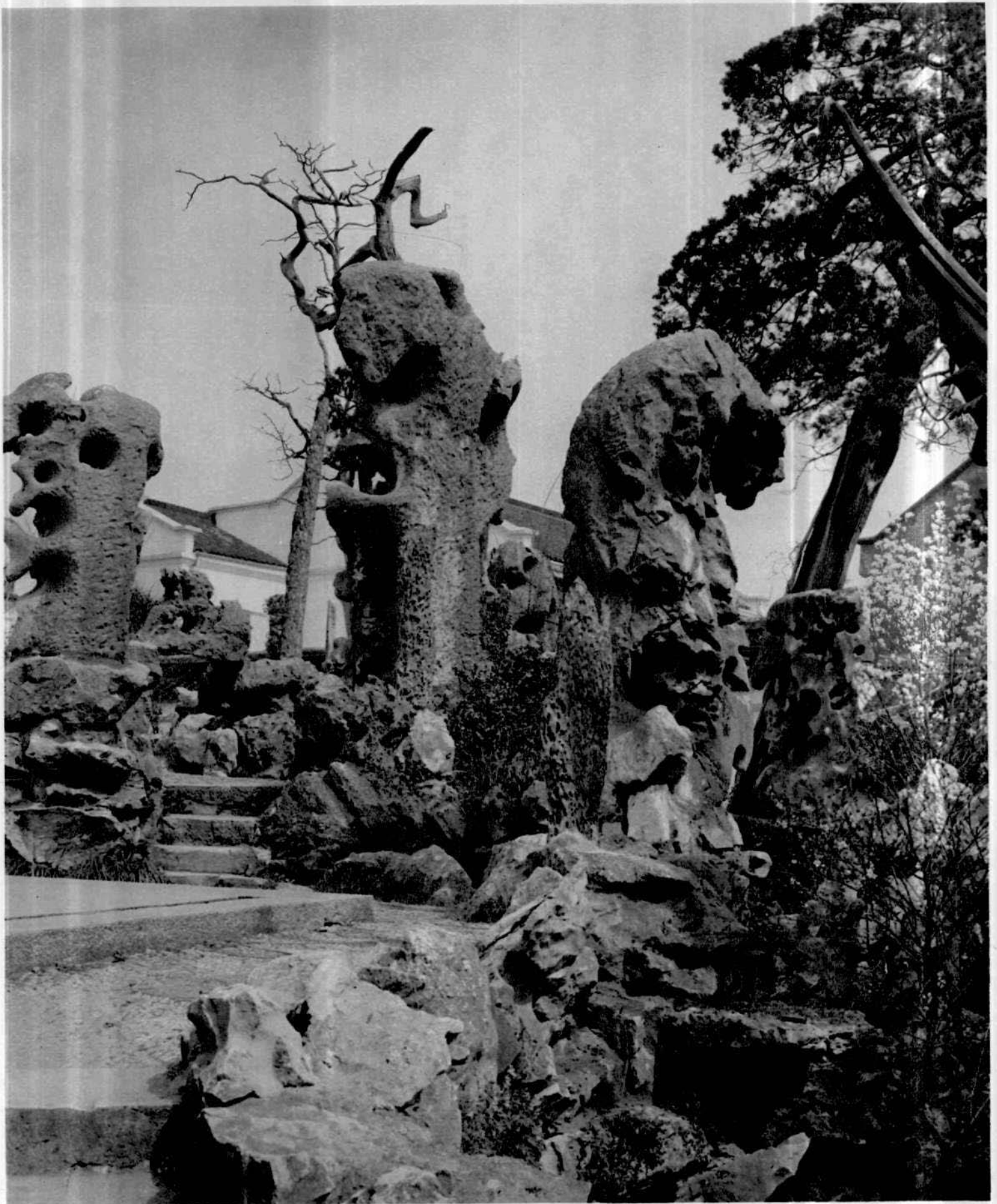
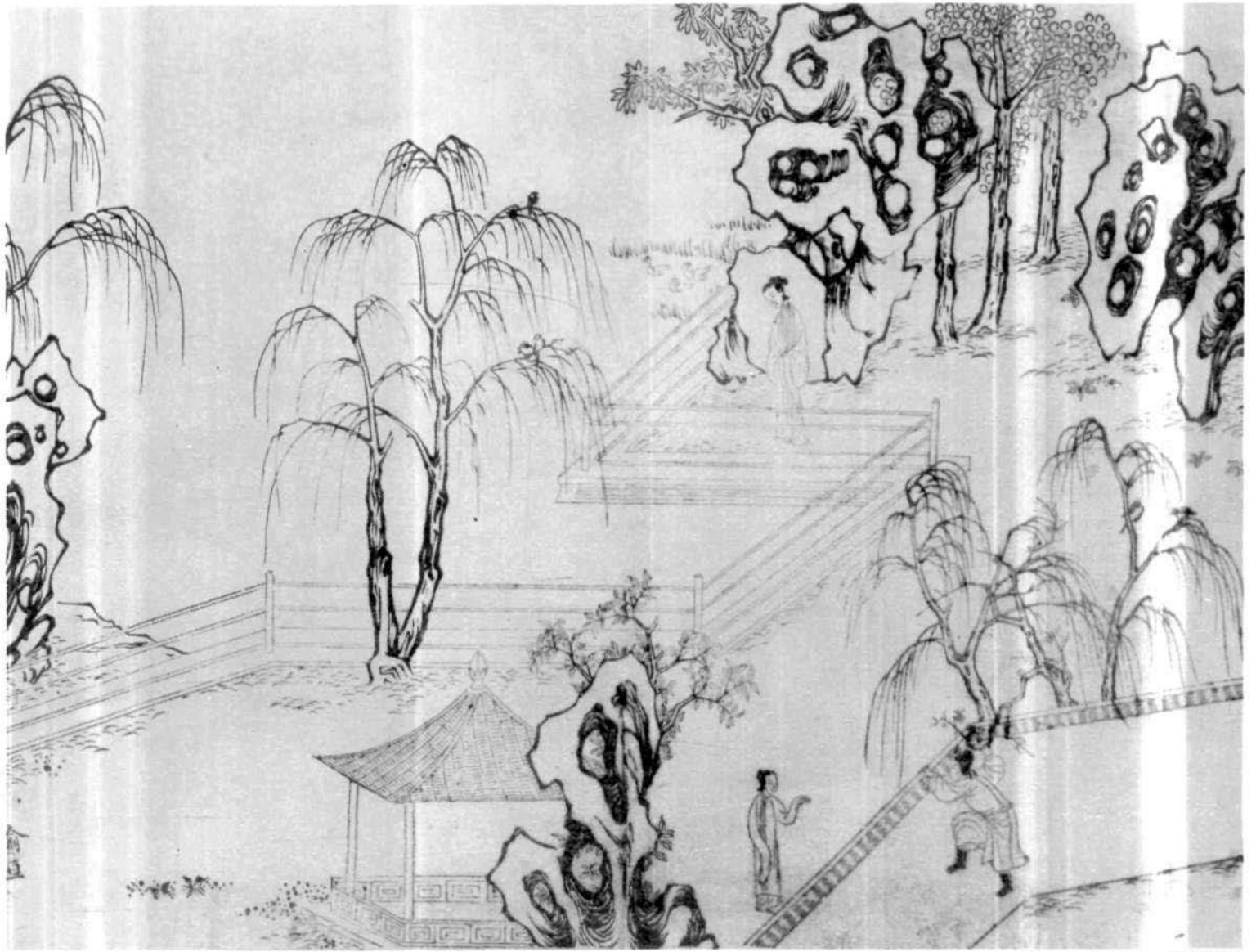


Plate 33. The great stones in Shih Tzū Lin resembling sitting lions. Photographed in 1918 when the garden was being remodelled.

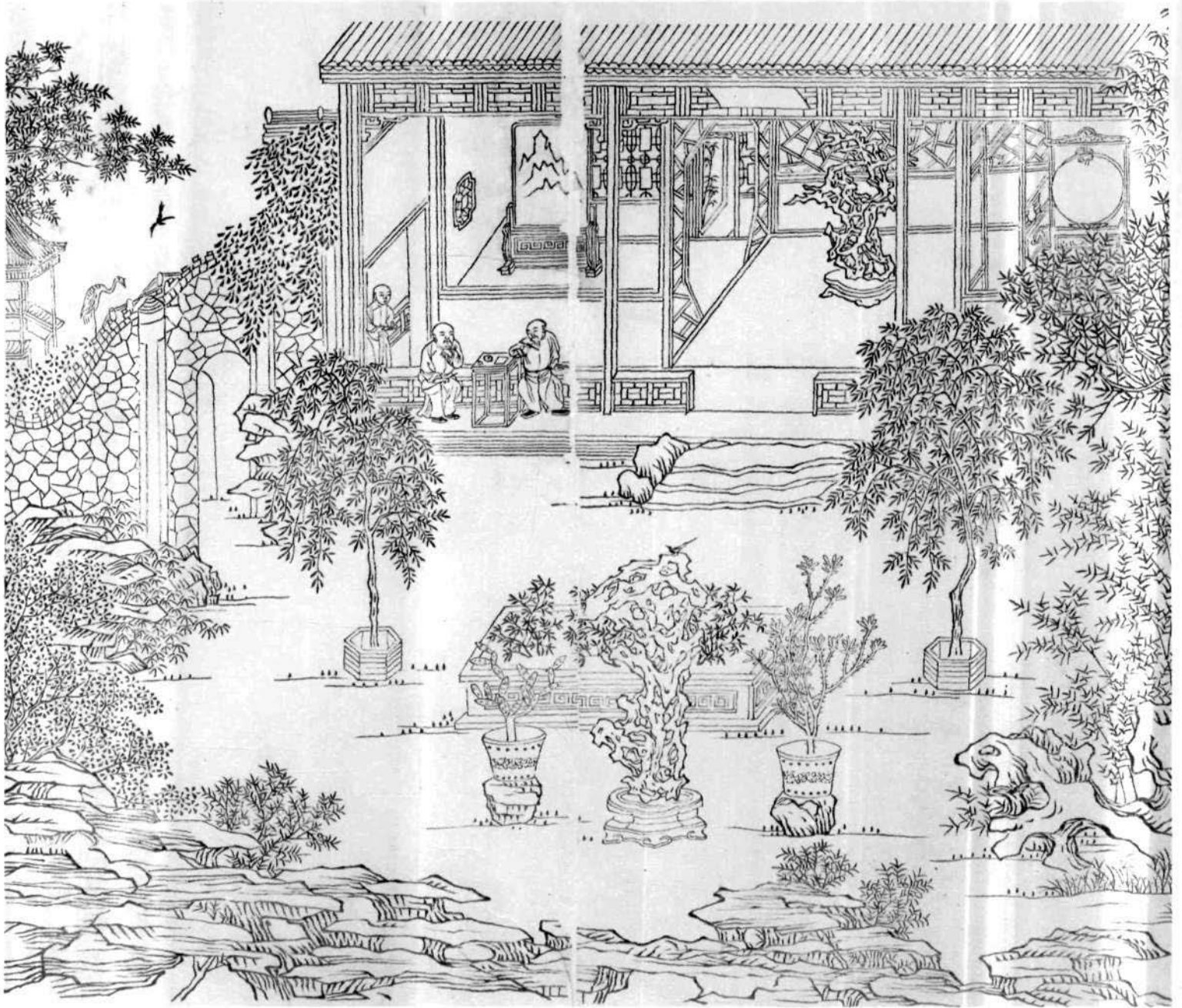


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Plate 34. Lofty stones and leafless willows. Woodcut after a seventeenth century drawing illustrating the play Hsi Hsing Chi (Story of the Western Pavilion).



Plate 35. Upper picture: Pines and rocks. From a painting by Huang Tao-chu (1585—1646). Lower picture: Huts under wu-t'ung trees. Album leaf by Yang Wên-tsung (1597—1645).



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Plate 36. The Pai Shih pavilion in the Pan Mou garden, Peking. Originally designed by the poet Li Li-wêng in the sixteenth century, it was restored by Inspector-General Lin Ch'ing in the 1840's. He is seen sitting with a friend, both lost in admiration of the wonderful stones and the graceful trees.

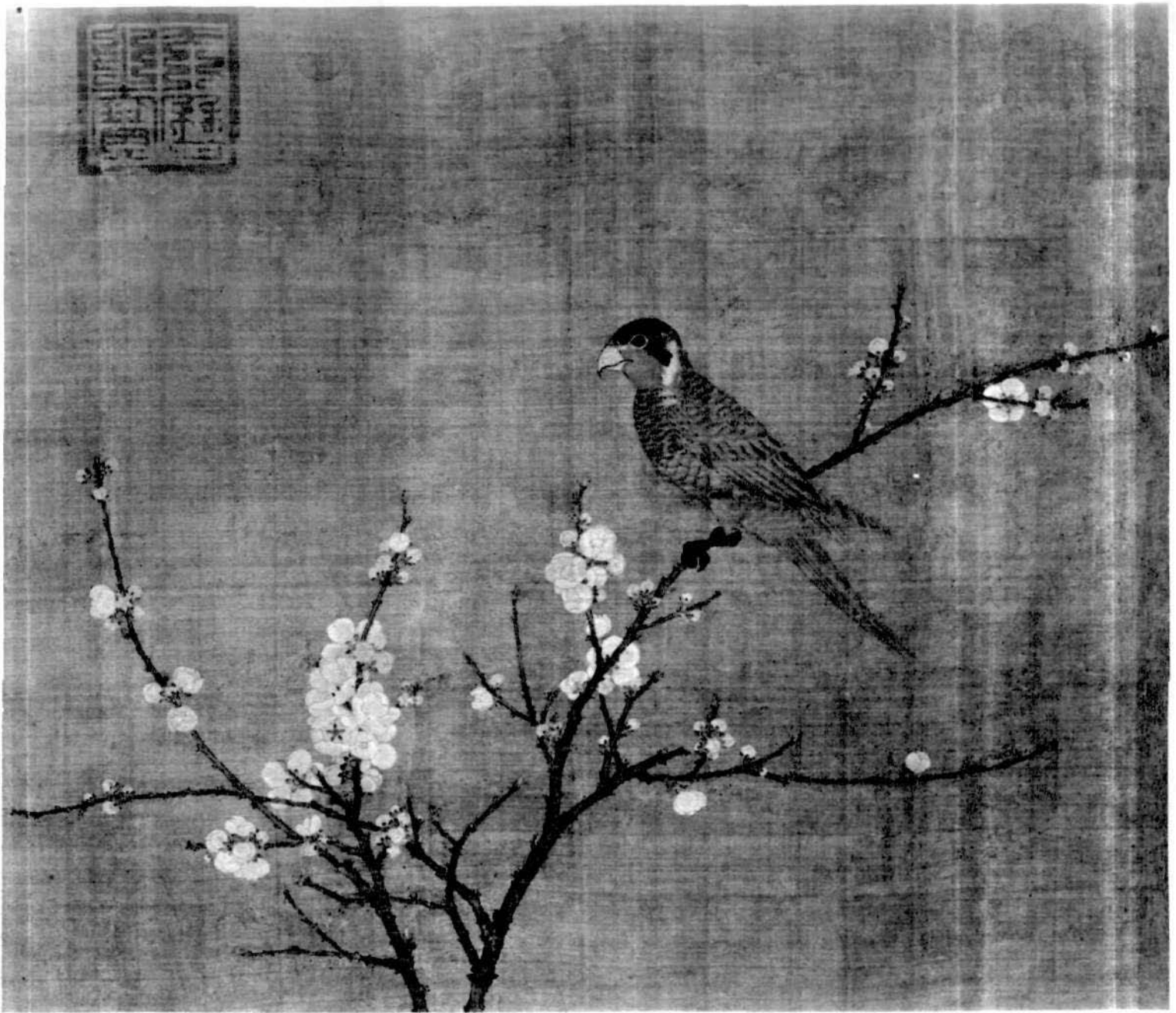


PLATE 37. GARDNER

Plate 37. Parrot on the bough of a blossoming plum tree. Painting in the academic style from the Sung period, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



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Plate 38. Branches of a blossoming plum tree. Painting from the early fifteenth century, Palace Museum, Peking.

REFERENCE



Plate 39. An old pine, bamboos and a blossoming plum tree beside a garden rock. Painting by Wang Wei-lich about 1580. Private collection, Tokio.



此樹昔年大雪後
 日得年老葉
 三

天南天北雪漫
 筆端幻出千
 宜向樽中看
 會稽王元章

三
 無夢的
 今日臨圖得細看
 與由臨臨
 沾射

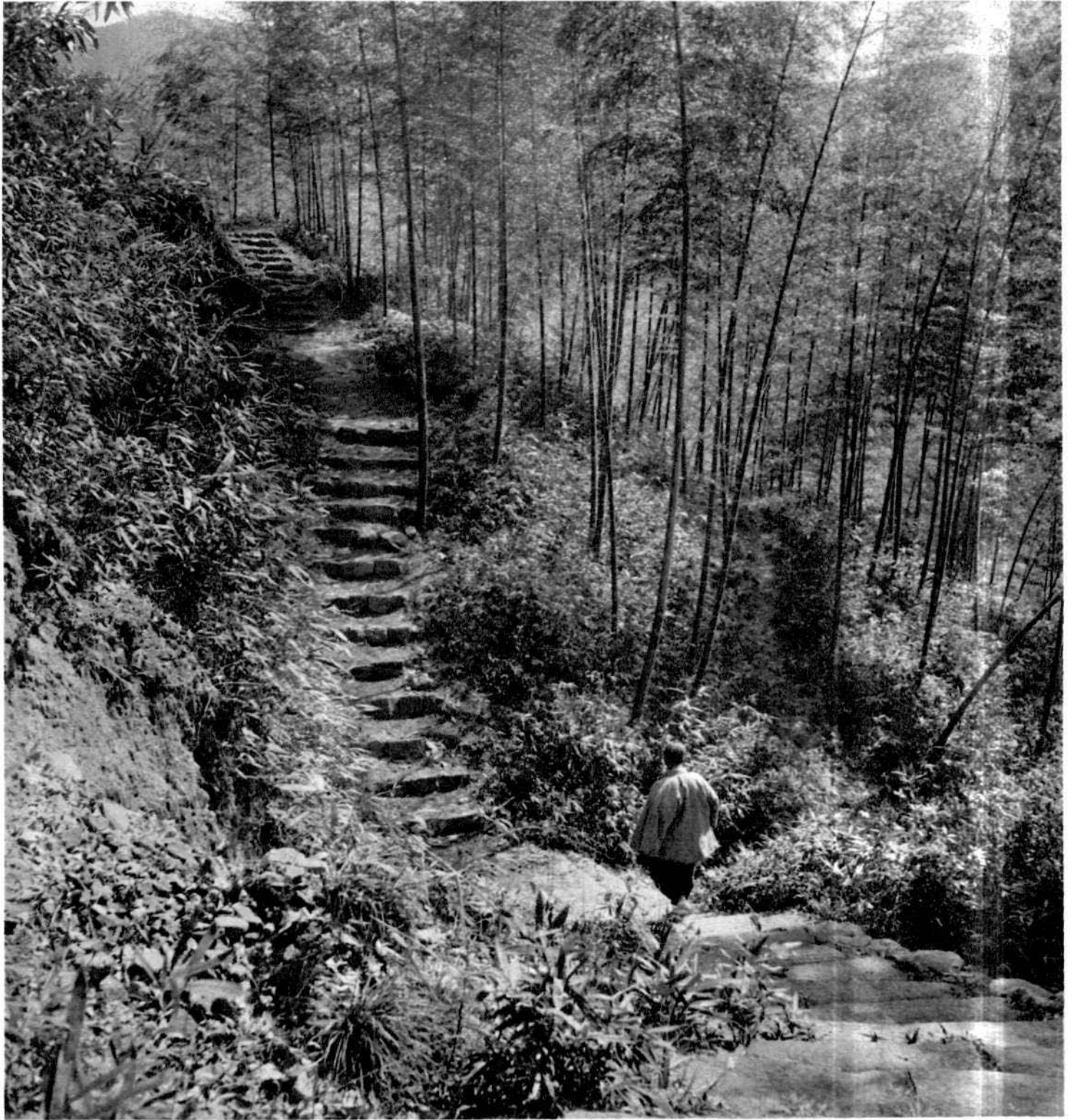
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Plate 40. A blossoming branch of an old plum tree. Painting by Wang Mien. Private collection, Shanghai.

REFERENCE



Plate 39. An old pine, bamboos and a blossoming plum tree beside a garden rock. Painting by Wang Wei-lih about 1580. Private collection, Tokio.



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Plate 41. Stone steps on the path winding through the bamboo wood at Ling Ying Ssü, Hangchou.

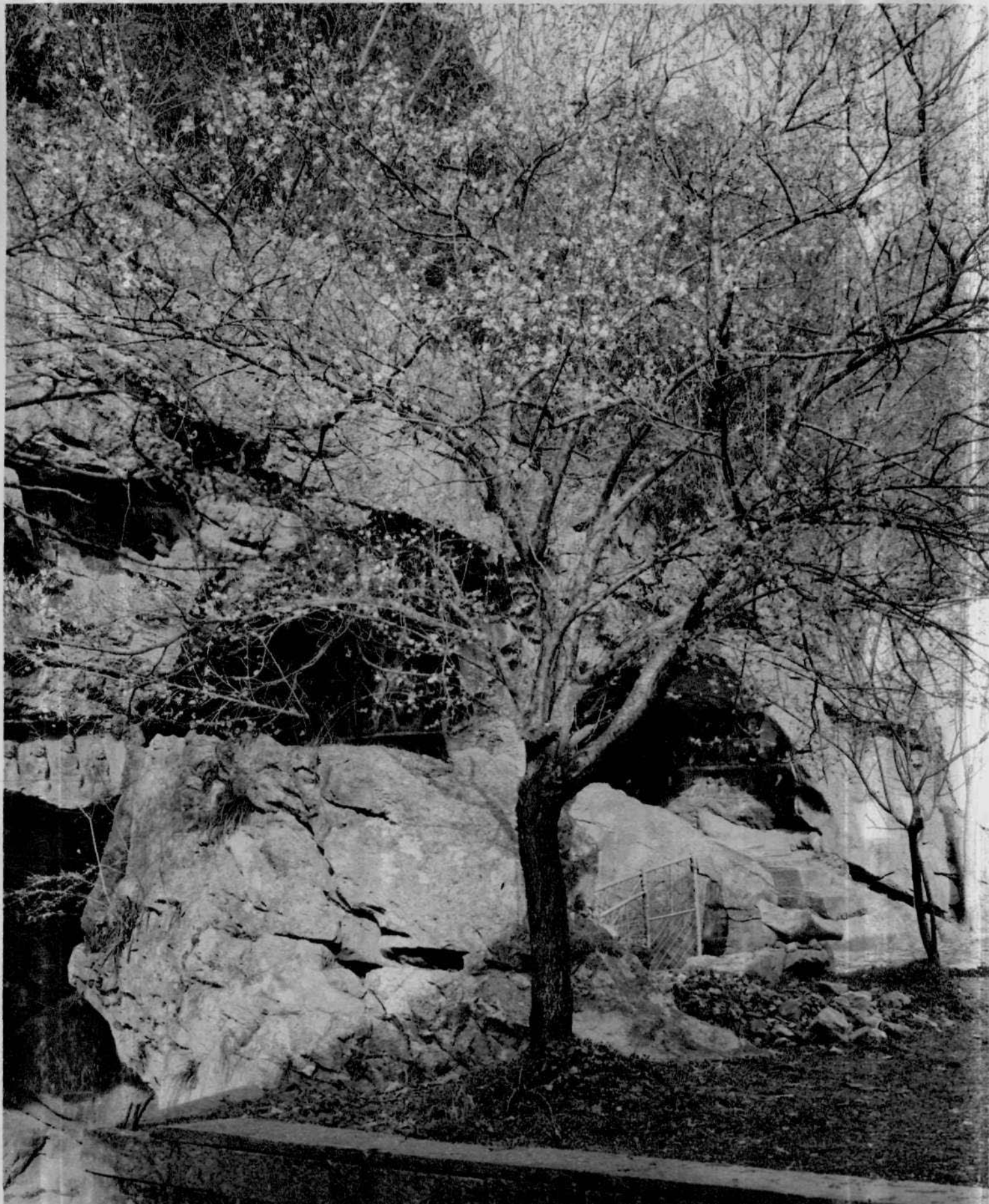
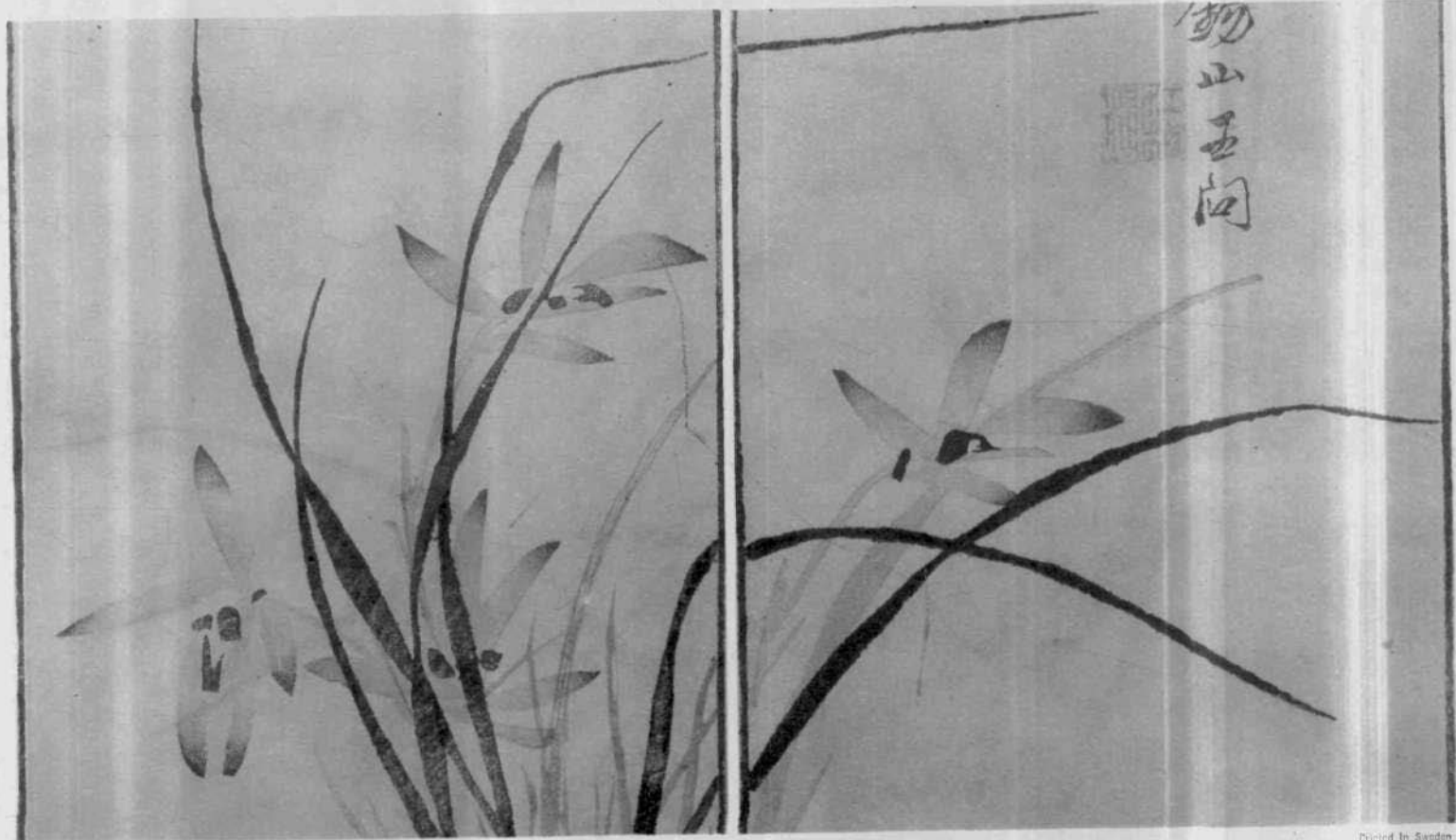
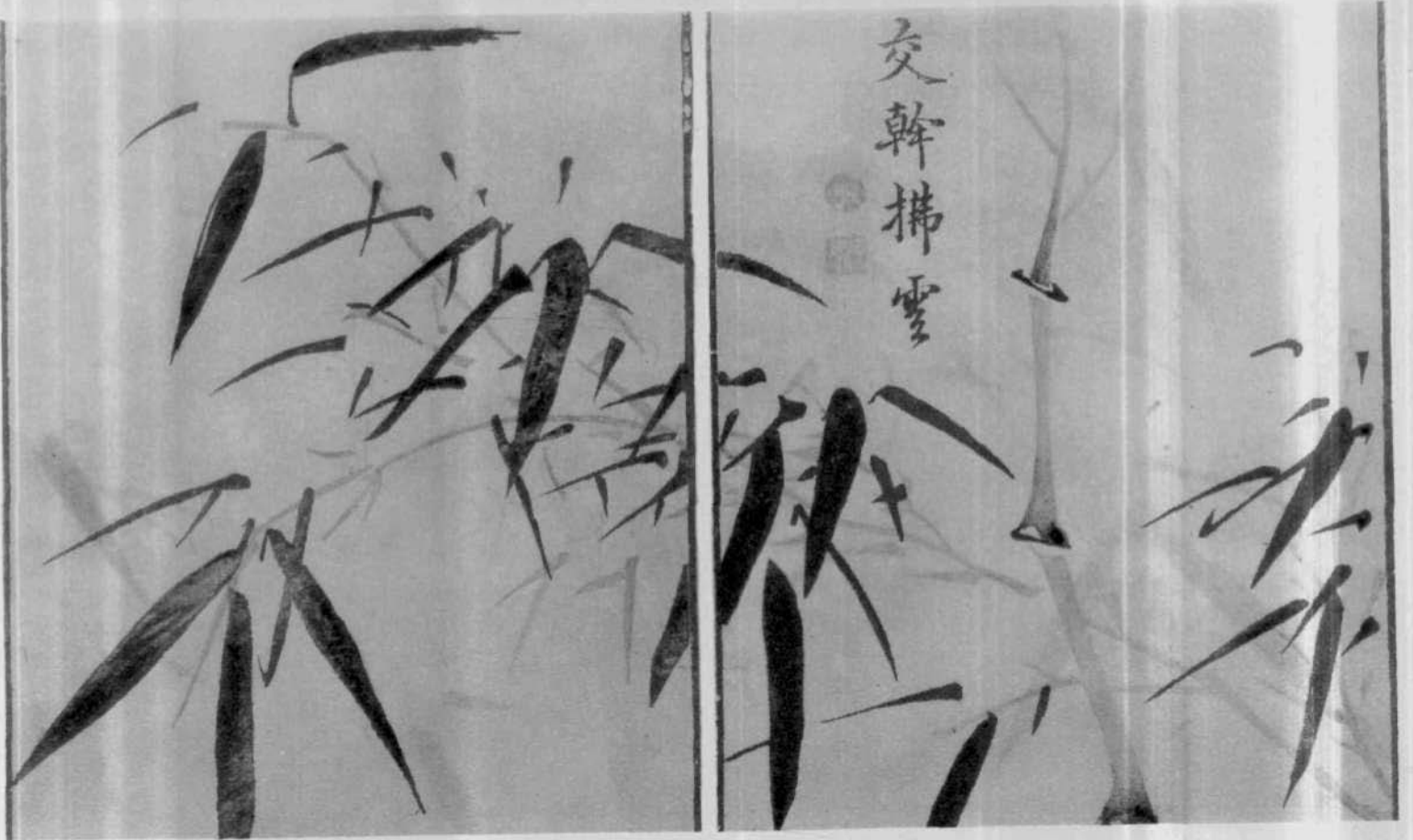


Plate 42. Plum tree in bloom before the grottoes at Shih Wu T'ung, Hangchou.



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Plate 43. Woodcuts after drawings of bamboo branches and orchids (lan-hua).
From Chieh Tzū Yüan Hua Chuan.



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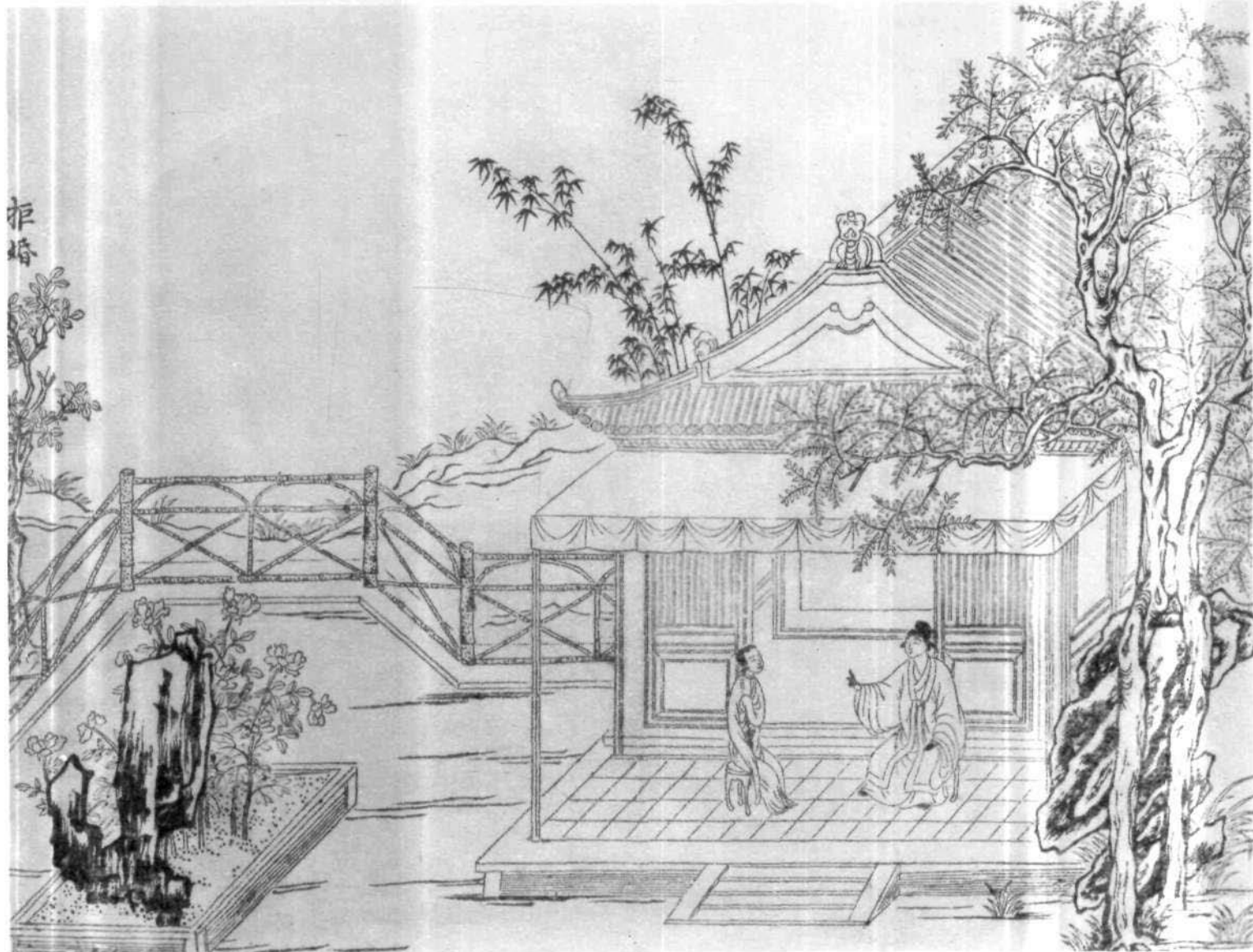
Plate 44. Courtyard surrounded by galleries and planted with white peonies. Section of garden at the summer residence of the Mongol prince Sêng Wang, in Hai Tien, near Peking.



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Plate 45. Looking across the water between the Ch'ung Hua island in Pei Hai and the shore. Masses of flowering lotuses, rising out of invisible depths, form a billowing carpet over the water and radiate a heavy and languorous atmosphere.

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Plate 46. A little garden with flowering tree peonies (Mu-tan) beside a stone. Woodcut after a drawing, probably by Ch'ên Hung-shou (1599—1657), for «The Story of the Western Pavilion».



Plate 55. The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard at Lang Ya Ssü, near Ch'u-chou, Anhui. This stands on the site of O-yang Hsiu's (1007—1072) famous pavilion of this name. The building has been restored several times, probably most recently in the nineteenth century.



Plate 56. A little pavilion and luxuriant banana trees in a courtyard surrounded by an ornamental brick wall at Lang Ya Ssü, near Ch'u-chou, Anhui.

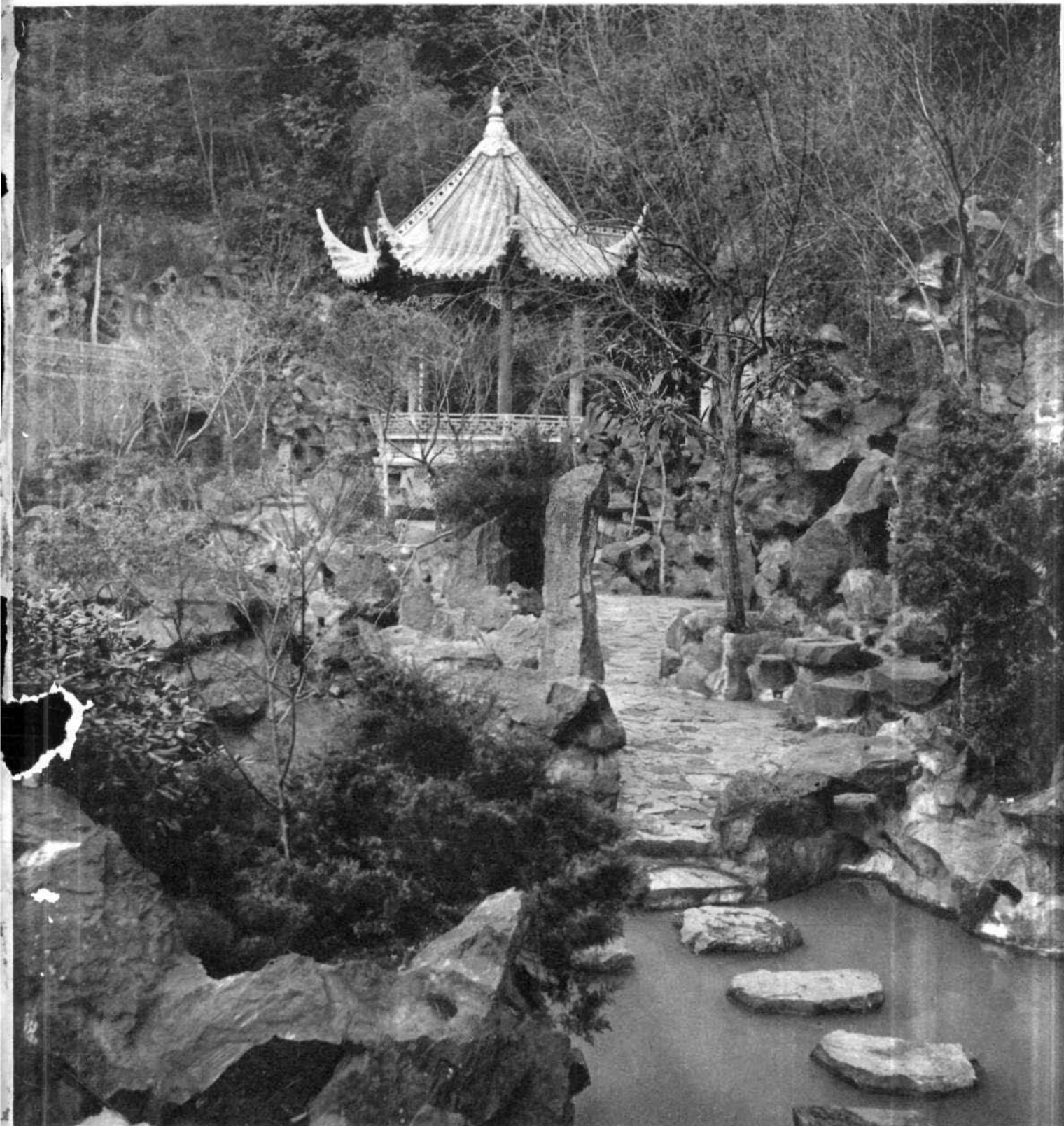


Plate 57

Plate 57. A small pavilion on a rock formation on an island in the modern monastery garden at Huang Lung Ssu, near Hangchou.



Plate 58. An open promenade gallery separating two planted courtyards in a private residence in Peking.



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Plate 59. Upper picture: A long promenade gallery in a garden in Ch'i Yeh Fu, Peking. Lower picture: The gallery-surrounded court with beds of peonies in the Mongol prince Sêng Wang's former residence in Hai Tien near Peking.



Plate 60. The long curving gallery on the shores of the Kun Ming Hu in the grounds of the New Summer Palace. The galleries serve not only as decorative frames for different sections of the garden, but also as links with the most beautiful parts of the scenery upon which they open.

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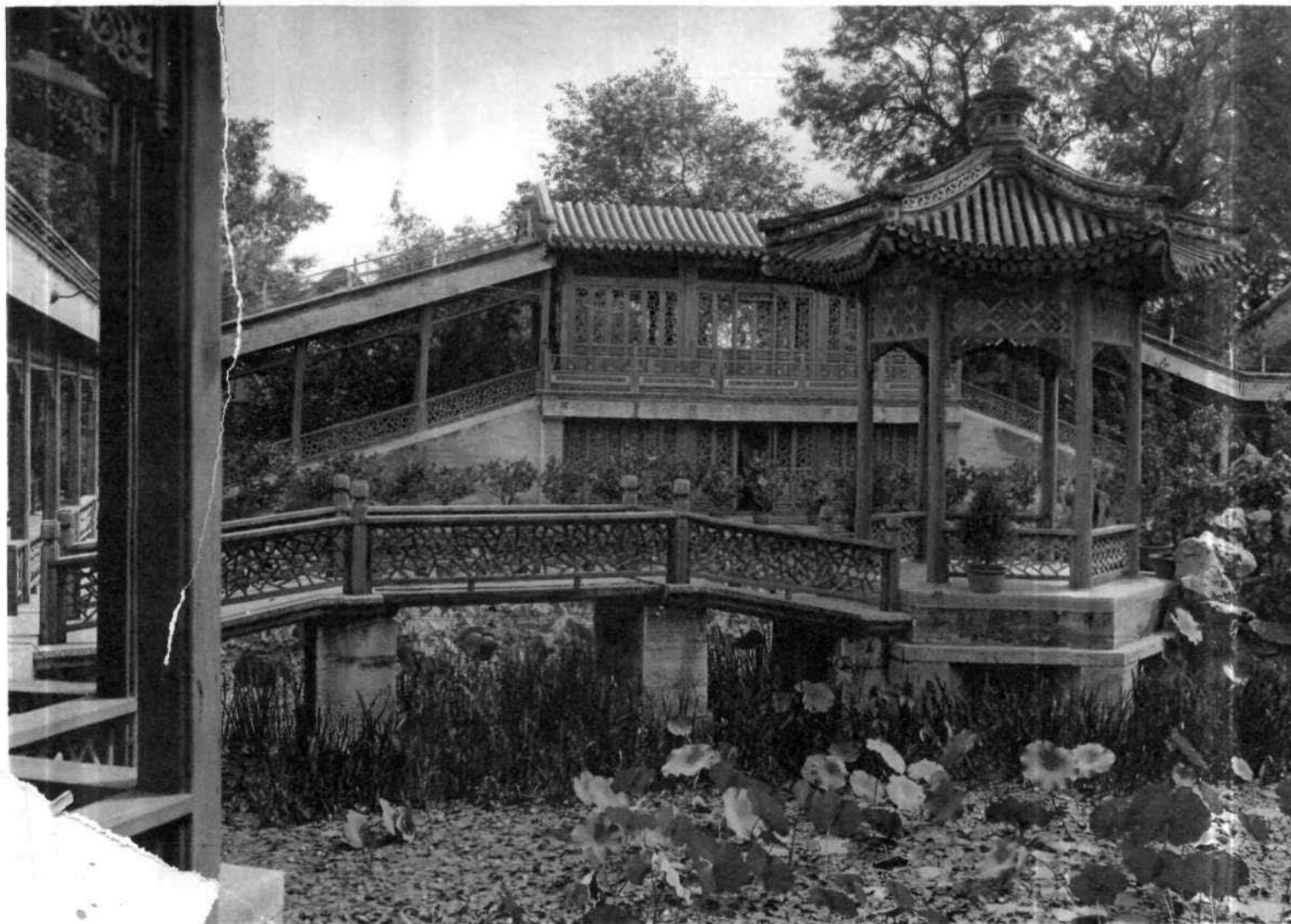


Plate 01. 1 — a private garden in Peking where the galleries surround the pond and a bridge crosses to a pavilion. They illustrate Yüan Yeh's remarks about the galleries: «They follow the rise and fall of the ground, they run in curves and are sometimes visible, sometimes invisible».



Plate 62. Pavilion-gallery at the New Summer Palace, provided with ornamental balustrades and lambrequins. The latter, resting on brackets, form a continuation of the decorated beams under the eaves.

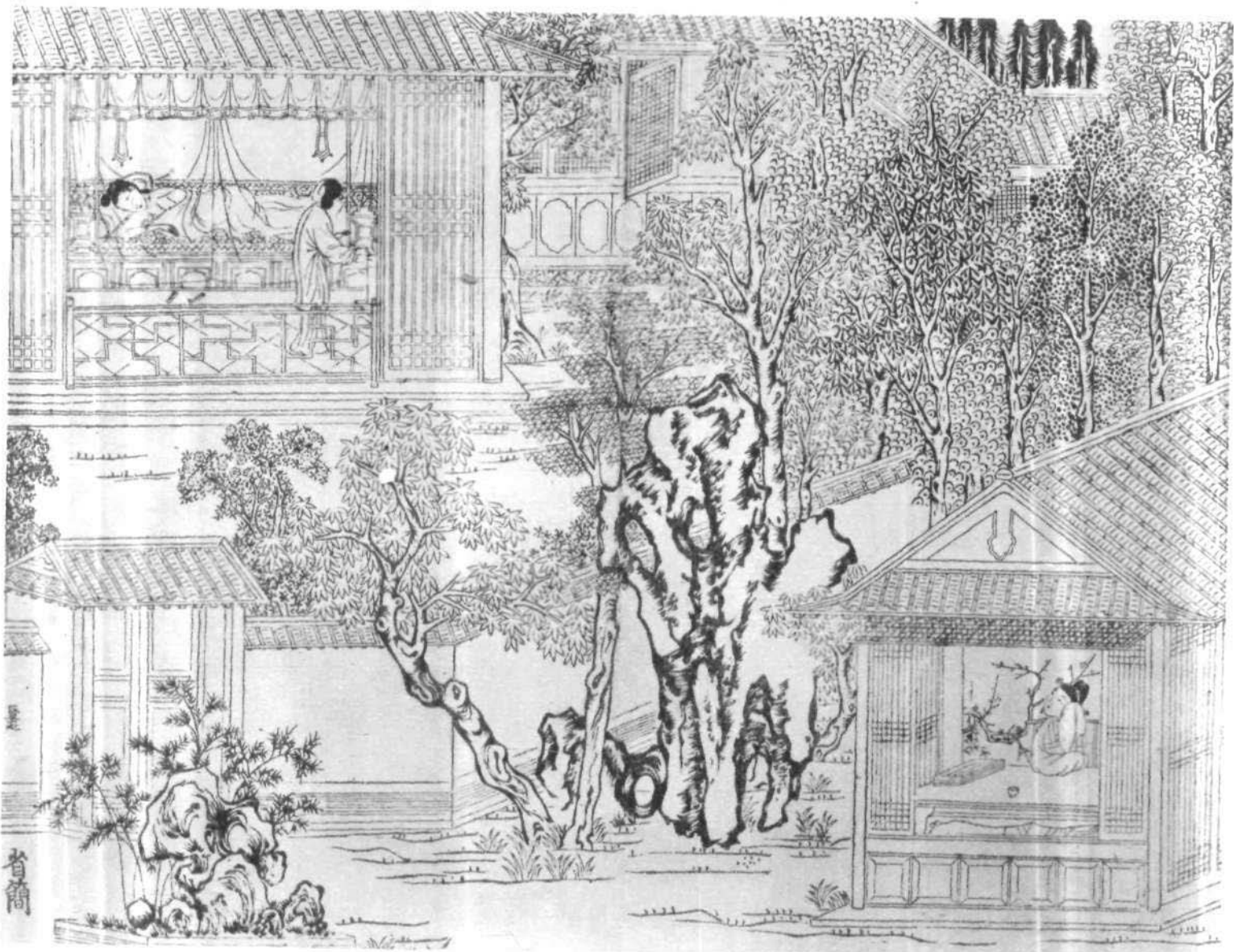


Plate 63. Garden pavilions with ornamental balustrades and lattice doors exemplifying the «brush-handle pattern». Another woodcut illustrating «The Story of the Western Pavilion».

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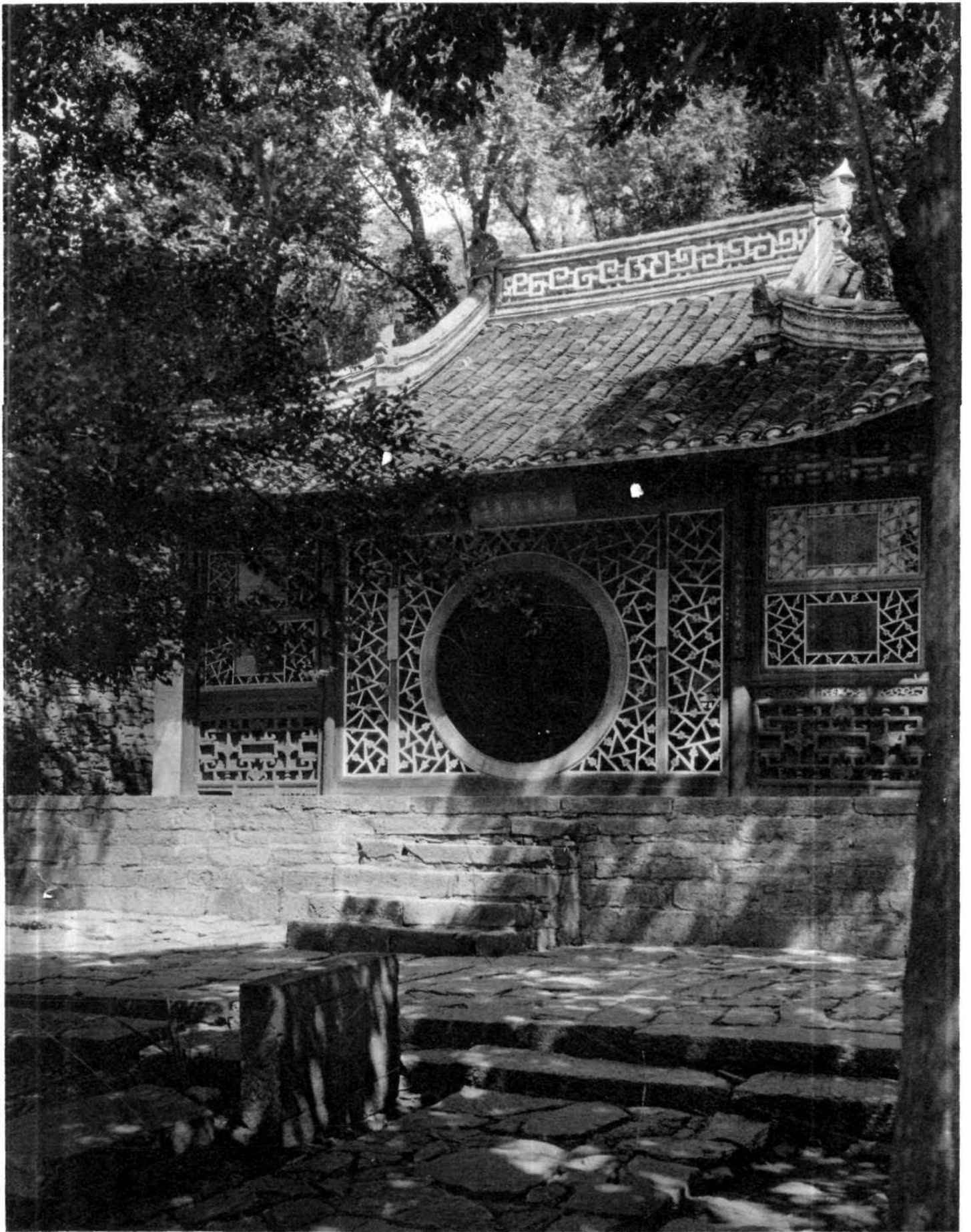
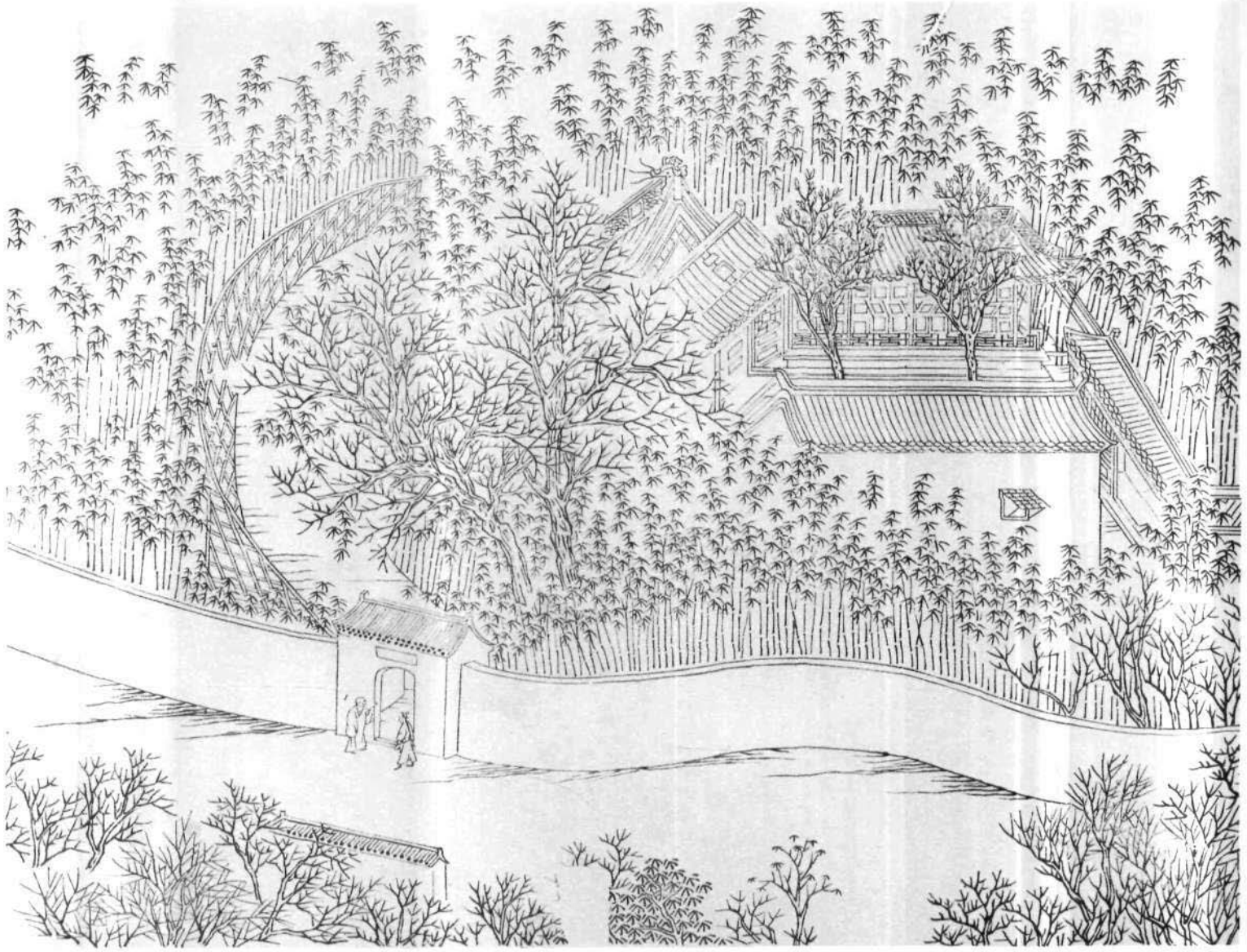


Plate 64. A closed pavilion, with windows and moon gate in a setting of lattice work in the «cracked-ice pattern». It is situated at Lang Ya Ssü, near Ch'u-chou, Anhui.



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Plate 65. Summer pergola with vines in front of the library,
Lan T'ing Shu Shih, in Li Wang Fu, Peking.



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Plate 66. Lin Ch'ing visits the garden at the Monastery of the Two Trees, Shuang Shu Ssü. Here the bamboos were abundant and »the moss spread over the ground like a blue cloud». He strolled along by the billowing bamboo fence and admired the two magnolia trees before the main building.

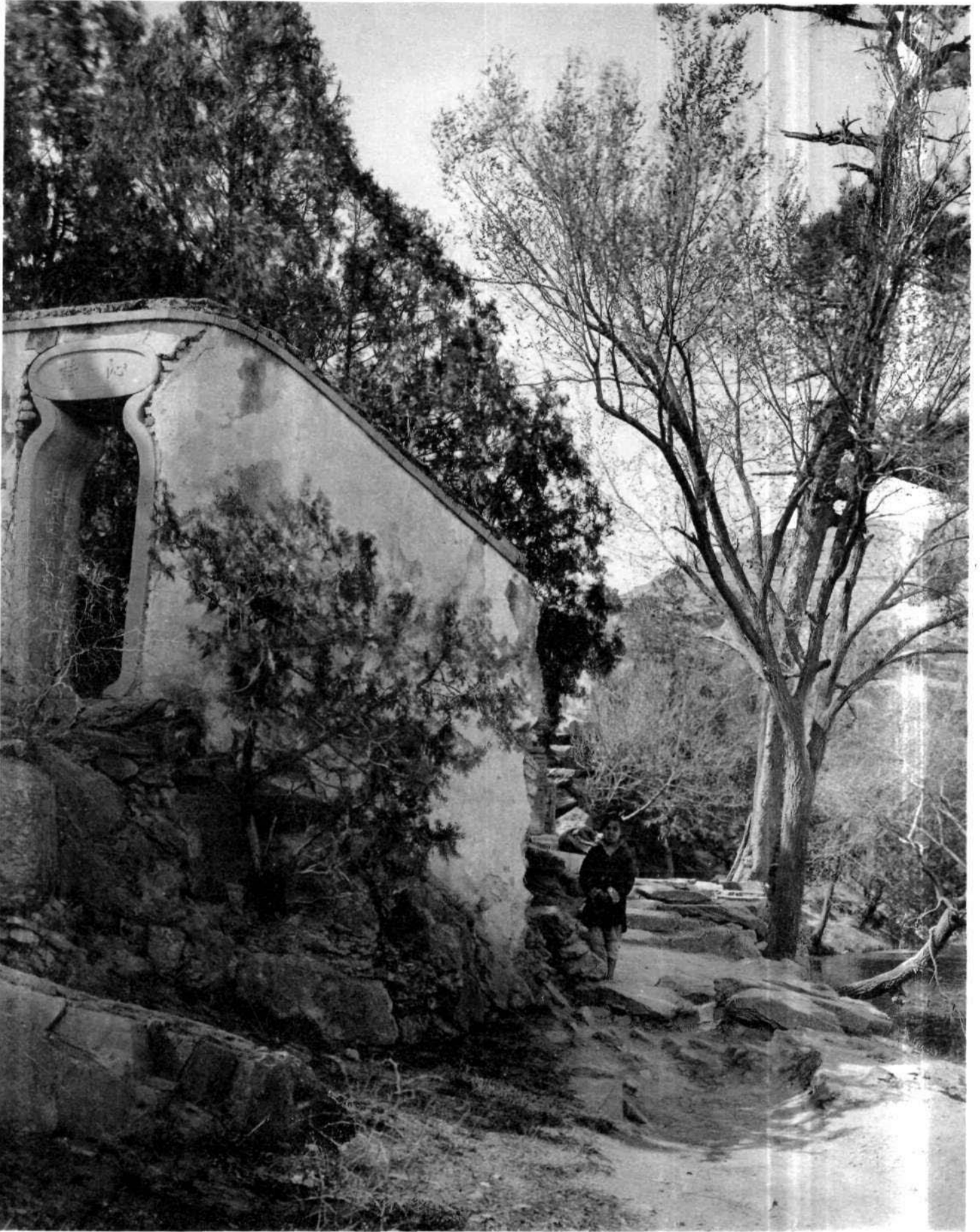
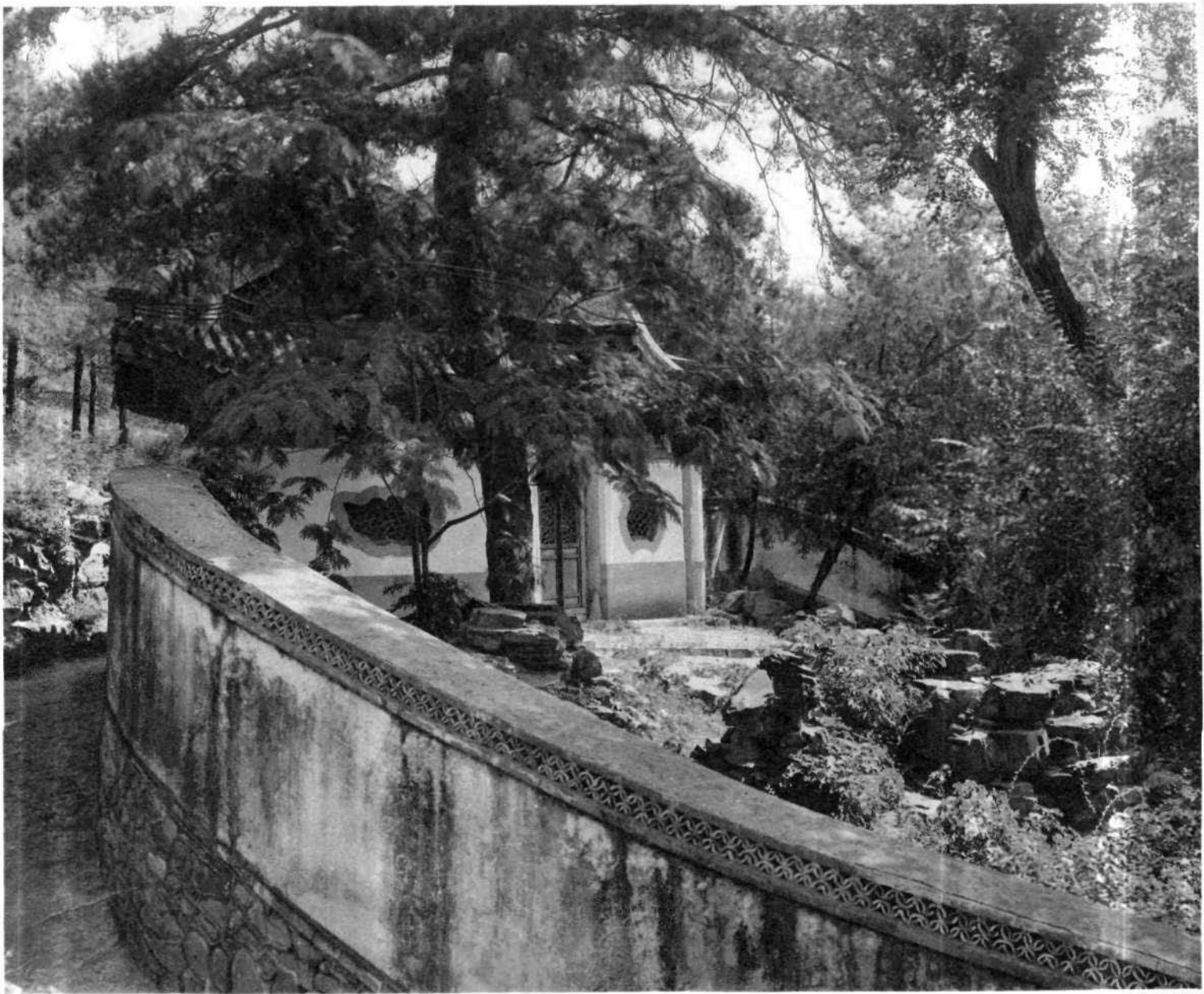


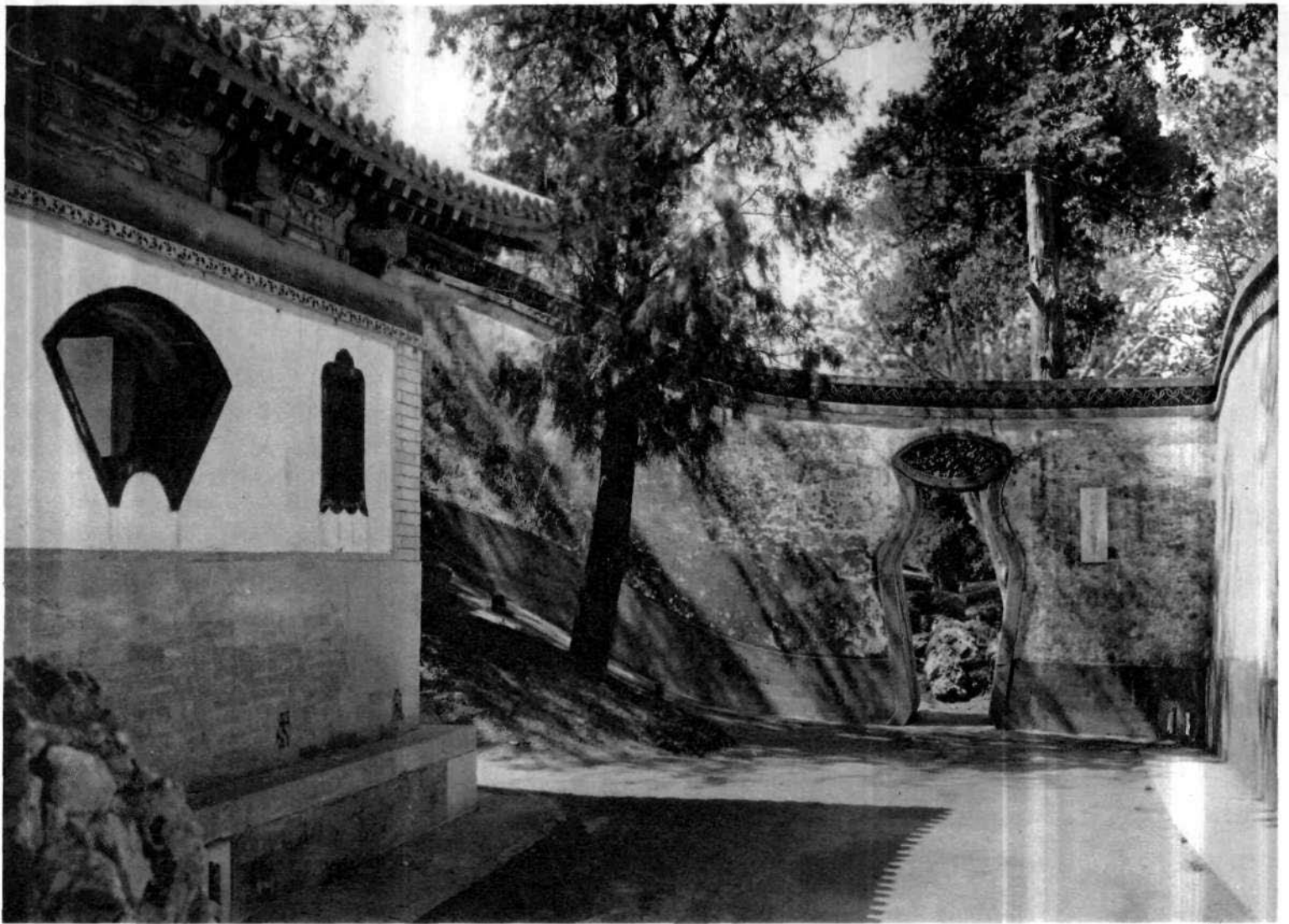
Plate 67. A rising wall with its ornamental doorway in the park of the Jade Fountain near Peking.

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Plate 68. A secluded garden scene in the park of the New Summer Palace, surrounded by a curving wall which follows the contours of the ground.



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Plate 69. Ornamental windows and a vase-shaped doorway in a little courtyard in Pei Hai, Peking.



Plate 70. A moon gate in the garden at Pa Ch'i Hui Kuan, formerly Cho Chêng Yüan (The Garden of the Stupid Officials), in Suchou.

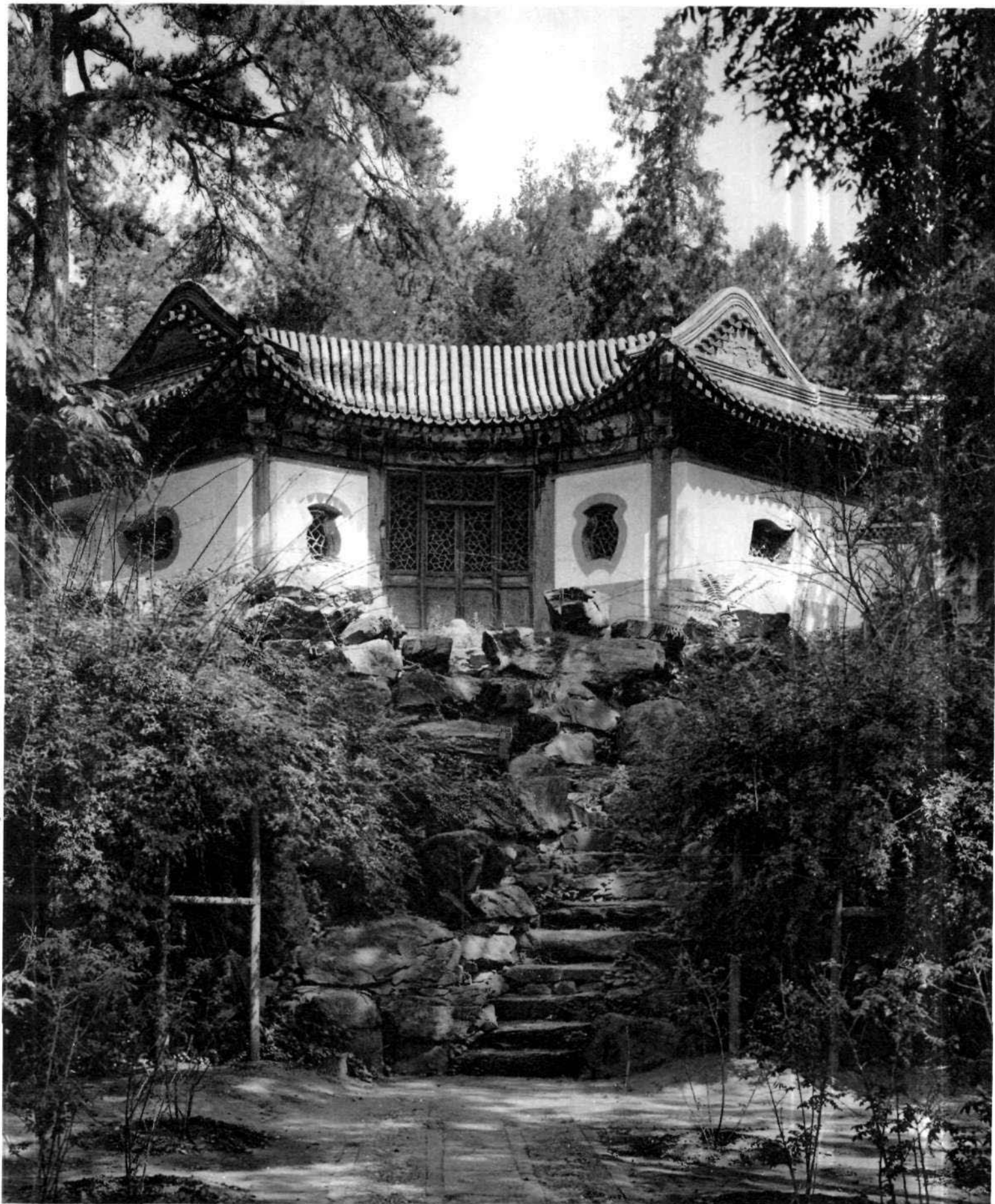


Plate 71. A curving pavilion, erected on a «mountain» in a garden attached to the New Summer Palace

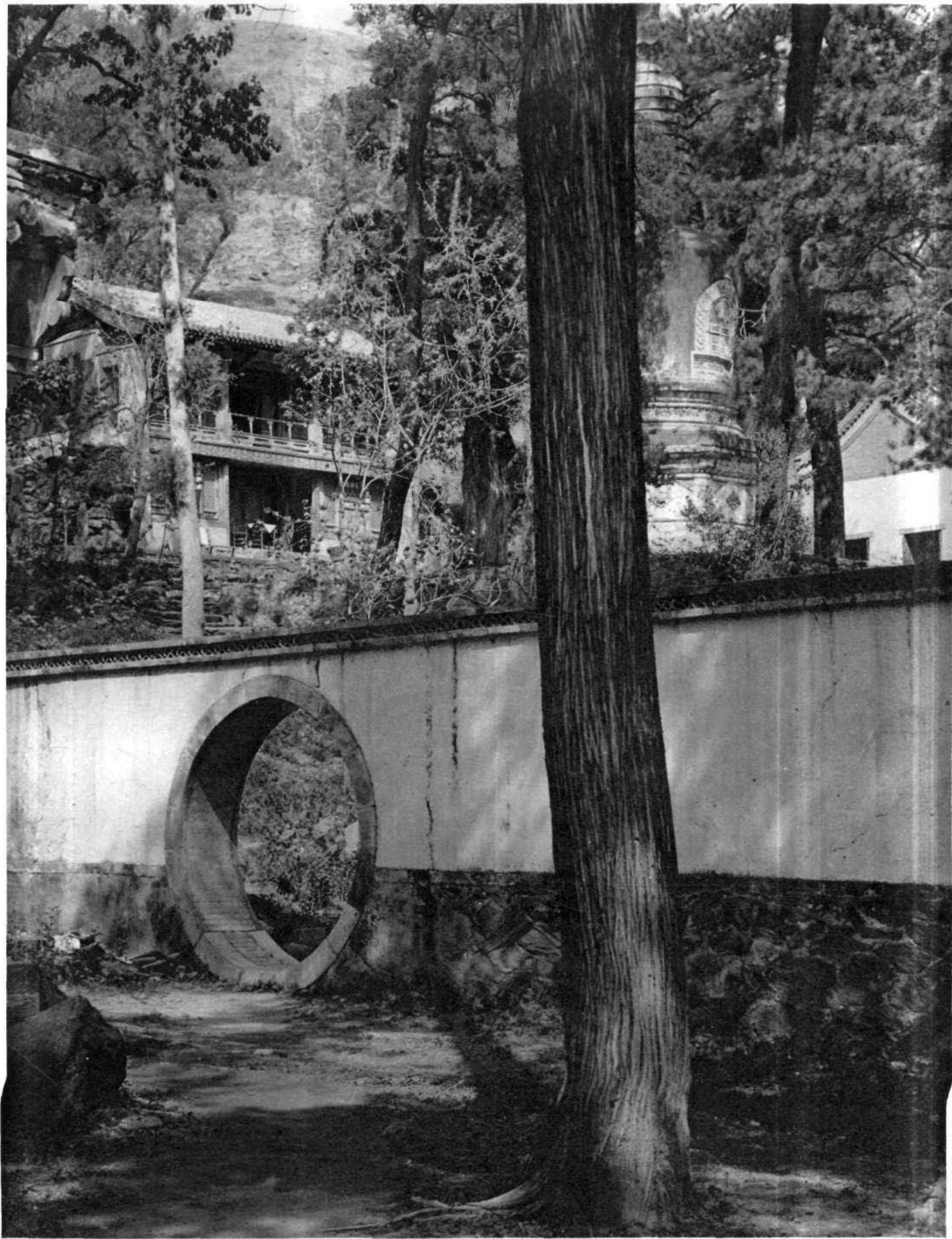
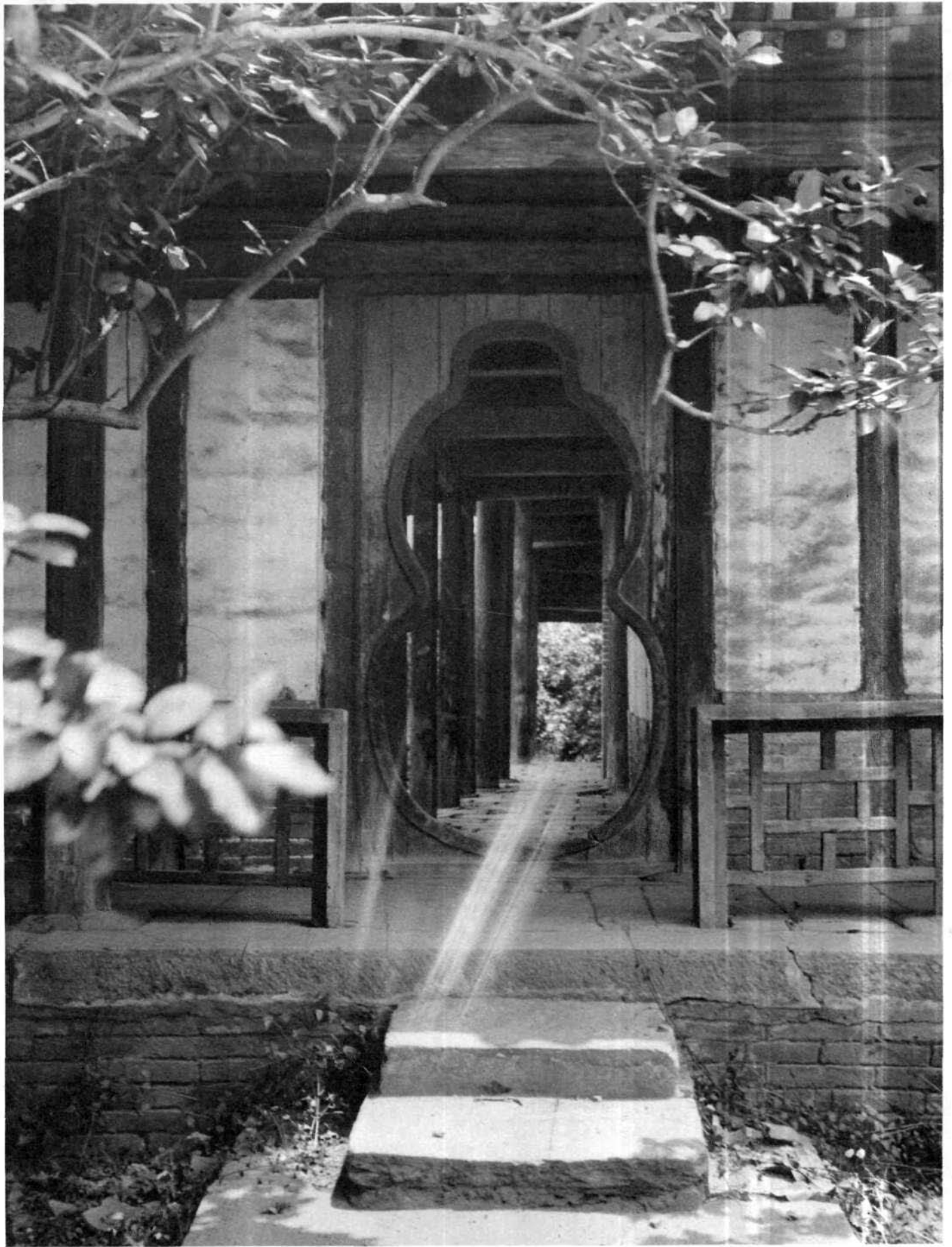
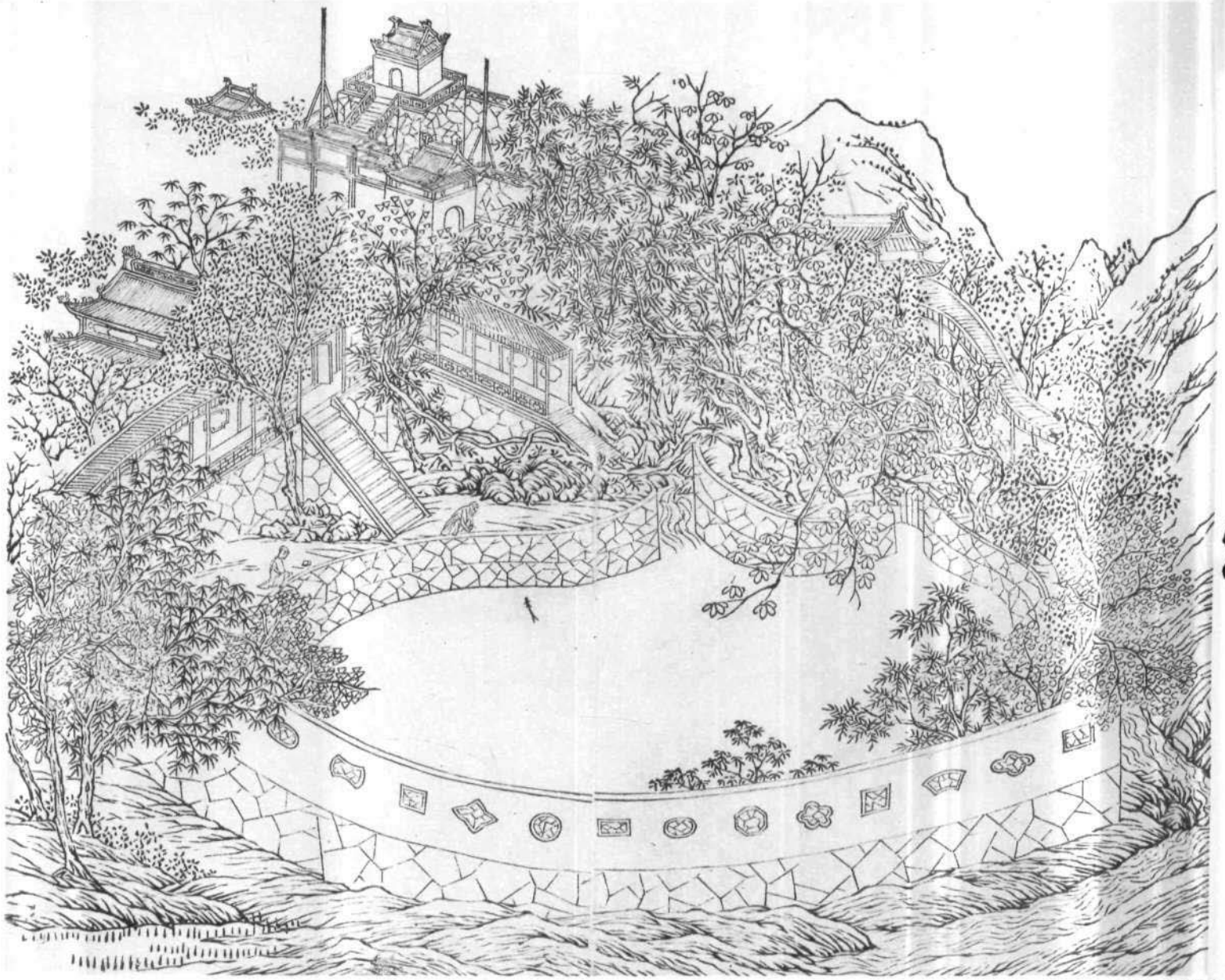


Plate 72. Moon gate in the garden wall at Ta Chio Ssü (The Temple of the Great Awakening), at the foot of the Yang Shan near Peking.



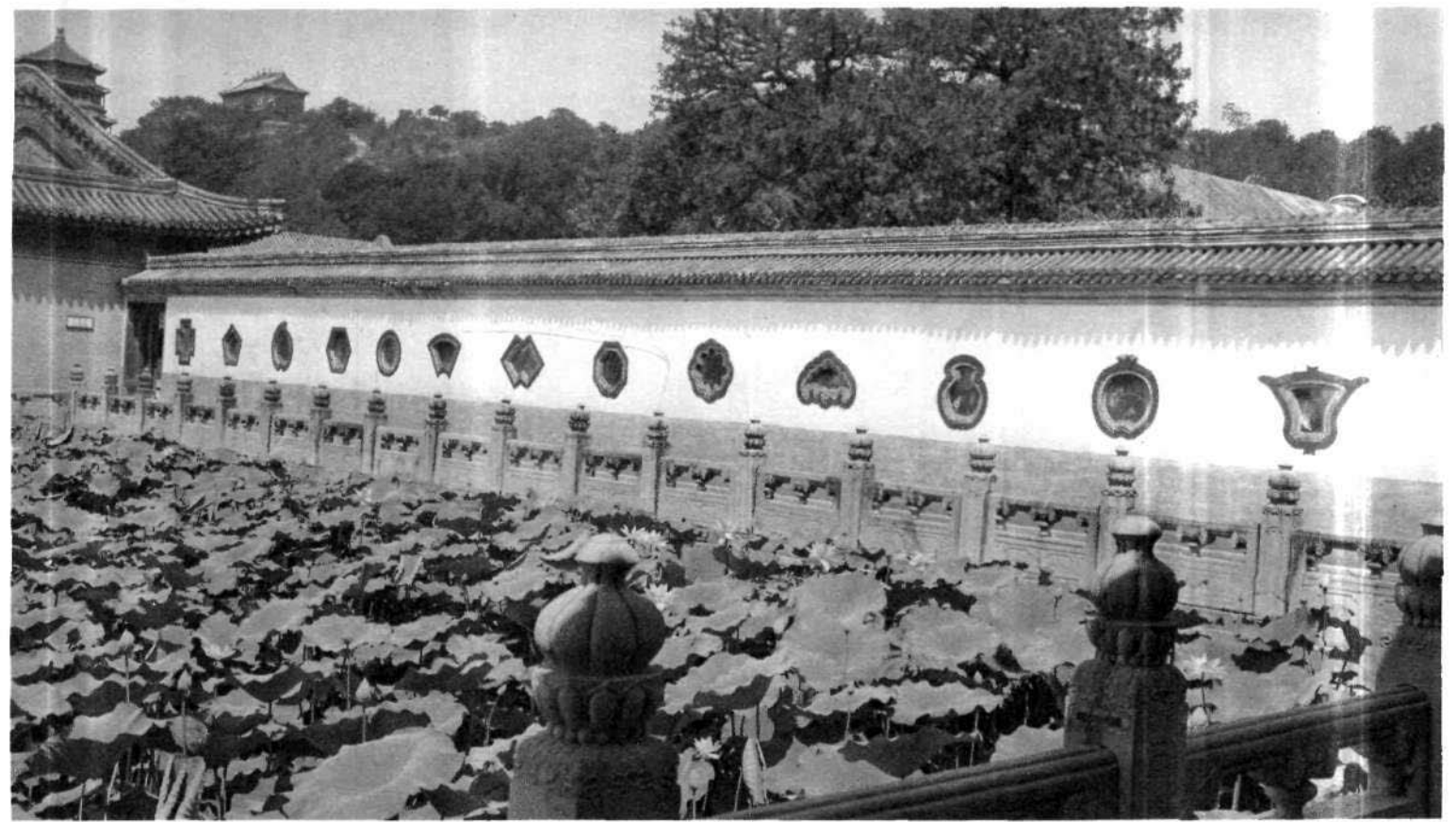
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Plate 73. Gourd-shaped garden gateway in Ch'êng Wang Fu, Peking.



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Plate 74. The Pond of the Black Dragon, Hei Lung T'an, near Peking, surrounded by a winding wall with ornamental windows. On the eminence in the background is seen a Taoist temple consecrated to the Dragon King, whose spirit is sometimes said to rise from the clear water.



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Plate 75. Upper picture: Whitewashed wall with ornamental windows on the shores of the flowering lake. Lower picture: Galleries with ornamental windows. Both pictures from the New Summer Palace.



Plate 76. Walls with ornamental tile window-grating at Lang Ya Ssū, near Ch'u-chou, Anhui.

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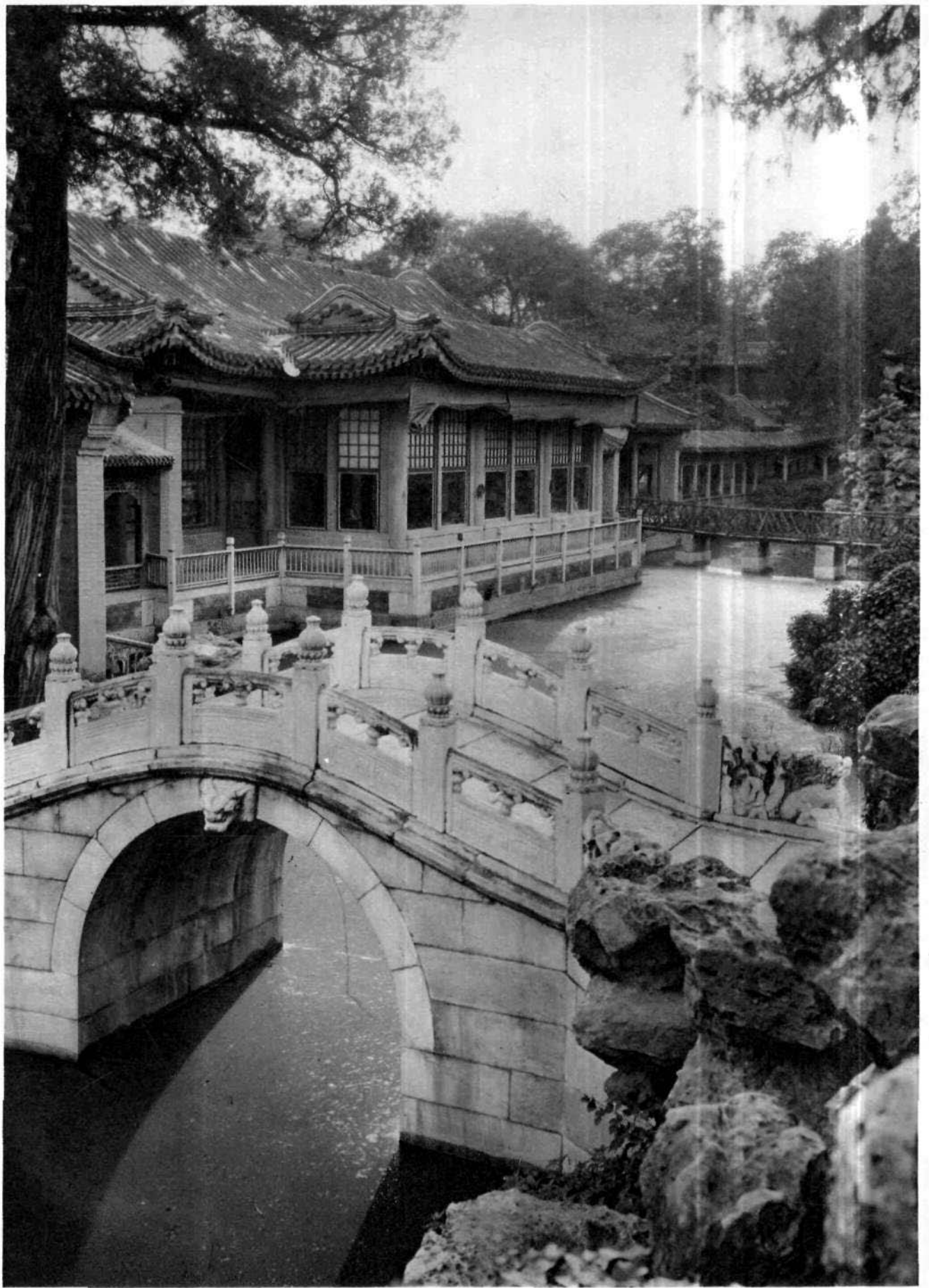


Plate 77. Marble bridge in Ching Hsin Chai (The Studio of the Pure Heart) in Pei Hai, Peking.

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Plate 78. Galleries and zigzag bridge in a garden at Pa Ch'i Hui Kuan, formerly Cho Chên Yüan, in Suchou.

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Plate 79. Garden path of multicolored shingle and stone slabs in a private garden in Peking.

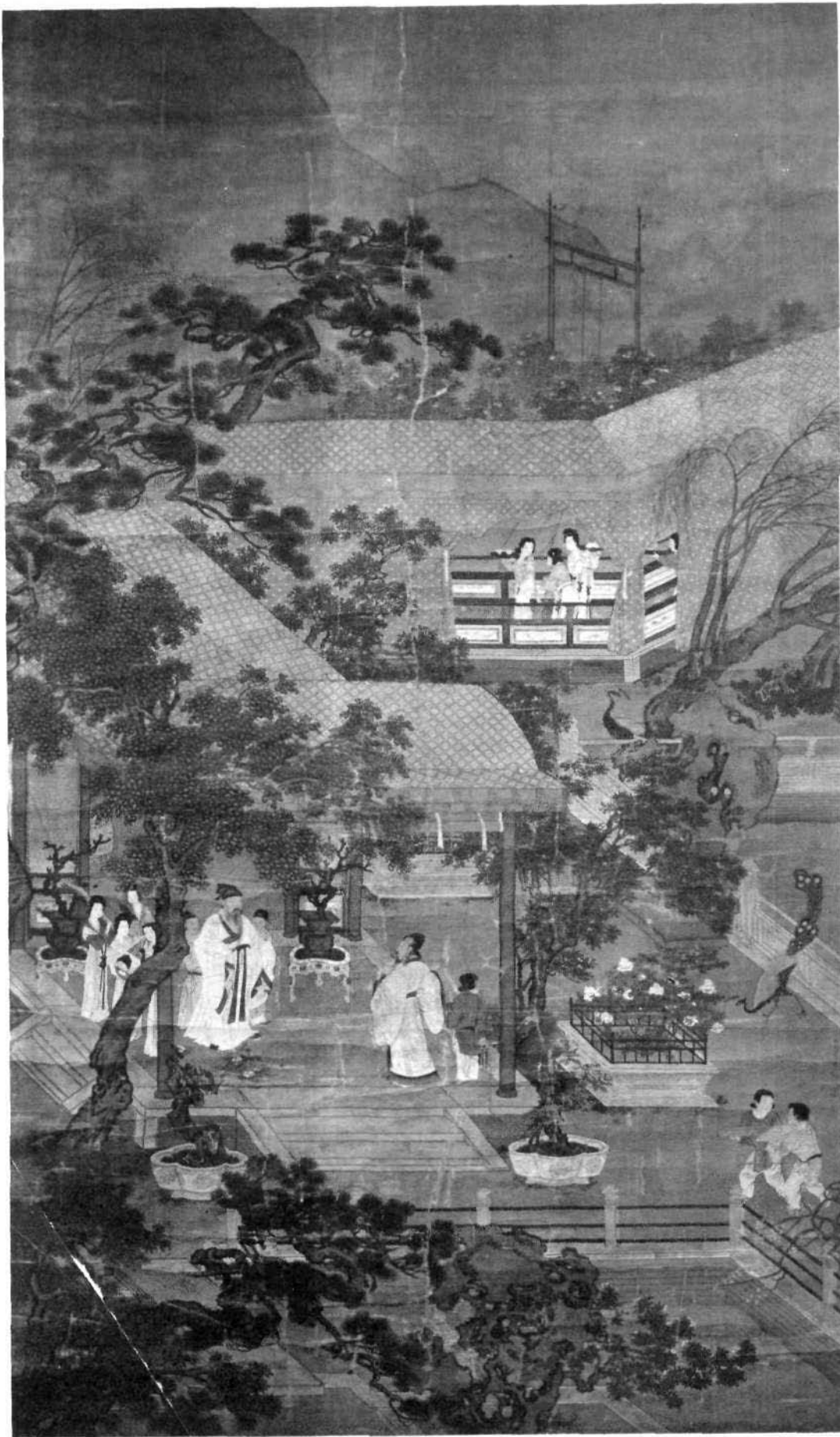


Plate 80. Upper picture: Mosaic path picturing a camel caravan in a garden in Kung Wang Fu, Peking. Lower picture: Mosaic path representing a row of birds, in Shansi Hui Kuan, Peking.



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Plate 81. Imaginative conception of an imperial summer palace in the mountains during the Han period. Painting in colors with gold contours from the Ming period, Freer Gallery, Washington.



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Plate 82. Imaginative conception of Shih Ch'ung's wonderful garden from the sixth century, called Chin Ku, The Gold Valley. Painting by Ch'iu Ying (early sixteenth century), Chion-in, Kyoto.

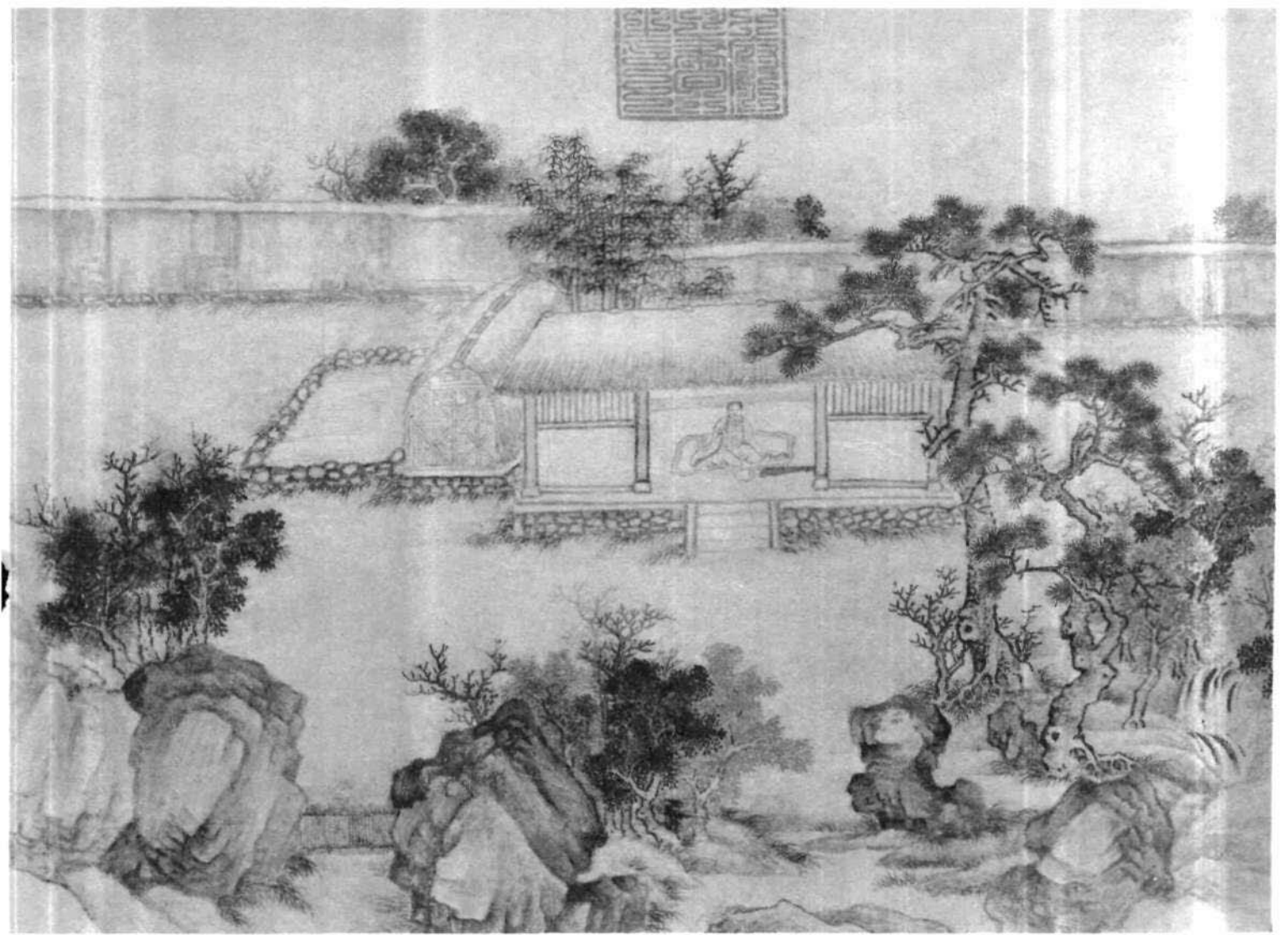


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Plate 83. A meditation pavilion surrounded by trees and rocks in a wall-enclosed court. Ink painting by Yang Pu-chih (early twelfth century), Freer Gallery, Washington.

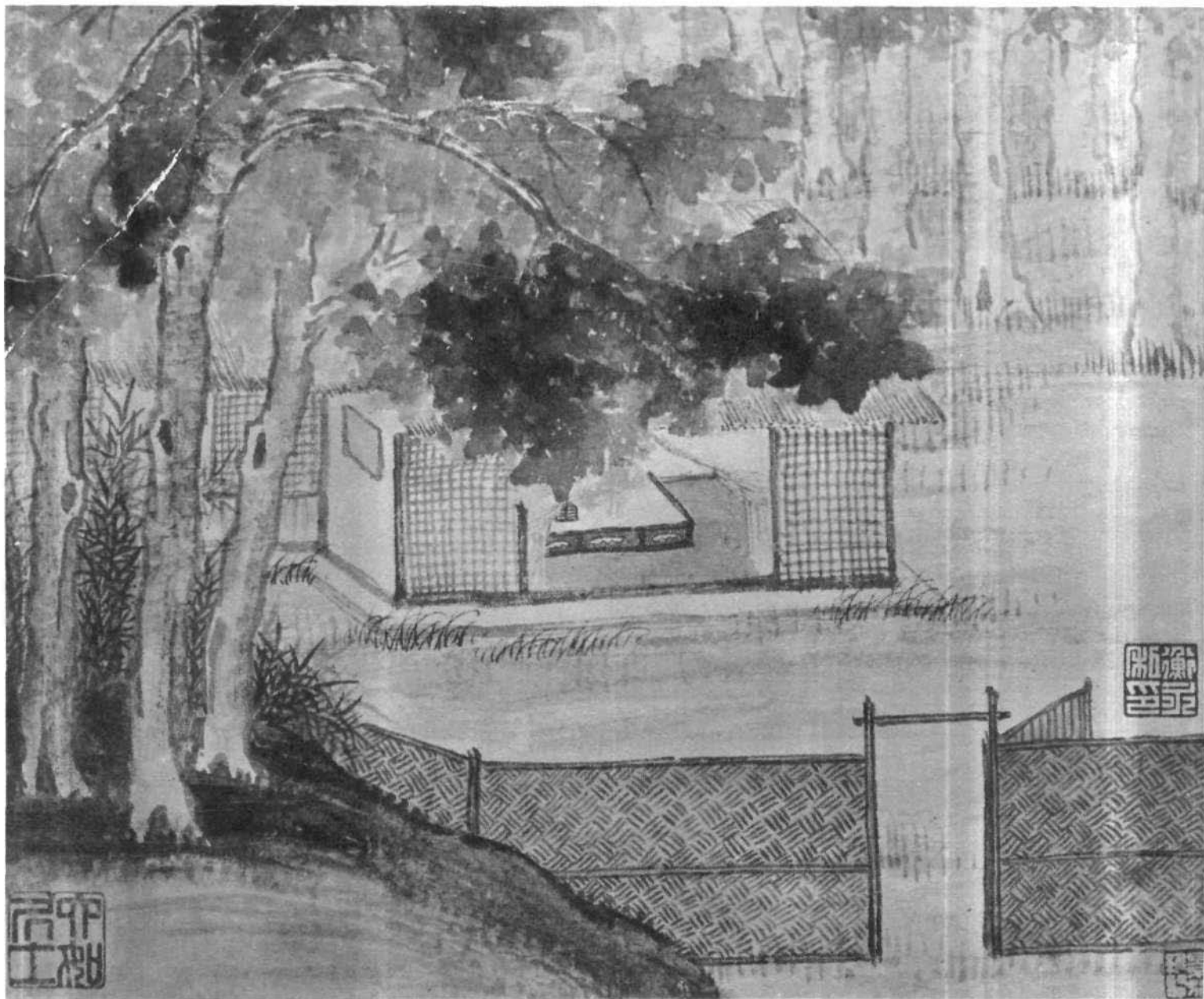


Plate 84. «The Meditation Hut in the Western Grove.» Ink painting by Ni Tsan (1301—1374). Private collection, Japan.



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Plate 85. The artist Wén Chéng-míng's summer pavilion in the mountains.
Part of a painting, dated 1531. Private collection, Shanghai.



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Plate 86. A meditation pavilion in a grove of wu-t'ung trees surrounded by a wattle fence. Album leaf by T'ang Yin (1470—1524). Private collection, Peking.



Plate 87. Two sections of an engraving on stone reproducing Wang Wei's (699—759) painting of his country estate Wang Ch'uan in Shensi.



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Plate 88. A T'ai-hu stone. According to the inscription: »Stone pillar to wish prosperity.» The painting (180 x 90), ascribed to Hui Tsung (1082—1135), though of later date, represents a famous stone, possibly from the imperial gardens. National Museum, Stockholm.

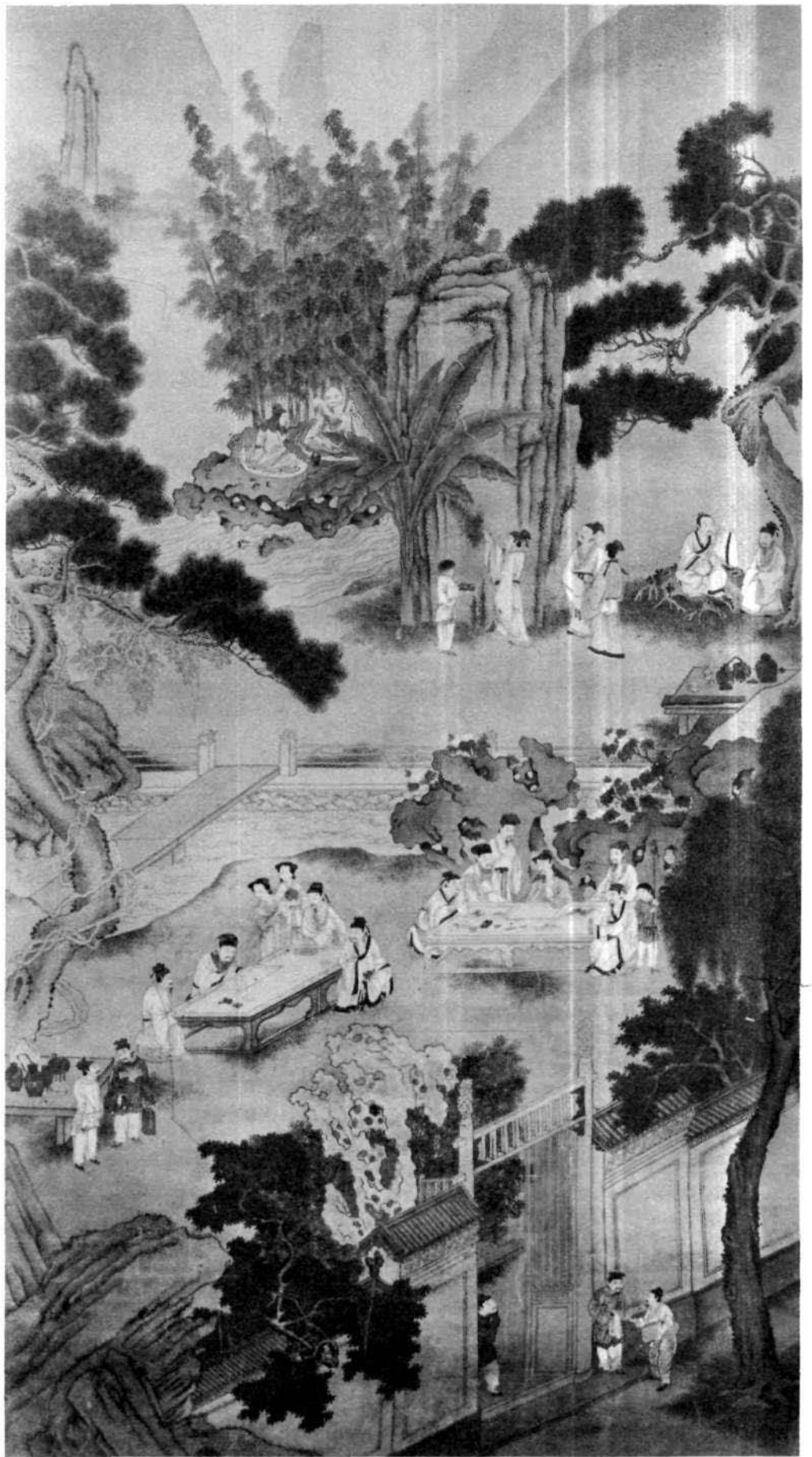
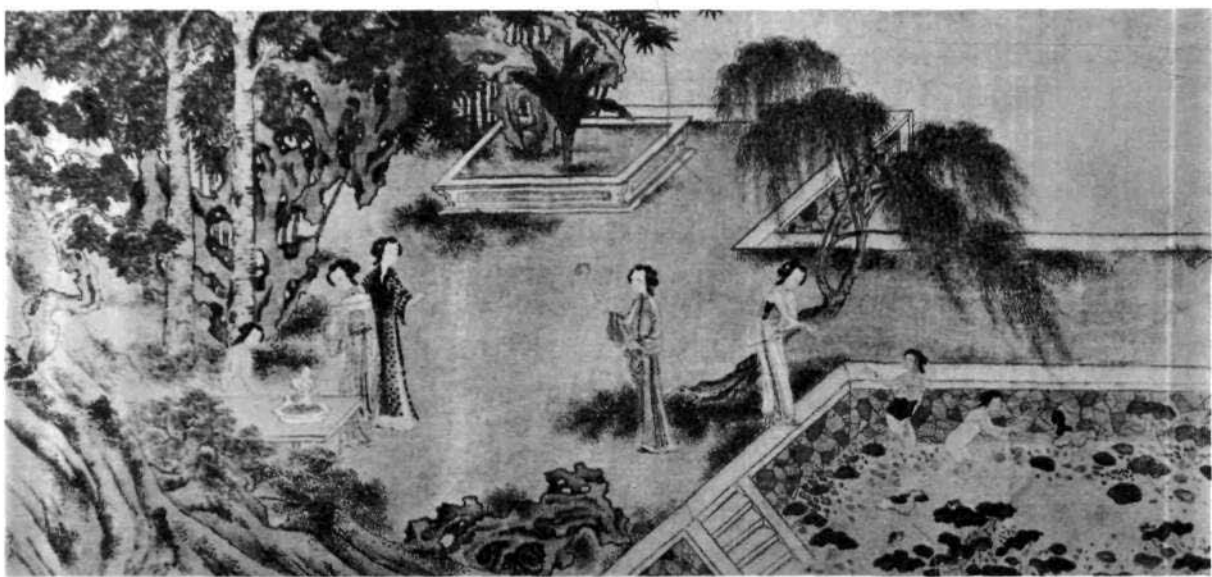
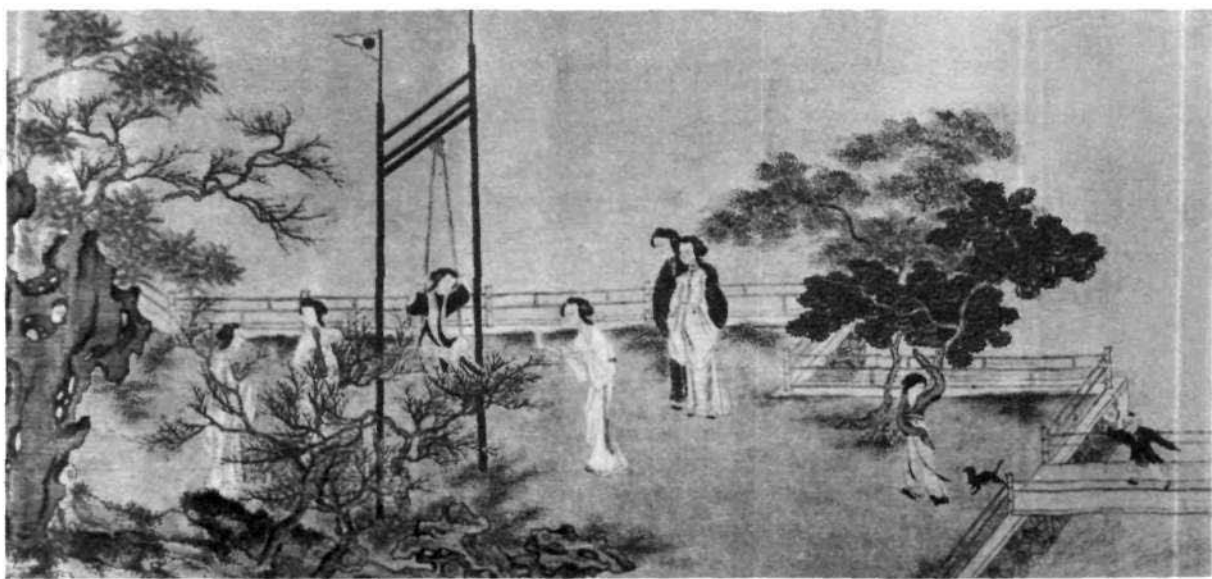


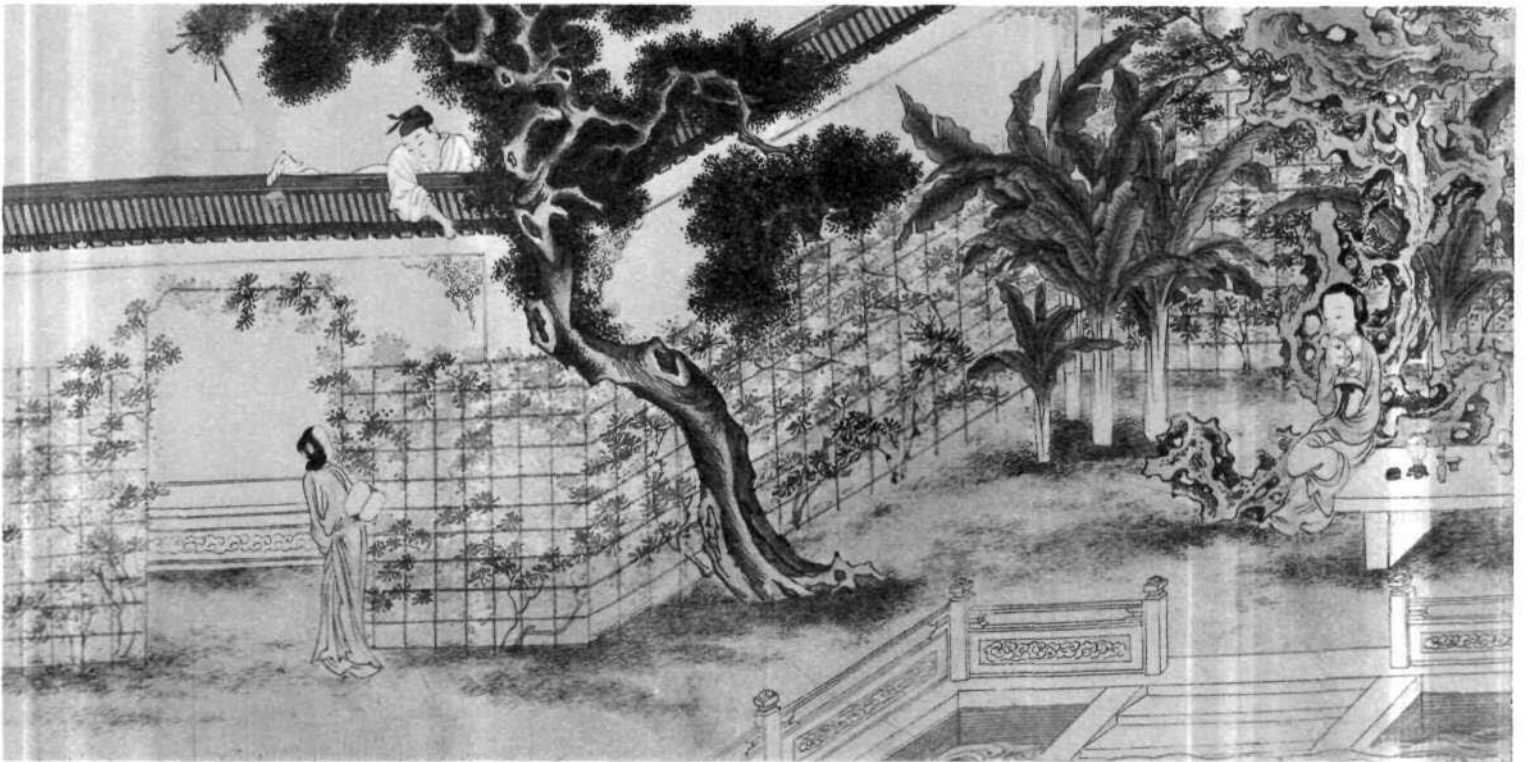
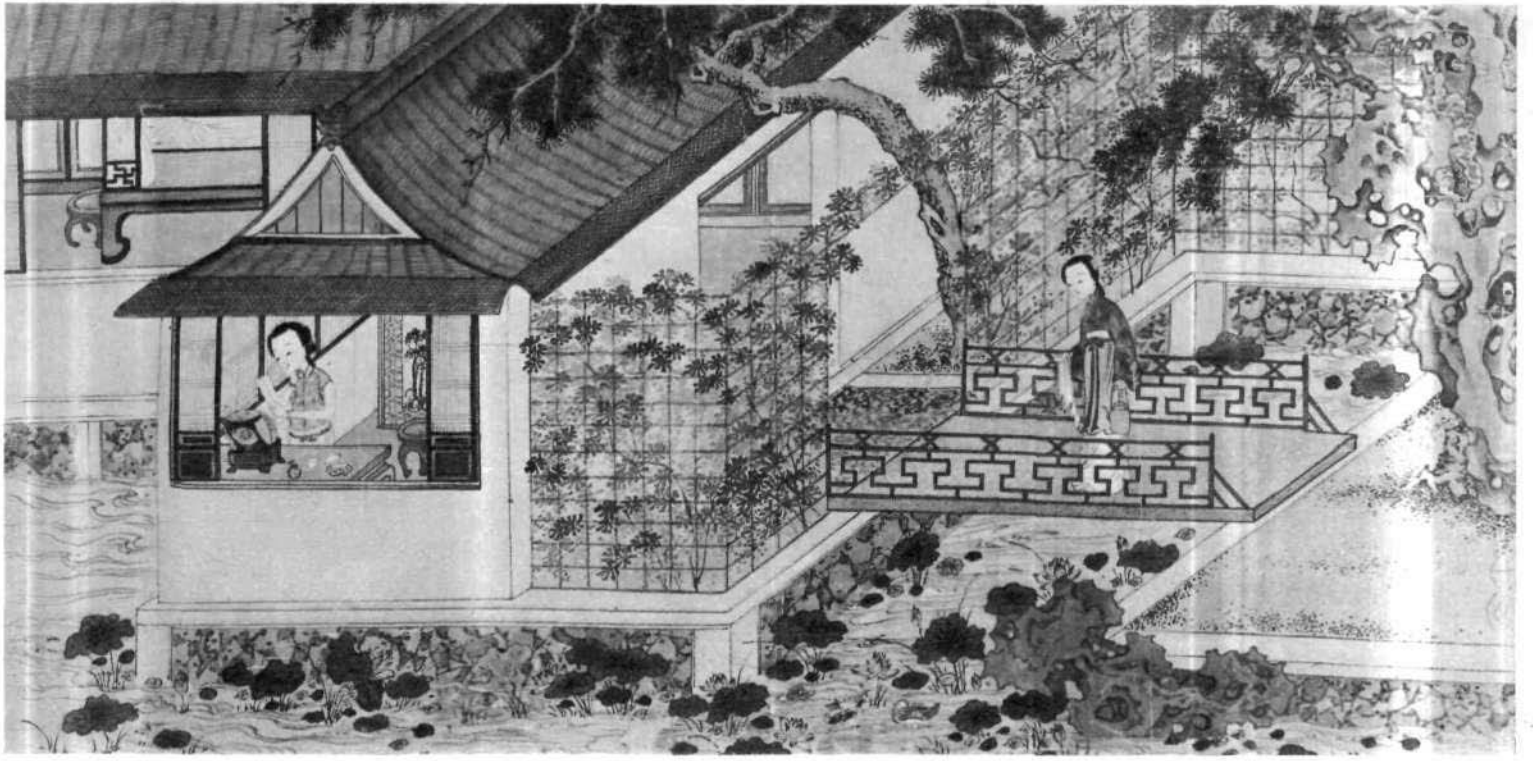
PLATE 89. Sweden

Plate 89. Philosophers, poets and amateurs assembled in the garden of a distinguished patron of art. Painting by Chao Mêng-fu after a composition by Li Lung-mien (early twelfth century), Palace Museum, Peking.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 90. Young ladies dancing, playing, swinging and bathing in a palace garden. Three sections of a painting ascribed to Ch'iu Ying, but executed later, private collection, Stockholm.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 91. Garden scenes illustrating a romantic story. Two sections of a seventeenth century scroll, Freer Gallery, Washington.

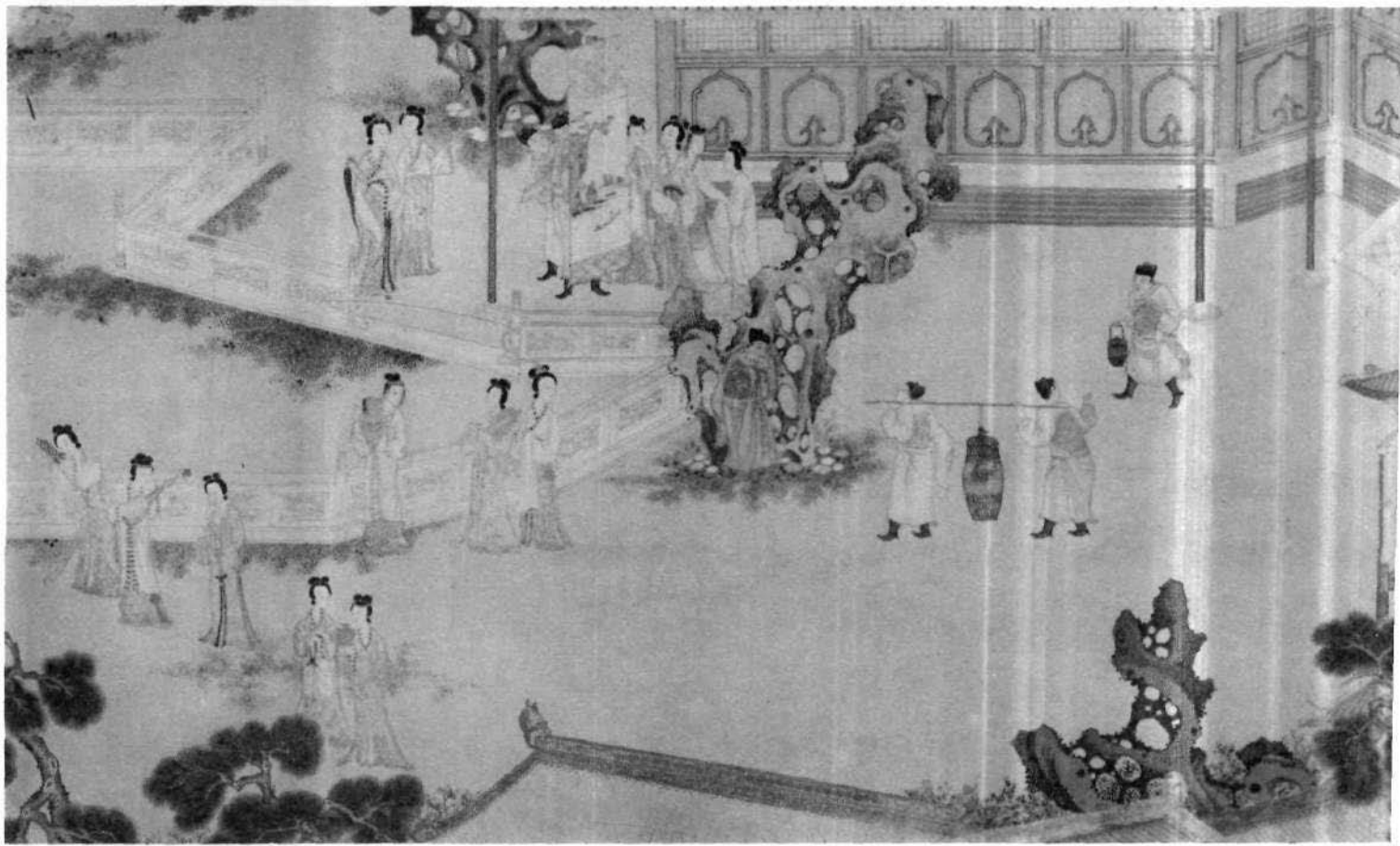
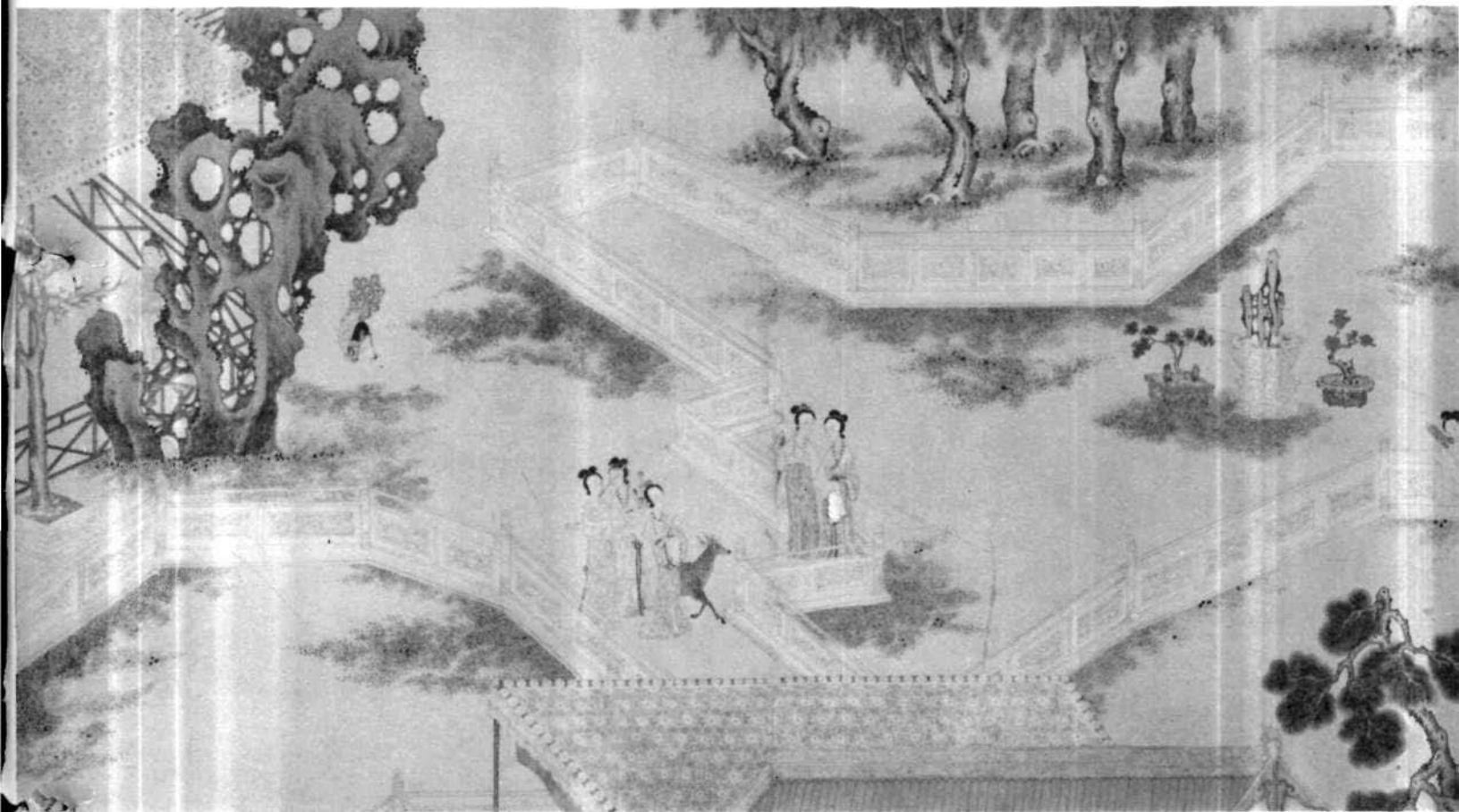
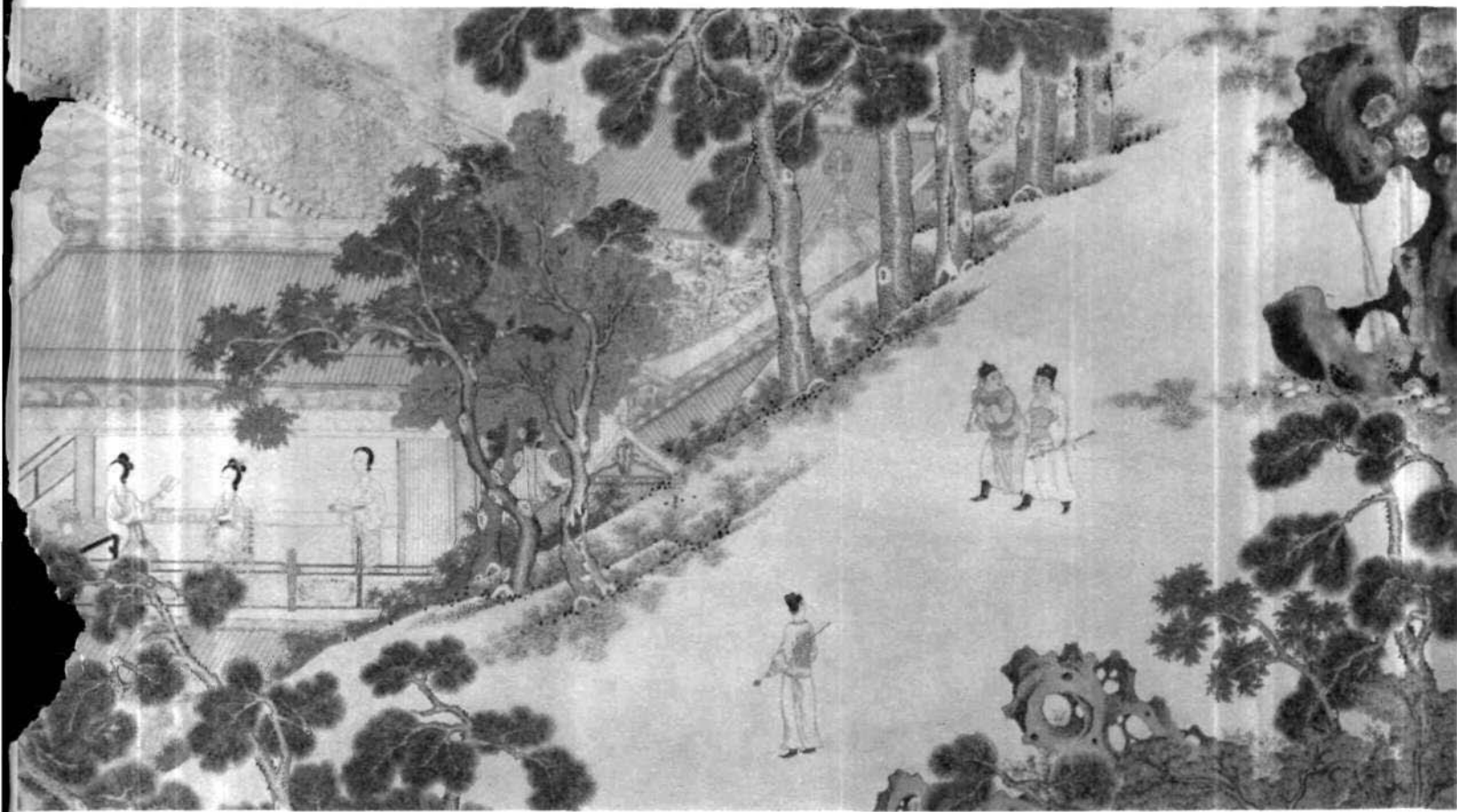


Plate 92—93. Han Kung Ch'un Hsiao T'u (Early Spring in a Palace Garden during the Han period). The two first sections of a scroll, illustrating the occupations of a noble lady and her female friends in exclusive palace gardens with pavilions, mirroring ponds, tunnelled rocks and flowering trees.



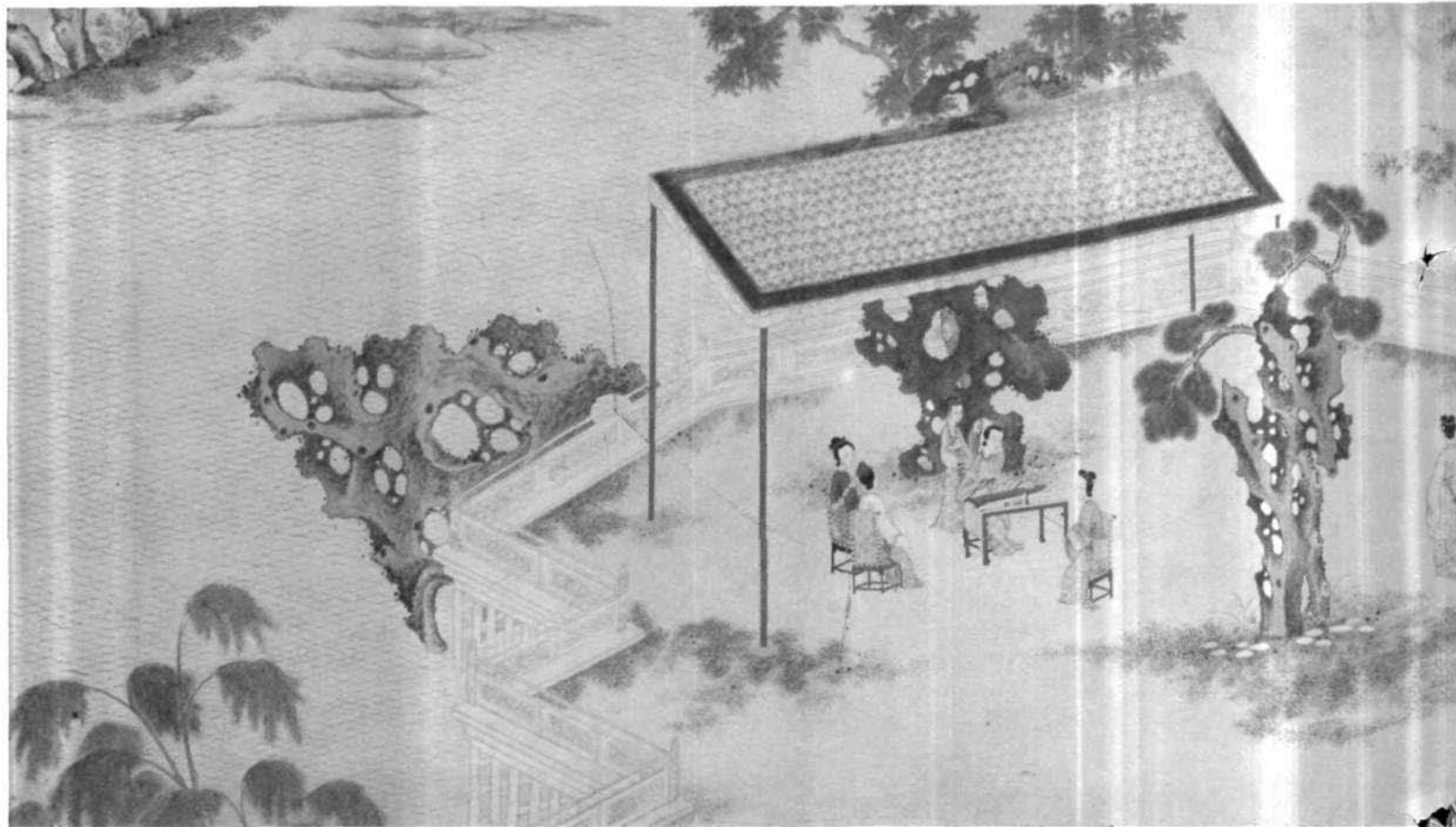
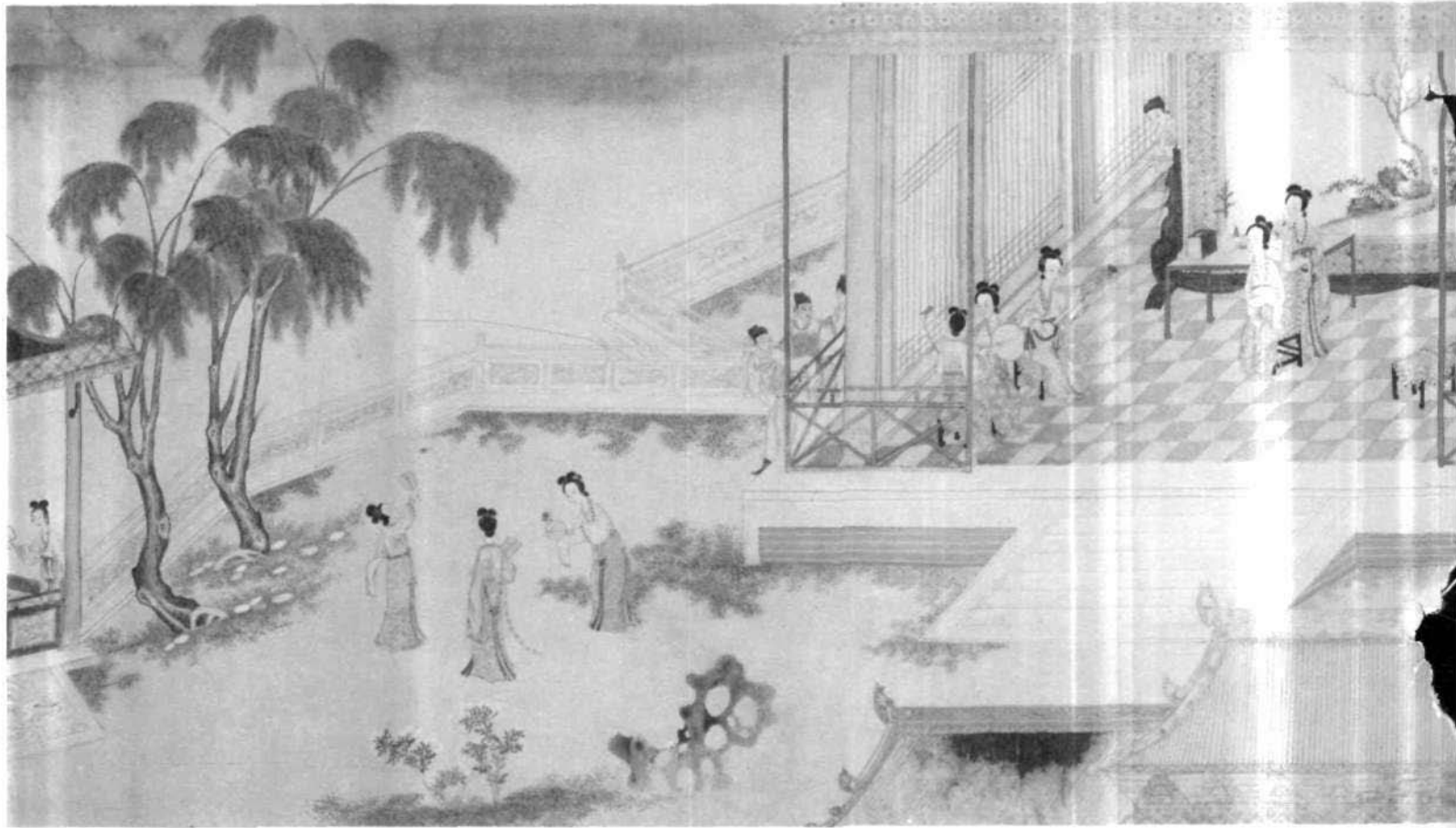
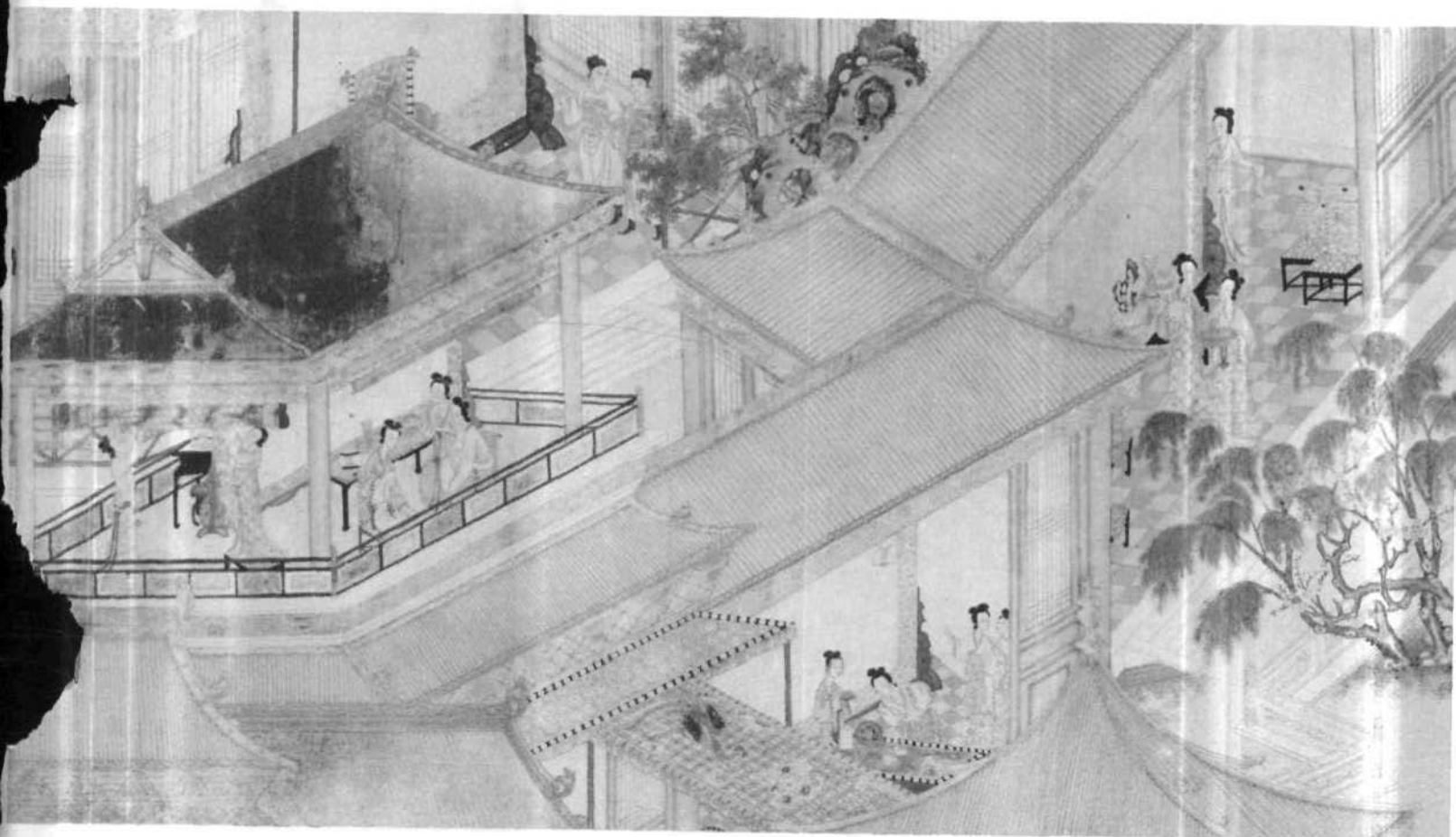
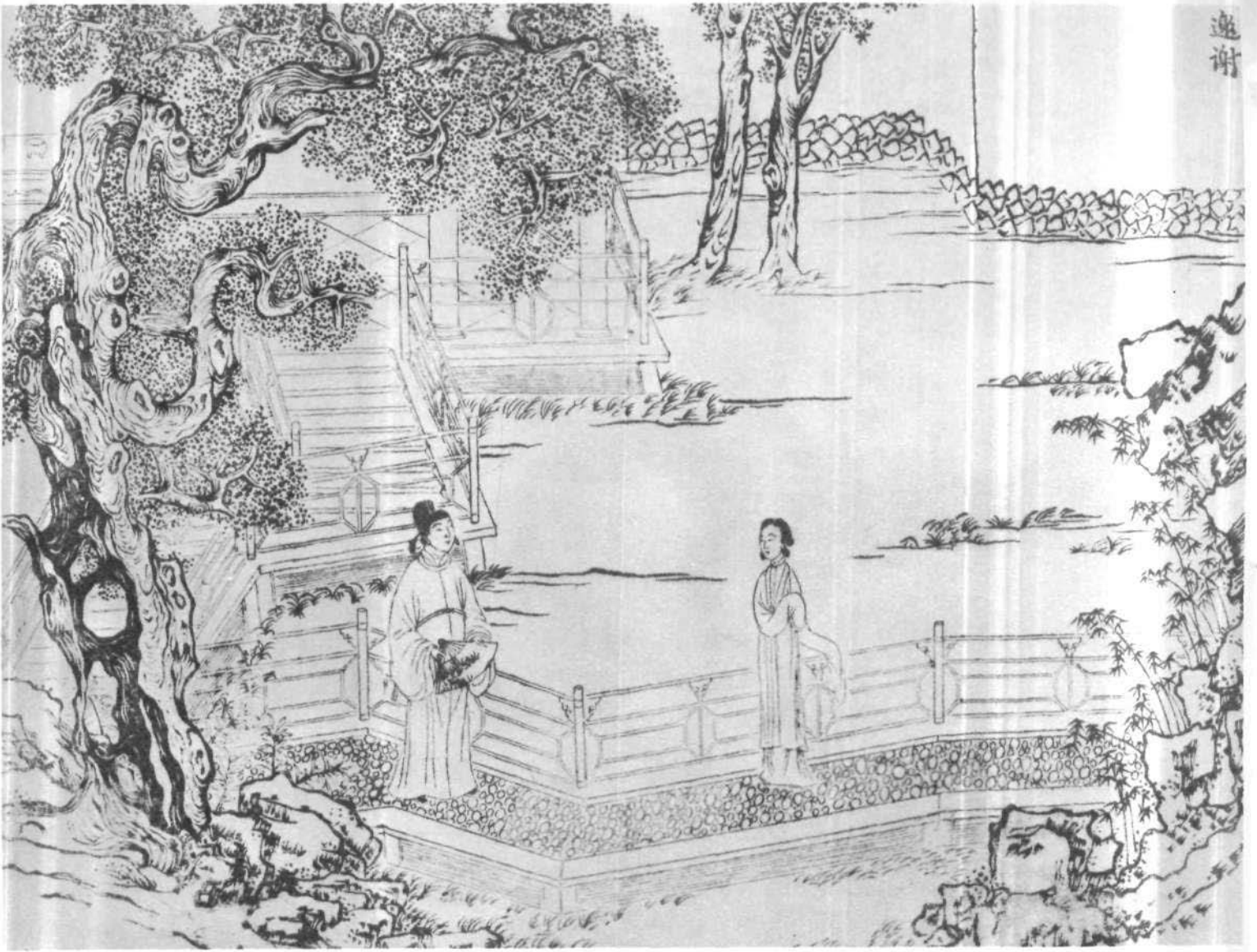


Plate 94—95. The two later sections from Han Kung Ch'un Hsiao T'u. Here one sees the young ladies occupied with their toilet, making music, playing and embroidering, while three cavaliers observe them surreptitiously. Painting ascribed to Ch'iu Ying, belonging to C. T. Loo & Co., New York.





Printed in Sweden

Plate 96. Woodcut illustrating «The Story of the Western Pavilion», probably after a drawing by Ch'ên Hung-shou (1599—1652).



Printed in Sweden.

Plate 97. The Pavilion for the Contemplation of the Moon in Ch'ing Yen Yüan, the garden of Lin Ch'ing in Ch'ing Chiang P'u. The pavilion was erected on poles in a lotus pond and was connected with the shore by a long zigzag bridge called I Hung Tê Yüeh (Supported on the Rainbow and Reaching to the Moon).

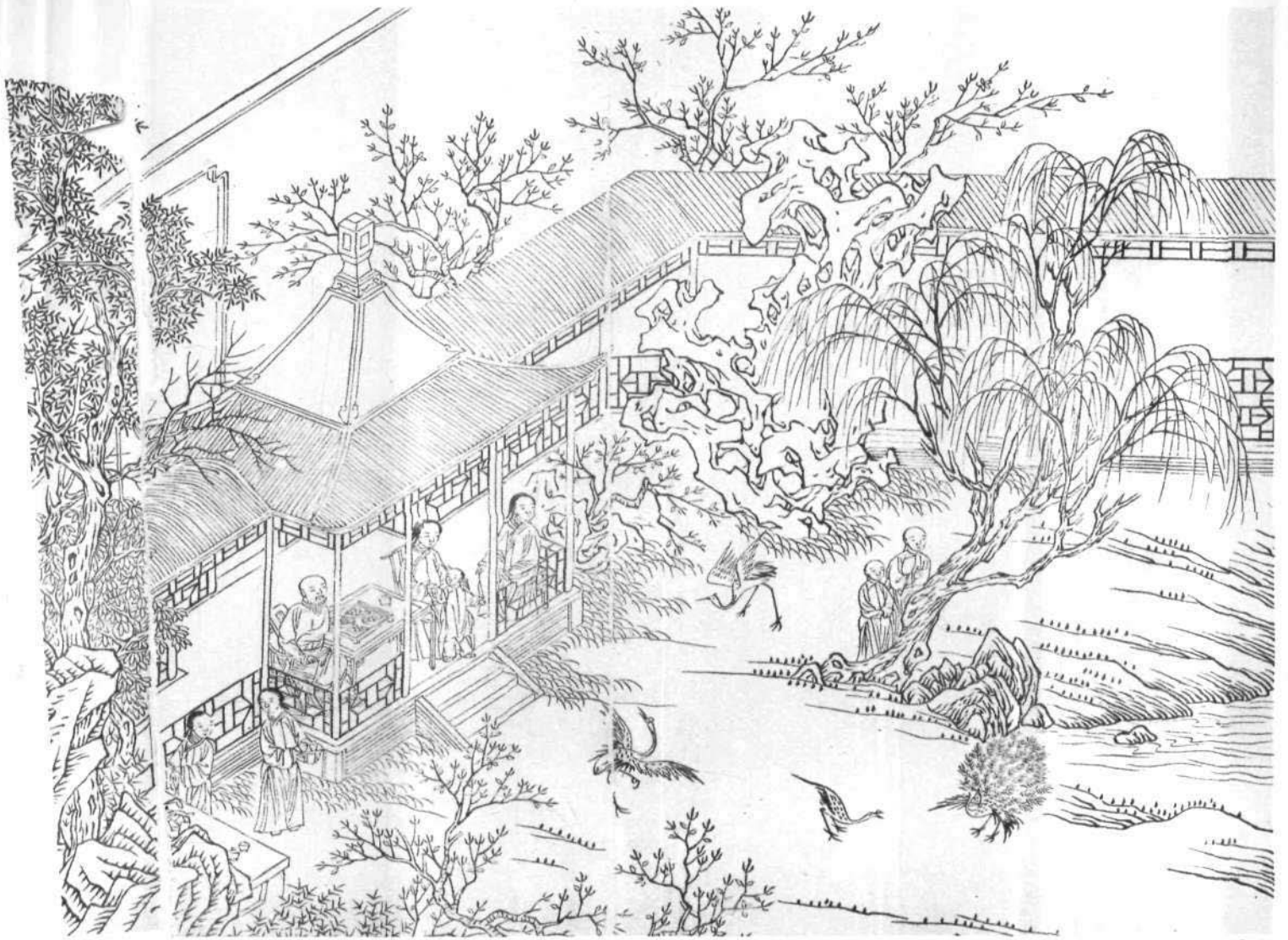


Photo in Sweden

Plate 98. I for Welcoming the Spring, Shang Ch'ing, in Ch'ing Yen Yüan, the garden of Lin Ch'ing in Chiang P'u. The family is assembled for a festival occasion and is regarding the dance of the pea and herons under the willow tree, which has not yet burst into leaf.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 99. The Howodo (Phoenix Pavilion) at Byodo-in, near Kyoto. It was originally built in the middle of the eleventh century as a summer villa for Fujiwara Yorimichi.



Photo by: Sweden

Plate 100. A part of the mossy park in Saihoji, a Zen monastery near Kyoto. The park was laid out in the middle of the fourteenth century and is still among the best preserved in Japan.

9894-



Printed in Sweden

Plate 101. The flowering lake in the park at Tenryuji, another Zen monastery in the vicinity of Kyoto.



Printed in Sui Jun

Plate 102. Kinkakuji (The Golden Pavilion) erected for Ashikaga Yoshimitsu at the end of the fourteenth century as a pavilion for study and meditation. It was transformed after his death into the temple Rokuonji.



Plate 103. Ginkakuji (The Silver Pavilion) erected in the middle of the fifteenth century for Ashikaga Yoshimasa as a hermitage, the place to which he resorted for meditation, tea ceremonies and other artistic occupations. There is a view out over the court and the terrace, both of which are covered with white sand.



Printed in Japan

Plate 104. The Silver Pavilion, which is reflected in the water of its pond. According to the original plan, the roof was to have been covered with silver plating, but this was never carried out.

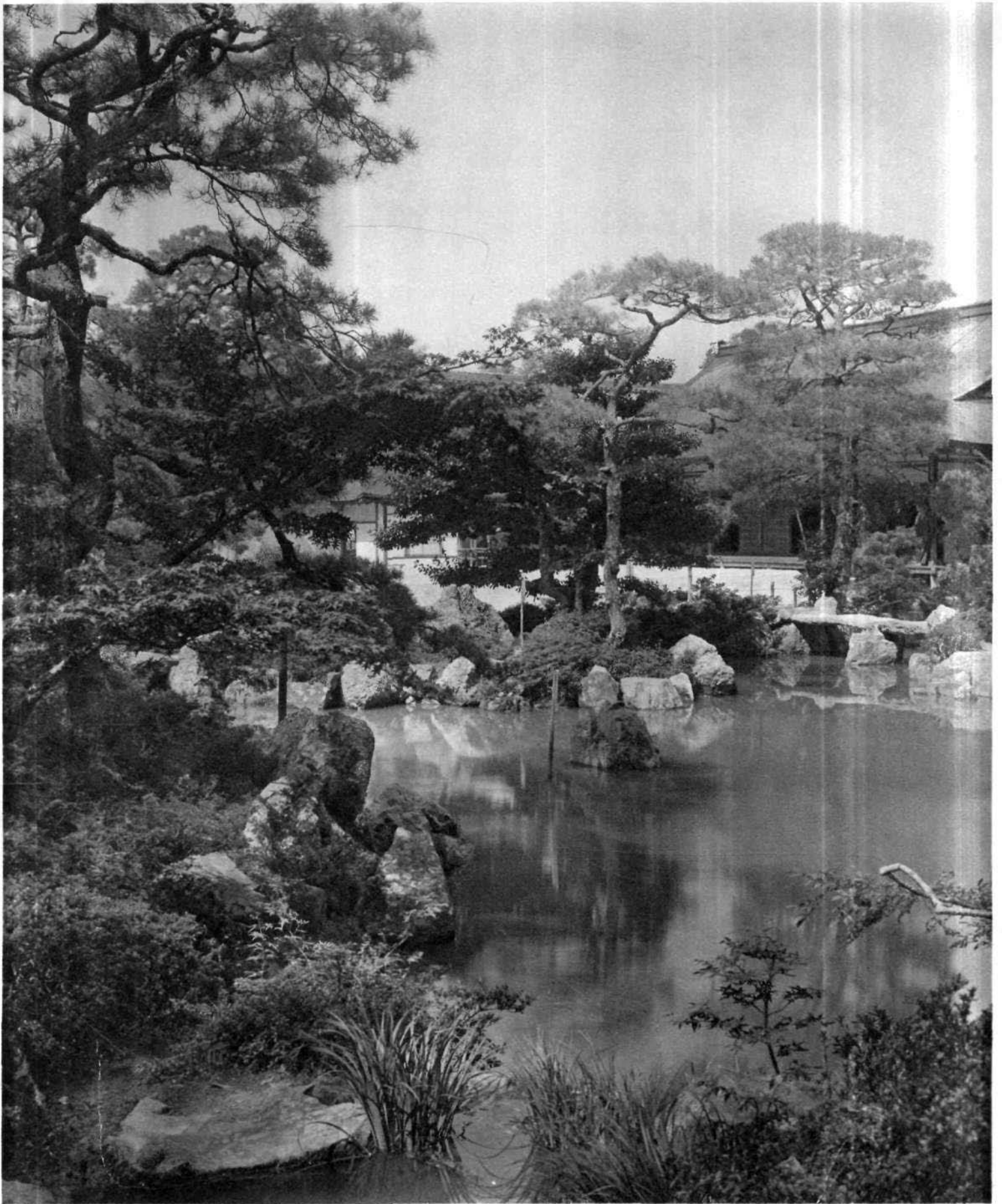
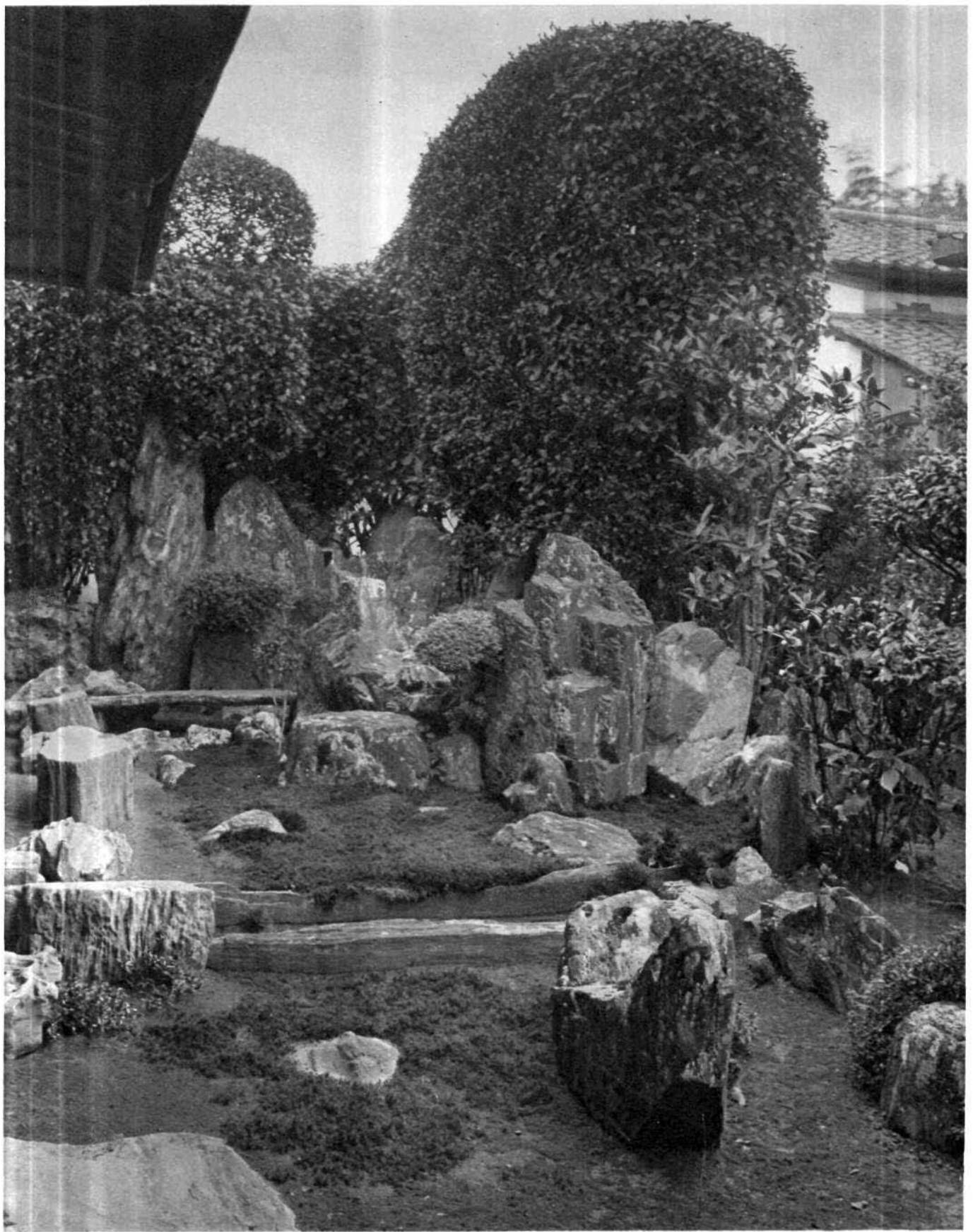
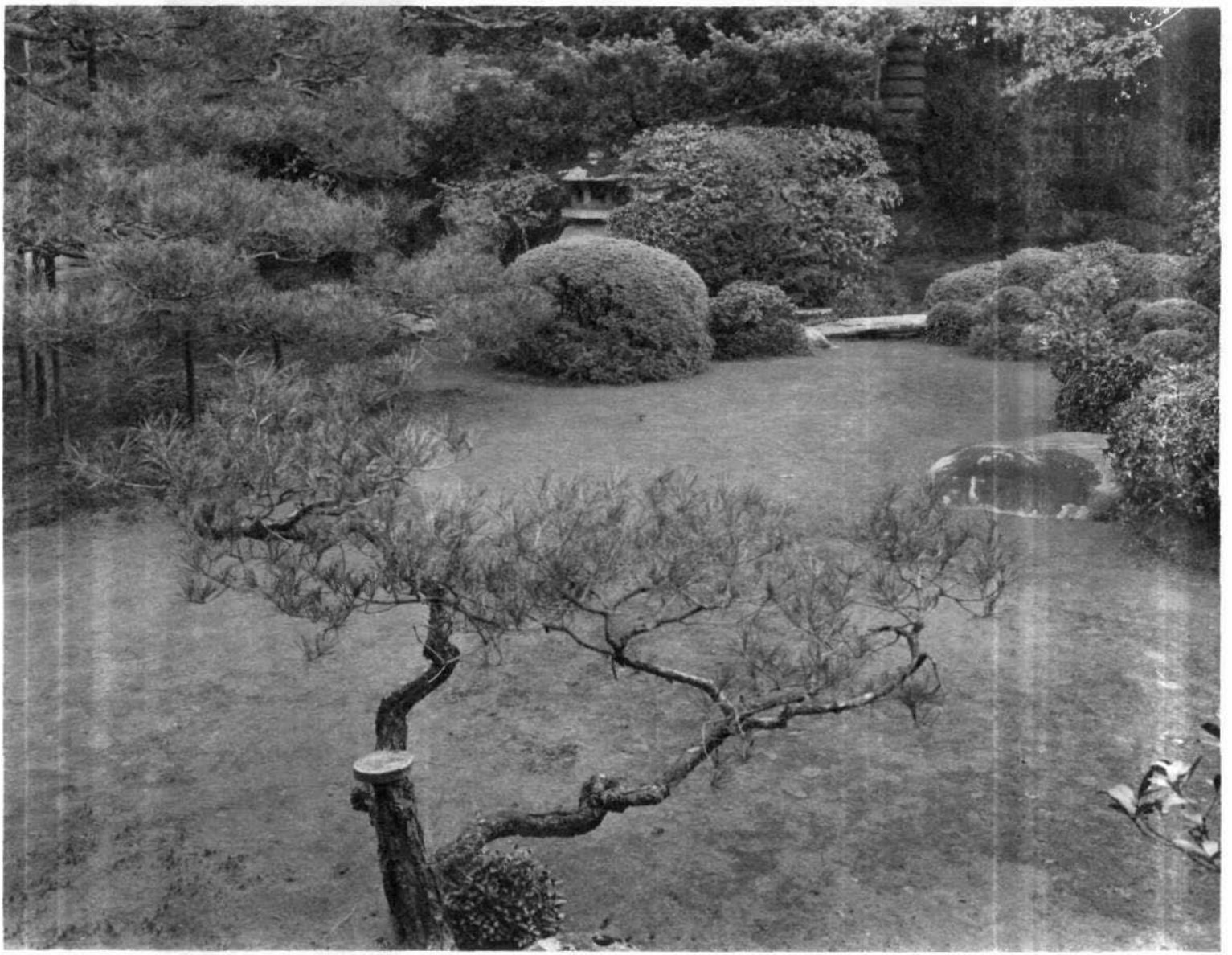


Plate 105. The garden of Ginkakuji: The winding water widens to a lake, which has deep inlets and numerous islets and skerries.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 106. Part of the garden in Daisen-in within the precincts of Daitokuji, Kyoto:
A dry river landscape with a boat in the foreground.



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Plate 107. A so-called Kara san-sui, or dry landscape garden, representing water and rocks. The view from the hall for meditation in a Zen monastery in Kyoto.



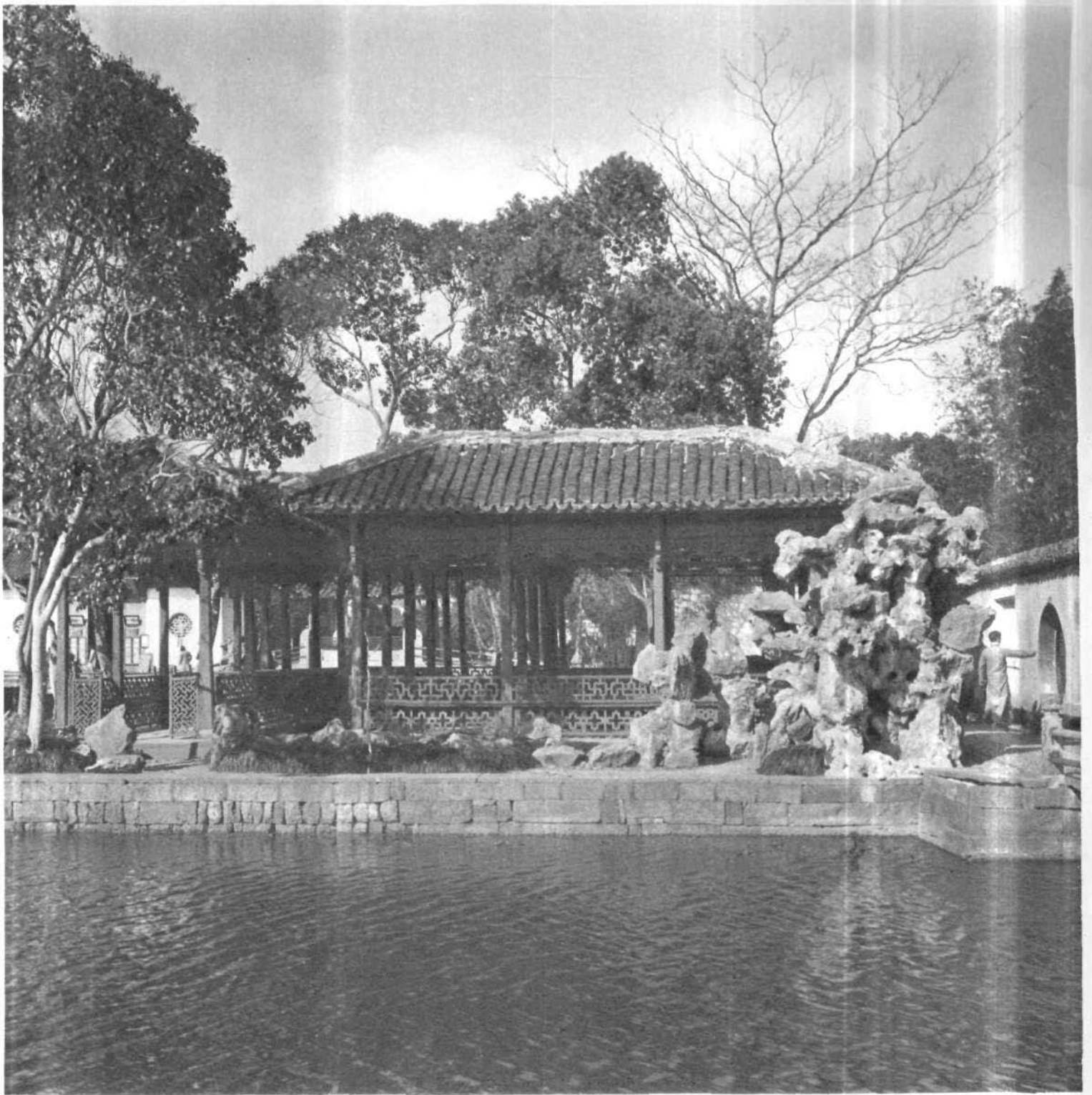
Photo by Sveden

Plate 108. An inlet of the small lake in the Sambo-in park at Daigoji. (Photograph taken in 1922 before devastation of the spot by a typhoon). The park was laid out at the end of the sixteenth century for Toyotomi Hideyoshi.



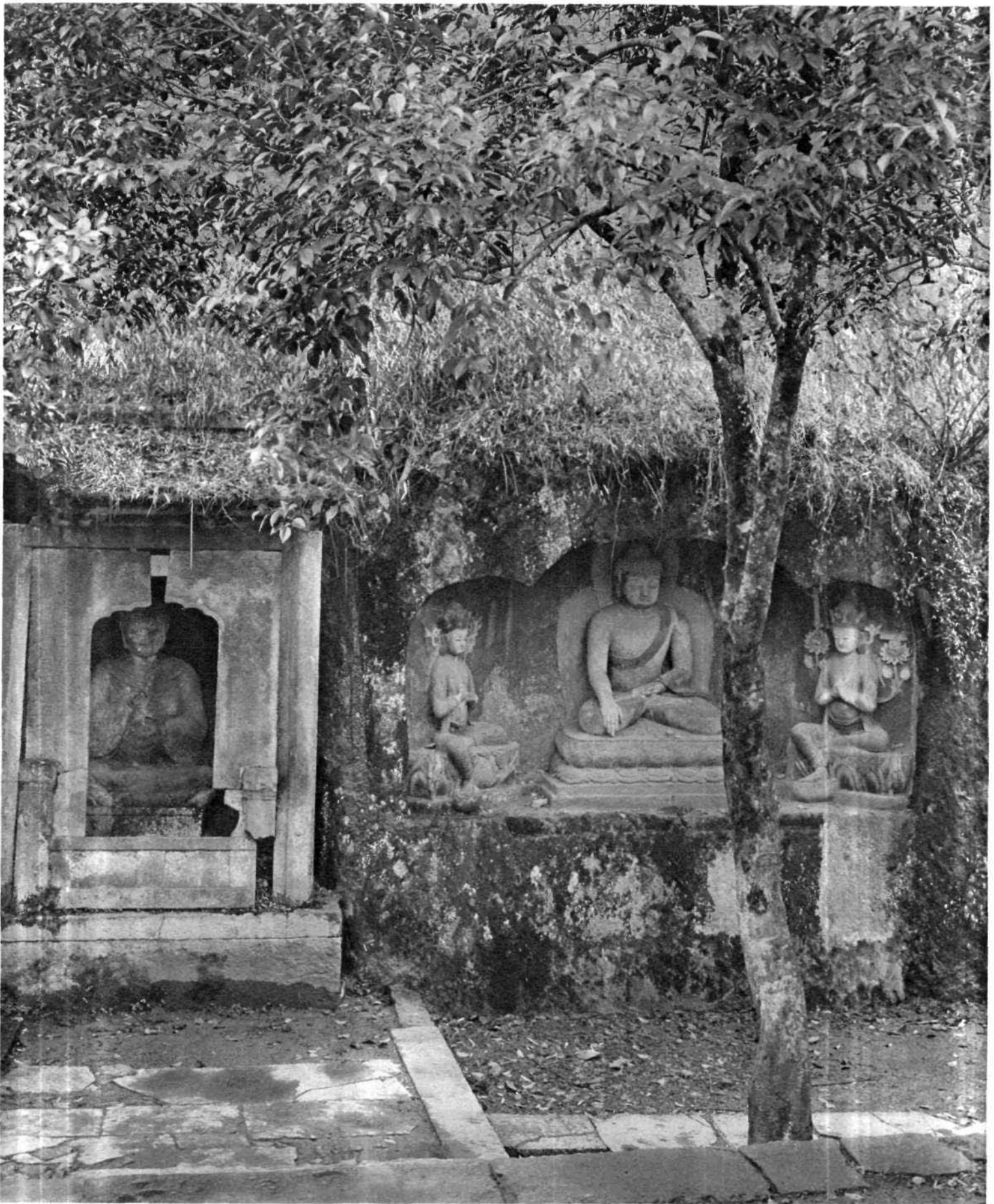
Photo by Swedon

Plate 109. An islet in the West Lake in Hangchou, where the early spring has not yet lured the trees into leaf.



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Plate 110. The garden attached to the former library Wên Lan Ko in Hsi Hu, the West Lake, Hangchou.



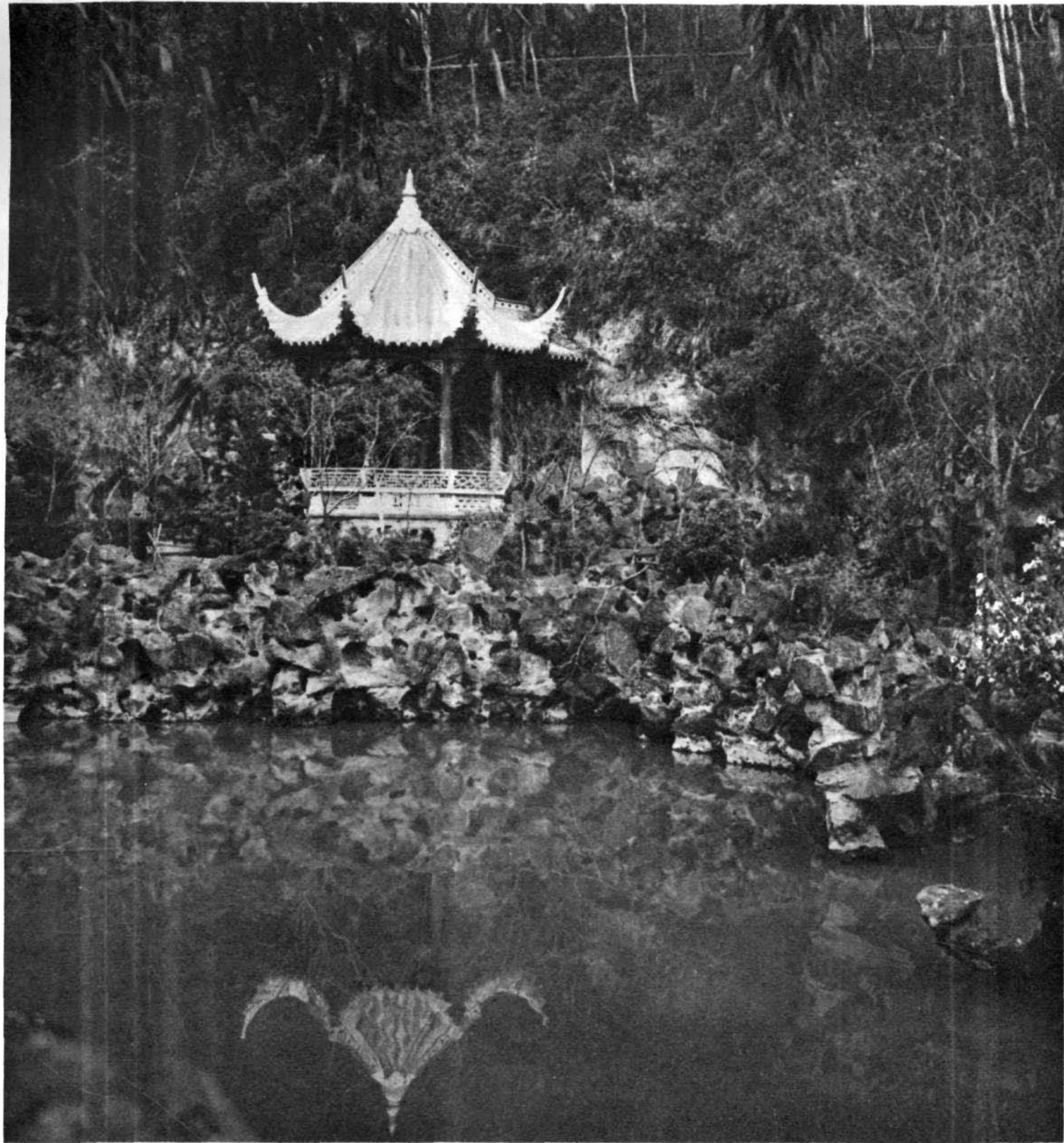
Photograph by S. S. Liu

Plate III. Buddhistic statues chiselled in the wall of the mountain at Ling Ying Ssu, Hangzhou.



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Plate 112. Upper picture: Pavilion crowning a ravine. Lower picture: A bamboo grove at Ling Ying Ssü, Hangchou.



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Plate 113. Pavilion in the park of Huang Lung Ssü (The Temple of the Yellow Dragon) in Hangchou.



Plate 114. Suzhou, Cho Chêng Yüan. The entrance with the old wisteria, which is considered to date from the sixteenth century.



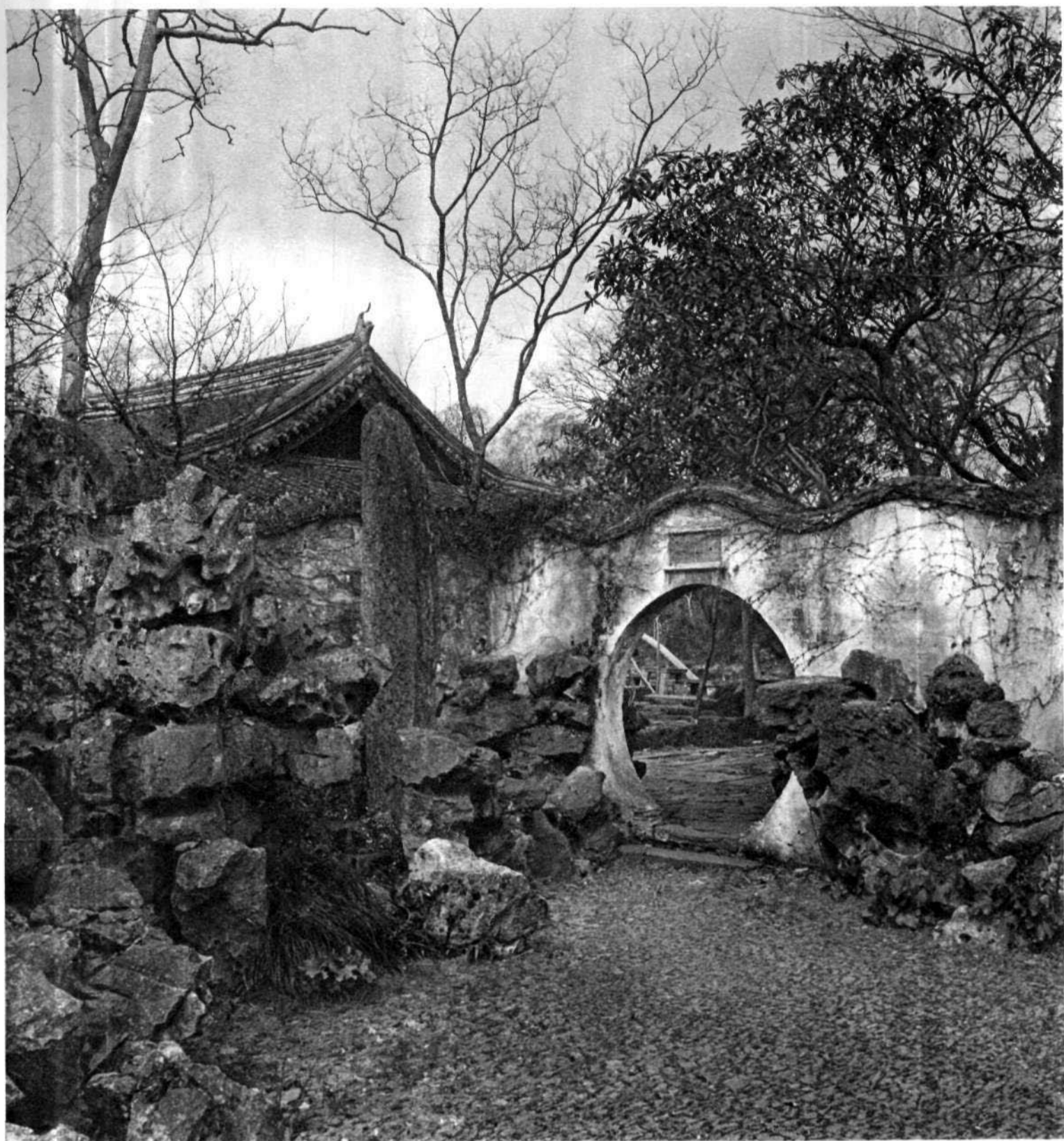
Printed in Sweden

Plate 115. Suchou, Shih Tzū Lin (The Lion Grove). The central pond and the artificial mountain.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 116. Suchou, Liu Yüan. The little lake, with its promontories and islets, forms the central motif of the composition. The shores are built up of rustic stone blocks, in places appearing against a background of white walls and in others forming a support for the ancient trees leaning over the water.



Printed in Japan

Plate 117. Suchou, Cho Chêng Yüan. The moon gate in the undulating garden wall.



Plate 118. Suzhou, Cho Chêng Yüan. The long zigzag bridge, leading over a former pond, in which luxuriant vegetation now acts as substitute for the water.

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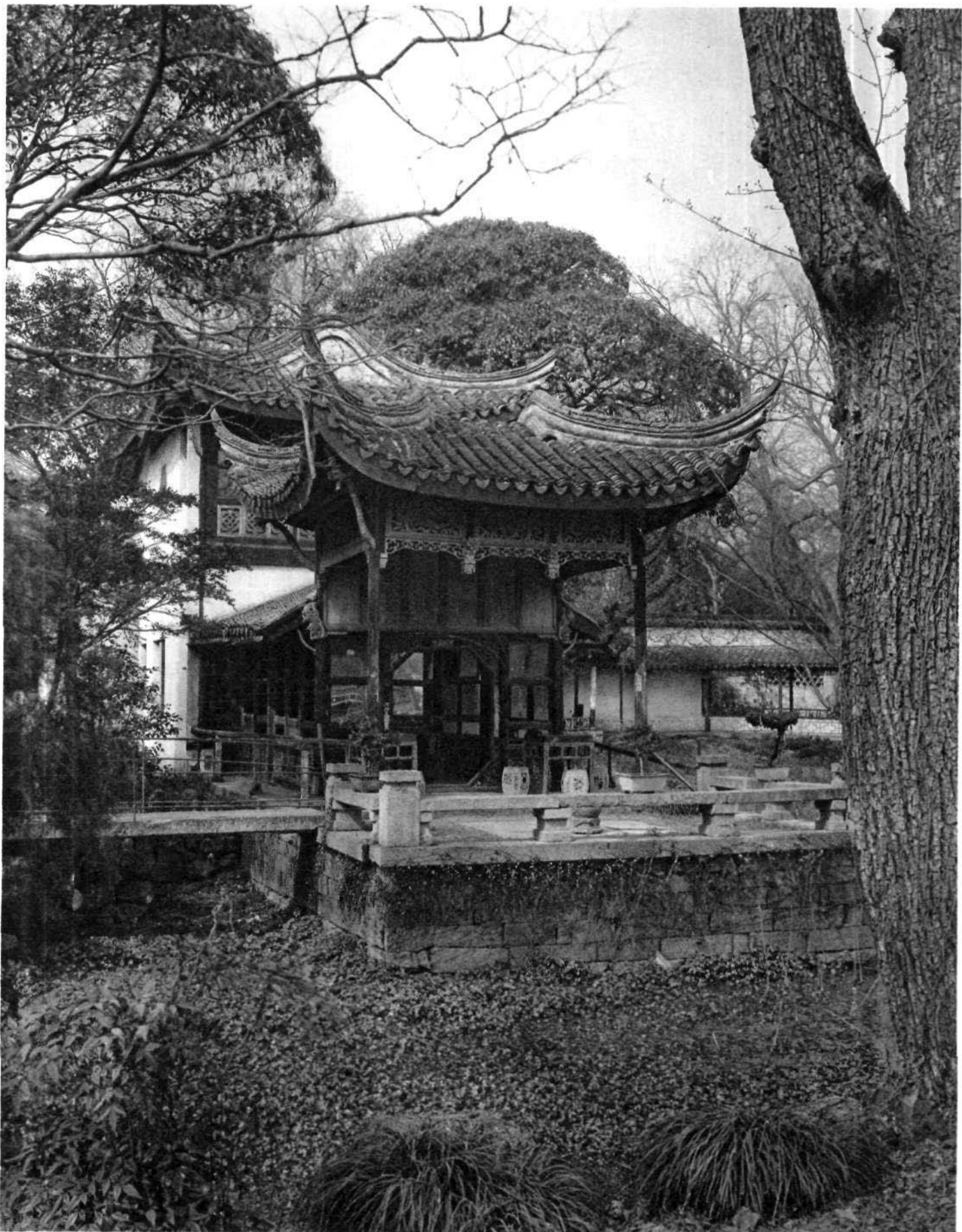
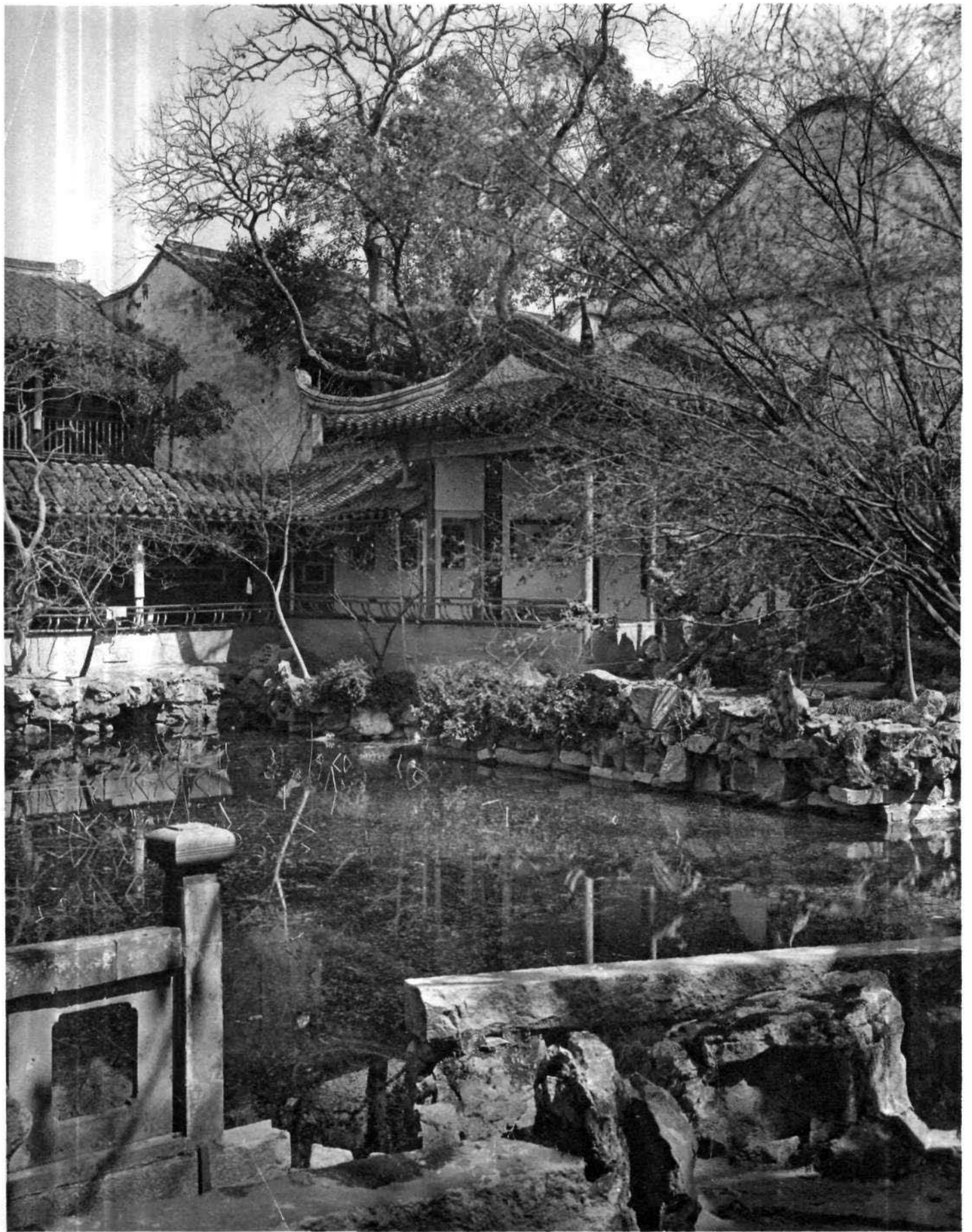


Plate 119. Suchou, Cho Chêng Yüan. Pavilion on a terrace beside the dried up pond.

Printed in Sweden



Printed in Sweden.

Plate 120. Suchou, Wang Shih Yüan: A garden of very limited dimensions, but impressive by its mysterious depth when the trees are in leaf.



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Plate 121. Suchou, Wang Shih Yüan. The little lake which forms the central motif is surrounded on three sides by buildings whose open galleries rise and fall, or wind in curves, to follow the modelling of the shore.

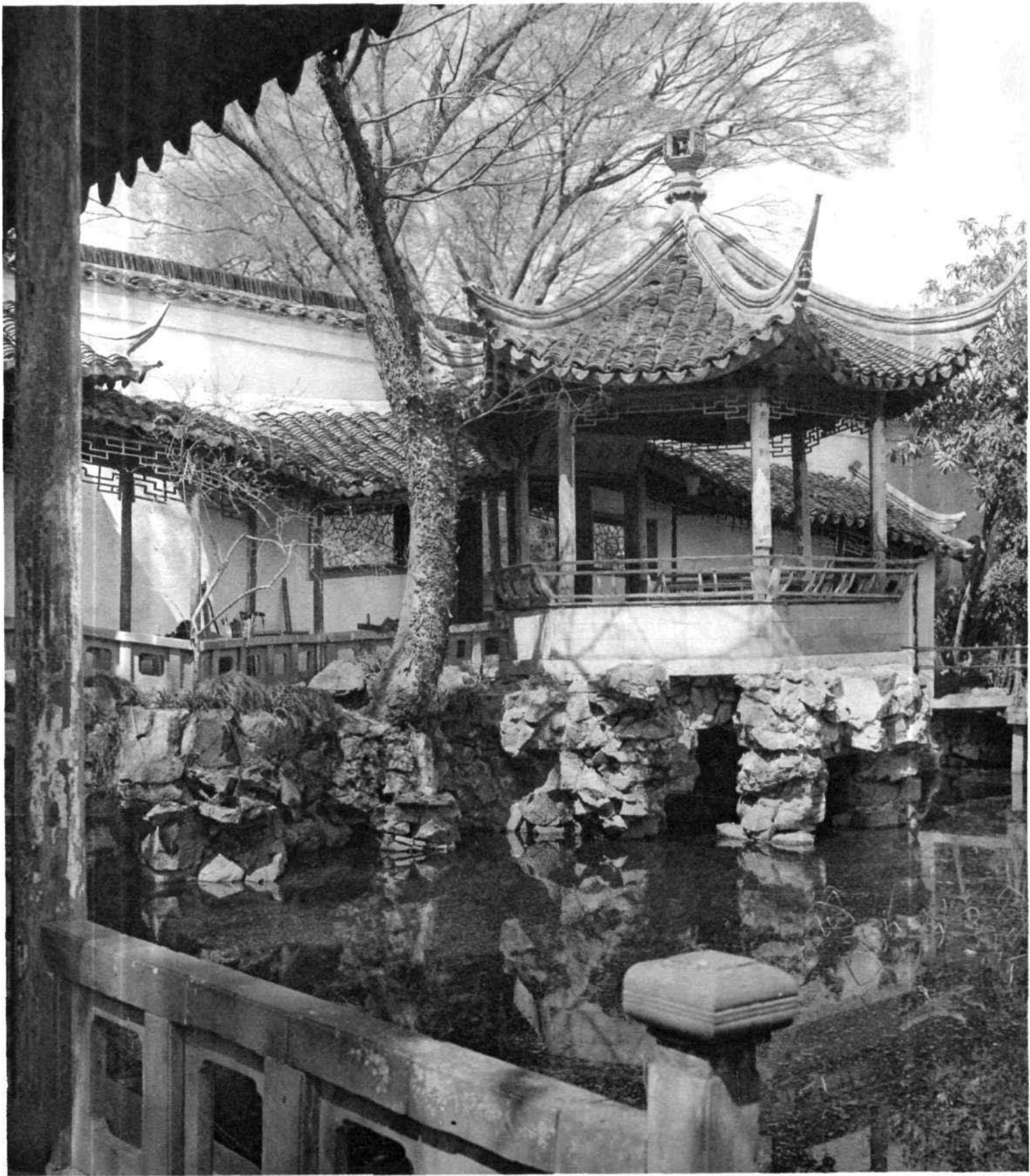
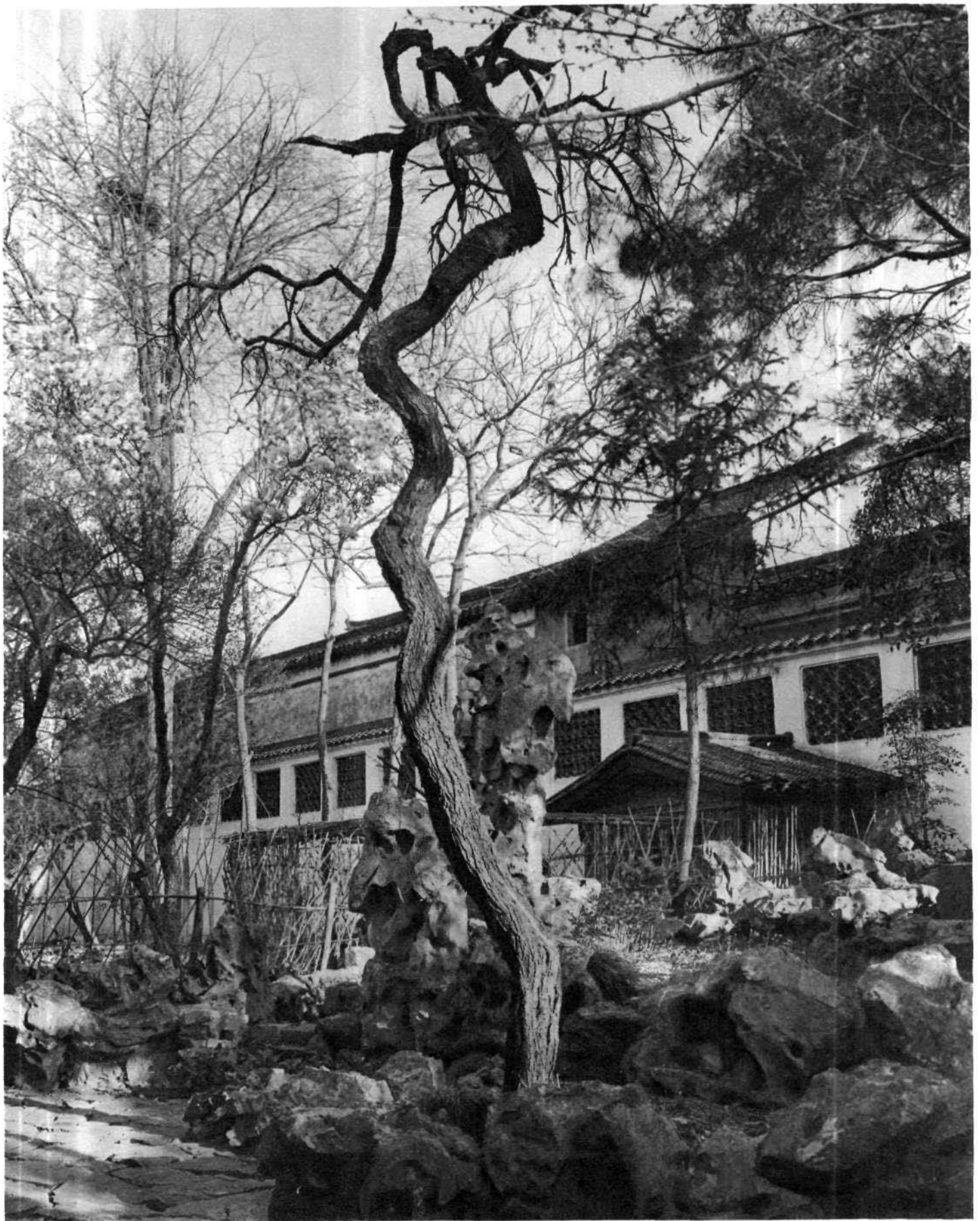


Plate 122. Suchou, Wang Shih Yüan. The tea pavilion, built on stone piles over the water.



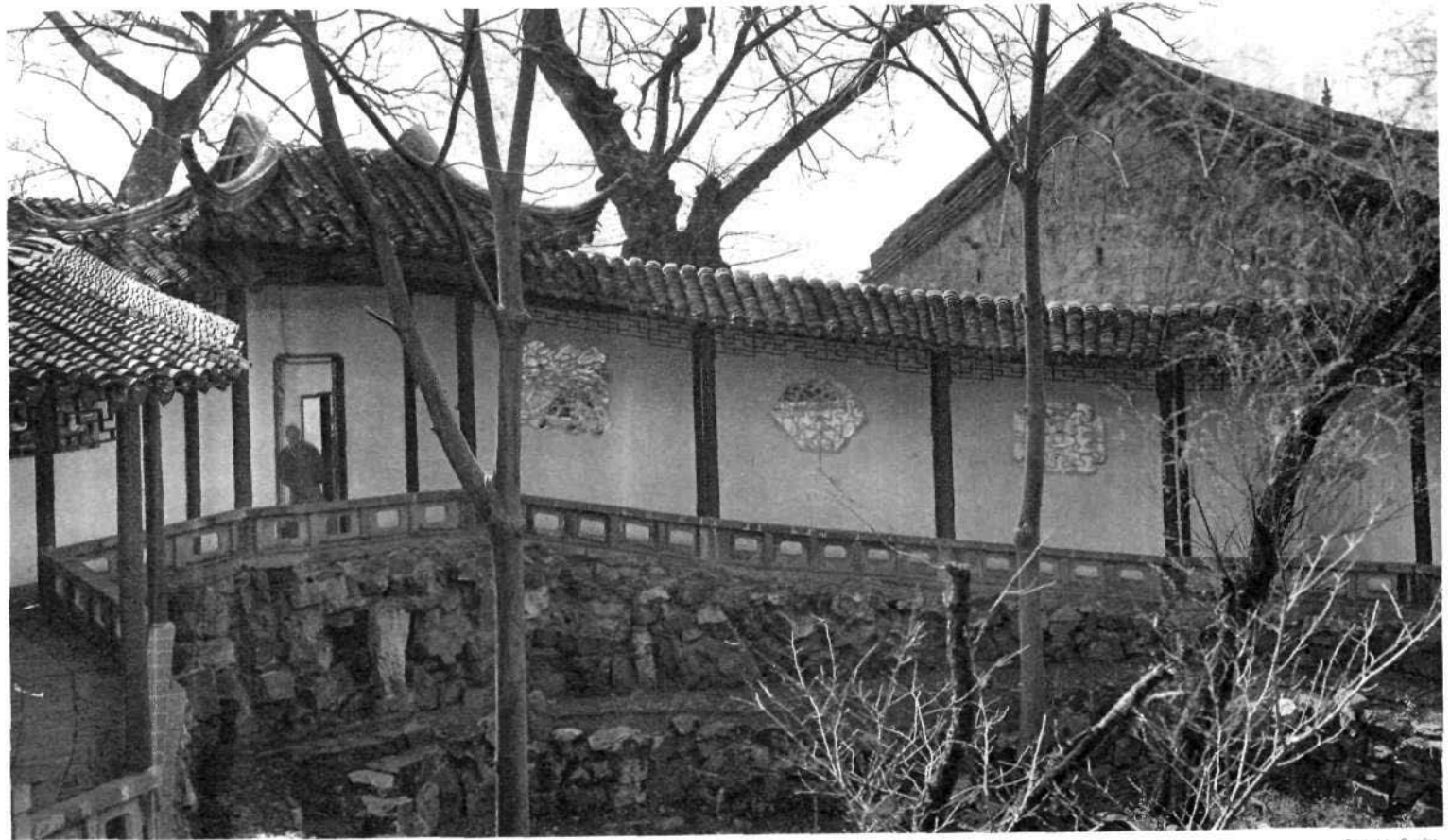
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Plate 123. Suchou, Ku Yüan or I Yüan (The Garden of Rest). A garden like this may give the impression of a bewildering conglomeration of strange stones and trees; it was intended to captivate by its exuberance and its surprises rather than by any clearly apparent design.



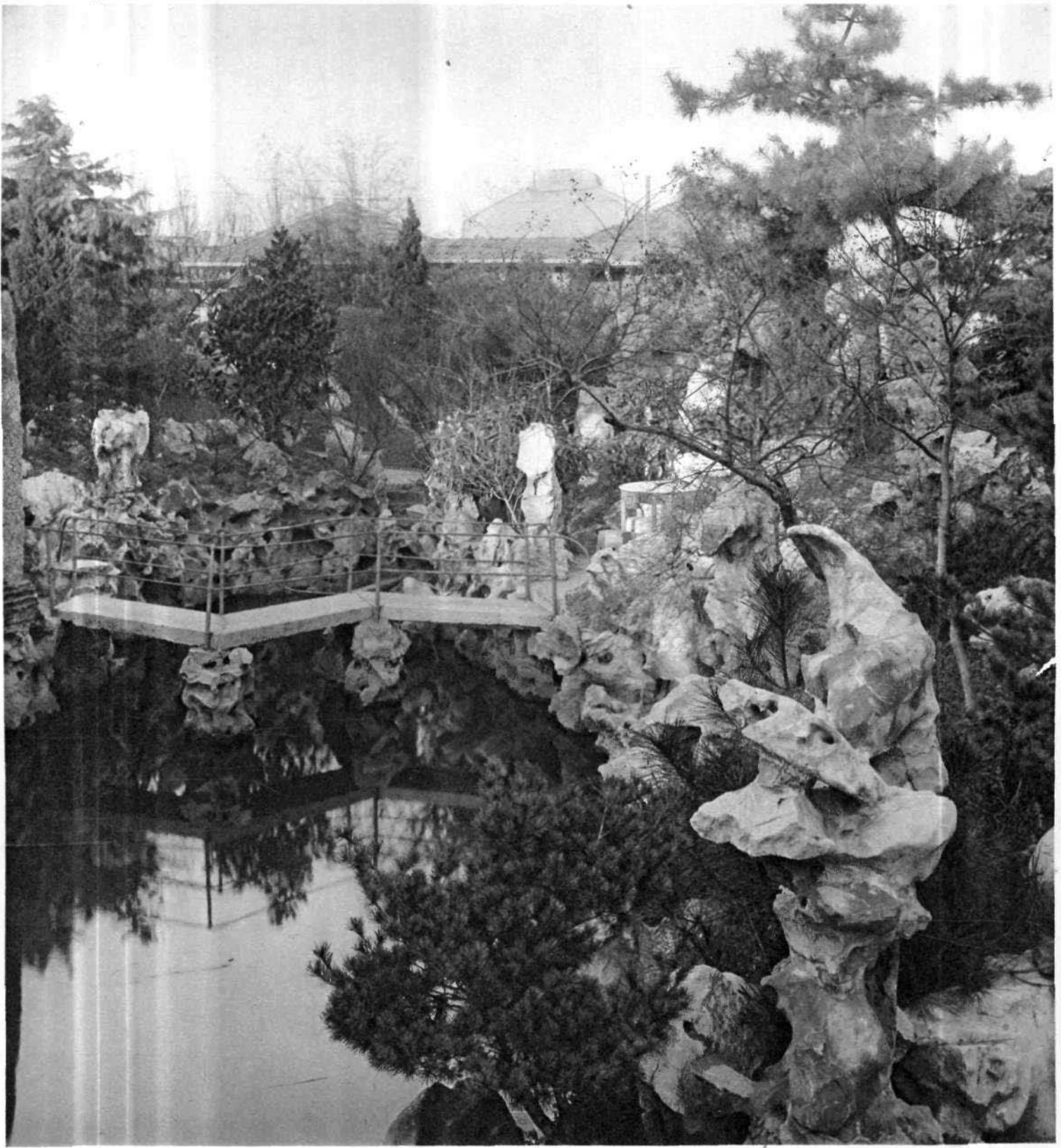
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Plate 124. Suchou, Ku Yüan or I Yüan. Part of the garden with the residential quarters in the background.



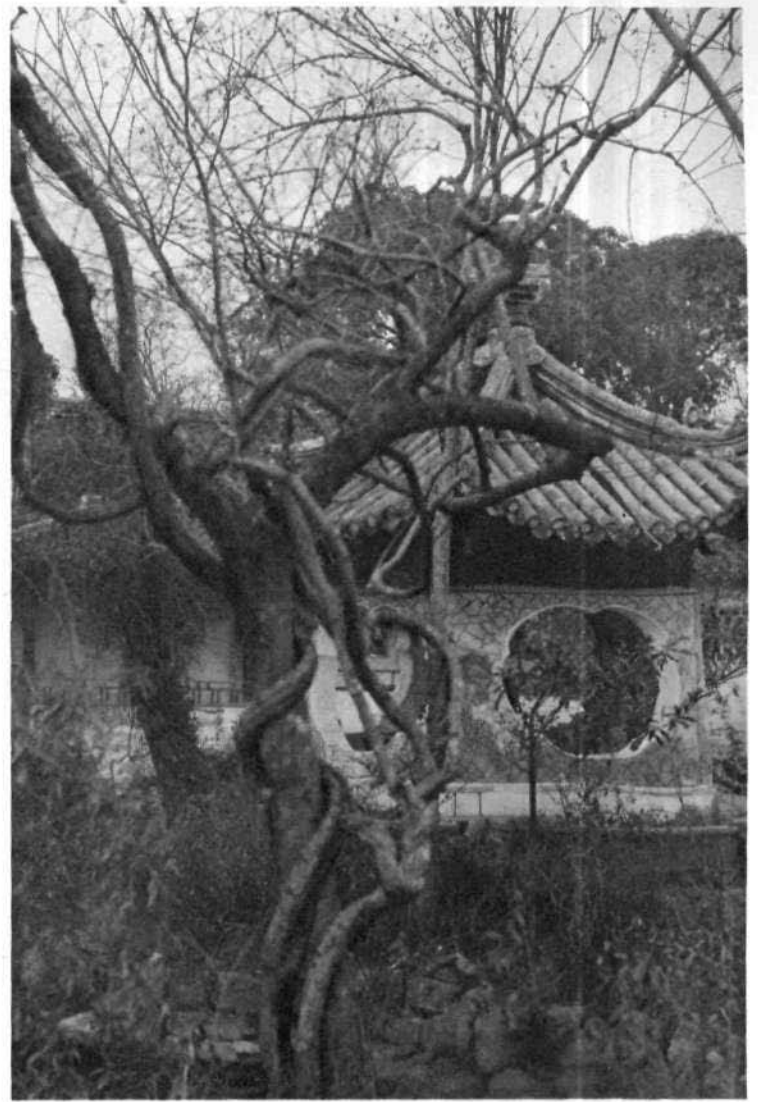
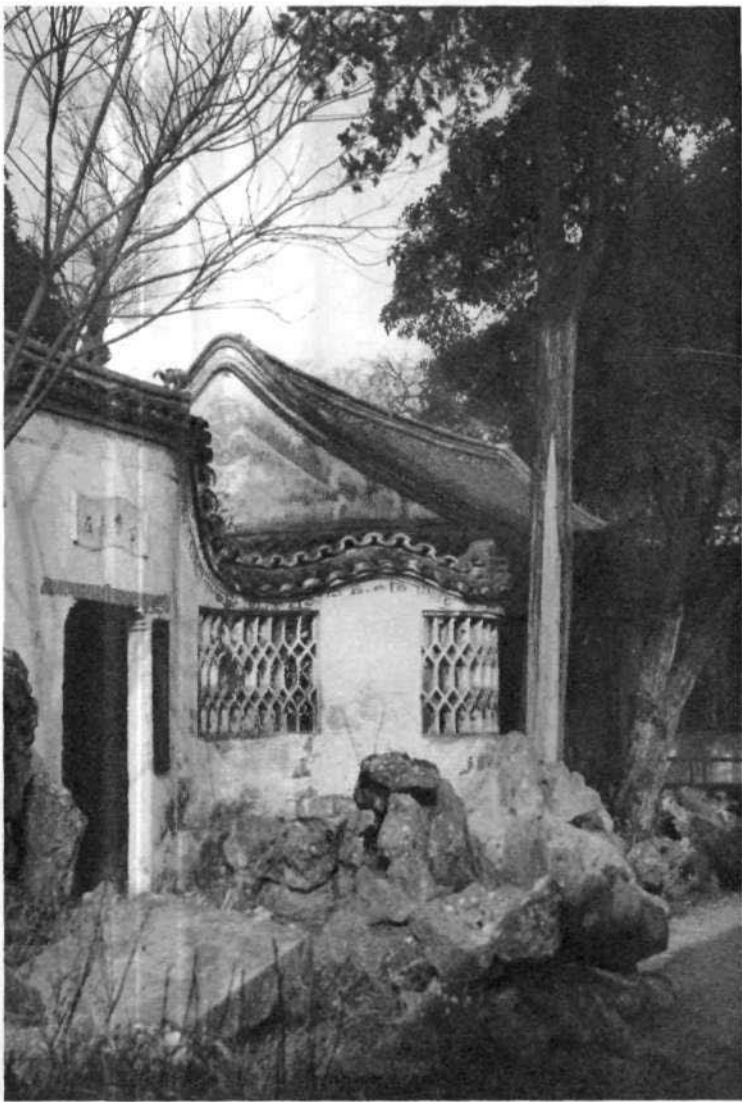
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Plate 125. Upper picture: The neglected garden attached to the Wang School for Girls in Suchou. Lower picture: Open gallery at Tsang Lang T'ing, now the Academy of Art in Suchou.



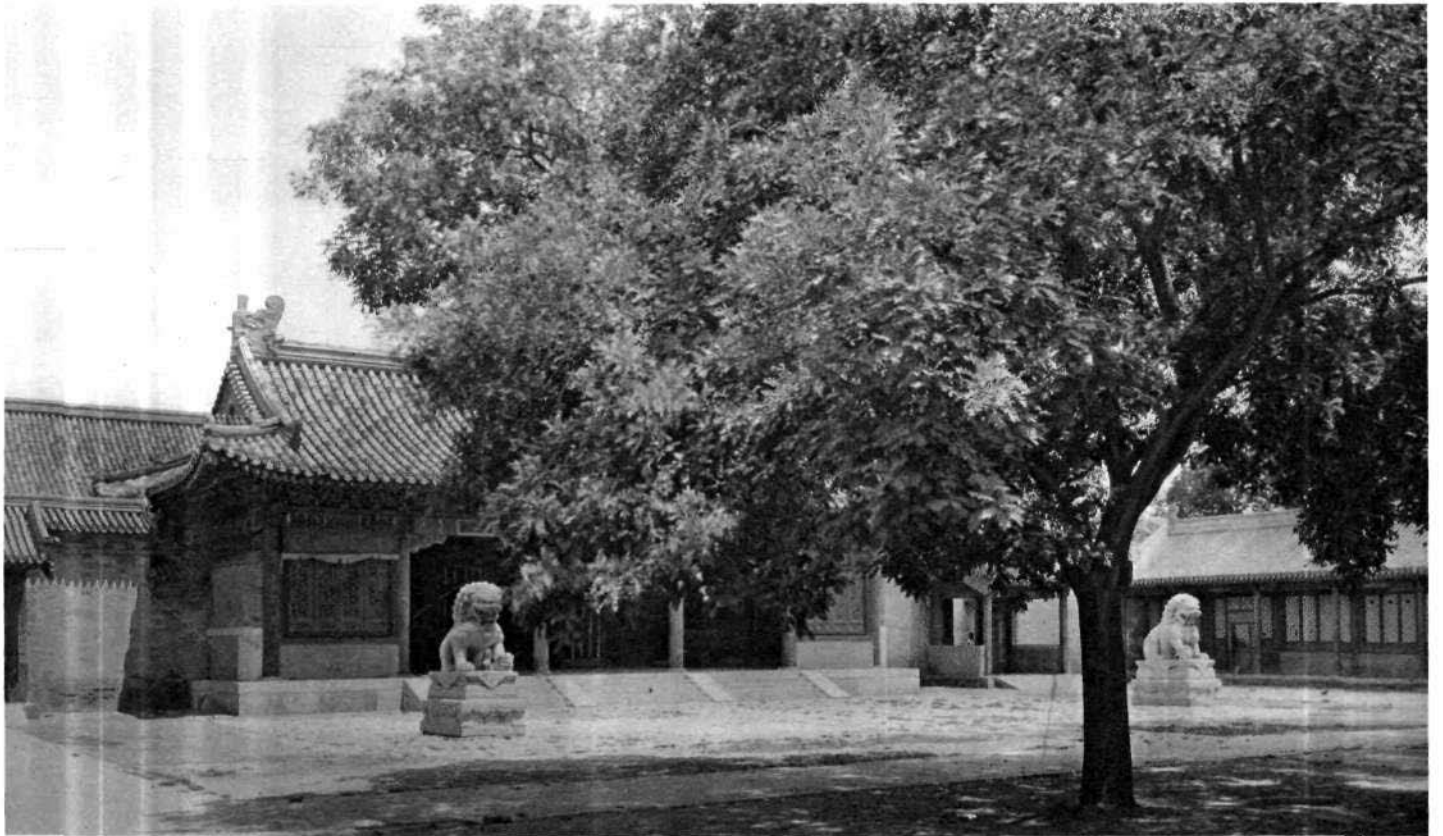
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Plate 126. Suchou, a modern garden. The crowding of the stones and their appearance in rows counteract the picturesque expressiveness of the whole.



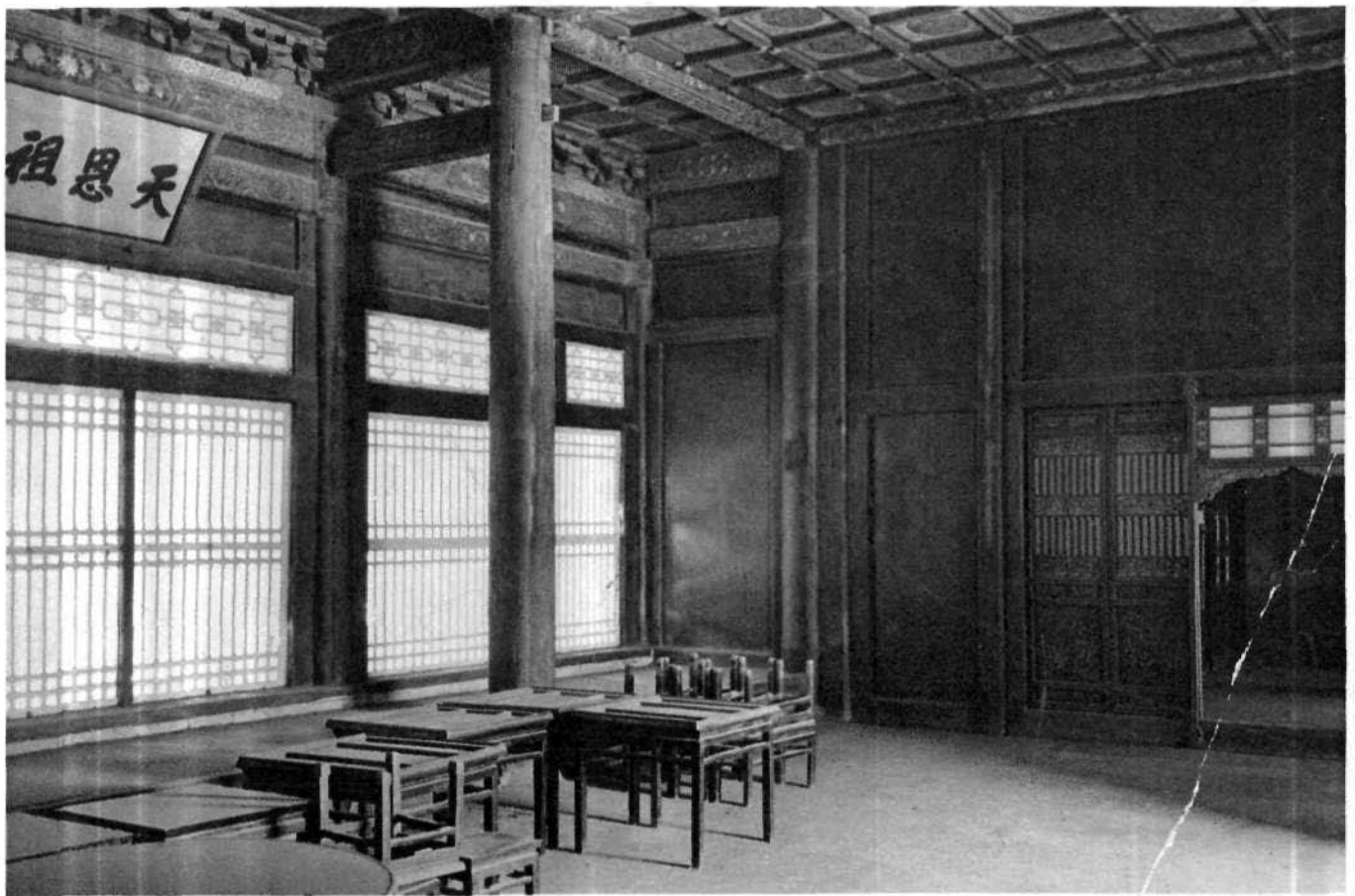
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Plate 127. Nanzhang. Picturesque walls and pavilions in Chi Yüan, with ancient trees and creeping plants (1922).



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Plate 128. Upper picture: The first court in Li Wang Fu, Peking.
Lower picture: The main gate and its guardian lions at Tao Pê La Fu, Peking.



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Plate 129. Upper picture: Ch'êng Wang Fu. Hsi Hsien Lou (The Loft of the Western Fairies), i. e. the theatre. Lower picture: Ch'êng Wang Fu. Interior of Yin An Tien (The Hall of Silver Peace).

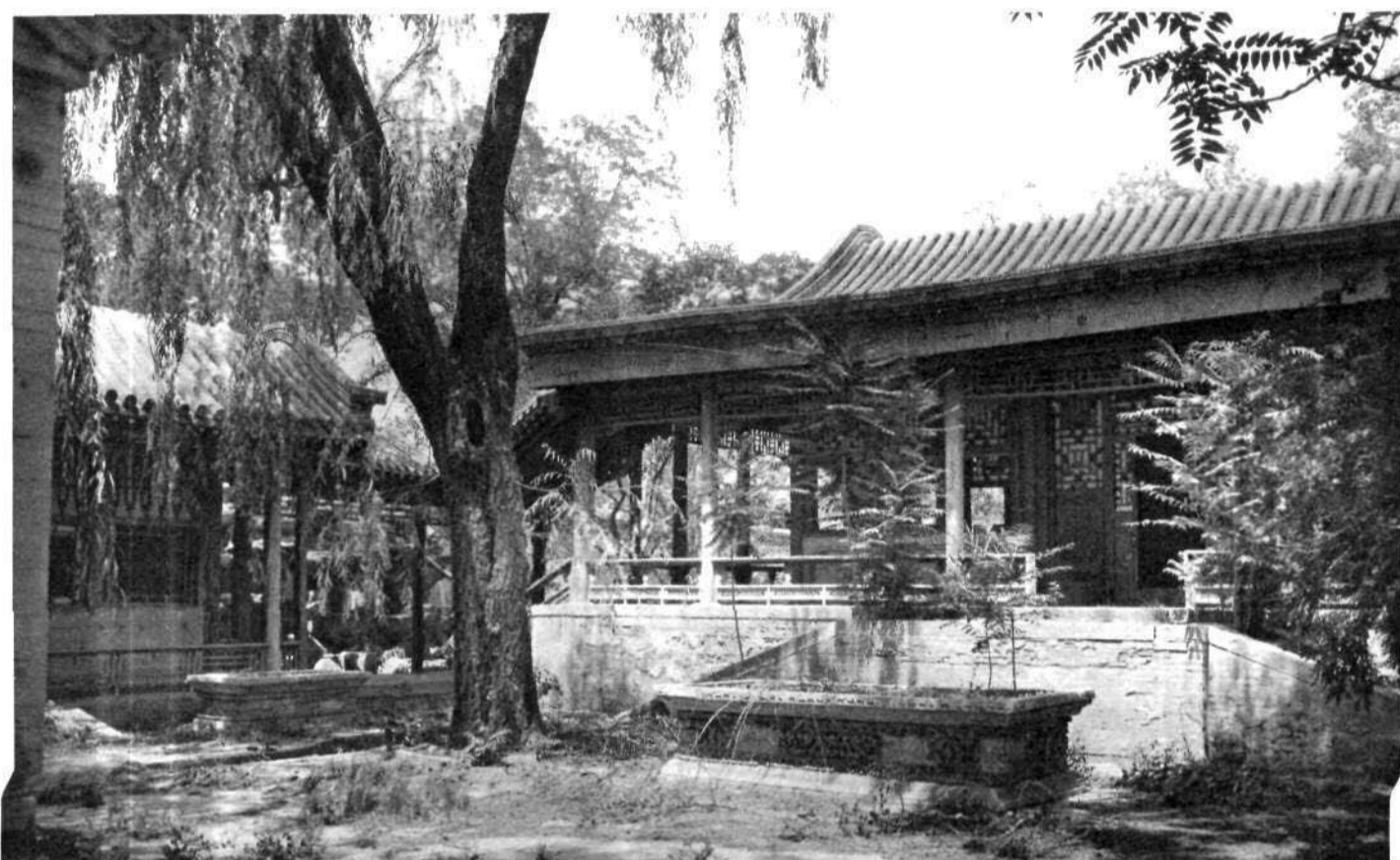


Plate 130. Ch'êng Wang Fu. Wei Shan Tsui Lao T'ang (The Hall of Greatest Happiness and Goodness).
Lower picture: Ch'êng Wang Fu. Lai Shêng Ko (Pavilion for Poetic Composition).



Printed in Sweden.

Plate 131. Upper picture: Ch'êng Wang Fu, K'ua Chiang T'ing (Pavilion Riding upon the Rainbow).
Lower picture: Ch'êng Wang Fu, Ch'ing Chên T'ing (The Pavilion of Great Brightness).



F. 131 in Sweden

Plate 132. Kung Wang Fu. An Shan T'ang (The Hall of Peaceful Goodness) in front of which is a pond in the shade of a willow tree.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 133. Kung Wang Fu, Ti Ts'ui Yen (The Gorge of Dripping Verdure) in which opens Pi Yün Tung (The Grotto of the Secret Clouds). The terrace upon the mountain was intended for the contemplation of the moon, and was called Yao Yüeh T'ai.

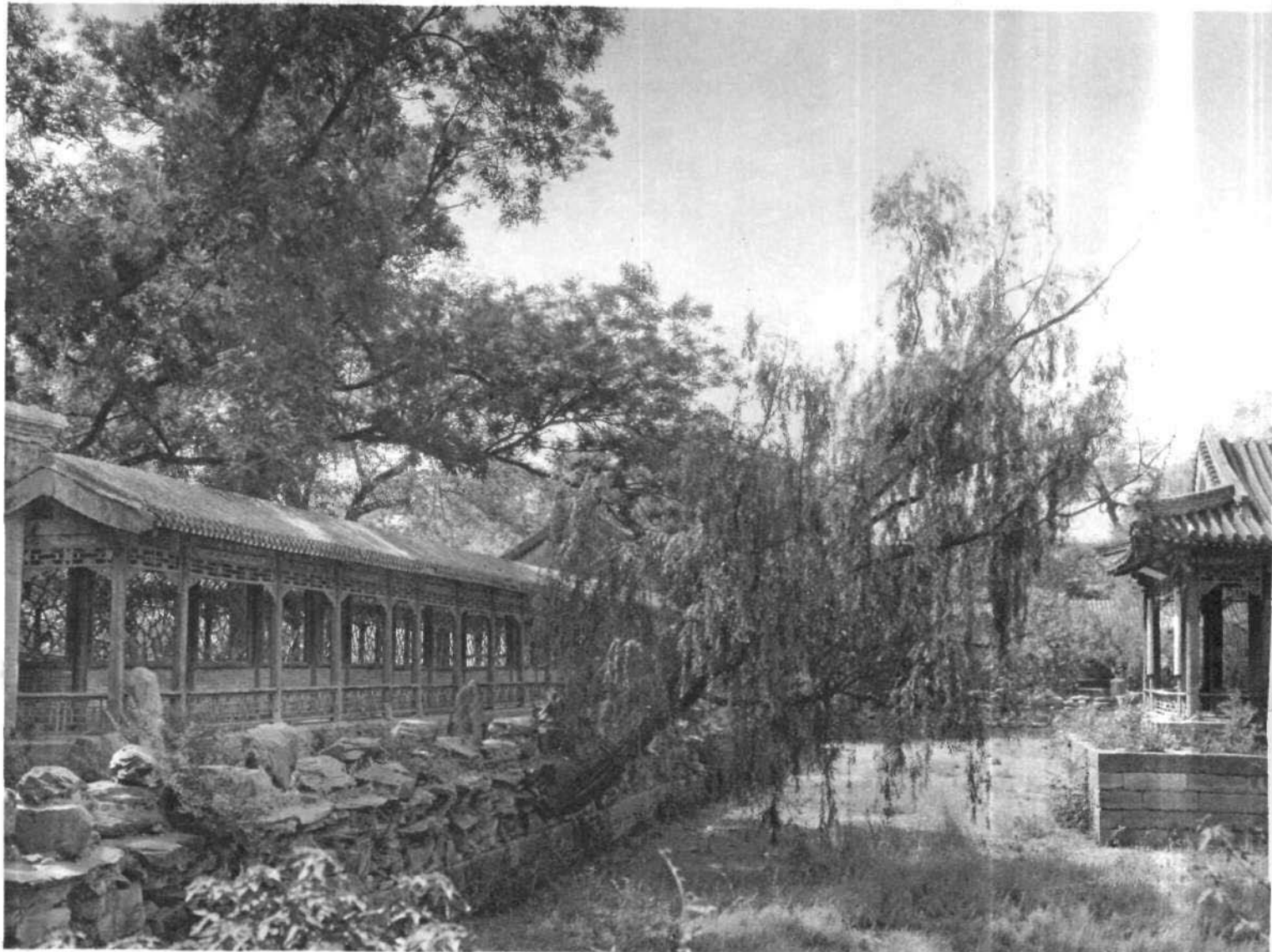
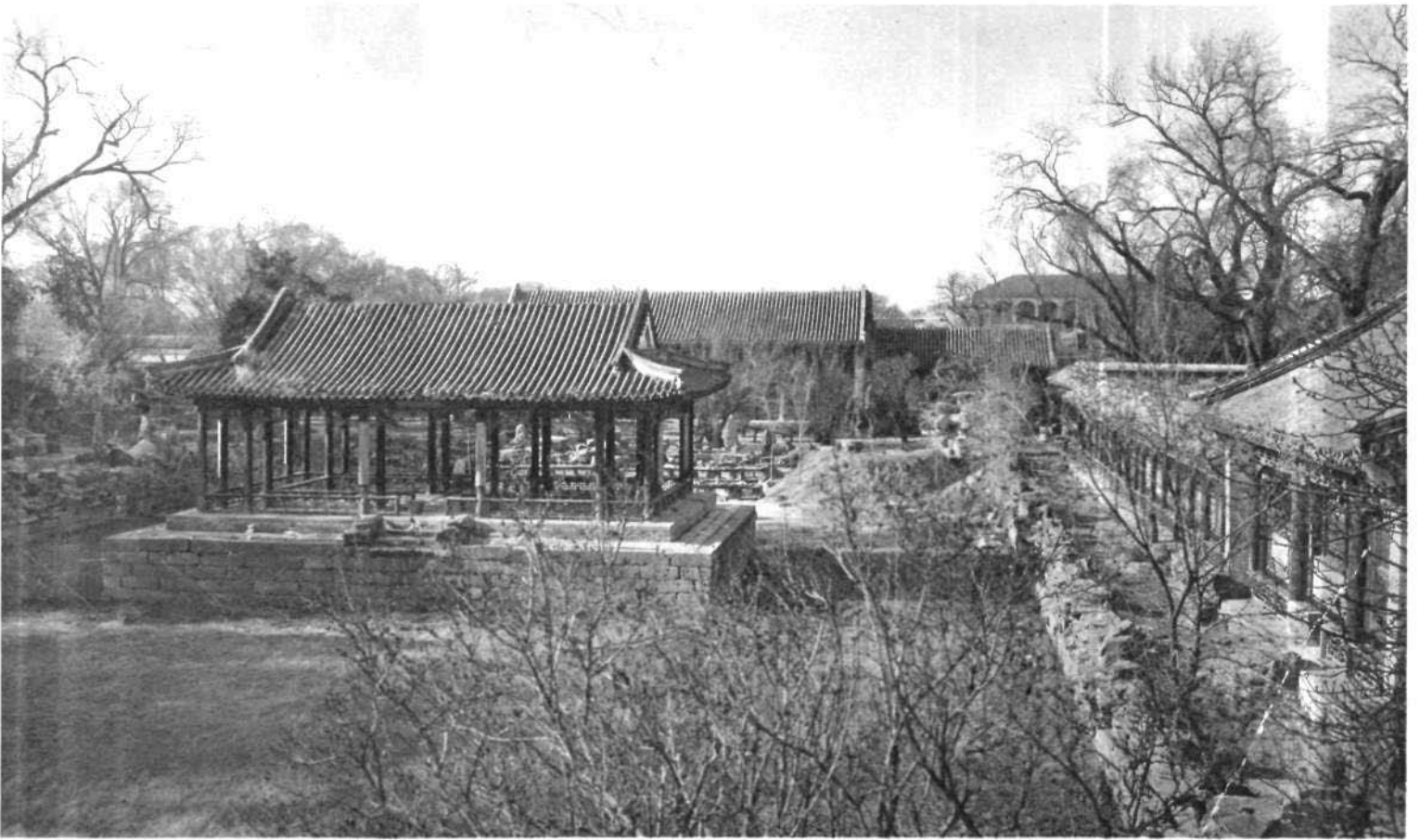
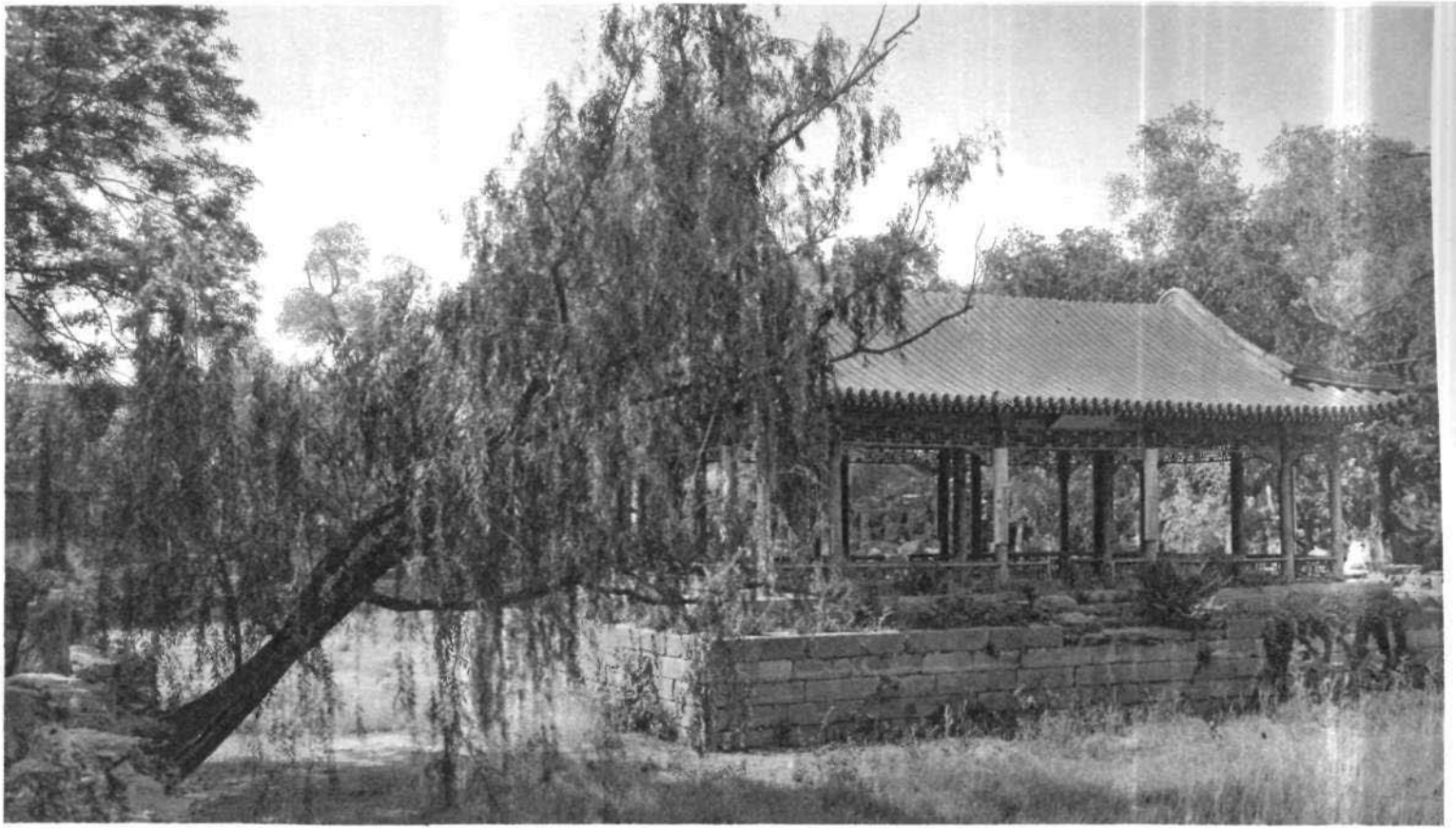


Plate 134. Kung Wang Fu. A section of the great pond and the shore gallery, Shih Hua Fang (The Boat of Poetry and Painting).

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Plate 135. Upper picture: Kung Wang Fu. Kuan Yü T'ai (Terrace for the Contemplation of Fishes).
Lower picture: Another picture of the same spot showing a garden in the back and the long gallery on the east side.



Printed in U.S.A.

Plate 136. Kung Wang Fu. A rockery at the entrance to the garden built in the shape of a gateway.



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Plate 137. Prince Pu-ju with his parrot. The last descendant of the family that lived in Kung Wang Fu.



Plate 138. Upper picture: Tao Pê La Fu. Rockery with a pavilion and galleries; in front of it a fountain. Lower picture: Tao Pê La Fu. Open pavilion and tall stones.

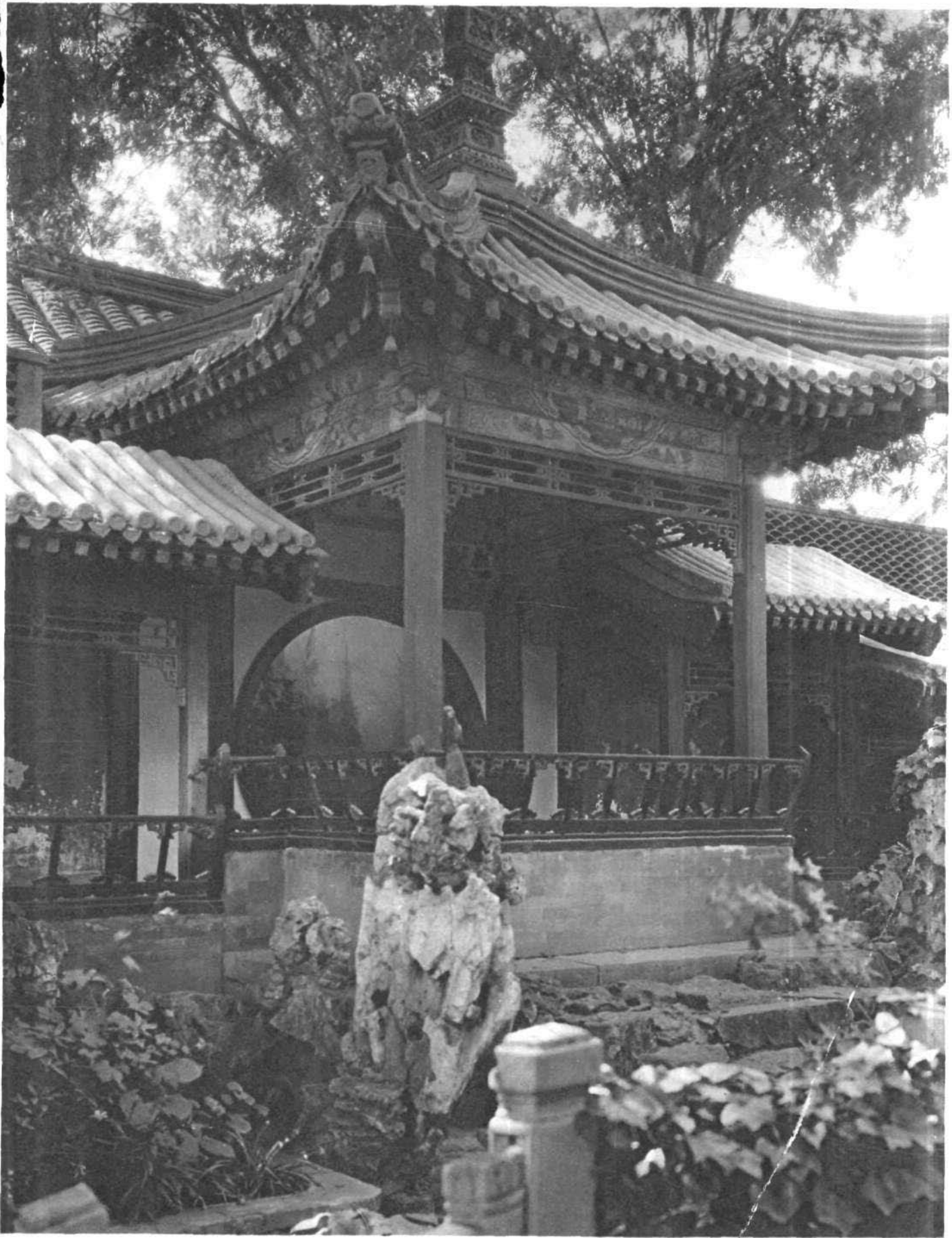


Plate 143. The pavilion-terrace in Mr. Cockell's former garden in Peking.

Printed in 1911



Plate 144. Part of the court in Mr. Cockell's former garden in Peking.

Printed in Sweden

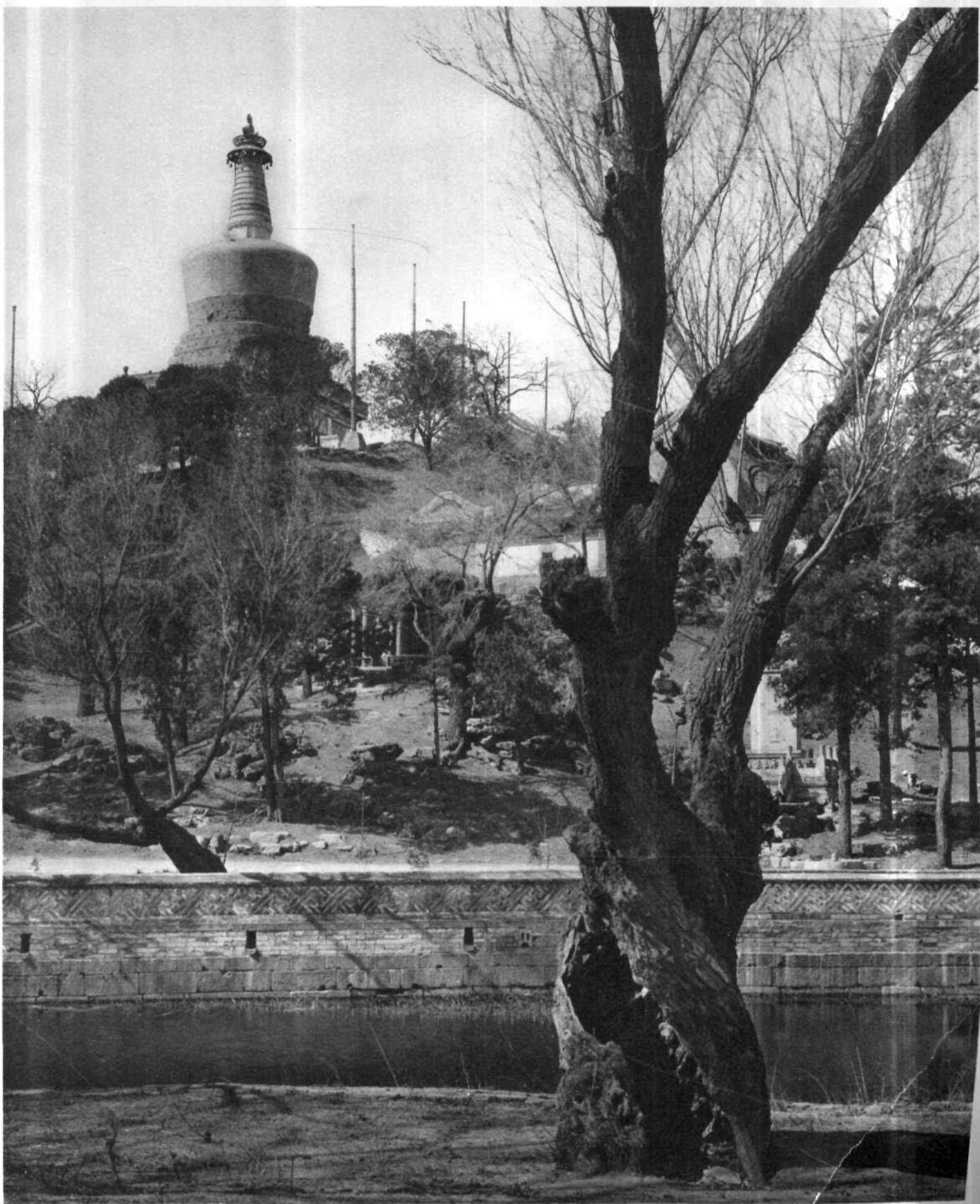
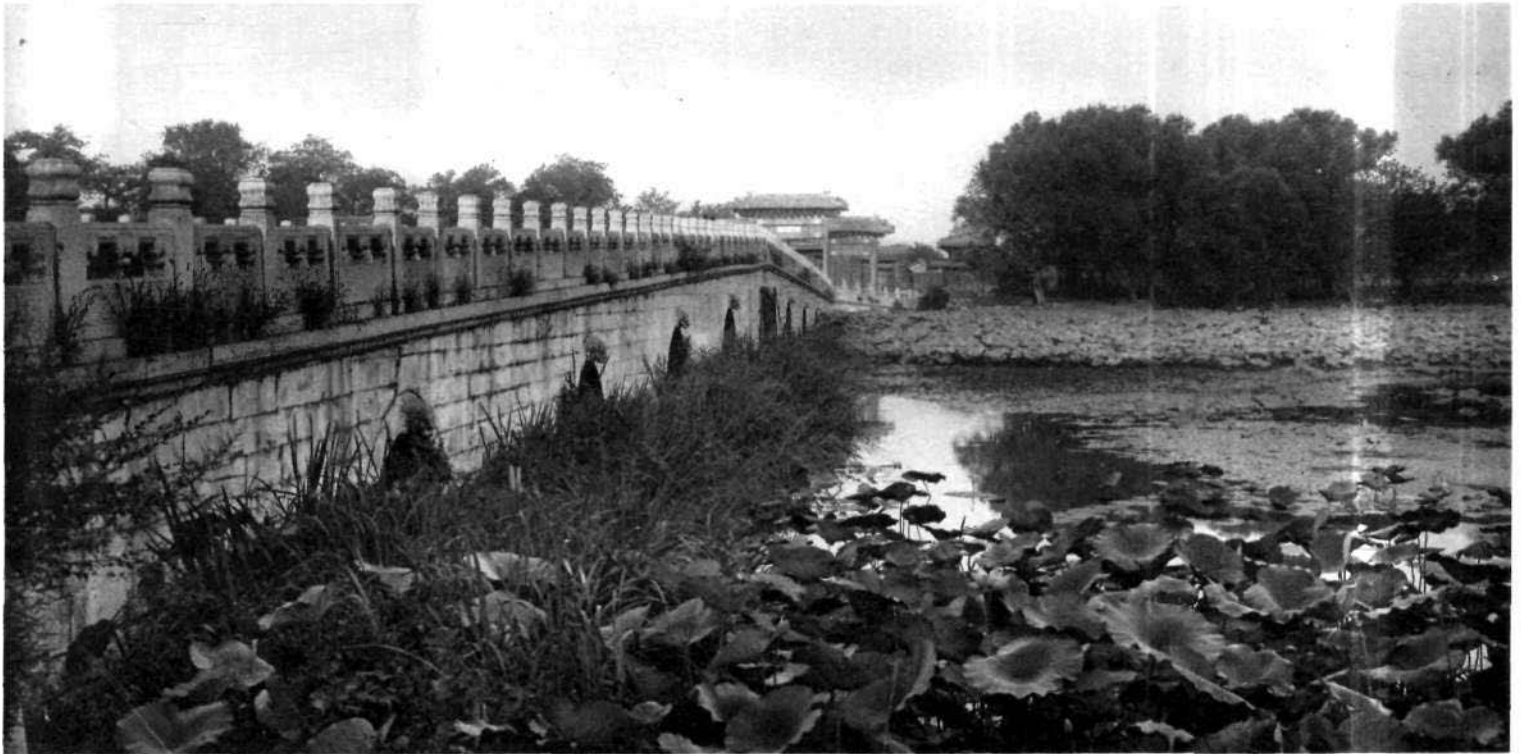
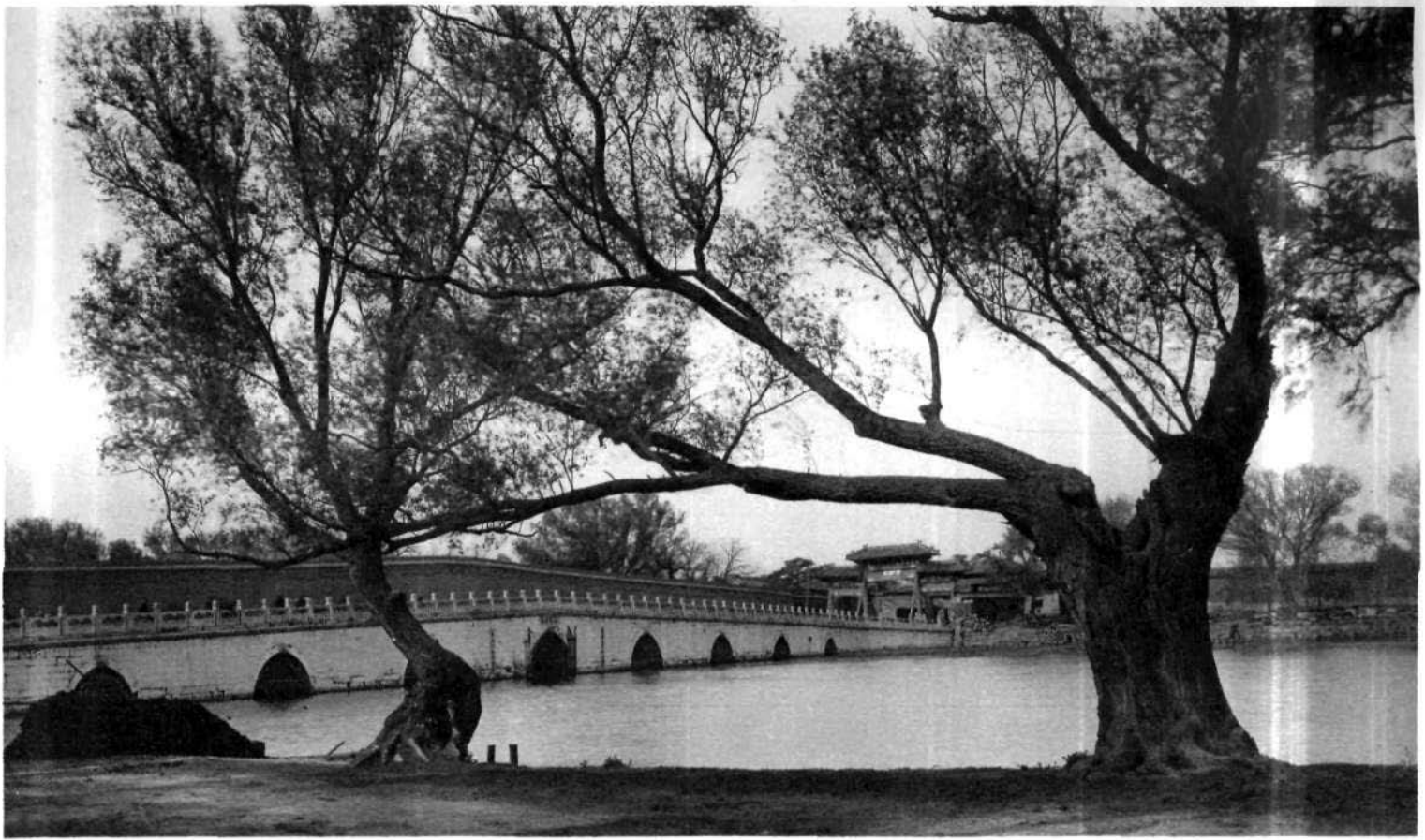


Plate 145. Pei Hai. View over Ch'iung Hua Tao or Pai T'a Shan, crowned by the white Indian dagoba.

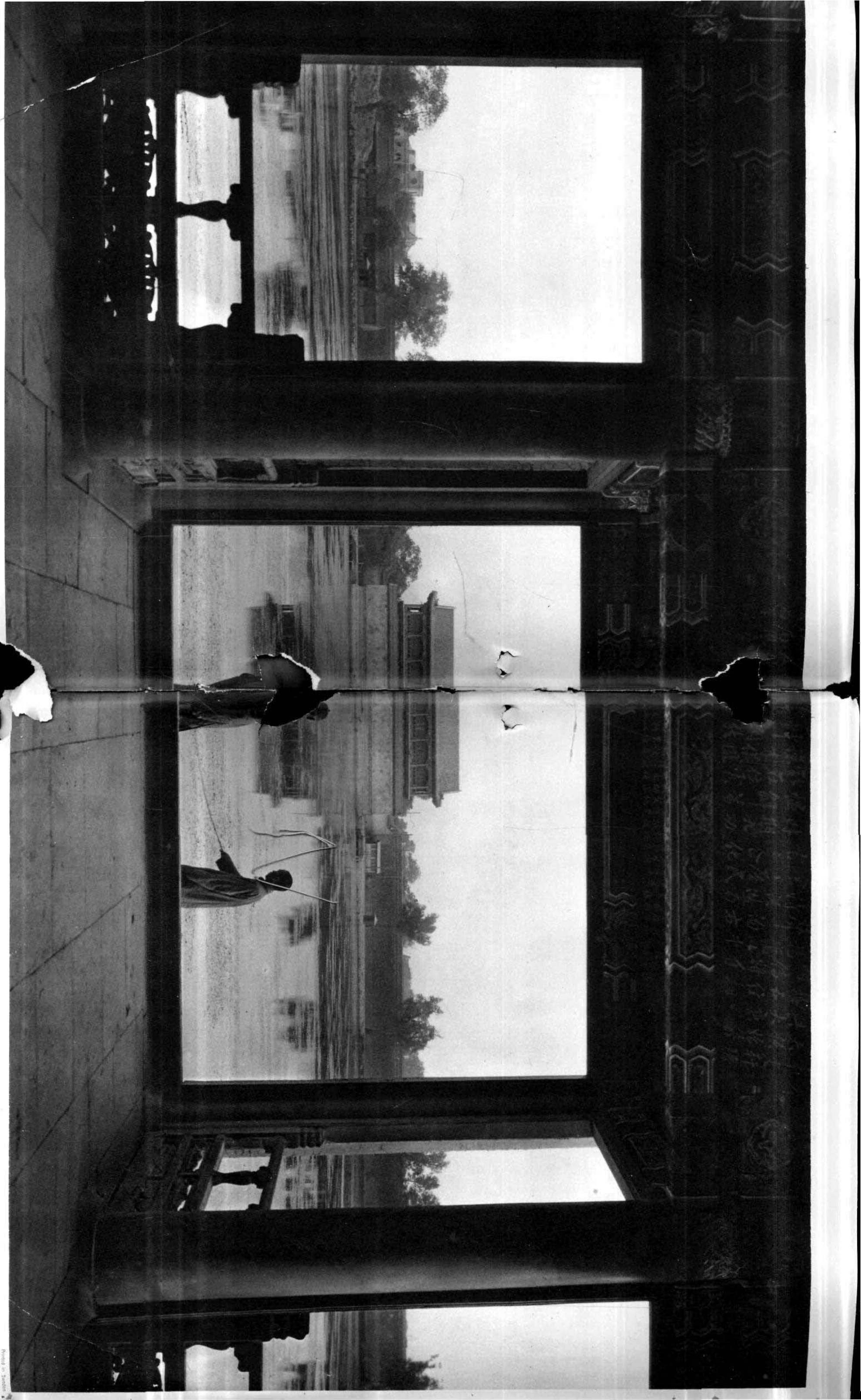
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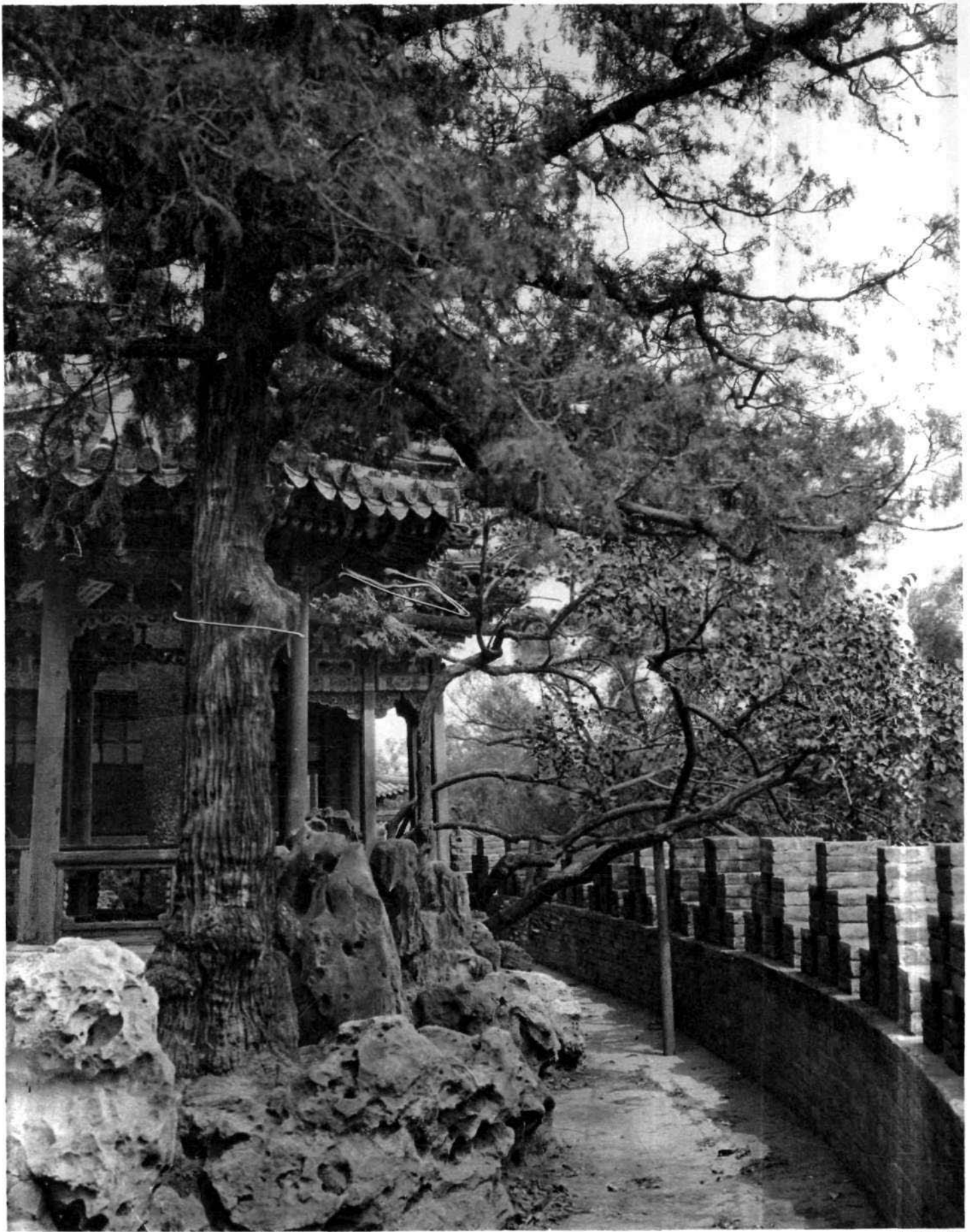


Printed in Sweden

Plate 146. Upper picture: Chin Ao Yü Tung Ch'iao (The Bridge of the Golden Turtle and the Jade Butterfly). (1922)
Lower picture: The same bridge after removal of its long wall. (1935)

148—149. Nan Hai Ying Hsin Ting (Pavilion for the Welcoming of Perfumes). The view from here opens over mirroring grey waters into the silent spaces of the world of dreams.





Printed in Sweden

Plate 150. Pei Hai, T'uan Ch'eng. One of the pavilions and a *Juniperus obivensis* on the terrace.



© 1914 by Sargent

Plate 151. Upper picture: Nan Hai, Ying T'ai. The ramp leading to Hsiang Luan Ko (The Pavilion of the Soaring Phoenix). Lower picture: Bridge over one of the canals separating Nan Hai from Chung Hai.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 152. Upper picture: Nan Hai, Ying T'ai. Hsiang I Tien (The Hall of the Fragrant Screen).
Lower picture: Nan Hai, Ying T'ai. Tsao Yün Lou (The House of the Sweet Harmonies).

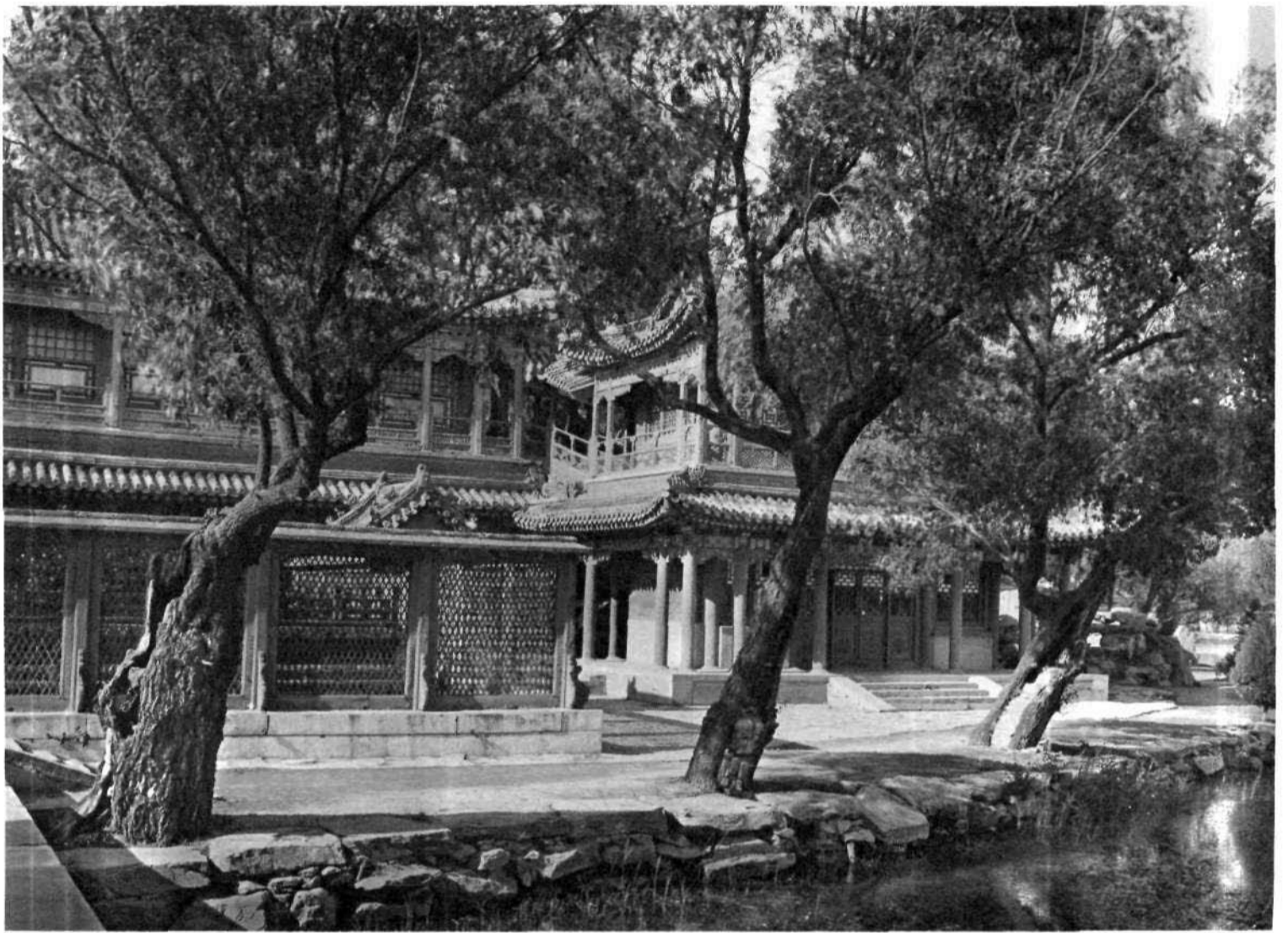


Plate 153

Plate 153. Nan Hai, Ying T'ai. Ch'un Ming Lou (The High Building of the Spring Brightness),
and Chan Hsü Lou (The Tower of Profound Peace).

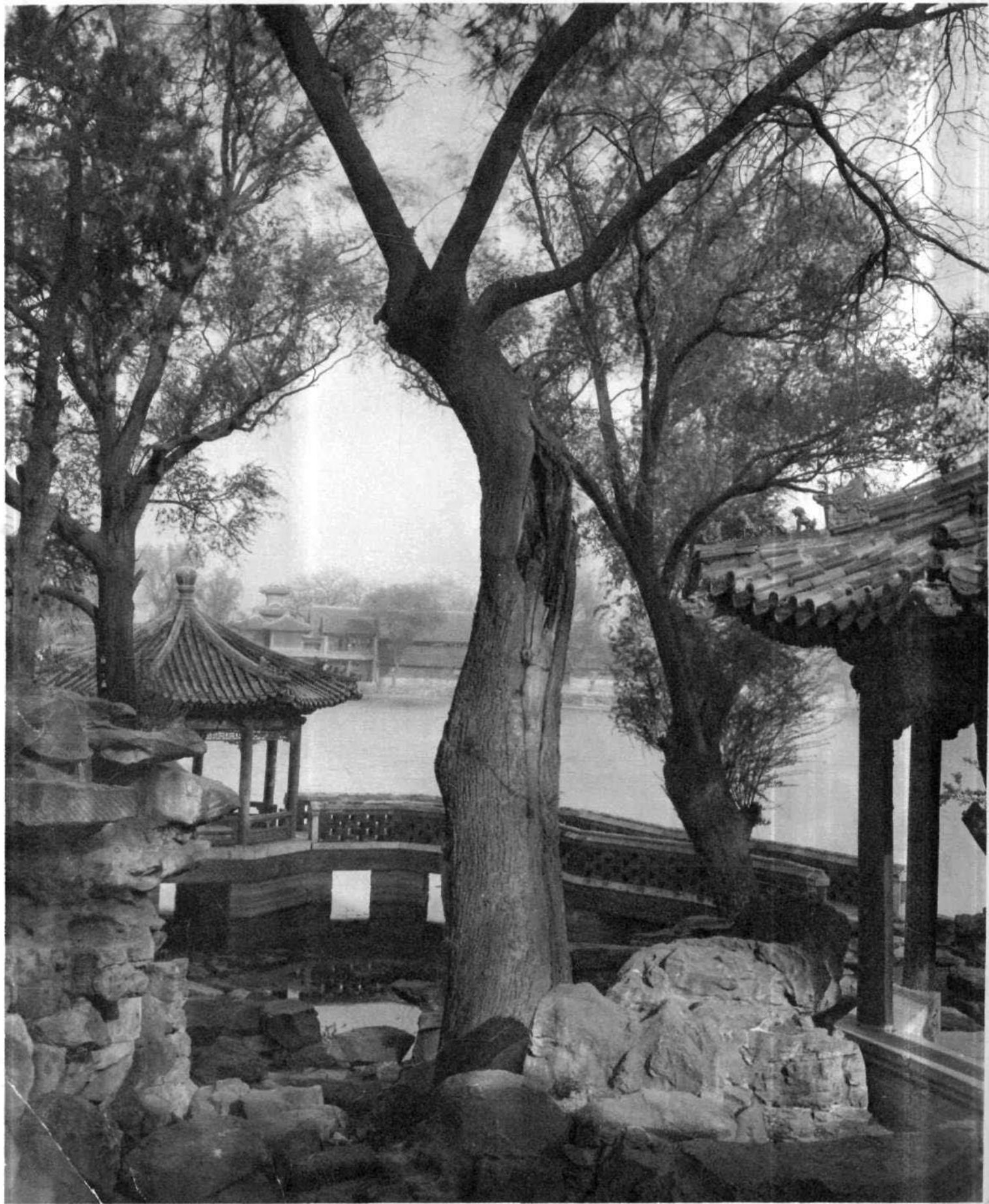


Plate 154. Nan Hai, Ying T'ai. Jên Yü T'ing (Pavilion for Feeding Fish).

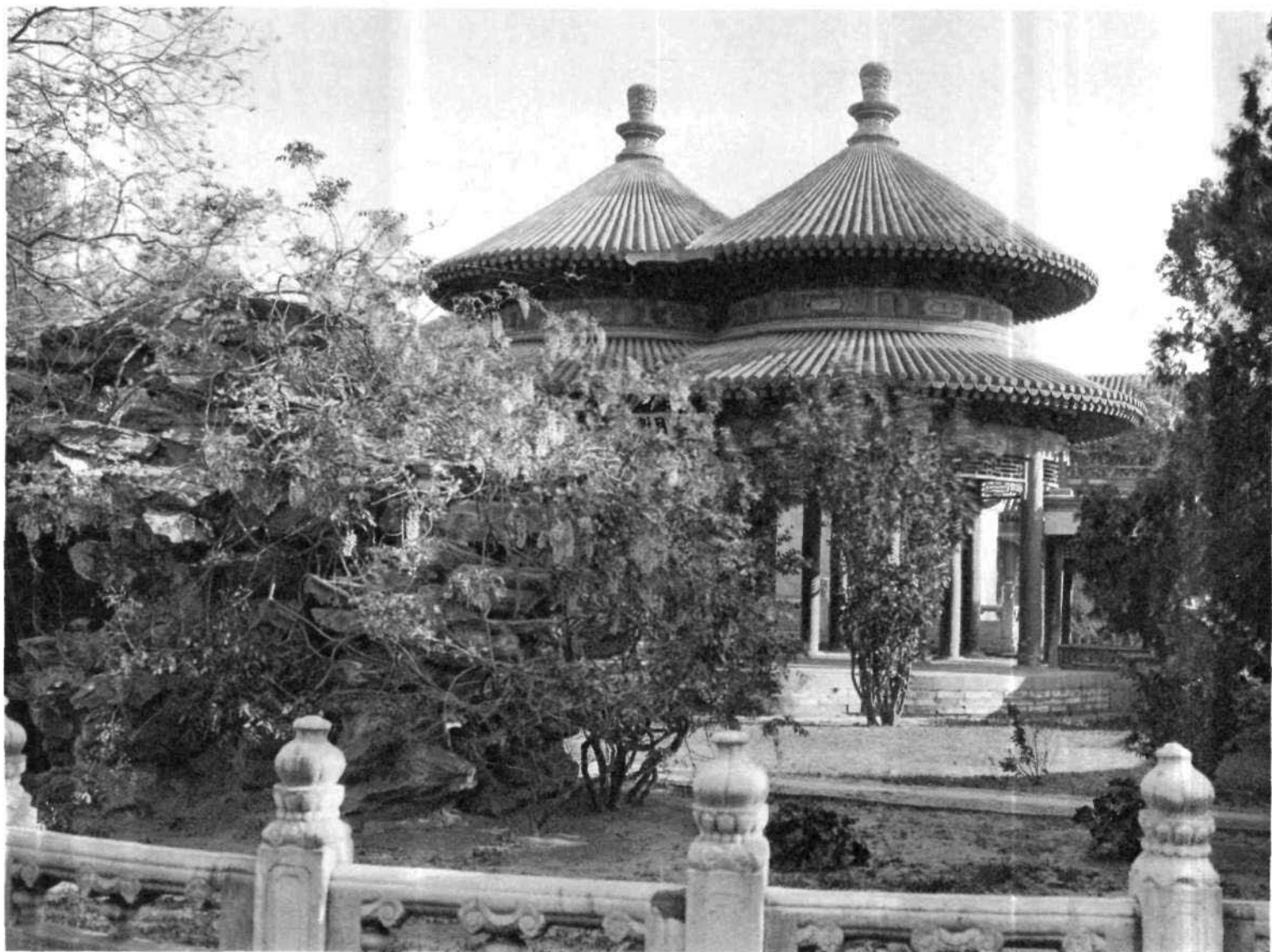


Plate 155. Chung Hai. The twin pavilions Fêng T'ing (The Wind Kiosk) and Yüeh Hsieh (The Moon Pavilion).

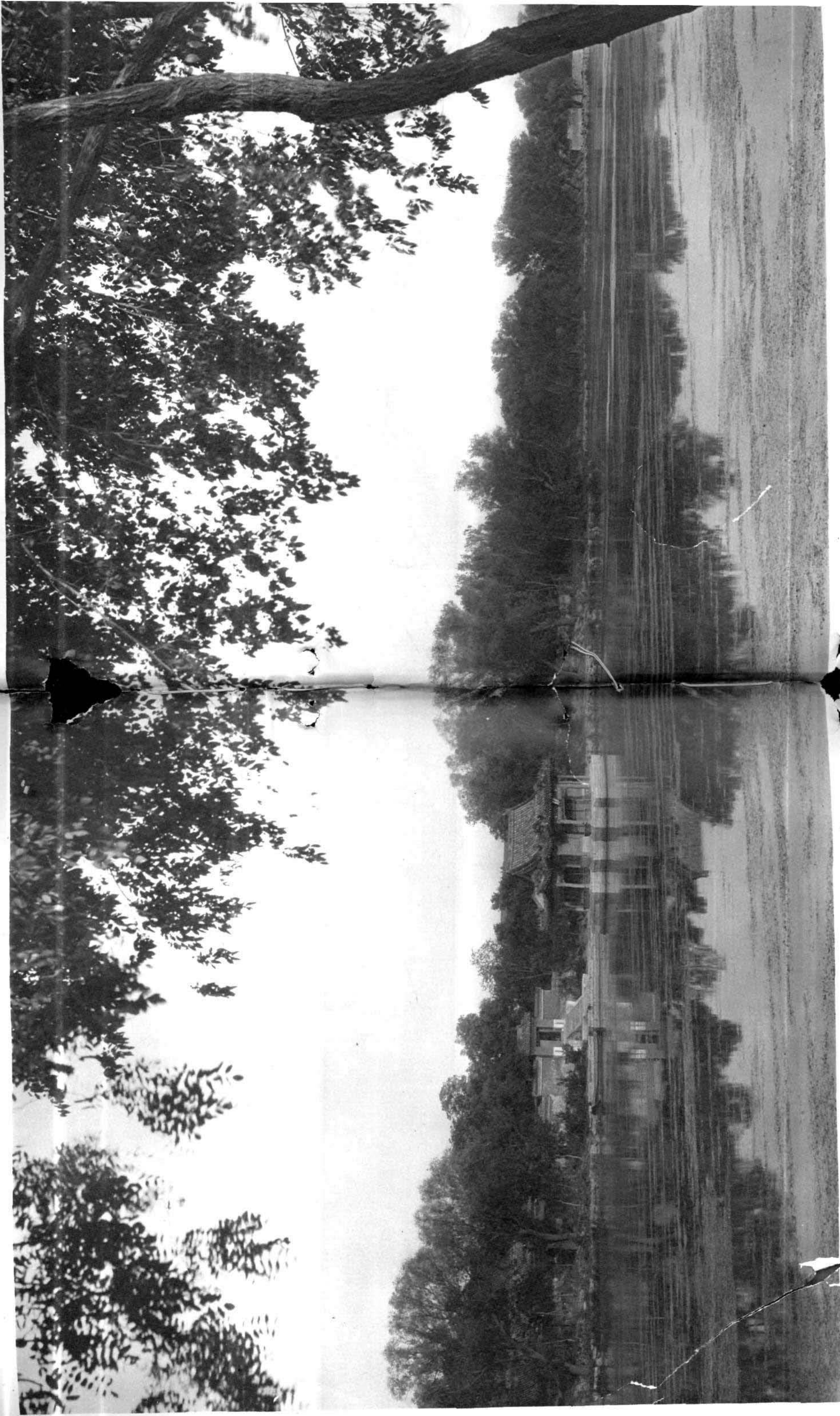
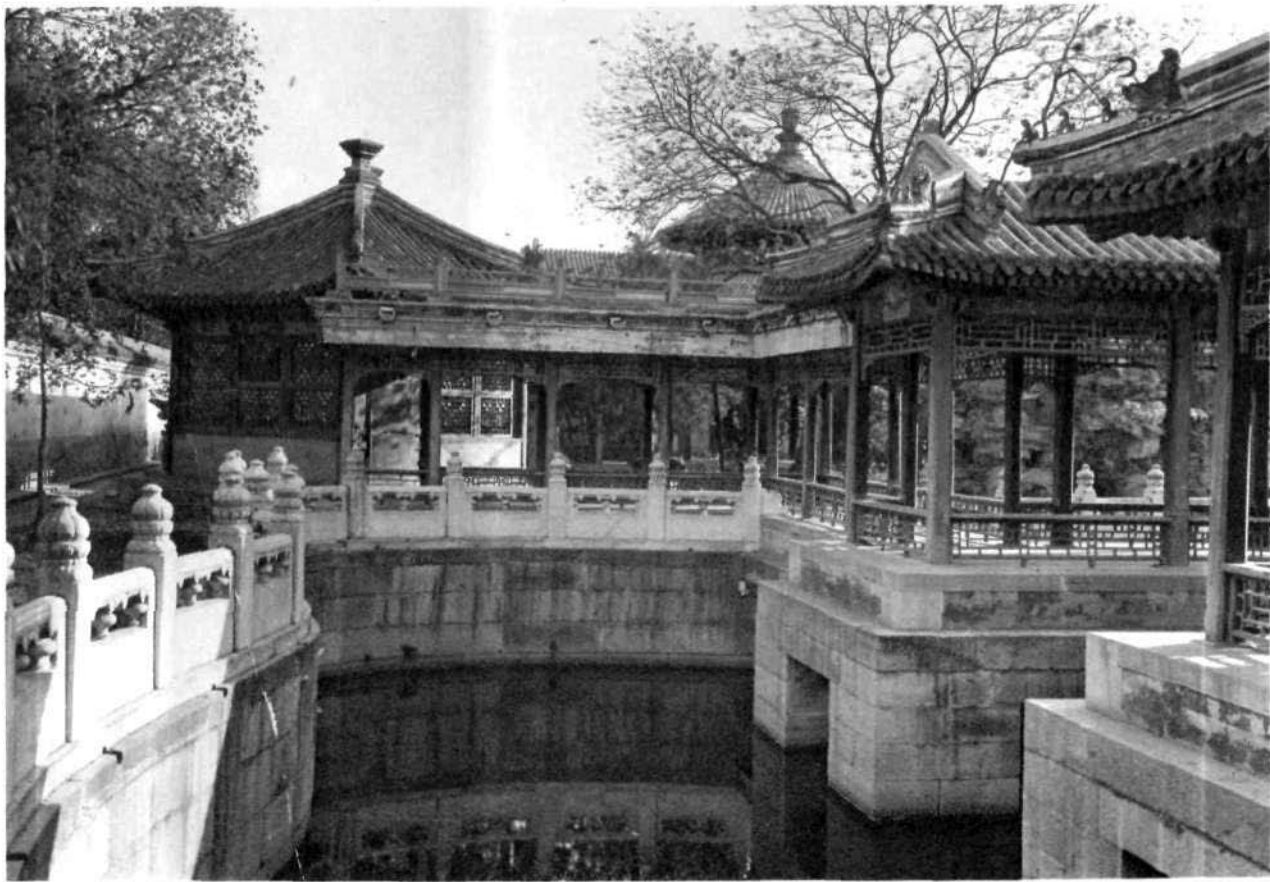


Plate 156—157. View over Chung Hai with Shui Yün Hsieh (The Water Cloud Kiosk). One of the Eight Celebrated Views in Peking.



Printed in 34-20

Plate 158. Upper picture: Chung Hai. A section of Wan Tzū Lang (The Swastika Gallery).
Lower picture: Chung Hai. A section of the Swastika Canal with the Fêng T'ing pavilion in the background.

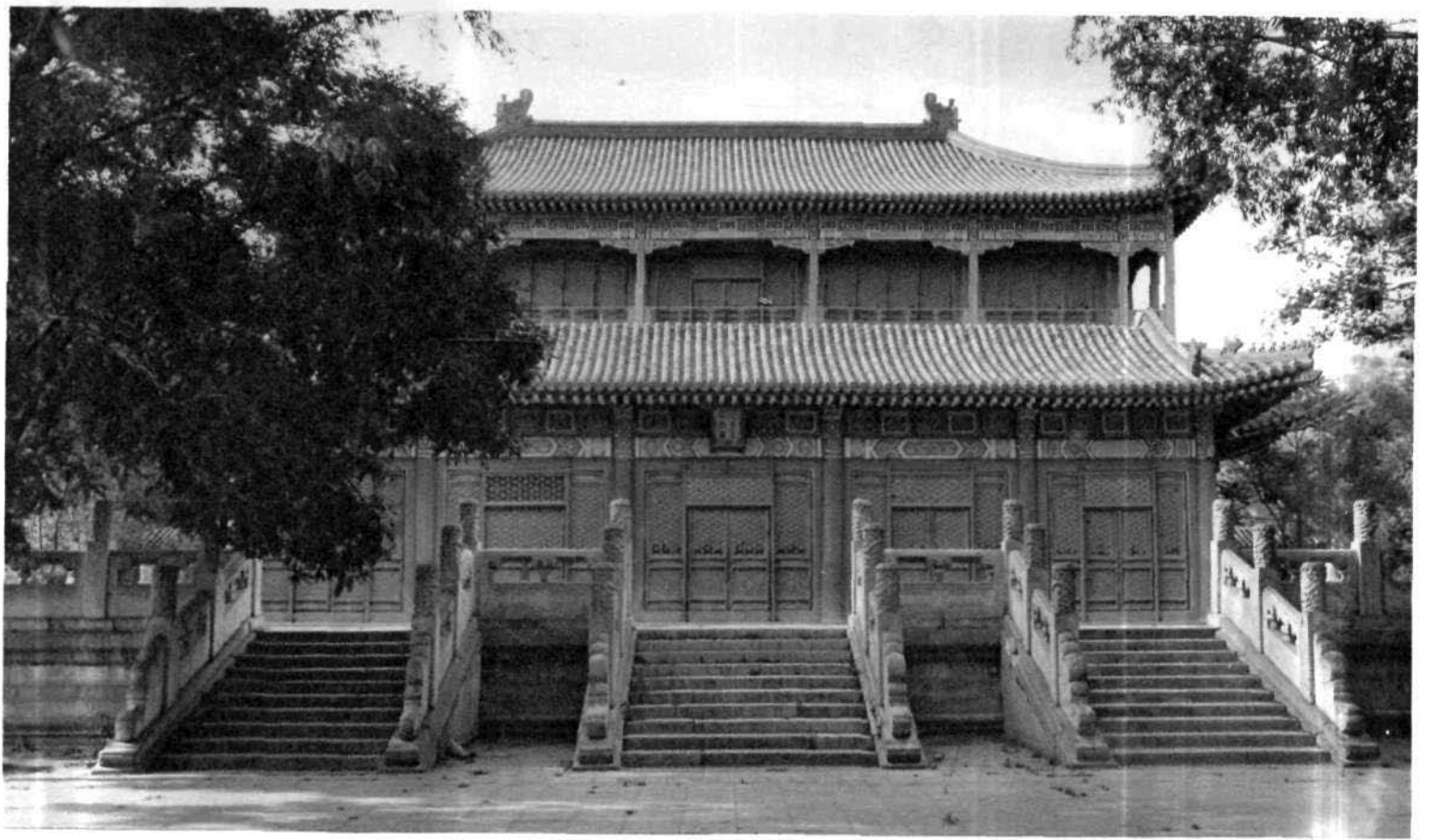
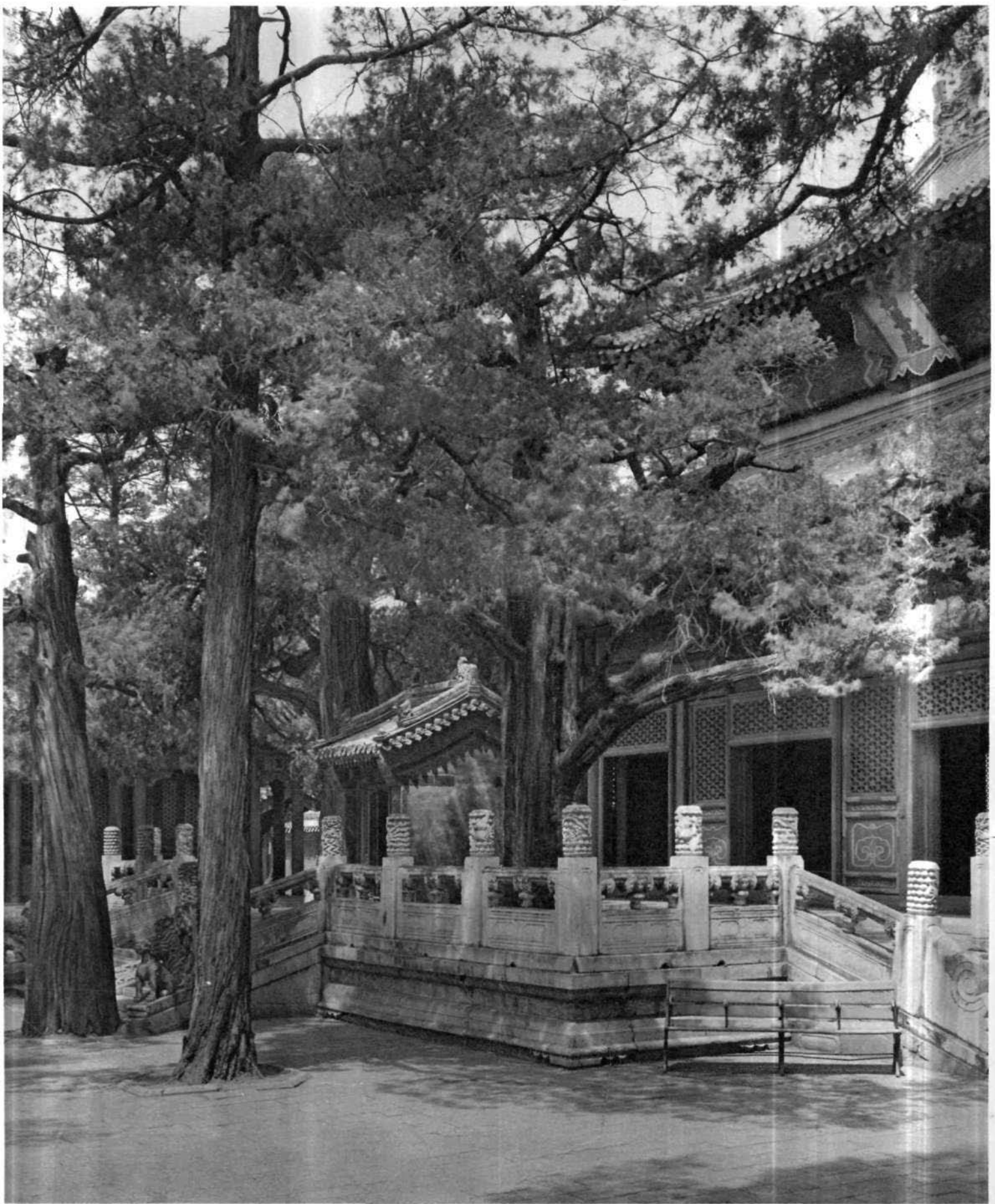


Plate 159. Chung Hai. Tzū Kuang Ko (The Pavilion of Purple Glory). The upper picture shows the façade of the pavilion, while the lower picture shows its side view.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 160. Chung Hai. Wan Shan Tien (The Hall of Ten Thousand Virtues).



Printed in Sweden

Plate 161. Chung Hai. Shui Yün Hsieh (The Water Cloud Kiosk). The inscription in the pavilion runs as follows: Tai I Ch'iu Fêng, »The Wind of Autumn Over the Ocean of the World».



Plate 162. Pei Hai. Entrance to Yung An Ssū (The Temple of Eternal Peace).

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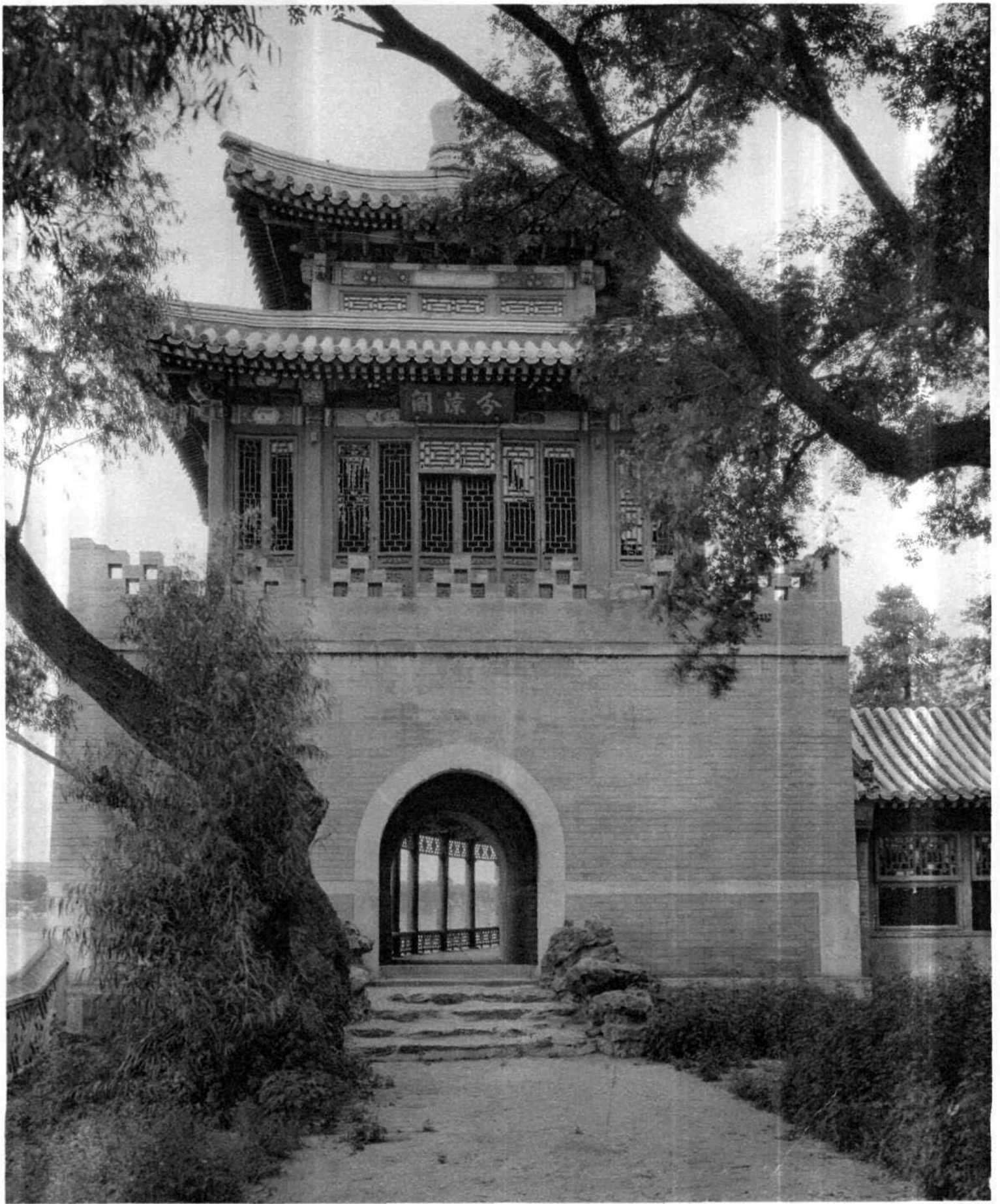


Plate 163. Pei Hai. I Ch'ing Lou (The Tower at the Water's Edge) which forms the eastern end of Yu Lang (The Floating Gallery).

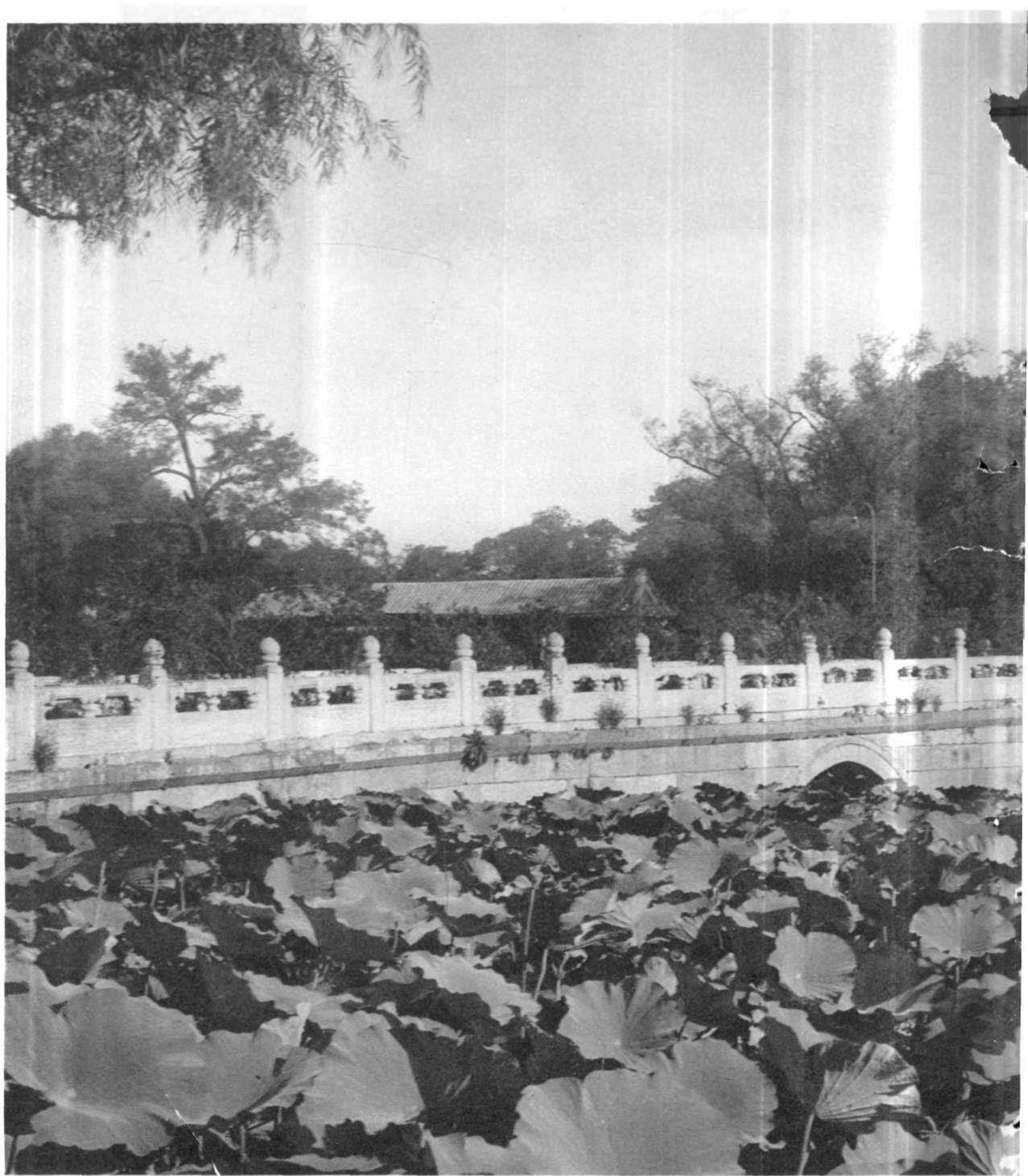
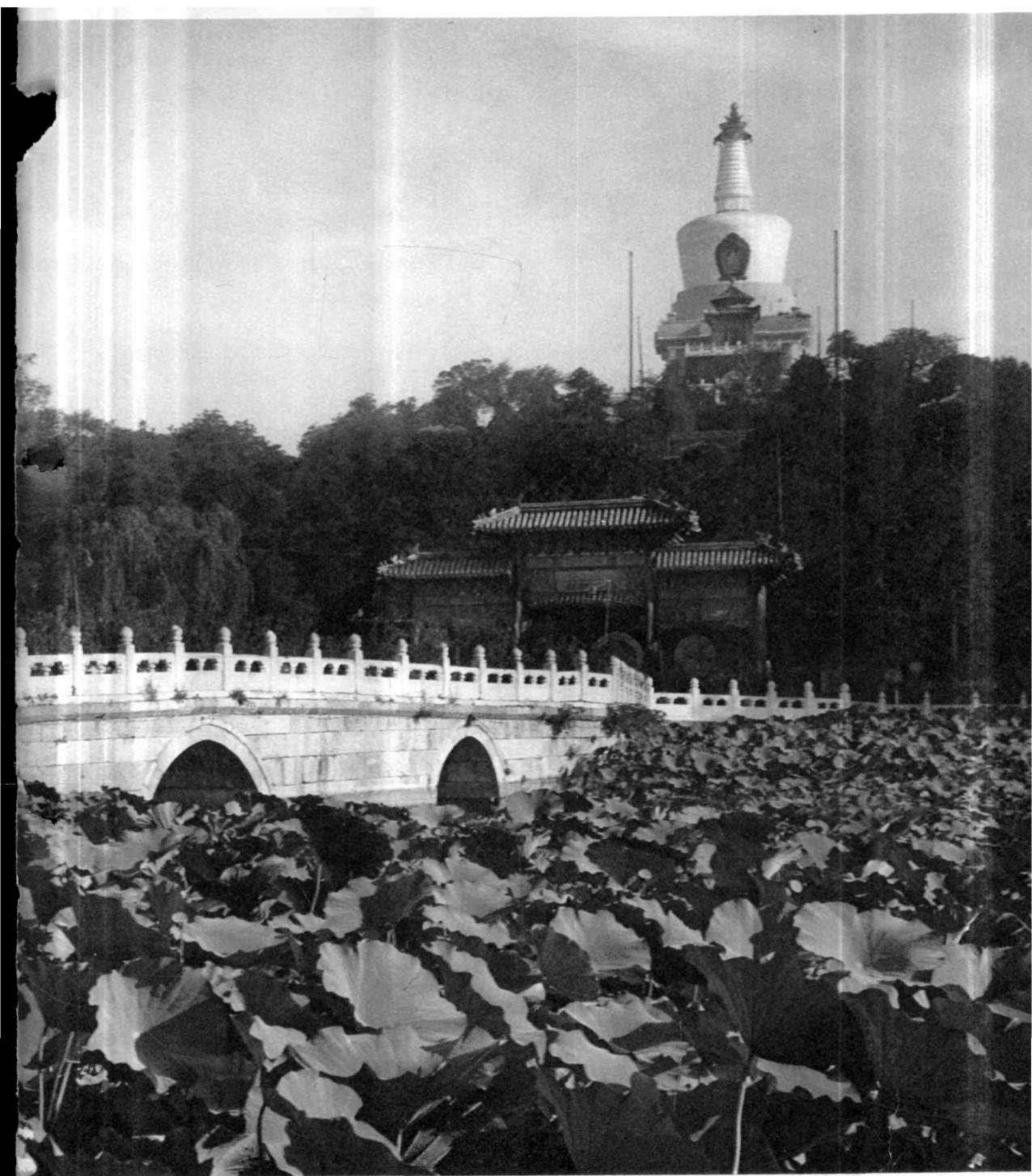
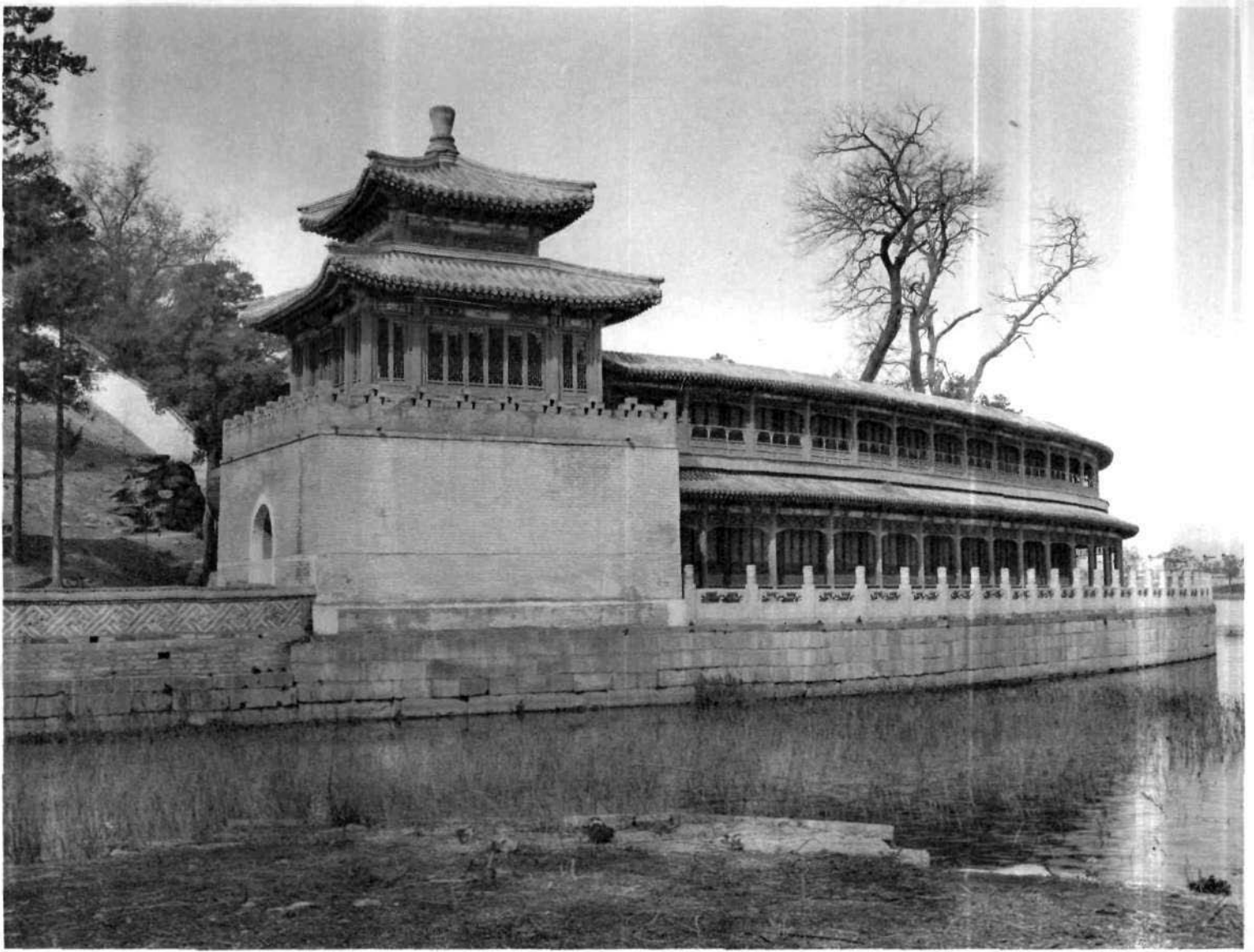


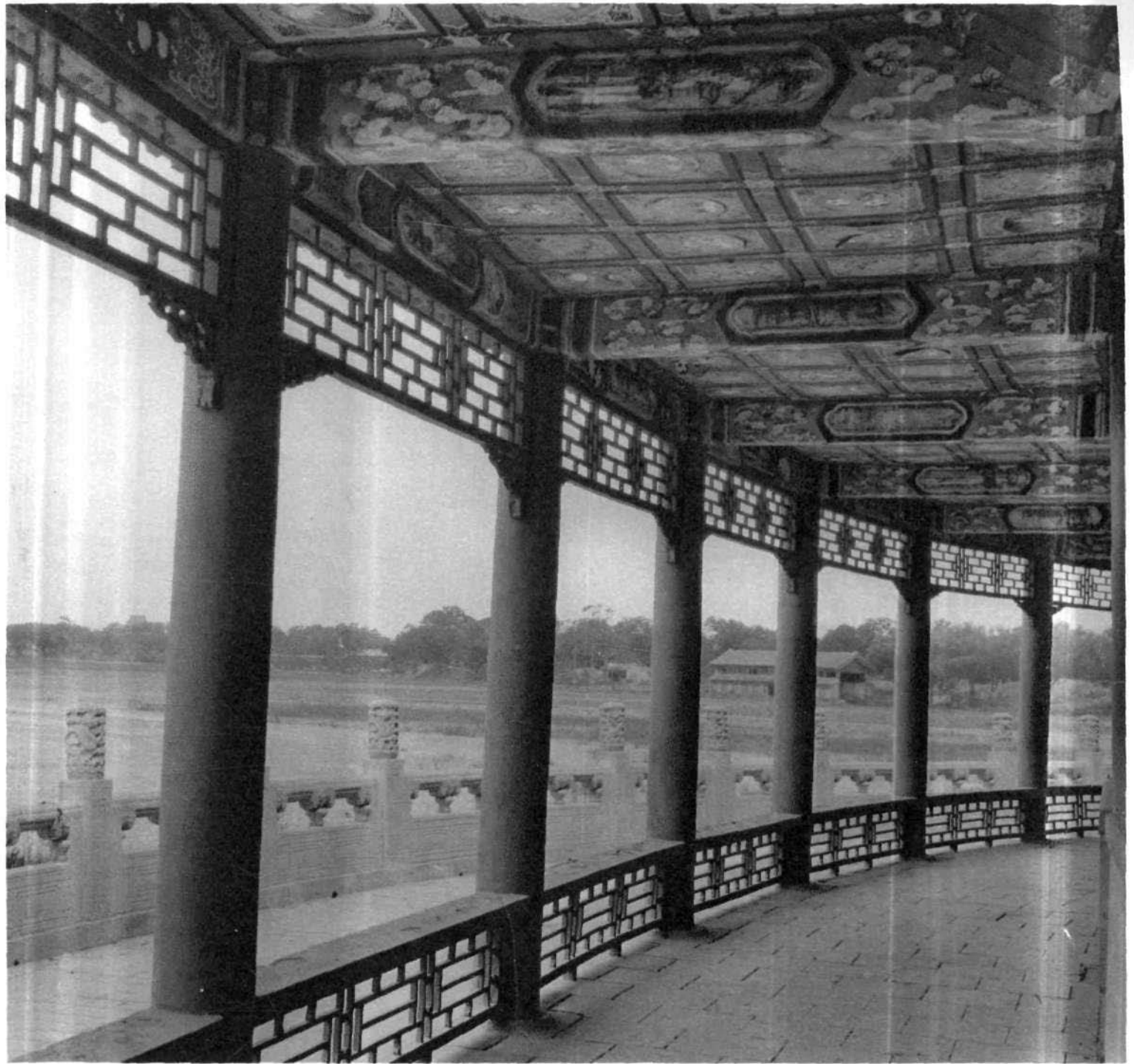
Plate 164—165. Pei Hai. Wu Kung Ch'iao (The Centipede Bridge) leading from T'uan Ch'êng to Pai T'a Shan (The Mountain of the White Pagoda).





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Plate 166. Pei Hai. Fên Liang Ko (The Pavilion of Diffused Coolness) and Yu Lang (The Floating Gallery) built over the water on a terrace provided with a balustrade.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 167. Pei Hai. Interior view of Yu Lang (The Floating Gallery) which follows the winding shore. The columns and railings are deep red; the coffered ceiling and the beams are embellished with ornaments in blue, green, white and gold.



Plate 168. Upper picture: Pei Hai. Wu Lung T'ing (The Pavilions of the Five Dragons).
Lower picture: Pei Hai. Kan Lu Tien (The Hall of Sweet Dew).

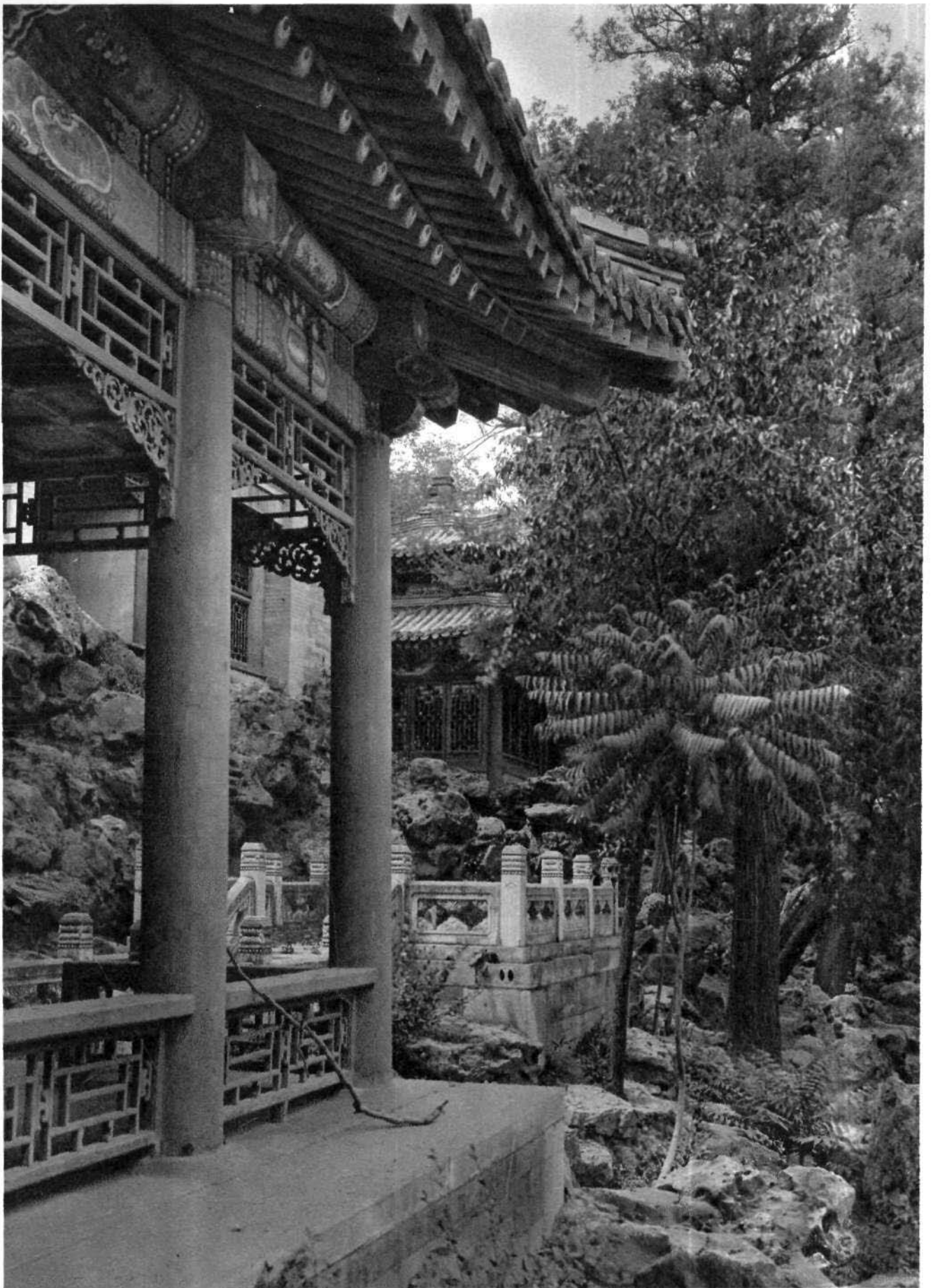


Plate 169. Pei Hai. I Lang T'ang (The Hall of the Lapping Waves).

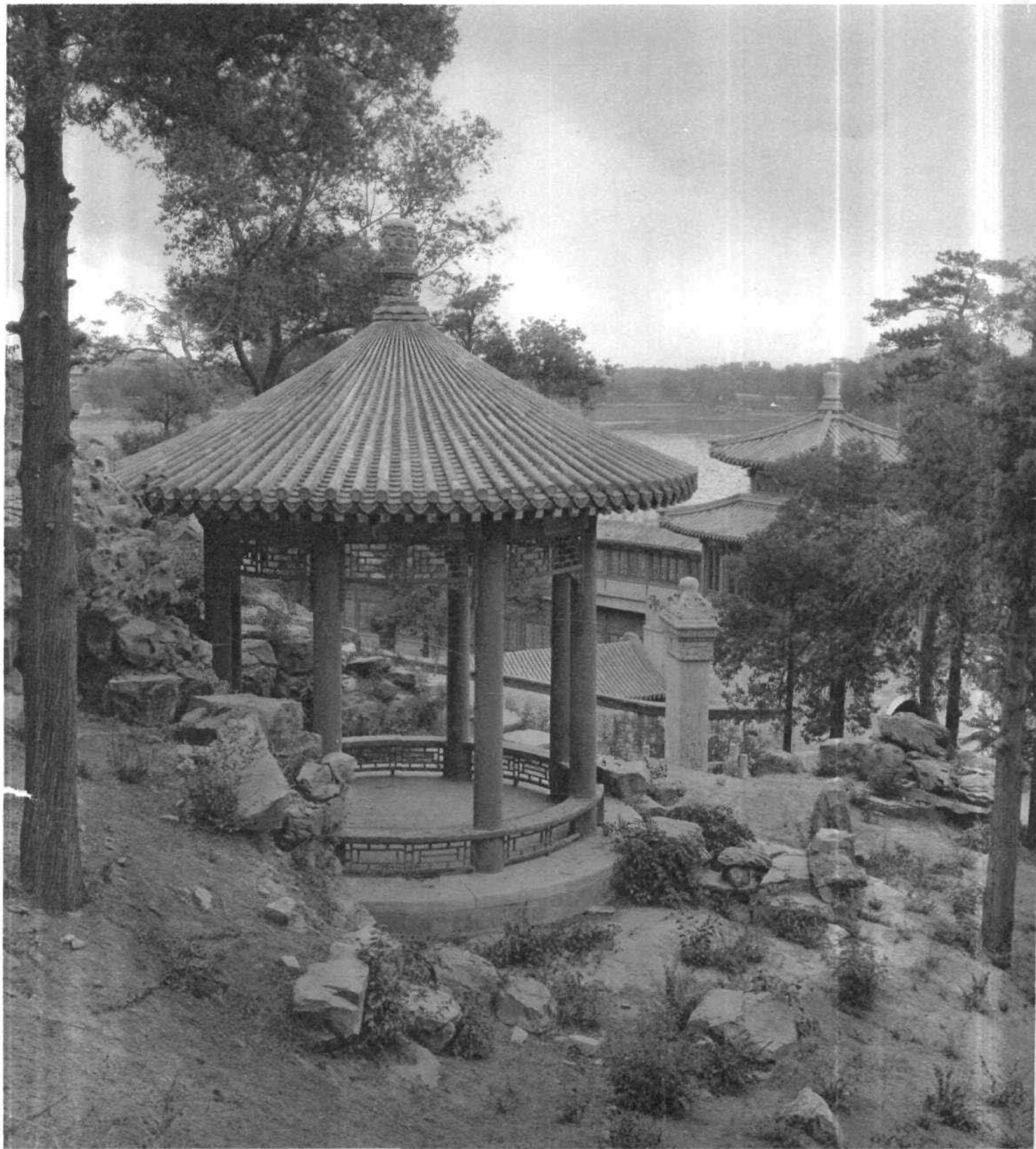


Photo in Sweden

Plate 170. Pei Hai. Ch'ien Ch'un T'ing (Pavilion for the Contemplation of the Spring).

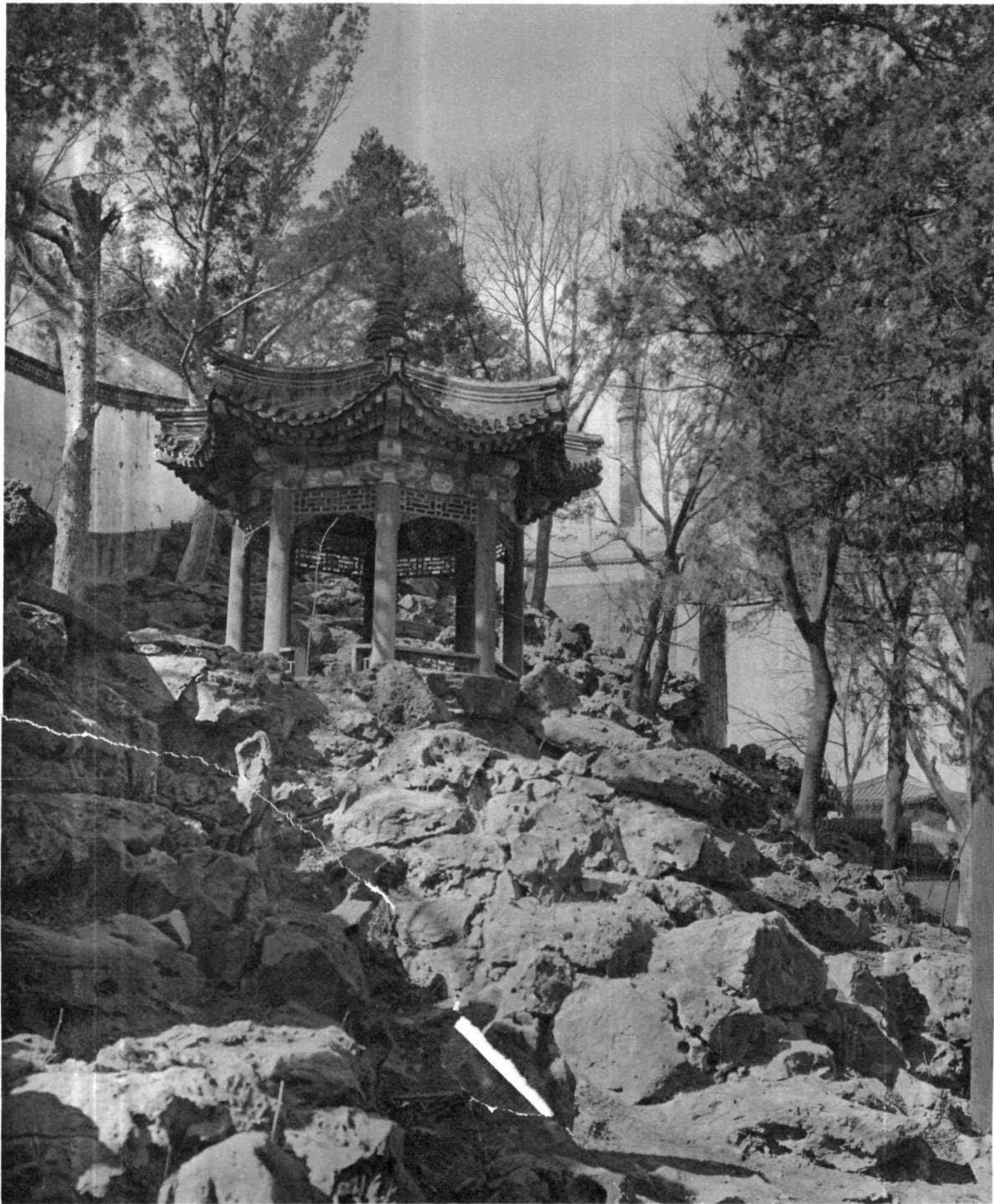


Plate 171. Pei Hai. Hsiao K'un Chiu (The Little Kiosk on the K'un Lun Mountain).

Printed in Sweden



Printed in Sweden

Plate 172. Pei Hai. Ch'êng Lu P'an (Bowl for Collecting Dew). It is held by an «Immortal» on a sculptured column, illustrating an ancient Taoist usage.



Printed in Japan

Plate 173. Pei Hai. A marble tablet with inscription by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung: Ch'ung Tao Ch'un Yin (Hortensia Island, The Secret of Spring).



Printed in S. 1911

Plate 174. Pei Hai. Ching Hsin Chai (The Studio of the Pure Heart). The private garden of the empress dowager Tzū Hsi, where she resorted to practice calligraphy and painting. The Chin Chüan Lang gallery.



Printed by Sanden

Plate 175. Pei Hai. View over the Ching Hsin Chai gardens with a number of smaller buildings intended for various artistic occupations, and a broad canal spanned by bridges.

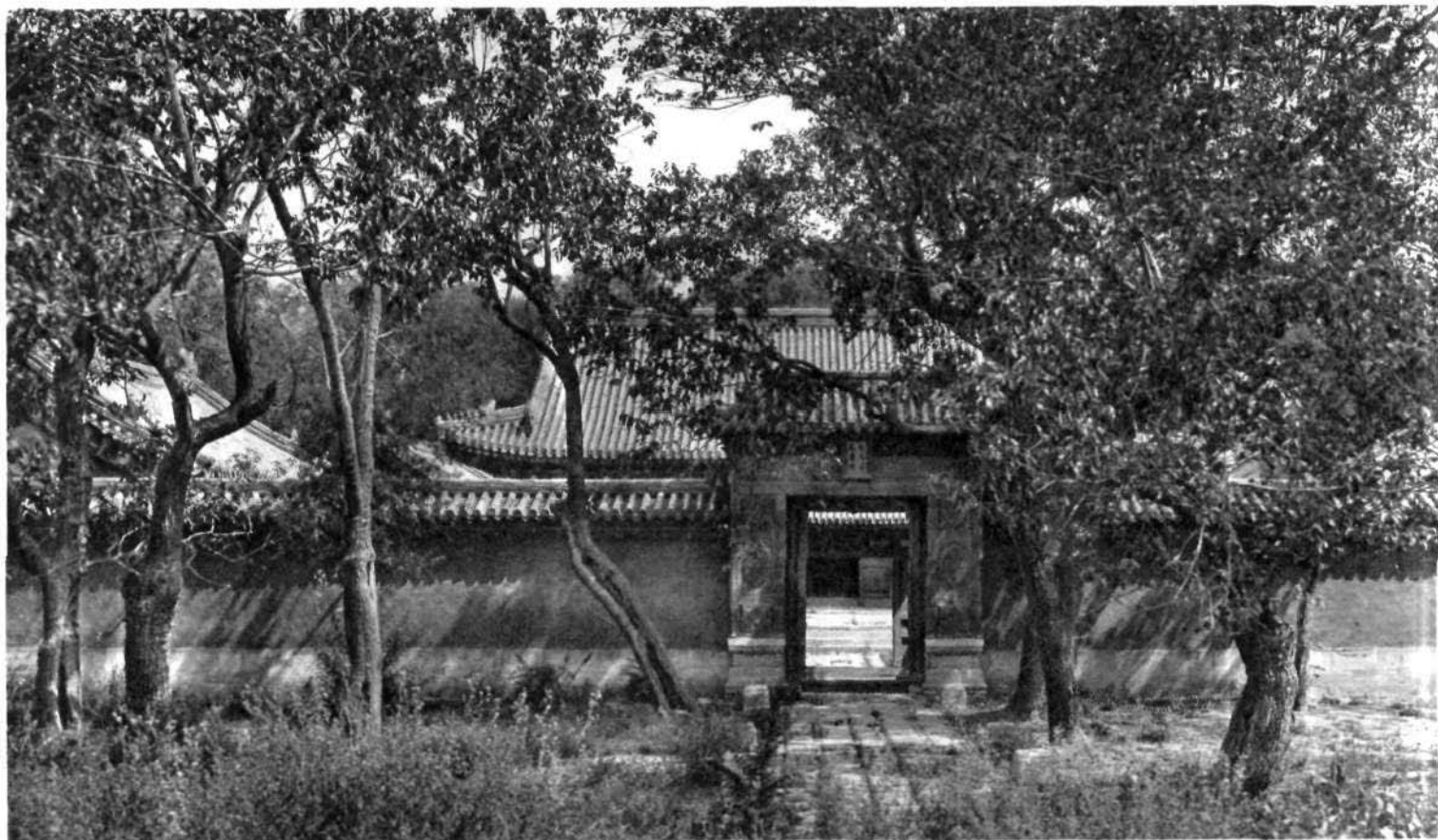


Plate 176. Pei Hai. Ts'an T'an. Shrine consecrated to the patron of seri-culture, Lei Tsu. The upper picture shows the entrance to the enclosure; the lower picture shows the sacrificial podium between ancient mulberry trees.

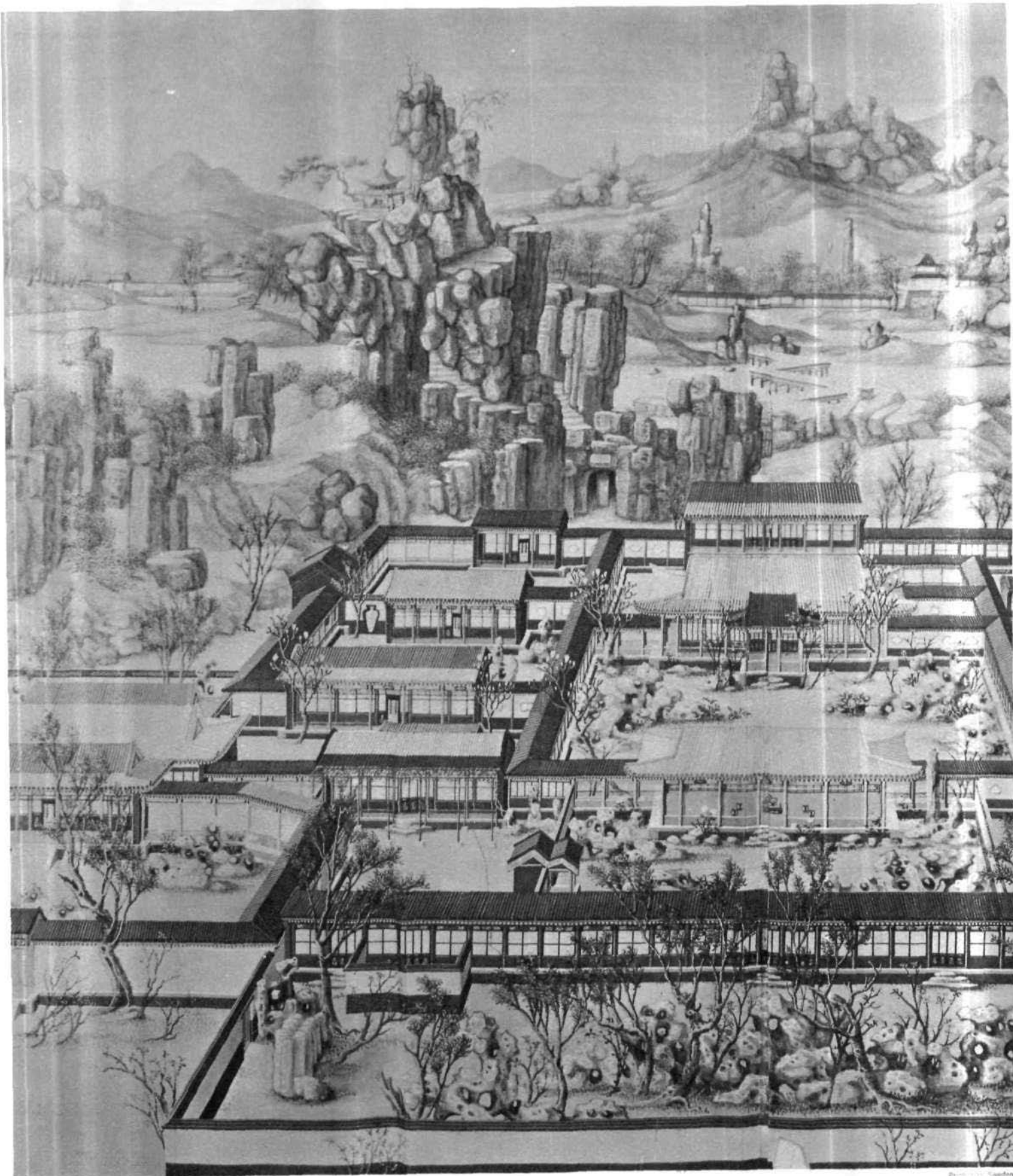
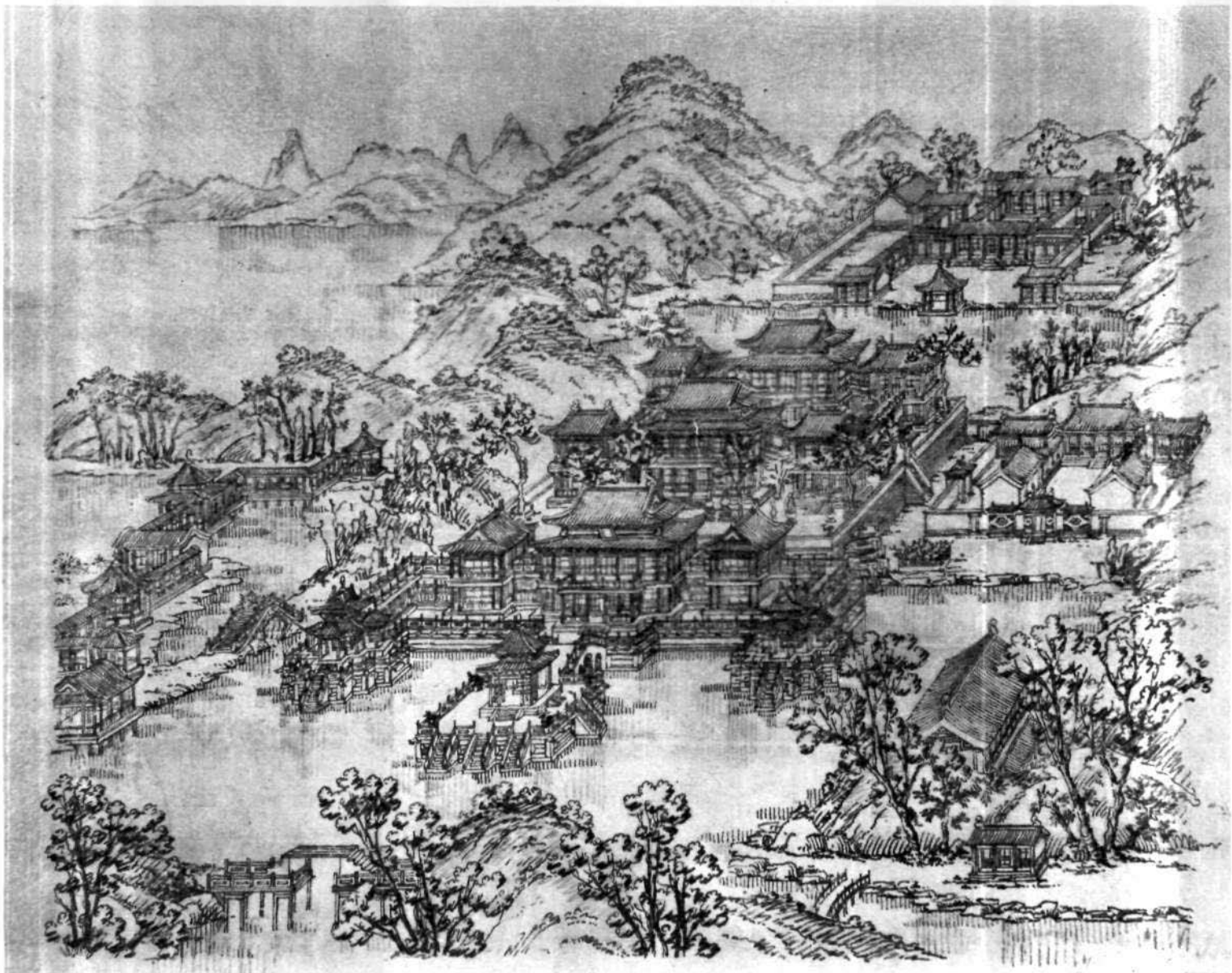


Plate 177. Section of a painting showing one of the imperial gardens. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 178. Yüan Ming Yüan. Fang Hu Shêng Ching. This extensive building-complex, which was erected on a high marble terrace just north of Fu Hai, was built in 1740, and was considered to be the stateliest in Yüan Ming Yüan. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 179. The same building as on the preceding picture. Drawing by F. M. Piper after one of the 40 Chinese woodcuts, representing the same views as the paintings by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Academy of Arts, Stockholm.



Plate 180—181. Yüan Ming Yüan. Tz'ü Yün P'u Hu (Merciful Clouds Protecting All). An establishment on an island in the «Farther Lake», consisting of three small temples consecrated to Buddha, to Kuan Ti (the war god), and to the Dragon King, as well as a tower with a sundial. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Plate 180—181



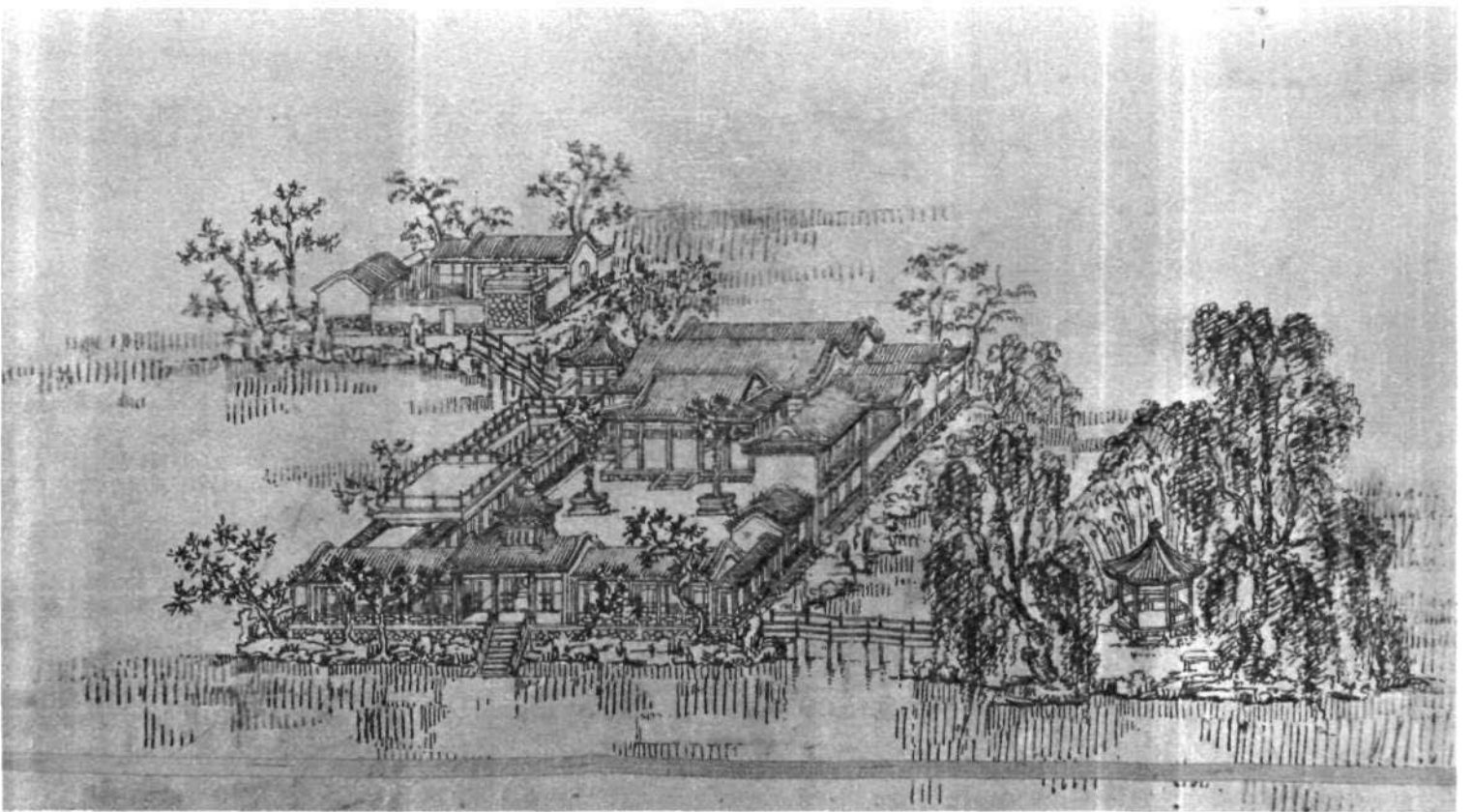
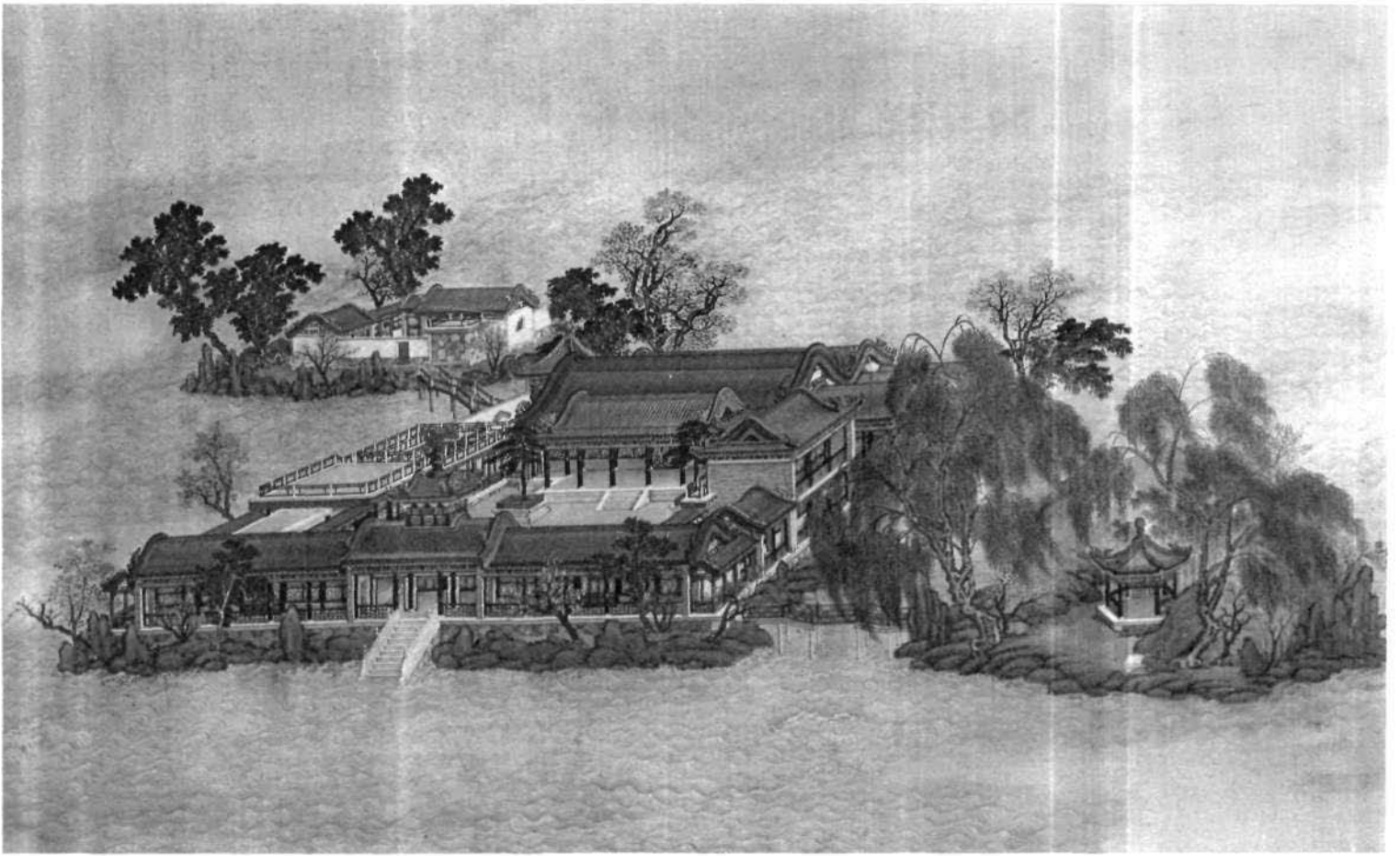
Printed in Sweden

Plate 182. Yüan Ming Yüan. Wan Fang An Ho (Peace and Harmony Everywhere). A building on a swastika-shaped ground plan, rising out of the water. The swastika is a symbol for Wan (i. e., ten thousand, here corresponding to «everywhere», but also a symbol for Buddha's heart).



Printed in Sweden

Plate 183. The same swastika building drawn by F. M. Piper after one of the 40 Chinese woodcuts. Academy of Arts, Stockholm.



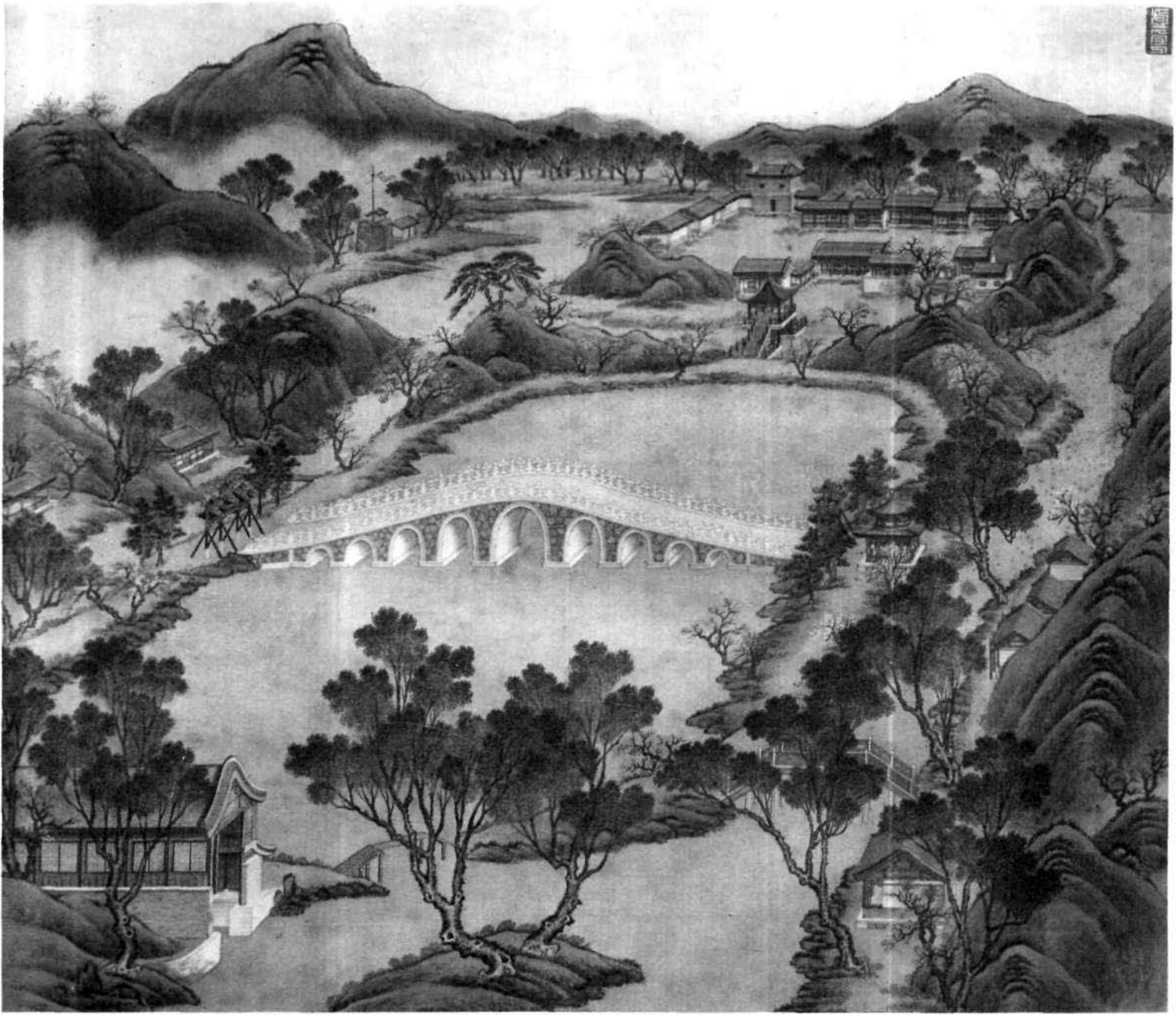
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Plate 184. Yüan Ming Yüan. P'êng Tao Yao T'ai (The Islands and Green Terraces of the Immortals), in the middle of Fu Hai (The Sea of Bliss). The upper picture was painted by Shên Yüan and others: the lower one drawn by F. M. Piper after a woodcut.



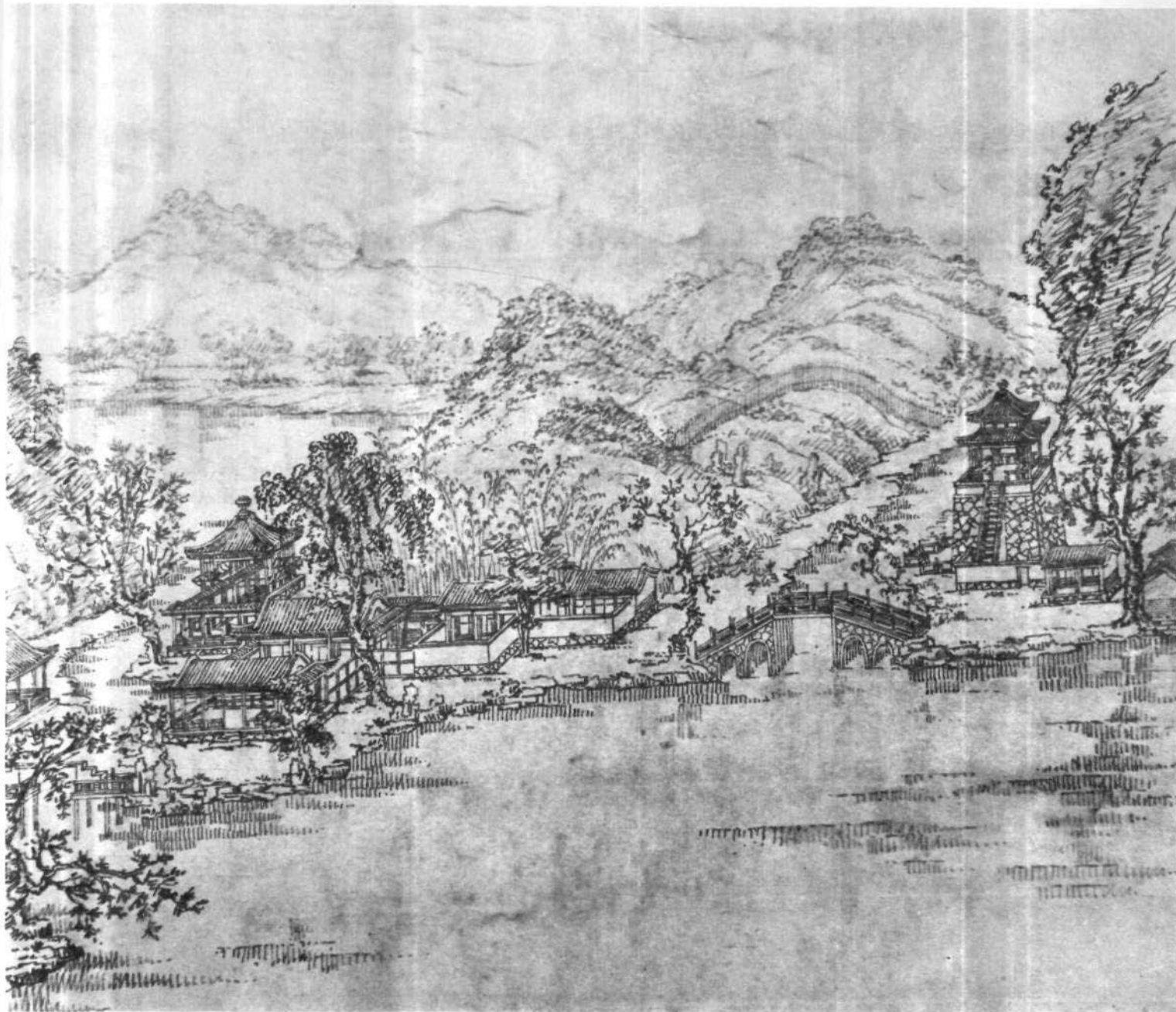
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Plate 185. Yüan Ming Yüan. Pieh Yu Tung T'ien (There is Another Cave of Heaven), a designation which may possibly refer to the fact that from the great lake Fu Hai one must pass through a thick wall in order to gain access to the sequestered bay. On its shores lay Hsiu Ch'ing Ts'un (The Beautiful and Pure Village). Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 186. Yüan Ming Yüan. Ch'ü Yüan Fêng Ho (Wind and Lotus), the tavern of fermented wine, so called after a celebrated wine tavern at the West Lake in Hang-chou. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



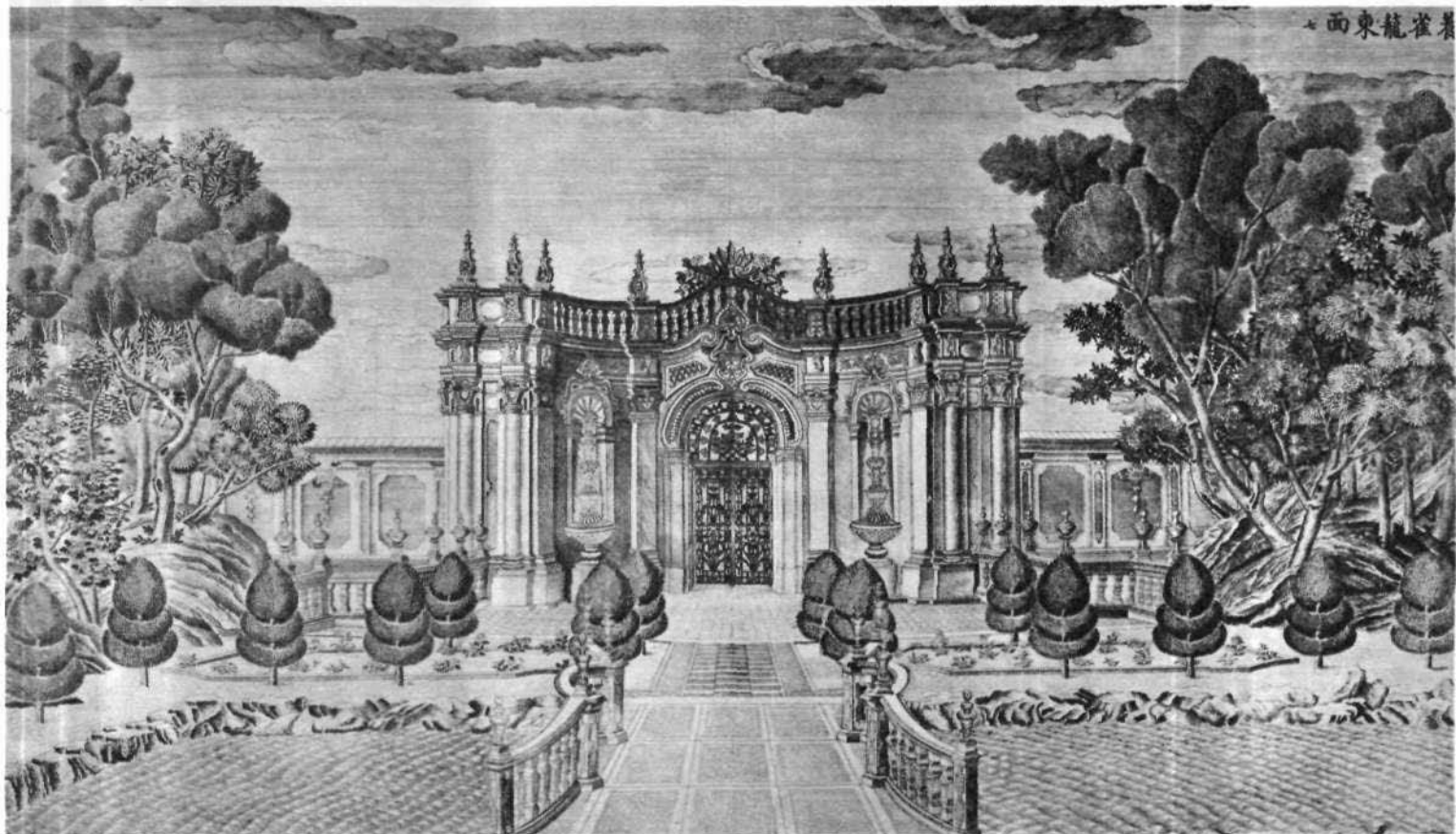
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Plate 187. Yüan Ming Yüan. T'ien Jan T'u Hua (A Painting by Nature), so named because of its intimate beauty. Drawing by F. M. Piper after one of the 40 Chinese woodcuts. Academy of Arts, Stockholm.



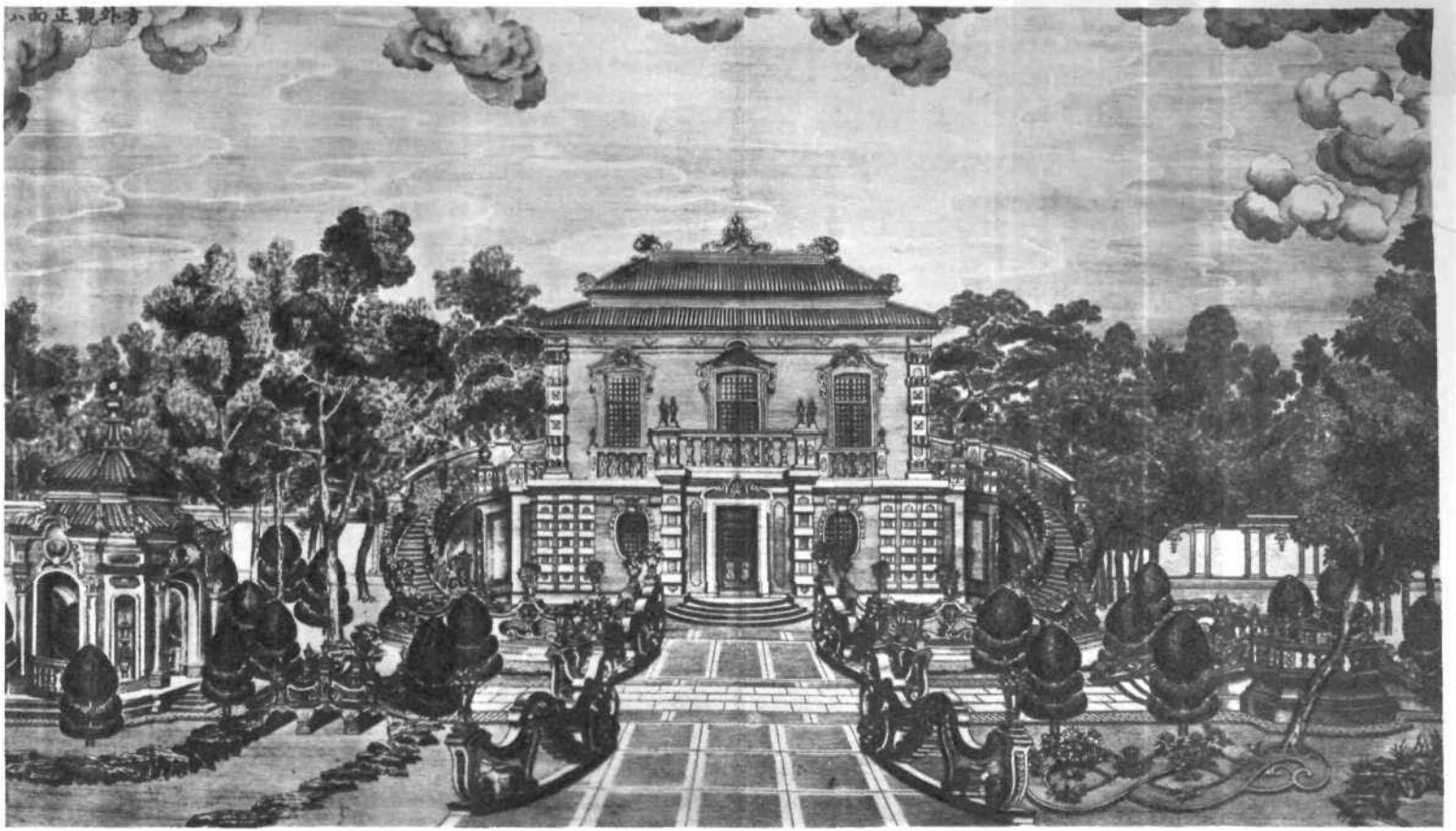
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Plate 188. Yüan Ming Yüan. She Wei Ch'eng. The street, flanked by shops, leading towards a gate in the background. Painting by T'ang Tai and Shên Yüan. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



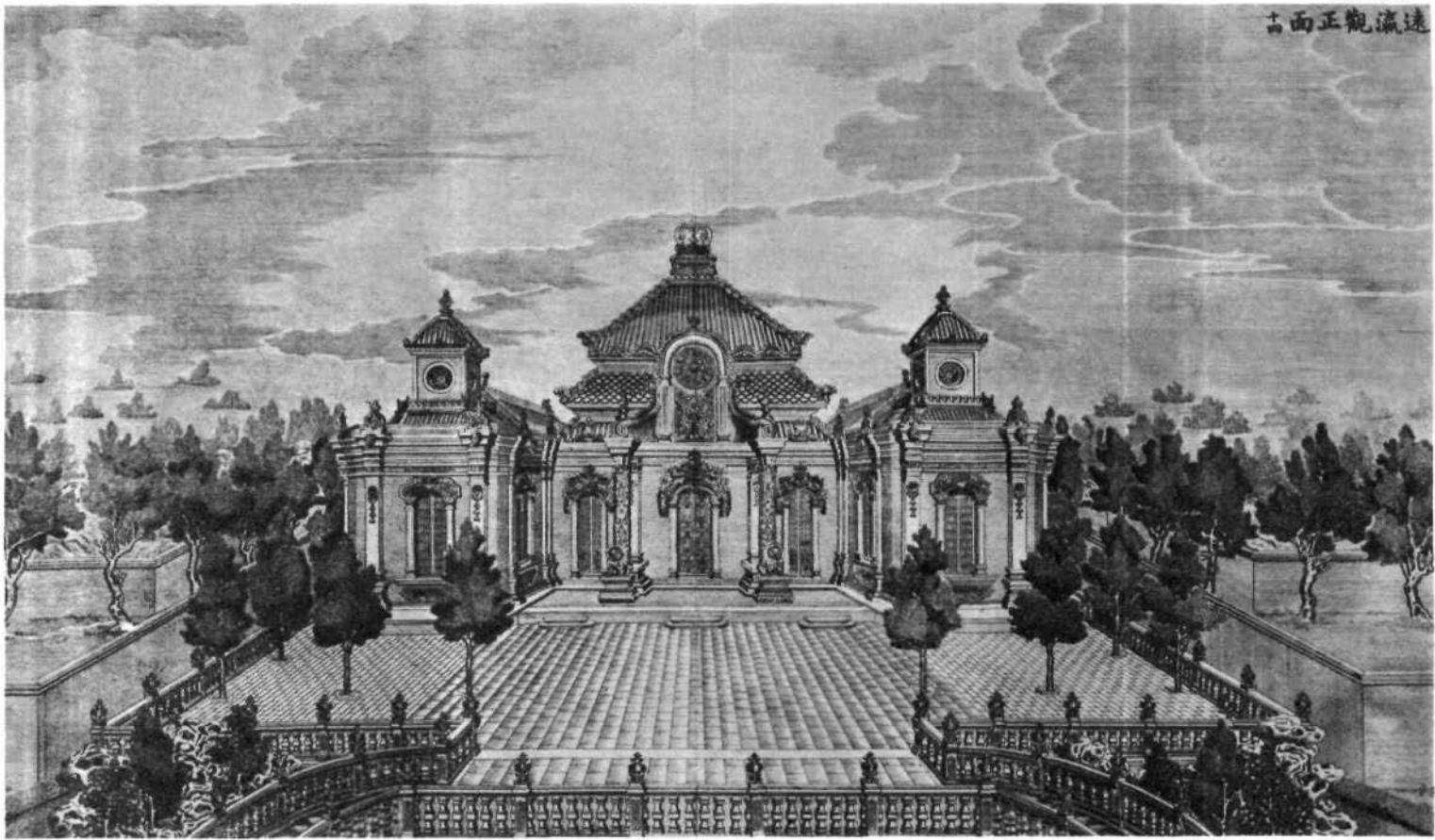
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Plate 189. Yüan Ming Yüan. Yang Ch'iao Lung (The Aviary or Room for the Rearing of Birds). The upper picture representing an engraving from the year 1786; the lower a photograph from 1922.



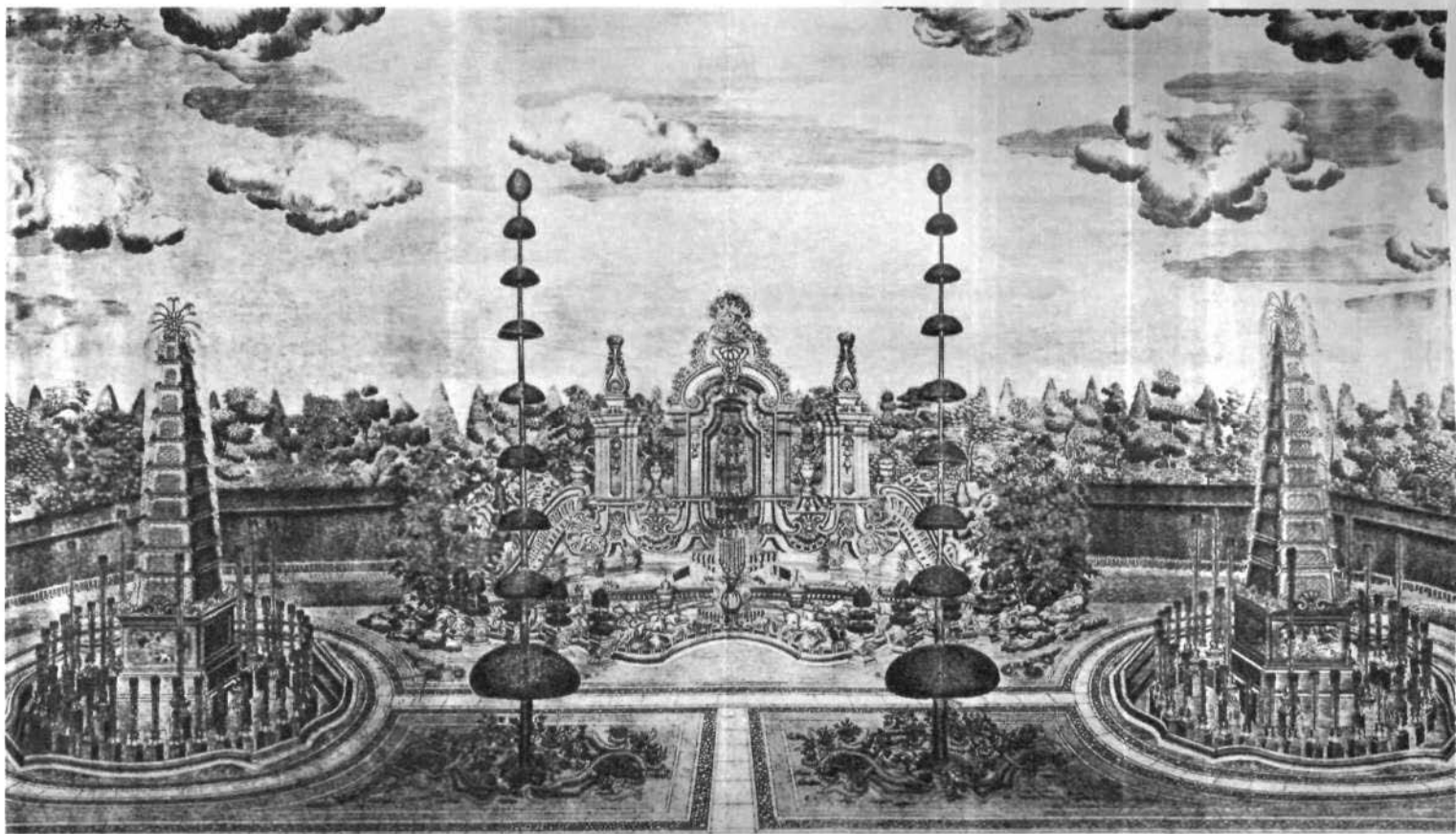
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Plate 190. Yüan Ming Yüan. Fang Wai Kuan (Place with a wide View). The upper picture representing an engraving from the year 1786; the lower a photograph from 1922.



Printed in Sweden.

Plate 191. Yüan Ming Yüan. Yüan Ying Kuan (View Over Distant Waters).
The upper picture representing an engraving from the year 1786; the lower a photograph from 1922.



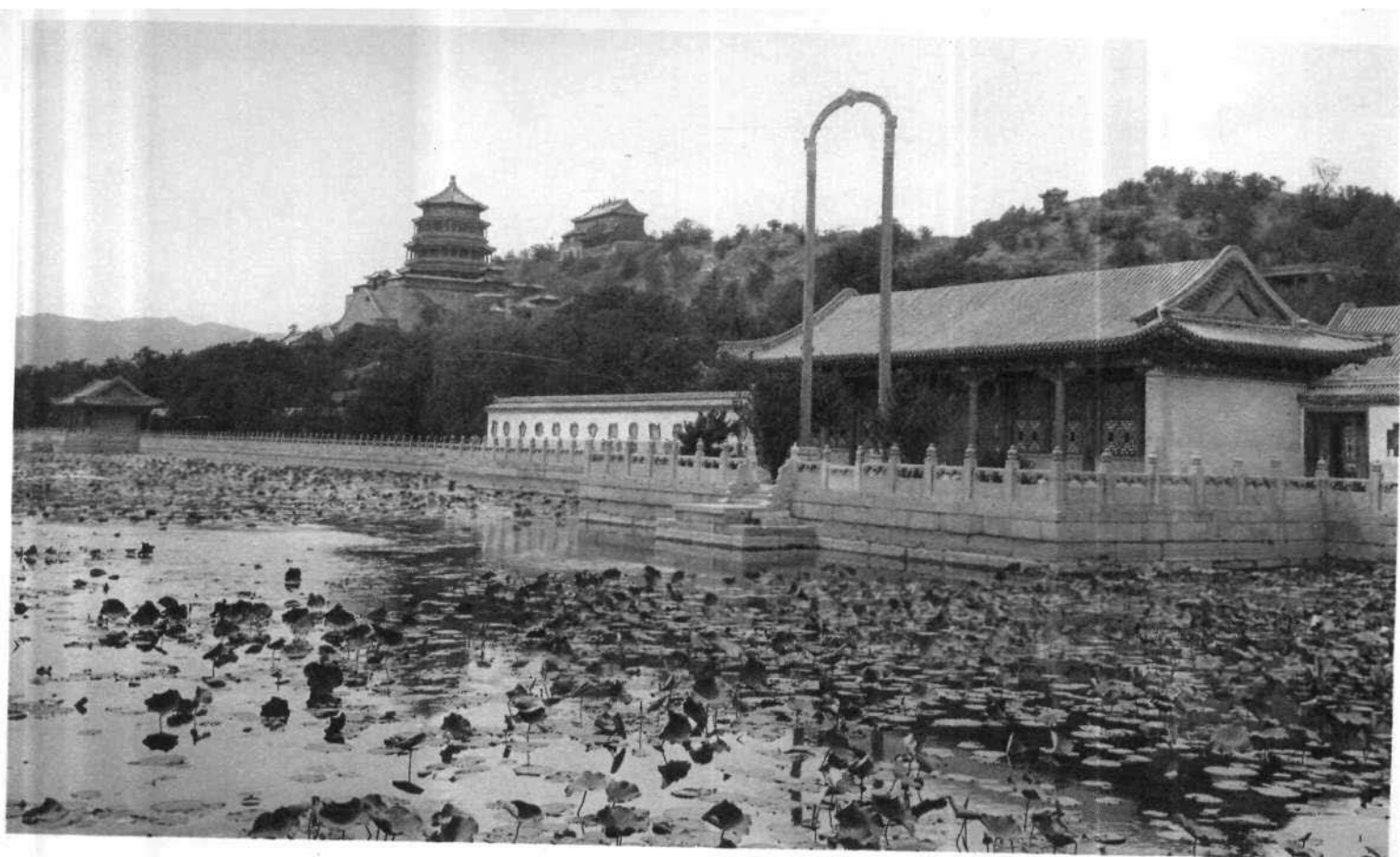
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Plate 192. Yüan Ming Yüan. Ta Shui Fa (The Great Fountains).
The upper picture representing an engraving from the year 1786; the lower a photograph from 1922.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 193. Wan Shou Shan. View over a part of the lake K'un Ming Hu, which in summer is entirely overgrown with flowering lotuses.



picture: Wan Shou Shan. Shore view with the temple-crowned hill in the background.
Shou Shan. Bridge over a canal in the park.

Printed in Sweden

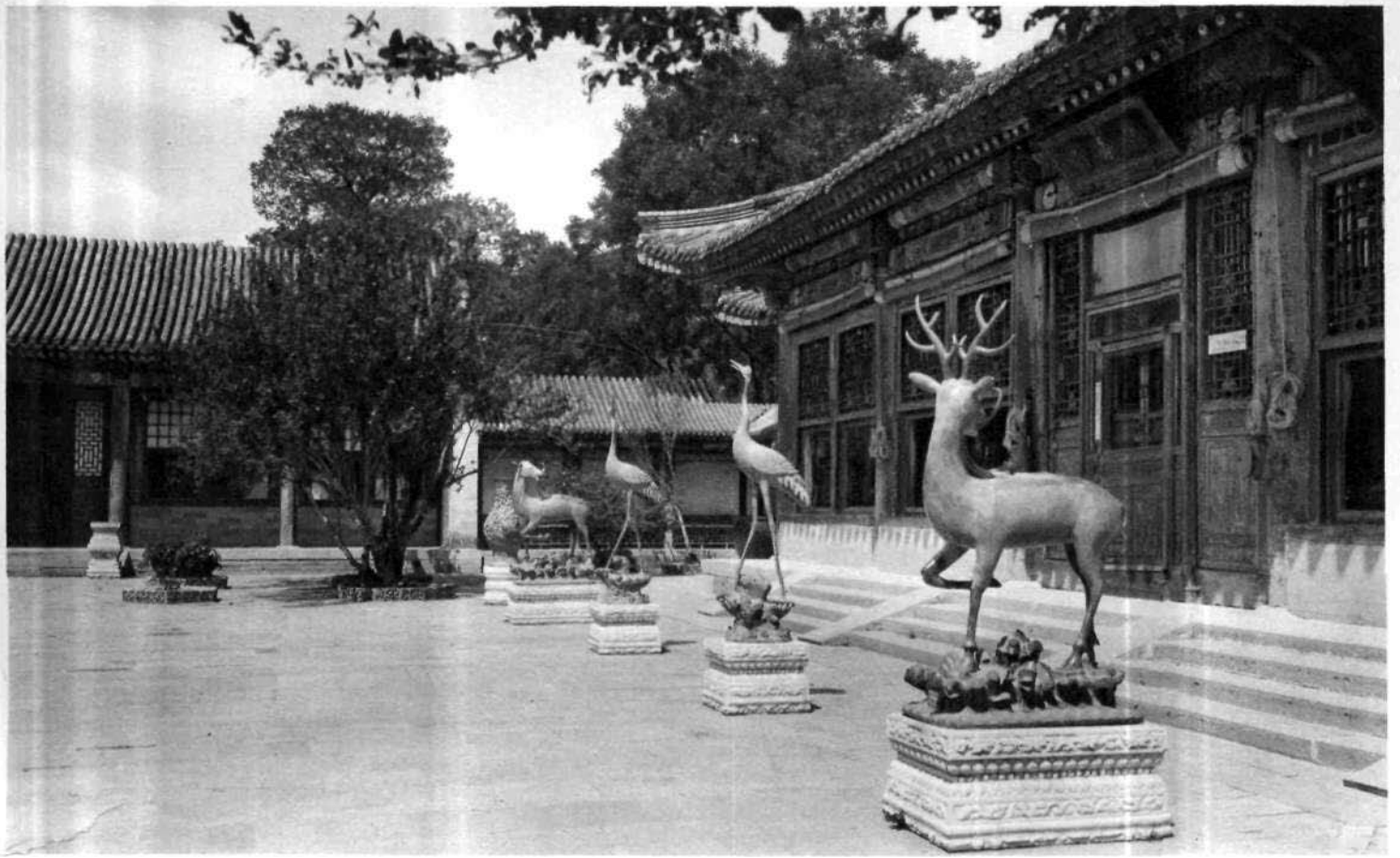


Plate 198. Upper picture: Wan Shou Shan, Jên Shou Tien, the ceremonial hall of the dowager empress.
Lower picture: Wan Shou Shan. P'ai-lou on the shore below Fo Hsiang Ko.

Printed in Sweden



Plate 196—197. Wan Shou Shan. A section of the long shore gallery. From here the views extend over the marble-lined shore and across the lake itself, flowering in the foreground and farther off mirroring the white clouds.



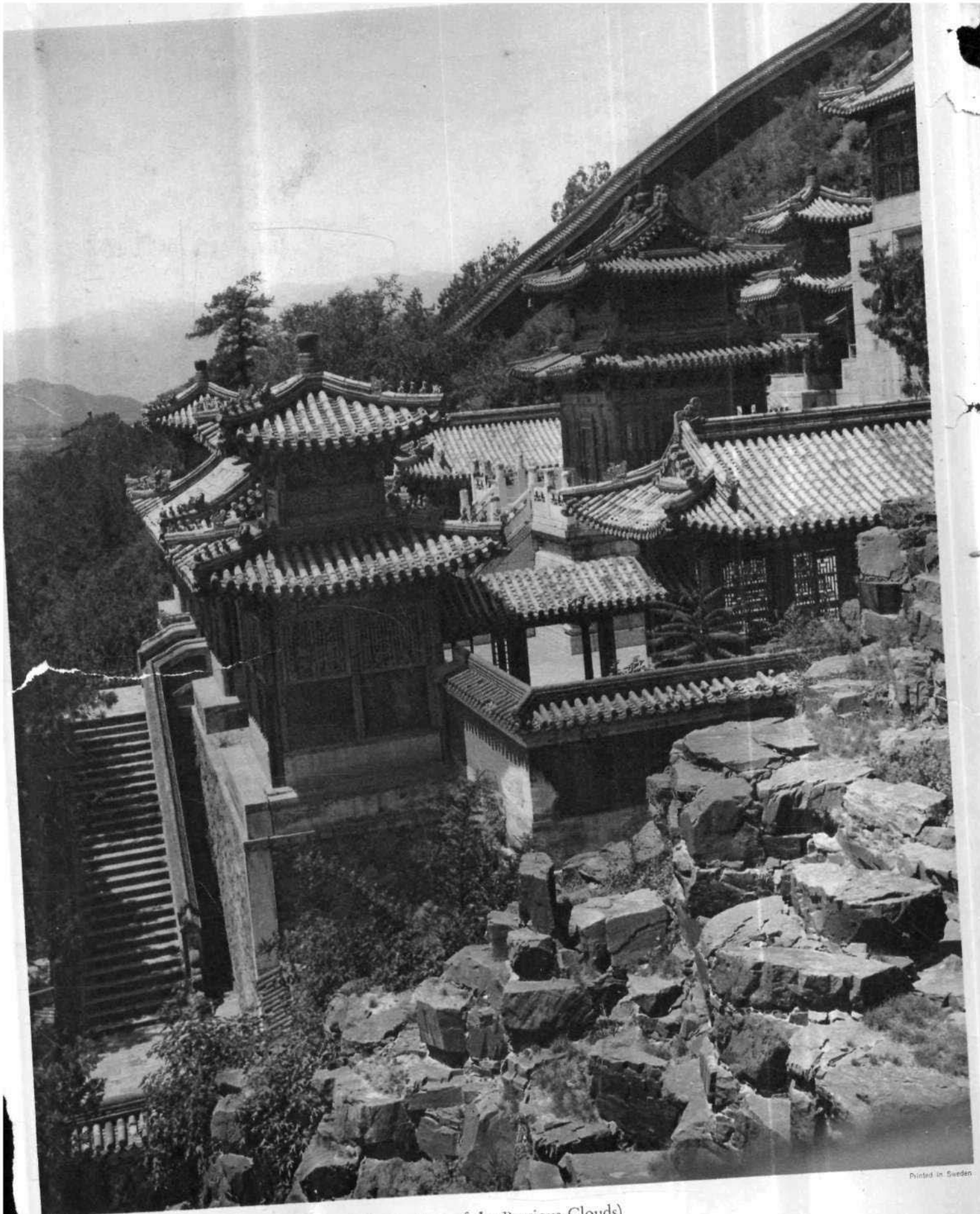
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Plate 195. Wan Shou Shan. Fo Hsiang Ko (Pavilion for Incense to Buddha) with terraces in front, staircases and gateways.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 199. Wan Shōu Shan. An interior in the long gallery. At certain points in this gallery there are divisions like small rooms which may be shut off with doors. The pillars are deep red, but from beams and ceiling gleam flowers and landscapes in gay colors.



Printed in Sweden

100. Wan Shou Shan. Pao Yin Ko (The Pavilion of the Precious Clouds)
smaller buildings on the slope in front of Fo Hsiang Ko.

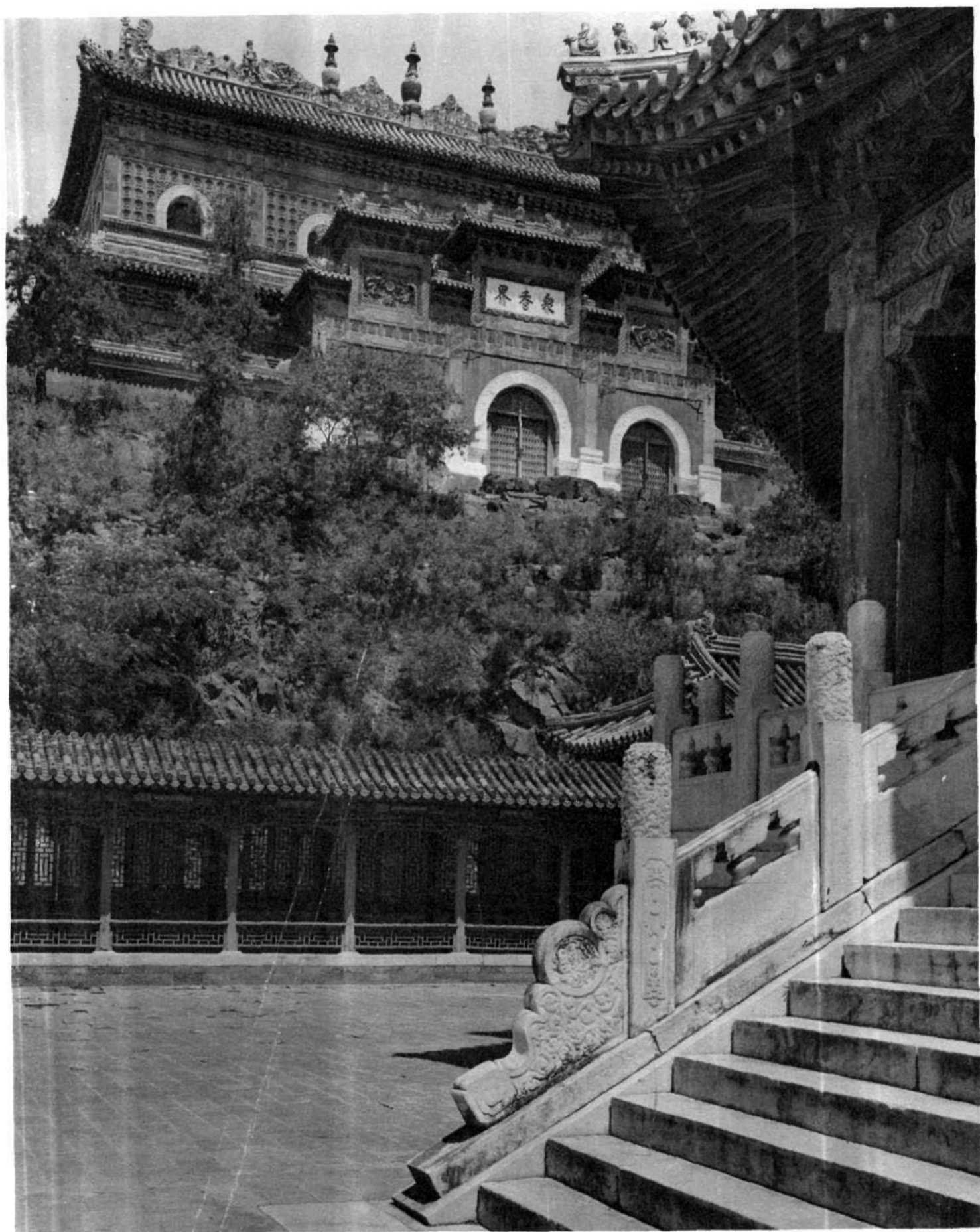


Plate 201. Wan Shou Shan. Wan Fo Tien (The Hall of Ten Thousand Buddhas). The walls are covered with small yellow-glazed Buddha reliefs and other ornamental tiles in various colors.

Printed in Seihin

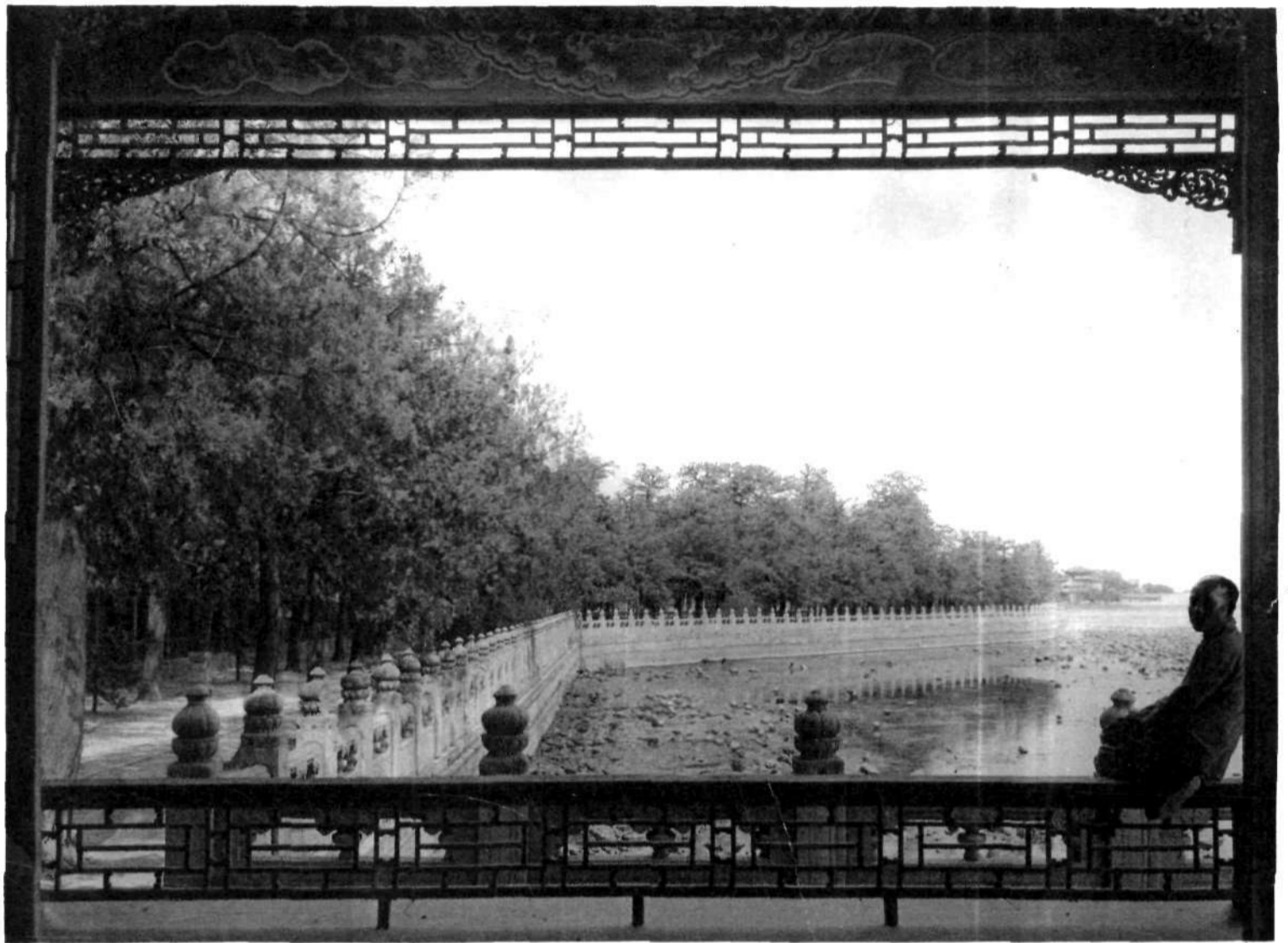


Plate 202. Wan Shou Shan. Hsieh Chü Yüan. During the warm summer the water flowers more abundantly than the shores, while the atmosphere is filled with the heavy scent of lotus.

Printed in Sweden

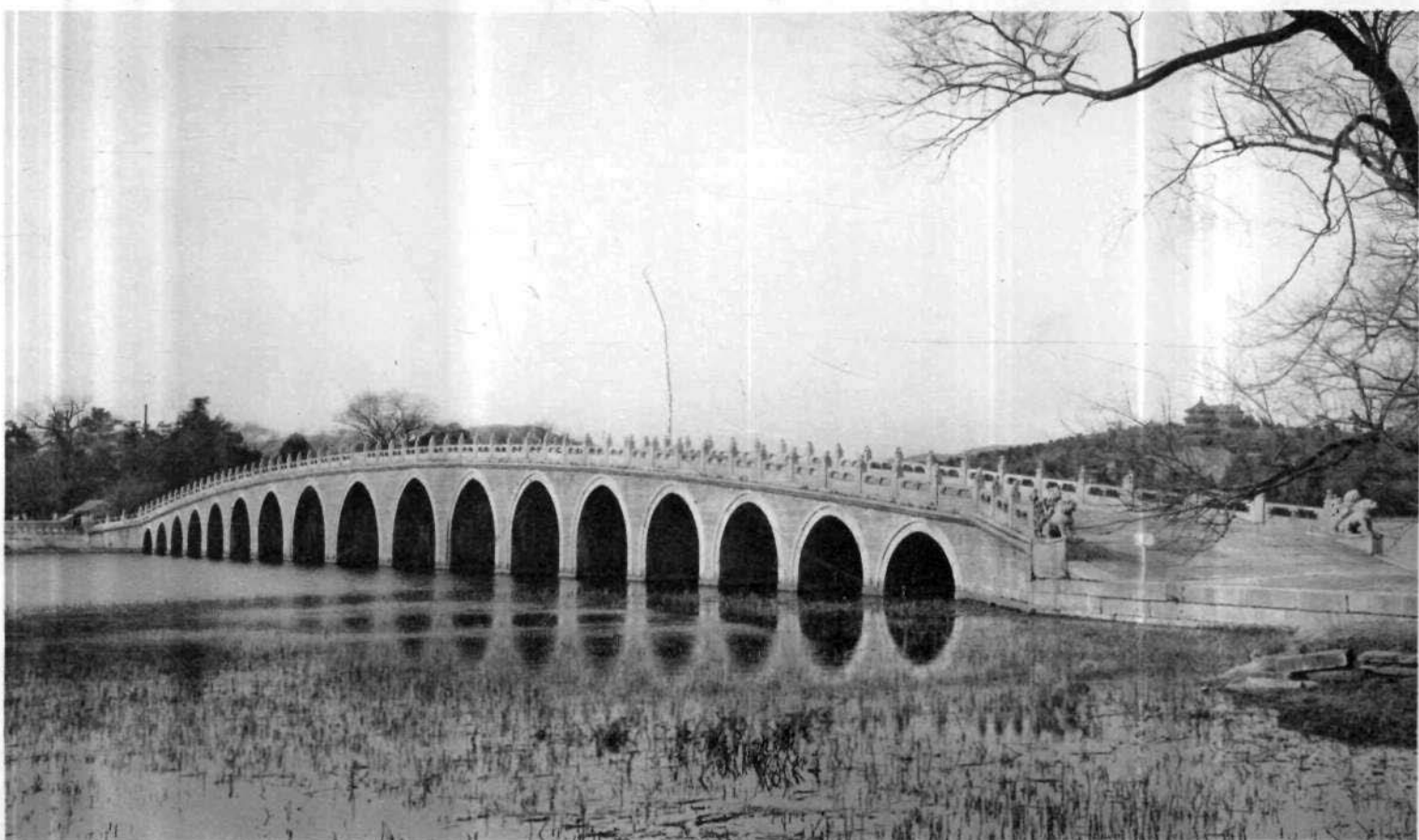


Plate 203. Wan Shou Shan. The Camel Bridge and the long bridge leading across to the island on which is found the sanctuary of the Dragon King.



Plate 204. Upper picture: Wan Shou Shan. A view of K'un Ming Hu.
Lower picture: Wan Shou Shan. Ching An Fang (The Marble Boat).

Printed in Sweden

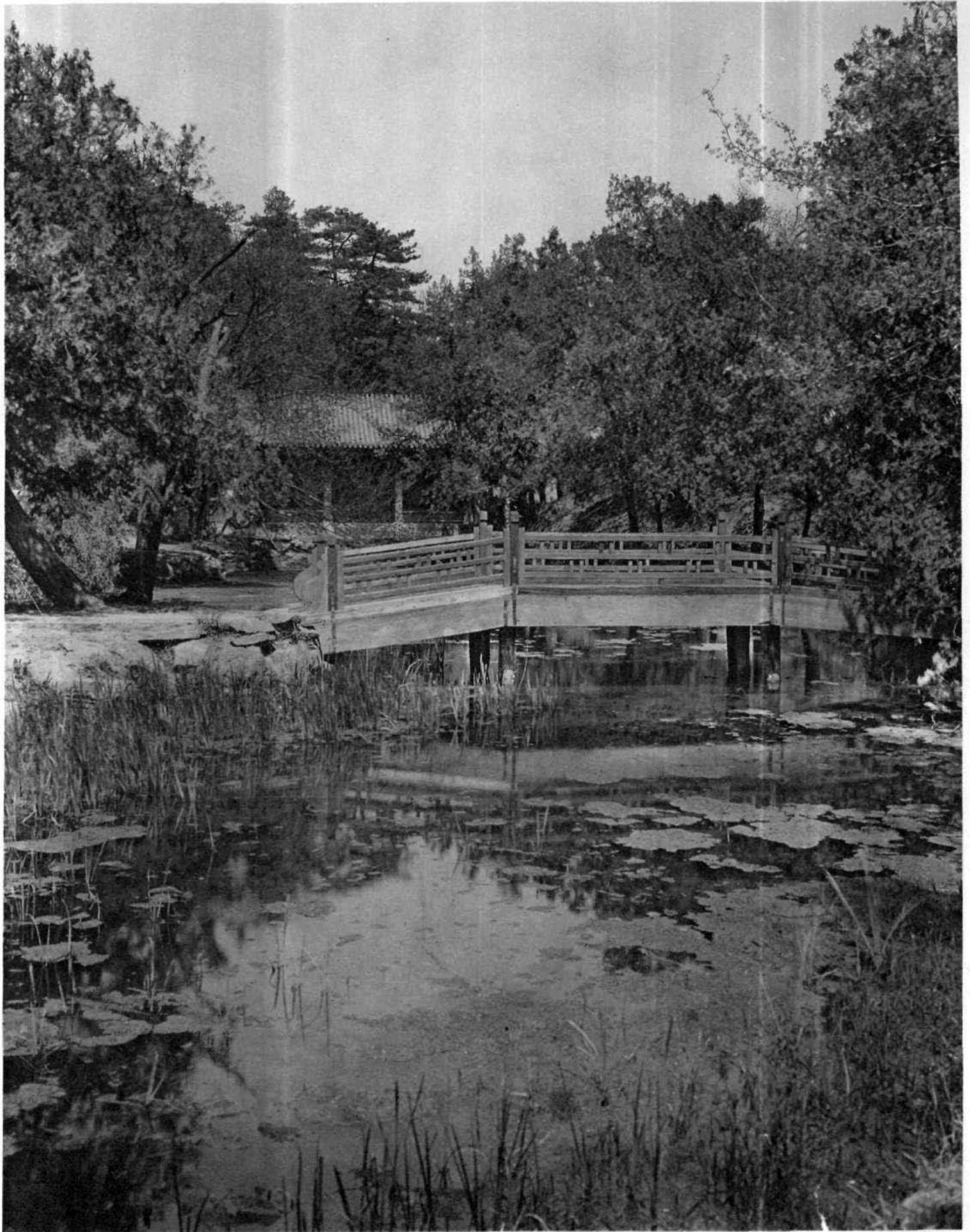


Plate 205. Yü Ch'üan Shan. The Park of the Jade Fountain; canal near the entrance gate.

Printed in Sweden

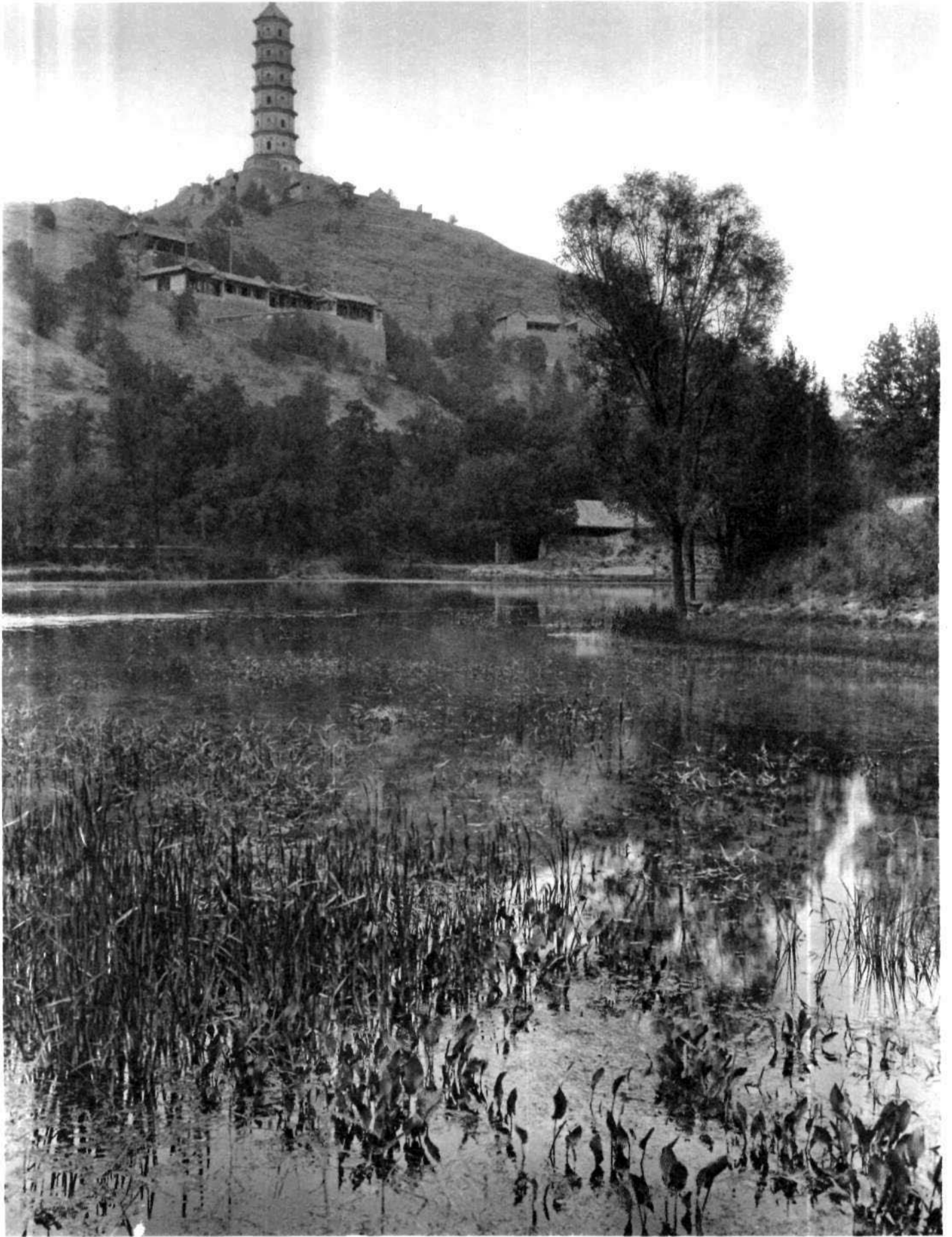


Plate 206. Yü C'üan Shan. The Park of the Jade Fountain; the crystal-clear spring water that flows from the base of the pagoda hill never ceases and is called The Foremost Spring under Heaven.



Printed in Sweden

Plate 207. Yü Ch'üan Shan. Overgrown terraces and steps in the park.